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Urban Science

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Contents

Urban Science – Report on a Workshop Series
by Anne Haila

1. Brief history of the Urban Science Workshop Series

In 2002, the European Science Foundation launched a series of workshops on urban sciences. The aim was to promote scientific research on urban issues, develop visions and suggest recommendations for cities to draw up urban policy programmes and solve urban problems. In addition to such scientific and research policy goals, the aim was to make urban science better known and recognised as a discipline, especially among those who make decisions concerning research funding.

At the beginning Svenje Mehlert was secretary of the series. After she took over coordinating Eurocores programmes Henk Stronkhorst became scientific secretary. Anne Haila (University of Helsinki) began working as chair of the series in 2003. She invited six urban scholars, Patrick Le Galès (Science-Po, Paris), Roger Keil (York University, Toronto), Guido Martinotti (University of Milan-Bicocca), Jiri Musil (European University, Prague), Simon Marvin (University of Manchester) and Henrik Nolmark (Formas, Sweden) to organise workshops discussing urban issues. The steering group consisted of the chair Anne Haila, the chairs of the six workshops, representatives of ESF, Henk Stronkhorst, Svenje Mehlert, Marja Järvelä (SCSS), Vladimir Bencko (EMRC), Maurice Bric (SCH), Milena Horvat (LESC), Albert Dupagne (PESC and COST). Joanne Goetz participated in the steering group meetings and wrote the minutes. One motivation for the series was to involve all disciplines and standing committees of ESF: medicine, physical and engineering sciences, life and environmental sciences, humanities and social sciences.

The six workshops and a final conference were arranged to bring together urban scholars to discuss urban issues, approaches, methods and data. The chairs of the workshops invited participants and outlined the programme for their workshop discussions. Participants were urban scholars in different fields of science (sociology, economics, geography, political science, history, natural sciences, medicine, and cultural studies), professionals (planners, architects, real estate brokers, civil servants, mayors, representatives of government departments) and activists.

The workshops were multidisciplinary; however, each workshop had a specific theme. *The Paris workshop* was chaired and organised by Patrick Le Galès. Its title was European Cities: Social Fabric, Inequalities, Agency and Political Order: What sort of European Society in the Making? *The Leipzig workshop* was chaired and organised by Roger Keil. Its topic was Urban Risks, Inequalities and Managing Uncertainties. *The Prague workshop* was chaired and organised by Jiri Musil and Ludek Sykora. Its title was Urban Civilization: Where Culture Meets Commerce. An important reason for arranging this workshop was to avoid the misconception that cities are only problems and discuss cities also as possibilities. *The Milan workshop* was chaired and organ-

ised by Guido Martinotti. Its title was Urbanisation: From Yesterday to the Next Day. Participants in this workshop discussed current trends in urbanisation and the quality of life in the European region. *The Manchester workshop* was chaired and organised by Simon Marvin. The title was Urban Science: Re-Negotiating the Boundaries between Science, Technology and Society. Scholars from different disciplines discussed urban knowledge and the experience of urban programmes carried out by various institutions such as the UN, WHO, World Bank, and national research councils. *The Stockholm workshop* was chaired and organised by Henrik Nolmark. Its title was Urban Knowledge for City Making: Integration Urban Science, Technology and Engineering. This workshop discussed urban development projects. *The Helsinki Conference* was chaired and organised by Anne Haila with the help of Jussi Kulonpalo and the Department of Social Policy University of Helsinki urban staff Hanna Harris, Giacomo Botta and Turo-Kimmo Lehtonen. Among the topics in the Helsinki meeting were urbanisation in Asia, Africa and America.

The three challenges of the series were first, to learn a language to be used in interdisciplinary research, ranging from medical science and engineering to social sciences and humanities; second, to suggest research topics and approaches that would be useful and applicable to cities in drawing up their urban policy programmes and solving urban problems; and third, facilitate the formation of joint research programmes.

In the workshops and the final conference it became evident that several European universities and research academies had recently launched urban teaching and research programmes, established urban institutes, begun urban master and PhD programmes, and founded urban studies professorships. Urban issues are on the agenda in European universities, and there is a need to bring together various urban studies initiatives and increase communication between urban researchers in Europe. Therefore, one result of the series was to increase networking between institutes, scientists, activists and urban professionals.

This review will make a brief summary of the main discussions in the workshops and the end conference. It will first introduce the topics which were most frequently discussed. These are social cohesion (chapter 2), fear, crime and health risks (chapter 3), competition between cities, and innovations (chapter 4), urban cultures and public space (chapter 5), urban governance (chapter 6), and the built environment and town planning (chapter 7). After these topics which can be seen as challenges facing our cities today, chapter 8 will look at some national urban research programmes. Issues of data and methods will be discussed in chapters 9 and 10. Chapter 11 will introduce some examples of non-European urban research, followed by a discussion on interdisciplinary

urban science (chapter 12). Chapter 13 makes a brief summary of the most frequently suggested topics, methods and approaches and includes a critical overview by Guido Martinotti and suggestions as to how to proceed by Göran Therborn. This is not a conference proceeding and participants will not be introduced in the context of the workshop in which they participated. I have tried to make this review readable and therefore I have grouped together topics which were discussed in several workshops. There are several interesting topics that are left out because of space limitations.

There are several people I want to thank. First, I would like to thank all participants in the workshops and the conference who made the discussions inspiring (see Appendix 1). John Mollenkopf (City University of New York) wrote notes of the Paris workshop and Douglas Young did the same for the Leipzig workshop. Giacomo Botta translated some Italian texts into English. Jussi Kulonpalo helped me in several phases of the project, especially in putting together the first 200 pages version of this final report. Jussi, together with Turo-Kimmo Lehtonen, Hanna Harris and Giocomo Botta helped me to organise the Helsinki Conference. The Academy of Finland and the University of Helsinki financially sponsored the Helsinki Conference. Svenje, Joanne and Henk from ESF helped me in several ways during this long process and never gave up encouraging me to finish this immense project of summarising in 80 pages 500 different urban voices.

Anne Haila

2. Social fabric of European cities

In the Paris workshop, Patrick Le Galès asked whether the category of the 'European city' still makes sense. European cities were originally autonomous nodes of trade and culture and developed institutions to take care of the well-being of their citizens. Today, suburbanisation and immigrants challenge old European urban institutes.

Suburbanisation and exclusion

Judith Bodnar (Central University, Budapest) concentrated on the positive effects of the long history of cities in Europe. For centuries, European cities have been diverse and dense. This diversity and density taught people to live together with strangers. Today, suburbanisation and exit strategies separate people and threaten to make European cities segregated. This is a challenge to the old European way of life and tolerance. Three research topics were suggested: bonds, place and classes.

Talja Blockland (University of Amsterdam) questioned the idea that living in a mixed neighbourhood increases integration and affects peoples' attitudes and suggested that urban scholars should study whether people really know their neighbours and whether they tolerate each other. Mike Savage (University of Manchester) found it important to study how the middle classes live in suburbs. Place, he argued, plays a central role in class formation. Place has become a crucial marker of social identity and a key means by which lifestyles are constructed. Changes in work patterns have created new types of sense of place and changed the meaning of places. Urban centres have lost their centrality and access to particular kinds of urban space has become important.

Edmond Preteceille (Science-Po, Paris) agreed that middle classes are an important research topic. He deplored the fact that the category of 'class' has been lost from the European research agenda. He suggested analysing exclusion not only focusing on the lowest end of class distribution or on the upper end of the distribution (which has been studied in innovative and competitive city research), but also analysing the lower-middle classes.

Immigrants

Adrian Favel (University of California, Los Angeles) raised the question why mobility is lower in Europe than in the United States. Lewis Dijkstra (European Commission, Urban Unit, Directorate-General Regional Policy) presumed that European cities are not as welcoming to newcomers as US cities such as San Francisco, whereas Edmond Preteceille thought that home-ownership and social relations could have a role in preventing workers

Paris

from moving after the closure of their place of work. Among the several research topics suggested were: rights, and participation of immigrants.

Marisol Garcia (University of Barcelona) referred to Lydia Morris's concept of 'civic stratification of rights' and argued that institutional barriers limit the participation of immigrants; immigrants are not politically passive merely of their own choice. She took Denmark as an example of a country which excludes immigrants from welfare state services.

Alan Harding (University of Manchester) broadened the concept of participation to take into account different forms of participation and participation among different ethnic groups. For example, the Chinese in European cities are not politically active, but are entrepreneurial and, if asked, they more than likely would like to retire to a good life.

Welfare policies

Suburbanisation and immigrants challenge European cities' welfare policies. Enzo Mingione (University of Milan-Bicocca) asked whether European cities are still welfare oriented. In addition to immigration and suburbanisation, new types of employment, new responsibilities between the nation states and municipalities have changed the mechanisms of integration: some groups are excluded and a new kind of urban poverty is created.

Margit Mayer (Free University, Berlin) characterised the new policies using the terms 'neoliberal', 'precarious employment' and 'thirdworldisation'. Neoliberal policies that have replaced the previous Fordist regulation system in European cities have led to new regimes of precarious employment, new patterns of exclusion, growing differences in income, assets and opportunities, thirdworldisation of European cities, increased informal sector and the rise of urban movements.

Guido Martinotti reminded us that in Europe the institutions such as the Church, the normative attitude appreciating social cohesion and public space (agora) had an important role in promoting social cohesion. He deplored the trend in the decline of public space and retreat into private space. Edmond Preteceille criticised the popular social capital approach for its individualising aspect and preferred the concept of social cohesion as a good category and research object.

3. Urban risks

Fear and crime

The participants in the Paris workshop saw suburbanisation and the exit strategies of the middle classes as challenging the old European way of life and diminishing Europeans' ability to tolerate strangers. In the Milan workshop, suburbanisation was discussed paying attention to one supposed motivation behind exit strategies: fear. Fear of crime has been seen as one of the reasons for the flight of the middle classes to suburbia and for building gated communities. Loss of population in central cities has been interpreted as evidence that people who leave the city and move to a suburb wish to protect themselves. Giandomenico Amedola (University of Florence) questioned such interpretations. Stories of fear and urban crime published in the media do not mean that cities are bad or that people do not like urban living. The fact that urban security is on the political agenda in European cities is not an indicator of a poorer quality of life in cities or of the weakening of the bond between the city and its people. On the contrary, it can mean that people wish to move back to live in city centres and that the attraction of an urban way of life is growing.

Amendola brought an historical perspective to the debate about fear. He pointed out that the word 'paradise' emerged in the 12th century when urban fear was at its peak. The word originally meant 'walled garden'. In the medieval iconography, a happy life was portrayed as a life protected by walls and towers. Cities were capable of controlling crime and protecting people from fear. The Buon Governo frescoes painted by Ambrogio Lorenzetti in the Palazzo Comunale of Siena in the first half of the 14th century show the link between the fear of crime and quality of life. In these frescoes, over the happy and well ordered city and its rich countryside there is an angel of security who carries a banner with a text 'May everybody walk free of fear'. The happy city is a city in which people are not afraid.

Since the Middle Ages everything that could protect people from fear has been regarded as a blessing by urban dwellers. There were not only external enemies but also internal ones. Towers were built also inside the city walls, such as in San Gimignano, Tuscany. In most tourist guides its medieval landscape, resembling Manhattan, has been read as a landscape of power and pride created by the wealthy and competing families.

Leipzig

3. Urban risks

Amendola reads this landscape as a landscape of fear. Towers are not only status symbols: they are built as fortress and defence instruments.

Sophie Body-Gendrot (Sorbonne-Paris IV) brought the discussion of fear and violence into the 21st century. She compared the debates in the United States and France after the 9/11 event. Whereas in the United States scholars talk about hot spots, defensible space and segregation, in France the focus is on urbanism and public housing. Whereas in the United States scholars talk about individual innovations, entrepreneurship, social cohesion, trust, eyes and ears in the street, the decline in participation and collective efficiency, in France the debates concern stigmatisation, residents' marginalisation, ethnicisation of social relations and horizontal conflicts (instead of vertical ones).

Urban health

Ulrich Franck (UFZ centre for Environmental Research Leipzig-Halle) identified health risks connected to cities, such as density of population, polluted air and water, noise and urban stress. Dense cities make a flesh base for bacteria and spread diseases. The recurrence of diseases such as TB and the emergence of new diseases such as SARS show the vulnerability of our health systems. Such new vulnerabilities are captured in describing the present city as an 'antibiotic' city that has replaced the old 'bacteriological' city and the phrase 'urban health' has been introduced to stress the relationship between cities and health.

SARS is an example of a problem the analysis of which calls for a multidisciplinary approach, ranging from medicine to civil engineering and urban studies. The reason why SARS was not left hidden in Guangzhou, as Ebola was left in the jungles of Africa, was because Guangzhou was connected to the global city of Hong Kong that was connected to Toronto, Singapore and Taipei. The emergence of the network of global cities is responsible for the spread of SARS. SARS is also a civil engineering problem as was shown in the case of the Amoy Garden in Hong Kong where all inhabitants living in one building caught the infection because of poor construction and property management. The medical problem of SARS thus becomes an urban problem to be analysed from the multiple perspectives of medicine, urban health, global cities, civil engineering and property management.

Roderick J. Lawrence[1] (University of Geneva) pointed out that urban health is a complex issue. Environmental hazards, social hazards, economic hazards and technological hazards affect the health of urban people. At the beginning of the 21st century, there are relatively high levels of tuberculosis, respiratory and cardiovascular diseases, cancers, adult obesity, and malnutrition, tobacco smoking, mental ill health, alcohol consumption and drug abuse, sexually transmitted diseases (including AIDS), as well as fear of crime, homicides, violence, accidental injury and deaths. Because of the complexity of urban health, a narrow focus on the individual determinants of illness and disease is useless. Among the innovative and multidimensional research initiatives that Lawrence mentioned are WHO Healthy Cities Project (www.euro.who.int/healthy-cities), WHO Housing and Health pan-European Project (www.euro.who.int) and European Network for Housing Research (http://www.ibf.uu.se/enhr/).

Also the indoor environment affects the health of people. Elisabeth Shove (Lancaster University) reported that today people in Western societies spend around 98% of their time indoors, nevertheless 'the forces that have selected the genes of contemporary man are found outdoors, in the plains, forests and mountains, not in air-conditioned bedrooms and at ergonomically designed workstations' (Baker 2004)[2]. Shove has evaluated the policy of maintaining 21-23°C from the perspective of *the history of comfort.*

People say they are comfortable in indoor conditions ranging from 6 to 30°C. This is a much wider range than that which we normally encounter. Standardisation has been such that 'modern' urban indoor environments rarely waver by more than a few degrees around conventional set points of about 22°C. Given the biological tolerance, historical and locational variation, how is it, Shove asked, that we have come to accept and expect such a narrow range of indoor conditions? Designers and urban planners are capable of keeping humans comfortable indoors in 22°C, however, we should ask why sweating and shivering are social problems. We could relativise our concepts of comfort and question whether the human environment in general should be standardised. In her book *Comfort, Cleanliness and Convenience*[3] Elisabeth Shove analyses changed expectations of comfort, cleanliness and convenience and daily rituals such as showering, heating, air-conditioning and clothes washing. She investigates the meaning and supposed 'normality' of these practices and argues that conceptions of normality control such routines.

1. Lawrence, R. (2005) Building healthy cities. The World Health Organization perspective. In S. Galea & D. Vlahov (eds.) *Handbook of Urban Health. Populations, Methods, and Practice.* Springer, New York.

2. Baker, N. (2004) Human Nature, in Steemers, K. and Steane M. A. (eds.) *Environmental Diversity in Architecture,* Spon. London.
3. Shove, E. (2003) Comfort, Cleanliness and Convenience. *The Social Organization of Normality.* Berg Publishers. Oxford.

3. Urban risks

Who is taking the risk?

Who is ready to take the risk and solve problems such as fear, social problems, urban poverty, TB and SARS which are facing our cities? The Paris workshop discussed those who wish to minimise their personal risk by using the exit strategy; leaving the city and moving to suburbs and gated communities. In the Leipzig workshop a film by Mark Saunders, *Exodus*, provoked a discussion about those who take a personal risk and try to do something for depressed communities, for example urban social workers who work with drug addicts, abandoned children and homeless people.

Roger Keil used the phrase 'institutional void' to refer to the situation in which we do not know which institution is responsible. Privatisation tends to make nobody accountable and in public-private partnership projects, popular today, nobody seems to be responsible for the whole project. Albert Dupagne (University of Liege) related an example of a new bath facility project in the small town of Spa, 35 km southeast of Liège. Old buildings in the town centre, including a casino and the town's first thermal bathhouse, are to be preserved and refurbished, and new industrial jobs are to be created in a new mineral-water bottling plant. Spa has several development options. A tourist centre with bathing amenities was one of several proposed schemes. The project, however, proceeded slowly because of the conflicts and disagreements. One problem was that decision makers played different roles and had their own interests in the project. The mayor, for example, was also a partner in the Spa monopoly. The boundary between the private and public spheres was not clear. No one took responsibility for the whole project.

Knut Strömberg (Chalmers University of Technology, Stockholm) suggested that there are perhaps too many planning techniques and too little attention paid to subjective factors and personal relations in urban development projects. Cooperation requires trust, respect and an ability to listen. Unfortunately such questions have been neglected when building public-private partnership schemes. The Mayor of Prague 2, Michal Basch, deplored the fact that because municipal politicians need to spend most of their time in deciding day-to-day issues; in strategic decision making they must rely on the opinion of experts. This sends a challenge to academic urban researchers to produce policy-oriented applicable research.

4. Urban economy

The first city

In the Milan workshop, Mario Liverani[4] (University of Rome) discussed the city models used in analysing archaeological findings. Gordon Childe introduced a distinction between primary and secondary urbanisation and the idea of urbanisation based on resources. This model was supposed to be applicable to all cities and became an influential model in interpreting early urban history.

Edward Soja[5] (University of California, Los Angeles) criticised Childe and argued that surplus was not the reason for cities to emerge, but the other way around: the city was first and only then did agricultural surplus emerge. Soja blamed Max Weber for the misinterpretations. We do not need to wait until medieval times, not even until the Greek polis (city), the city had already emerged. The correct picture of the early urbanisation process and the first city is important because it helps us to understand the innovative power created in urban agglomerations, not only in the earlier times, but also in the present day metropolis.

The great contribution of the Chicago school was to recognise the speciality of cities, whereas some recent scholars, according to Soja, deny the special character of the urban. Soja acknowledges the contribution of Henri Lefebvre who understood the creative forces of the space and wrote: 'All societies are realised only as urban societies'. Soja also praised Jane Jacobs who argued that without cities we would be poor. Without cities, Soja claimed, we would still be hunters and referred to Jane Jacobs who in *Economy of Cities* (1969) told the story of the city of Catal Hüyük. This early city provides two lessons: first, there were cities already before the rise of agriculture and, second, there is no evidence of the existence of agricultural cities. Also for Marx, cities were first, and industrial capitalism meant urban-generated industrialisation. The formation of industrial capital took place in cities. Factories may locate along rivers, but capital is accumulated in cities.

Recently, Soja claimed, we have witnessed the greatest change in 200 years; perhaps this is a beginning of a new revolution. These are the processes of globalisation and urbanisation, both in the first and third worlds. To understand these processes, a new spatial theory is needed to explain the innovative and creative power of cities.

Milan cathedral

Competition and network of cities

In the Milan workshop Guido Martinotti opened the discussion on the network of European cities. Urbanisation in Europe is based on independent city states and a network of urban markets. The so called 'Sun Belt' or 'North-of-the-South Belt' consists of a chain of urban centres from Barcelona to the Eastern Alps and beyond, overlapping the southern tip of the Blue Banana in the Po Valley. This belt is characterised by clusters of new industries, particularly in the service sector, and of small firms, and by the high level of quality of life and good environment. Two additional networks are emerging: the Eastern Belt from the Baltic States to the Balkans with previously peripheral cities such as Berlin, Prague, Vienna or Trieste and the Northern Belt from Helsinki to Glasgow which is based on high tech and strong human capital development.

Roberto Camagni (University of Milan) continued the discussion about city networks and emphasised that small European cities can achieve the necessary scale economies by networking. European cities do not need to compete and grow. Instead of the growth of megacities plaguing countries as in Asia and South America, polycentric urban development is one possible pattern

4. Mario Liverani is a Professor of History at the University of Rome, La Sapienza. Among his publications are *Myth and Politics in Ancient Near Eastern Histography* and *International Relations in the Ancient Near East, 1600-1100 B.C.*
5. Among the works of Edward Soja are *Thirdspace and Postmetropolis* Blackwell Publishers 2000, and *Postmetropolis*. *Critical Studies of Cities and Regions*. Blackwell Publishers 2000.

for metropolitan growth for European cities. Camagni also defined the city network as the system of relationships and flows, horizontal and non-hierarchical, linking centres of similar size.

Leo van den Berg (Erasmus University Rotterdam) looked at the competition between cities from the historical perspective. First, *urbanisation* concentrated people and activities within the municipal borders. Second, *suburbanisation* created commuter flows between suburbs and the central city. Although commuting to the city centre for work, residents of suburban communities were dependent on welfare services provided by their suburban municipalities. Third, *disurbanisation*, people and jobs moving to smaller agglomerations further away, is weakening large agglomerations. The functional tie between the agglomeration and new, smaller places of residence are cut and people pursue most socio-economic activities (working, shopping, sports and leisure) within the borders of their new settlement. Van den Berg argued that whether cities are complementary or compete depends on their stage of development. At the urbanisation stage, towns function as independent units, at the suburbanisation stage large towns compete with their suburban municipalities, but there were also functional links between them. At the disurbanisation stage, municipalities even further away compete with each other.

Today, suburban communities work out strategies to attract people and develop themselves from dormitory towns to cores with their own citizens, work places and services, the evolution that is called 'proliferation of functional urban regions'. The implication is that the original core-and-ring agglomeration is changing fundamentally to become a metropolis with several cores and rings.

Information and telecommunication technologies increase competition on a wider spatial scale; cities further away find themselves competing. However, as van den Berg pointed out, information is not exclusively channelled through ICT means. Personal, face-to-face communication has gained importance especially in high touch activities (fashion, design and printing[6]). Urban areas set the trends in high touch sectors. Firms benefit from locating in inner cities where trendsetters like to be. Location of universities and research institutes in city centres increase the attraction of old cores. Besides the classical location factors, such as land prices and availability of space, new soft and qualitative location factors such as the quality of the living environment, the level of cultural services and access to knowledge have become important.

Van den Berg claimed that these changes have created new imperatives for urban policy and urban management. Urban management needs to be strategic

and market oriented, and responsive to the trend towards increasing competition and interdependence among cities. Urban managers need to be entrepreneurial and market their cities. City marketing means looking the city through the eyes of the city customers, inhabitants, companies and tourists. Among the urban product marketed and sold, van den Berg mentioned, are office space, harbour facilities, industrial estates, shopping centres, museums, art festivals and sports events. Van den Berg claimed that in addition to images related to a city's housing, working or leisure, people have an image of the city as a whole. This makes it important for decision makers to develop the city as a brand. The image, for example of old industrial towns, can be outdated and therefore cities need to manage their image. Image management consists of public relations, marketing and branding the city, arranging sports and cultural events and developing landmark buildings.

Knowledge economy

Ash Amin (University of Durham) claimed that the knowledge economy has altered the terms of competitiveness, bringing advantages to those spaces that are able to develop new knowledge. Inevitably, this will alter the map of regional inequality and the possibilities for cohesion in Europe. He identified the following dimensions in the rise of the knowledge economy. First, there will be a concentration of activities in the knowledge-rich core metropolitan city regions such as London and Paris. They have critical mass and are genuine growth poles. Second, new islands of knowledge-based activity are emerging in medium-sized towns and districts producing craft and design-intensive goods or high-tech goods of various kinds. Third, new network forms of knowledge production and dissemination are emerging. To understand this new form of spatiality, we have to develop our concepts and language. Amin argued that it is important to understand the relationship between the spatiality of knowledge economy and urban prosperity. Research is needed, first, on the spatial architectures of the knowledge generation; second, on the role of cities in knowledge-based competitiveness; and finally, on the changing nature of interurban relations.

Michael Storper (Science-Po, Paris) discussed knowledge-based activities in large cities. New kinds of growth poles have changed urban economies radically. However, Storper emphasised we do not have any proper research on the role of cities in producing innovations, and the size makes it difficult to understand what the role of the city is. Paris is innovative, but its innovativeness might come from the fact that it is large and that activities in France are concentrated in Paris. On the other hand, San Francisco has more than its share in the US.

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6. See Hall P. (1995) Towards a general theory. In Brotchie, Batty, Blackely, Hall & Newton (eds.) *Cities in Competition*. Longman.

5. Urban culture

Jiri Musil and Lydek Sykora in the Prague workshop deplored the fact that in recent years economic goals have been given so important a role in urban decision making. The narrow focus on economic growth easily eclipses the fact that economically successful cities are often cities which provide a wide spectrum of educational and cultural opportunities. The cultural quality of cities is crucial for economic actors when they choose a city for their activities. In the past, European cities with their rich cultures played a key role in the formation of modern Europe and in the rise of capitalism and industrial society. Today migration from Asian and African countries together with increasing individualism have increased the variety of urban cultures in European cities and created a hybrid mix of local urban cultures, as Sophie Watson (Open University, Milton Keynes) described.

In analysing the challenges of globalisation, immigration, social inequality, polarisation and urban poverty the following questions need to be answered. Whose urban culture it is? To what extent is contemporary culture in European cities socially stratified? Is culture capable of reducing social divisions? Does the multiethnic and multicultural city increase integration? What kinds of culture exist in new commercialised public spaces and how have the perceptions of public space changed? Could culture be used to make cities more successful? Are those cities that are closely linked to the global economy cultural centres as well?

Whose culture and where?

Göran Therborn (Uppsala University, University of Cambridge) suggested that in the past, culture as a collective representation integrated people in European cities. There were cultures of nations, cultures of classes and cultures of generations. De-industrialisation, decline of the nation state and the ageing of populations destroyed these integration axes. If national urban cultures and popular urban cultures are declining, will there be some new collective culture emerging? Or will there be separate urban cultures for special groups such as children or elderly people? Can commercial cultures substitute for the national, class and generational cultures? Can new popular urban cultures which are not commercial be developed? What will be the symbolic representation of new cultures? Can cities and their architecture still be recognised as European and express the idea of 'Europeanisation'?

Ilona Sármany-Parsons (Central European University, Budapest) continued the discussion about fragmentation of culture by suggesting that several urban identities might also develop, for example metropolitan, inner city, borough and even neighbourhood identities. She introduced the concept of local patriotism. People can

Prague

be patriots of a city, but also of some part of a city. Not only cultural heritage but also cultural activities (festivals, concerts and carnivals – even commercial ones) have a role to play in local patriotism. Marc Weiss (Prague Institute for Global Urban Development) suggested using partnerships between the private and the public sector in order to preserve cultural heritage.

Miroslav Base (Czech Technical University, Prague) drew attention to an important but unfortunately often neglected fact of where cultural activities take place. He reminded us that in the former socialist countries inhabitants in suburban housing estates almost completely lacked cultural services and were dependent on the inner city institutions. Today there are more theatres, concert halls, galleries and museums in suburbs. Does this affect the city centre and the way of life and identity of people in the suburbs?

Public space and negotiation

Judith Bodnar defined public space as a site of communication and surveillance. It is a place where one can see and where one can be seen. Interaction between private and public spheres and spaces is one of the main formative factors shaping the life in cities. In contemporary European cities both public and private spheres and space are changing. Public space is changing in physical, functional as well as in symbolical terms. Also perceptions of public space have changed. Among the forces changing public space are privatisation and commercialisation. One result has been the eviction of homeless people from parks, passages and other kinds of public space, leaving privatised public spaces accessible only for those who can pay for using them.

5. Urban culture

Caroline Robertson-von Trotha (University of Karlsruhe) and Ilona Sármany-Parsons questioned the too simple idea of the disappearance of public space. The increasing number of festivals, carnivals and all sorts of 'happenings' in European cities signal a revival of the original uses of urban public spaces.

Lubomir Faltan (Slovak Academy of Sciences, Bratislava) discussed super- and hypermarkets in European cities. These are new types of public space and change the morphology of cities. Shopping malls also affect peoples' behaviour and daily life. They decrease the attractiveness of the city centre and change conceptions of public space.

Changes in the public space, according to Guido Martinotti, show that there is a need to redefine what is meant by 'public space'. The despised shopping mall has become the opposite of the public 'political' square. However, we have to resist the temptation to idealise the 'public' function of *la piazza*. As Marco Romano has pointed out, the public character of such places as spaces for democracy, had to be negotiated. Moreover, this is not the only space in which democracy works. In some societies *la piazza* was the main arena, but as Guicciardiani reminds us, decisions were taken within *il Palazzo*. Today there are other spaces, including 'virtual' ones, in which democracy can be negotiated. In a city where a growing part of the population is transient and largely service oriented, new forms of participation and identification will have to be worked out. Traditional municipal policies and institutions seem inadequate to govern the new public spheres.

Urban tourism and pilgrimages

Lily Hoffman (City University of New York) identified various types of tourism, for example mass tourism, targeted cultural tourism or small-scale community tourism. Tourism can lead to standardisation and homogenisation, but also revive local cultures or divide the city into the city for tourists and the city for locals. Karel Maier and Caroline Robertson von Trotha remarked that visitors increase the demand for cultural services in the city centre and thus help traditional cultural institutions to survive despite the fact that the ageing population and the move to suburbs have decreased the demand.

Roger Friedland (University of California, Santa Barbara) explored the fact that over the last three decades, religious centres have, once again, become nodes in and through which social forces are being mobilised and geopolitics reshaped. Religious centres generate affiliation and pilgrimage that do not coincide with the territorial boundaries of nation states. Religious centres have created an alternative, transnational system for state capitals and financial centres.

The surprising resurgence of sacred centres as a platform for political mobilisation requires us, argued Friedland, to revive the centre as a theoretical category. The identity of the modern nation state is signified at the centre, the capital that is a site for symbolic and a collective representation. Centres are also important for democratic nation states that can no longer look to the body of the sovereign as locus of their political identity. Recently, religious nationalists have sought to re-centre their nations in religious space and mobilise by politicising pilgrimage to their sacred centres.

6. Urban governance

Citizens and participation

Marisol Garcia (University of Barcelona) asked who are the actors regulating the city today? Patrick Le Galès[7] thinks that social groups, private institutions and public actors form alliances and engage in collective projects in order to adapt to economic global changes and govern the cities. According to OECD[8], citizens collectively solve their problems and meet society's needs using government as an instrument. Critics point out that such ideas are based on individualism and self-interest. 'Ideas of governors pursuing an autonomous public virtue and collective purpose have been subordinated to ideas of negotiation, political coalition, and competition'[9] Although modern governance promises to increase democracy,

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7. See Le Galès P. 2000 Private Sector interests and urban governance. In Bagnasco A. & Le Gales P. *Cities in Contemporary Europe.*
8. 2001 *Cities for Citizens. Improving Metropolitan Governance*. Paris.
9. March J.G. & Olsen J.P. 1995 *Democratic Governance*. New York. The Free Press.

participation is difficult. If actors participating in decision-making processes do not represent collective interests, elites or technocrats govern. The concept of cities as collective actors with strong local identities suggested by le Galès is interesting; however, more research needs to be done on collective identities. Garcia mentioned Amsterdam as an example of a city where a social housing programme and the innovative inner city programme integrated various groups of people and created the image of tolerant Amsterdam.

In European medieval cities the elites with wealth, prestige and privileges created splendid buildings and participated in the working of city councils. In modern cities the state grants local rights and local elites have lost the control of selecting inhabitants. Consequently, the public sphere moved from cities to national parliaments and the legislative capacity has decreased at the local level. Citizenship is no longer a method of social inclusion. Citizens search in vain for spaces of participation, while city authorities are engineering policies for city

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promotion. Today, citizens can participate in the handling of urban issues. This re-evaluation of the urban public sphere does not, however, necessarily coincide with the renovation of public spaces. Garcia called for research comparing institutional contexts, the mechanisms of participation for citizens and the spaces where public participation is possible.

Unknown effective governance

Alan Harding[10] (University of Manchester) outlined a research agenda for analysing urban governance. In recent years, a 'received wisdom' has begun to develop which suggests that a virtuous circle exists between urban economic competitiveness, urban social cohesion and effective urban governance, and that it has become evermore important to national governments and national economic performance. At one level, there is nothing new claiming that a high degree of economic competitiveness and innovation is linked to good quality of life or that effective governance helps underpin economic and social success. On the other hand, there are still several issues which need to be studied.

Harding identified eight research tasks. The first task is to analyse the relationship between competitiveness and cohesion. In which way does public sector activity respond to market change and what does this mean for urban policy and governance? Second, there is a need for cross-national comparative work concerning policies, expenditure patterns and regulatory choices of a variety of public agencies and how public goals can be achieved through private sector activities. Third, there is a need to study the spatial consequences of urban policies. Fourth, various levels or scales of governance should be analysed. Fifth, relatively little attention has been paid to the way in which earlier regimes of spatial governance supported the European industrial archipelago economy. There should be research on spatial policies and institutions and the relationship between territorial equalisation and 'picking winners'. Sixth, European city-regions, their interdependencies and the ways in which different forms of 'city-regionalism' have been constructed, for example through 'imagined territories', need to be analysed. Seventh, comparative research is needed on the conditions under which effective leadership emerges and the relationship between institutional structures and political agency. Eighth, there is a need to study legitimate and 'post-democratic' governance, and what the costs and benefits are of a new urban governance that relies more upon accommodation between elites than upon engagement with popular concerns.

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10. This is a summary of the paper Alan Harding presented at the Helsinki Conference.

7. Built environment

Urban morphology

In the Milan workshop Guido Martinotti suggested that both European and North American cities are currently facing challenges of concentration, developments on the edges of cities, reorganisation of work and family, new ways of living, lifestyles, consumption and communication practices.

Martinotti identified three historical city types: (1) the *traditional European town*, (2) the mid-20th century *metropolitan area*; and (3) a new entity that has been called *World City*, *Global City*, *Exopolis*, or *Edge City*; that is a network with no central places, with several 'nodes' which are not necessarily arranged in any hierarchical order. New mega-urban regions are the result of changes in transportation technologies and information technology. In analysing the new urban morphology we can no longer use simple dichotomies, such as centre versus periphery, community versus Simmelian metropolis, urban-rural-suburban. We need new methods to understand the 'tyranny of space', what Castells calls 'space of flows', Giddens 'disembedding', Ann Markusen 'sticky places in slippery spaces', Amin and Thrift 'distanciated communities'. 'Urban' today needs a new definition.

Martinotti suggested the concept of 'meta-city' to be used for an entity beyond the metropolitan form and administrative areas.

To study the new metropolis, Martinotti suggested, we should analyse both its economic base and morphology, because it is precisely the territorial structure of the contemporary metropolis (*Functional Urban Region*) that attracts the economic activity. Metropolitan economy still contains agricultural production, and the quality of environment is dependent on the management of rural resources. To provide food for the inhabitants in today's London requires a territory equivalent to 58 times the surface of its landed area. Establishing an environmentally high quality sustainable metropolitan ecosystem is one of the main challenges to the planning.

The models of social conflict and cooperation which helped us to understand the social morphology of the industrial city cannot explain the new metropolis. Commuters in the US tended to be middle-class, in Europe lower-class. We know very little about the social characteristics of the transient populations in new large metropolises. Therefore to understand the new social morphology of the contemporary metropolis we need to forget the traditional social ecology and class analysis,

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which are more applicable in analysing the industrial city and the *early* metropolis, which were based on the spatial distribution and stratification of *inhabitants* and *commuters*. Today, large metropolitan centres and their economic functions are increasingly affected by *city users*. Rather than cities for the inhabitants, cities are increasingly developed as cities for guests and visitors. Also there is an increasing amount of temporary and highly mobile people as a consequence of globalisation processes.

Town planning and good cities

Europe has a long tradition of town planning. In the 19th century, town planning was aimed at removing the ills of the industrial city, in the 20th century modernism attempted to create good living conditions for workers. Today there are new problems, such as abandoned and dilapidated housing estates; the old models of town planning are not working as well as before. There is a need for a new Athens Charter, ethical land use principles and new planning law for Europe, or perhaps even for a common European planning curriculum, as suggested by Virginie Mamadouh (University of Amsterdam).

Why have well-meaning modernist projects failed? Maria Kaika (University of Manchester) suggested that the reason for the failure of modern projects is that the contexts of applying modernist projects are different. One model cannot be successful in different contexts and therefore by comparing modernism in Europe, Asia and the US[11] we can understand better the capabilities of modern urban projects. How can we manage urban space, if not by master planning? Kaika asked. There is no point in just abandoning modernism, if we do not have new models to replace the old ones. Roger Keil suggested that we need to get rid of the old concepts of Utopia and democracy. Dieter Hassenpflug (Bauhaus University, Weimar) on the other hand suggested that we still need visions of good cities. Robert Atkinson (University of West of England) questioned the concept of the 'successful city', and wanted to replace it with the term 'good city' and 'the quality of life'. While modernism had an ideology and philosophy behind it, new planning ideas, sometimes called 'post-modern', are implemented without proper research.

Lila Leontidou (Hellenic Open University) discussed the criticism modernists levelled against cities in Southern Europe. She argued that the Mediterranean cities did not lack urban planning; urban planning was just pushed aside and recently some cities in the North, in their search

for urban renaissance policies, have admired and tried to imitate Southern cities with parks and squares, mixed cityscapes and agora as their model.

What do people want?

What is a good city and how do people like to live? We do not know. It is claimed that people want to live in single family houses; however, there is not enough research on this issue. We do not really know what the effects of mixing of work places and residential areas are. Karel Maier (Institute of Town Planning, Prague) suggested that visions of a good city could not be constructed without consulting with various groups of people: elites, developers, builders, town planners, citizens and health experts. Michal Illner (Academy of Sciences of the Czech Republic, Prague) remarked that in order to discuss urban visions we need to take into account the actors producing, distributing and using cultural goods. Sociological analyses should be combined with cultural analyses, architecture history studies and semiotic analysis.

Albert Dupagne introduced a case of rebuilding the pre-Gothic cathedral in Liege. This case showed that inhabitants and planners can want very different things. The cathedral was rebuilt in the late 19th century with a Gothic Revival façade. Should this façade be preserved or demolished? Demolish, said the experts, who talked about authenticity and wanted to restore the building to its pre-Gothic appearance. Preserve, said the citizens, to whom the 19th century façade was both old and authentic. Dupagne's solution was to treat urban transformation as a learning process. Only during the development process can knowledge and solutions applicable to the case be discovered. Every rebuilding project is unique and it is difficult to know at the beginning of the project what will happen.

Anique Hommels (University of Maastricht) identified reasons for resisting urban change, a common conservative attitude to wish to preserve. Sometimes the reason can be the high cost of the change, sometimes the change is prevented because there is no agreement on what should be done or some powerful voices want things left as they are.

Terje Kleven (Norwegian Institute of Urban and Regional Research) examined the problems laymen face when they ask for advice from experts. The problem is not only that laymen do not understand the answers, but the answers often vary from one expert to another. At the same time, experts and laymen and especially policy makers long for simple facts and arguments. The mayor of Prague 2, Michal Basch, agreed: decision makers need applicable research results in their day-to-day decisions.

11. Kaelble, H. (2000) La ville européenne au xxᵉ siècle. *Revue Économique*. Häussermann H & A. Haila (2004) The European city: a conceptual and normative. In Y. Kazepov (ed.) *Cities of Europe*.

8. Urban research programmes

One aim of the Urban Science Workshop Series was to make urban science better known and recognised as a field of science among those who make decisions concerning research funding. Research programmes are usually organised by national research councils. From the national point of view research projects analysing single cities might look too idiographic, concerned only with the unique and the particular. Urban science research programmes thus face two challenges: first they need to be appealing and convincing to the national authorities; and second, research projects need to produce generalisable results that are more than stories of particular cities. The following examples show some ways of organising urban science research programmes.

Netherlands

Sako Musterd[12] (University of Amsterdam) introduced urban research programmes in the Netherlands. Urban research is carried out by a large number of private sector research institutes, among them specialised institutions, that focus on the built environment, urban economics, social issues and policy. These institutions carry out research for a wide variety of customers including private developers or large firms, but several are also heavily involved in research for governments at the local, national or even European levels. Some projects are carried out together with other players in the urban arena: the publicly funded knowledge institutions. These are mainly university institutes, but also subsidised bodies with a special task.

Universities in the Netherlands play a very substantial role in urban research. In at least six universities urban research is a focus of attention. Disciplines emphasising urban issues are urban geography, urban planning, urban sociology, urban economics and economic geography, architecture, urban governance and policy studies, urban history, and infrastructure planning. The researchers in these disciplines receive money directly from the university, and from the Netherlands Organisation for Scientific Research (NWO) programmes, and other special programmes mentioned, including EU programmes.

The Netherlands Organisation for Scientific Research (NWO) receives money from the government. In the 'urban' sphere almost all available projects funded by NWO will be allocated to university researchers. The NWO draws up general research programmes (for disciplines such as social sciences) and special programmes, such as the 'social cohesion' programme, or the programme on urbanisation and urban culture.

NWO stimulates projects, where researchers can submit their own research ideas, and special programmes. Programmes that provide substantial opportunities for urban research include: Shifts in Governance; Social Cohesion; Urbanisation and Urban Culture.

The Dutch Knowledge Centre for Larger Towns and Cities and the Netherlands Organisation for Scientific Research (NWO) initiated the urban innovation programme. The Ministry of the Interior and Kingdom Relations, the Ministry of Housing, Spatial Planning and the Environment and the Ministry of Health, Welfare and Sports support the programme. The aim of the programme is to acquire new knowledge on urban and metropolitan problems.

The Netherlands Graduate School for Housing and Urban research has drawn up a research programme with more than 150 projects focusing on urban space (post-WWII housing estates, housing management), urban living (segregation and integration, time-space analysis, public space), urban economy (spatial economic developments, creative knowledge cities), urban transport (residential location and mobility), and urban governance (a wide variety). In addition a special programme relates to urban development of polynucleated regions, urban-rural restructuring, and urban governance and land-use management.

Since the Dutch research infrastructure is to a substantial degree provided by the universities, most academic research on urban issues is in strict terms independent of central programming or research programmes that have been developed elsewhere. Subjects that received attention over the past 10 years are: social cohesion and exclusion, segregation and integration and their effects, new polycentric urban networks, problems in post-WWII housing estates, restructuring urban neighbourhoods, mobility and transport problems, new governance of urban transformation, urban cultures, identity, globalisation and urban economic structures, social safety, ICT and the city, and the creative knowledge city.

Sako Musterd has chaired a committee of interdisciplinary researchers to explore new strategic urban research. In 2005 the committee produced a report titled Urban Space: Managing Dynamics. Among the conclusions of the report are the following: a first preliminary conclusion was that urban space is first of all contextual space, or in other words, space that cannot be understood without consideration of the wider spatial, social, economic, political, cultural and institutional context. Therefore successes or failures or best practices cannot be generalised.

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12. This is a summary of the paper Sako Musterd presented at the Helsinki Conference. See also Dutch Knowledge Centre for Larger Towns and Cities (2003) Strategic Urban Knowledge Themes Agenda 2003-2010. Den Haag: kcgsi. Stedelijke Ruimte: Omgaan met Dynamiek (2005) Rapportage verkenning thema 'Stedelijke Ruimte' voor de NWO-strategienota 2007-2010. The Netherlands Organization for Scientific Research: http://www.nwo.nl/
Dutch Urban Knowledge Centre: http://www.kcgsi.nl/
Habiforum: http://www.habiforum.nl/
NETHUR: http://nethur.geog.uu.nl/

8. Urban research programmes

A second preliminary finding was that urban space is not confined to 'space', but also has an important 'time' dimension. Old ideas about the impact of urban space on time-space behaviour would deserve new attention and new approaches in urban research.

A third suggestion was that both mono- and multidisciplinary research is required. Monodisciplinary research may lead to a deeper understanding of segments of the urban economy, for example of health in densely populated areas, of the social geography of cities, and of the urban history. However, complex and dynamic society also requires multidisciplinary integrative research.

United Kingdom

Ian Gordon[13] (LSE) introduced us to urban research programmes in the UK. In 1965 the Social Science Research Council (SSRC) was established by the government. In the following year, the Centre for Environmental Studies (CES) was founded by the Ministry of Housing and Local Government and the Ford Foundation, and SSRC was renamed ESRC, the Economic and Social Research Council.

The CES had a dual role, both as a funder and research institute with its own research staff. For the first five years the majority of funding came from the Ford Foundation, but thereafter it was heavily dependent on money from the central government department (the Department of the Environment, or DOE, from 1971). During its 14 year life CES developed several different kinds of urban research, including: analytical methods of urban modelling, planning and (what became) socio-demographics; critical urban sociological and geographic analyses, organising and sponsoring Urban Change and Conflict conferences from 1975 onwards; and promotion of a much wider body of urban research by economists.

After the demise of CES, sponsorship of urban social science research in the UK became more polarised, with ESRC as the dominant funder of academically oriented projects, while government departments largely confined themselves to a customer role, seeking contractors for quite clearly defined (and tightly timed) investigations directly linked to current policy issues and programme activity.

Support for urban research by SSRC/ESRC has taken different forms, including: funding of projects submitted in open competition on topics devised by the applicants themselves; and funding (over periods typically of 10 years) of named research centres, first a Centre for Urban and Regional Development Studies (CURDS) at Newcastle University, then the Centre for Housing Research and Urban Studies (CHRUS) at the University of Glasgow, and now a Centre for Neighbourhood Research based jointly in the universities of Bristol and Glasgow.

Three research programmes were organised: on Inner Cities in Context (ICIC), the Changing Urban and Regional System (CURS) and Cities, Competitiveness and Cohesion (CCC) – each involving development of a programme framework, competitive bidding for projects by academic teams, and an appointed Programme Director, with primary responsibility for promoting integration and dissemination.

The Inner Cities in Context programme (1982-1985) emerged against the background of a strong policy focus on 'inner city problems' originally announced in a government White Paper (DOE, 1977). The final report, drafted by Peter Hall (1981)[14], questioned the suggestion that there was a specifically 'inner city problem' and proposed a research programme involving: 'comparative study of some local urban economies, carefully chosen to range from the depressed and deprived to the thriving and prosperous; its aim would be to understand in detail the forces that bring decline to one city, and growth to another'.

The Changing Urban and Regional System programme (running from 1985-1987) had entirely academic antecedents. These stemmed primarily from a version of the 'restructuring thesis' developed by Massey (1984)[15] in which localities played a key role, and some wider moves to 'put space back in' analyses of social relations. There was a significant political context, in the experience since 1979 of rapid industrial job loss and sharply rising unemployment in the UK under a Conservative central government strongly resistant to interventionist industrial policies. The CURS programme also took the form of a set of area (or 'locality')-based studies, this time in seven areas which were mostly outside the conurbations.

The third programme, given the title Cities: Competitiveness and Cohesion, emerged more than a decade later, and only after lobbying by a group of senior urban researchers, stimulated in part by the fact that absence of a UK programme was inhibiting participation in European collaborative work. Also important, however, was a sense that the dynamic of cities was changing, with a new sense of the positive relevance of urban assets for economic competitiveness. The total budget from ESRC was about £3 million, with an extra £0.3 million contributed by DOE's successor, largely for dissemination purposes. There were 23 major projects: 19 of which addressed specific thematic issues. Efforts were made to integrate this large and diverse array of projects via half-yearly conventions, linked to cross-project symposia and working groups.

13. This is a summary of the paper Ian Gordon presented at the Helsinki Conference.

14. Hall Peter (ed.) 1981 *The Inner City in Context*: Final Report of the SSRC Inner Cities Working Party. London. Heineman.
15. Massey Doreen 1984 *Spatial Divisions of Labour*. London. Macmillan.

8. Urban research programmes

The main common element of the three ESRC 'urban' programmes was their use of area-based case studies. This emphasis on local case studies marked an interesting return swing of the pendulum for UK urban research in which 'community studies' had figured very strongly around the 1950s, before coming in for increasing criticism both for their lack of theory and for their tendency to perpetuate a (rather conservative) myth/ideology of 'community'. For ten years or so, there was in effect a divide between more theoretical analyses of urban political economy on the one hand and grass roots studies of specific local social movements on the other' (Gordon and Low, 1988, 7)[16]. The swing back to 'locality' studies focusing on the interaction of different kinds of processes in particular places with distinctive histories to them was one of the most positive features of the CURS and CCC programmes, particularly since such studies would probably not get funded in other ways.

The experience with more ambitious area-based studies in the CURS and CCC programmes did, however, highlight a couple of important practical problems. The first is that the kind of agenda for such studies inherited from Massey is indeed ambitious, requiring a combination of a wide mixture of methodologies implemented on a multilevel basis, with intensive neighbourhood-level work set within more extensive city-region level analyses, and questioning of many different kinds of actor, and of some historical depth. The second is that it has proved extremely hard to find a market for the kind of wide-ranging, book-length, area-focused publication which is the natural product of this kind of research. Clearly there are exceptions, but it seems hard to sell serious academic books about places, unless those places are particularly 'glamorous' and/or one dimension of their story is substantially oversold. If that is really the case – and not just a prejudice among publishers – the most likely reason is that in our role as teacher/consumer (rather than researcher/producer) rather few of us seem to think that a place-focused approach is really suitable for our courses and students. Many of us might prescribe particular extracts from such studies as partners for more conceptual material on particular issues, but generally without reference to the contextual material to which the locality approach attaches such weight. Without suitable outlets for extended in-depth writing, there is a real danger of area-based studies falling between two stools: too place-bound to carry much in the way of conceptual innovation, and too thin to convey any real understanding of the complex ways in which processes interact on the ground – and offering what may seem only rather superficial, time-bound descriptions of how things are.

One reasonable expectation of programmes involving multiple area-based case studies is that they will provide comparative evidence as a basis for testing or developing more general hypotheses and drawing practical lessons about actions to improve outcomes of one kind or another. One reason for limited comparability was that each area study was undertaken by a separate locally based team. Some possibilities for comparative research are the following: to collect common area-related data, to analyse parallels and significant differences or to construct broader narratives. But the real value of area studies clearly lies in teasing out more complex relations and/or in integrating qualitative with quantitative analyses. It is also these that effectively require (separate) locally based teams, which is one of the factors interfering with comparability. The number of area case studies to be involved is also an issue, since as Ian Gordon would argue (from the experience of the Fainstein et al (1992)[17] Divided Cities study) that pursuing effective comparisons on a broad basis, and at a level above simply establishing differences in structure, outcomes and trends, involves a close and extended engagement between the teams involved which is very hard to achieve with more than two or three cases.

The 'programme' format has a number of rationales. These include funding agencies' desire for a more active and purposive role, a stronger sense of self-identity and a higher public profile (with relevant publics including their ultimate funders). Of course, it is also possible that the privileging of a topic and announcement of a set of questions or themes encourages applications for 'relevant' work, with less self-censorship of ideas that are actually not very original or intellectually 'important'. And, that might help to explain the apparent fact that projects in programmes yield few radical breakthroughs. Maybe what are generally regarded as 'breakthroughs' in a social science or an urban studies context more often occur outside the context of conventional research projects where principal investigators may be too heavily committed to the routines of carrying through an empirical 'normal science' investigation to make that kind of contribution. But, in any case, formal programmes do not seem to be where the more radical developments generally occur – whether for better or for worse.

It is hard to see the UK urban research councils of the last 25 years as key to any theoretical breakthroughs in urban studies, or as having really shaped the direction of subsequent urban research. Substantial impacts on policy thinking are also hard to identify, and it is not evident that any have played the same role in bringing a cohort of new scholars into the field that CES was able to achieve with its more sustained funding. However, some

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16. Gordon I.R. and Low M.M. 1988 *Community, Locality and Urban Research*. European Planning Studies 6.

17. Fainstein S., Gordon I. and Harloe M. (eds.) 1992 *Divided Cities: New York and London in the Contemporary World.* Oxford. Blackwell.

real importance can be claimed for them in: reasserting the importance of systematic empirical work of all kinds to developing understandings of how cities function and shape the lives of those operating there; repeatedly showing the inadequacy of the one-dimensional understandings on which government policies have tended to rest (and that there are no easy options); sustaining the thesis that economic, social and political processes need to be considered together in an urban context; and developing approaches to city-based studies which effectively exemplify the issues which these interactions present in practice. Beyond this, we would argue that their experience can offer important insights into key issues related to interdisciplinarity, locality-focus, comparison and developing an international dimension for other social science-based urban research programmes.

United States

Joseph S. Devinny (University of Southern California) discussed the Sustainable Cities Program that was funded in 1998 by the US National Science Foundation (Integrative Graduate Education, and Training Program, (NSF IGERT). The aim of the programme was to produce a new approach to PhD education that will broaden student experience and avoid over-specialisation. The University of Southern California project chose 'urban sustainability' as a theme and included participation from geography, urban planning, environmental engineering, chemical engineering, political science and other disciplines. Funding for the project was $2.7 million (USD) over five years. In the project students were expected to take three project-associated classes and to participate in a collaborative research project with faculty from other disciplines. As NSF funding ended, the programme evolved to become the USC Center for Sustainable Cities. The primary current work of the Center is the Green Visions Programme, which is devoted to developing a database, geographical information systems tools, and a plan for developing green space in the Los Angeles area.

The NSF IGERT approach to research differed from traditional programmes in several ways, producing both difficulties and benefits. With respect to thematic proposals, it was sometimes difficult to convince faculty that interdisciplinary proposal writing was the most effective use of their time. Many have become expert in the intricacies of funding and familiar with funding agencies and funding officers in their disciplines, and are reluctant to invest effort in writing a proposal in an unfamiliar field. Faculty tended to be reluctant and uncomfortable working outside their disciplines, but students were often eager to do so. Students were more likely to view disciplinary boundaries as irritating constraints. It is likely that the experience will be helpful

to them in non-academic careers, where the daily work commonly involves participation in interdisciplinary team projects. Cooperation between faculty in engineering or the sciences and faculty in other fields was complicated by differences in funding practices. Technical faculty were generally accustomed to seeking and receiving larger grants and could be impatient with the lower funding typical of the humanities. Humanities funding is often provided by foundations that are reluctant to provide indirect costs at the rate requested by the university. Faculty in the sciences and humanities also tended to be separated by their willingness to accommodate politics as part of their work. Science faculty value objectivity highly and are suspicious of any research project with apparently political motivation. The humanities faculty are far more willing to engage in research with clear political implications and to approach it from a political point of view. At times, Devinny related, they encountered what might be called, in parallel with racism, 'disciplinism'. Some faculty have learned to view those from other disciplines according to negative stereotypes, *"You know how those engineers are."*

Europe

Edith Besson (Karlsruhe Research Centre) introduced urban sustainable development research programmes in Europe, in the United Kingdom, Germany, Italy and Spain. In France the topic of 'urban sustainable development' is popular among social scientists whereas in the UK engineers have been the most enthusiastic in implementing research on this topic. Urban ecology has traditionally framed the German urban research, even though governance issues are now rising up the agenda. Issues of cities' competitiveness are much emphasised in Italy and Spain, where economists and urban planners are mostly involved in research on urban issues.

In Germany, urban ecology is a very popular theme, whereas the concept of sustainable development seems to have lost much of its popularity. Also in Italy, the theme of urban sustainable development has decreased in popularity where the urban question has traditionally been addressed by planners.

For many researchers, the concept of urban sustainable development today is saturated. More interesting ways to conceptualise the city would be using categories such as 'urban vulnerability', 'urban political ecology' and 'urban governance'.

Eric Ponthieu (EC, DG Research) introduced EU's urban and land use research. The programme City of Tomorrow and Cultural Heritage (FP5) was meant to provide the means for local and regional stakeholders to implement sustainable development practices. The themes were urban governance and sustainable re-

sources management, cultural heritage, sustainable built environment and sustainable transport. The programme called for an holistic approach, development of affordable, effective and accessible tools and involvement of various stakeholders. Framework Programme 6 did not have any explicit urban research programme, although there was a focus on sustainable land use. As to the prospects of FP7, Ponthieu called for stronger integration between urban and land-use research. Important research areas will be integrated management and planning, regions and R&D, sustainable growth, tourism, environment and health, increasing vulnerability of urban areas, population changes, globalisation and more focus on economic and technical issues. He identified four key areas to support the preparation of urban thematic strategy: urban design, urban construction, urban transport and sustainable urban management.

9. Data and representations

Data is essential for doing research on cities, but also for planning and urban policies. Information on bad living conditions represented in statistics and novels gave rise to urban planning in European cities in the 19th century[18]. Today, town planning, management of cities and urban research call for statistics of new types of urban problems; for example urban stress, environmental problems, empty houses, poverty areas, vulnerabilities, risks, places without reason, alternative and autonomous spaces.

Kerstin Zillman (Urban Planning Department, City of Schwarzenbek) introduced an indicator to measure land and water consumption and to monitor urban sustainable development. She discussed a project in Münster, Dessau and Heidelberg aiming at reducing carbon dioxide emissions, drinking-water consumption and residual waste, and improving transport.

Urban Audit

In Europe there exists an extraordinary database for comparative urban research: the Urban Audit (www.urbanaudit.org.). Lewis Dijkstra introduced the possibilities this database gives for city comparisons. The Urban Audit collects information on the living conditions in 258 large and medium-sized cities in Europe. There are almost 300 statistical indicators presenting information on demography, society, economy, environment, transport, the information society and leisure. One can get information about the structure of cities, compare cities, construct city profiles and rank cities.

Examples of analysis based on the Urban Audit are the following: Between 1996 and 2001, slightly more than half of the Urban Audit cities lost population. In the new EU Member States, Bulgaria and Romania, four out of five cities suffered a decline in population. Some cities lost more than 10% of their population such as Halle an der Saale, Germany and Maribor, Slovenia. Paris and Cambridge reported the highest share of tertiary educated with 37% and 32% of their population respectively. In 2001, Manchester had an employment rate of 51% while the UK had a rate of 72%.

Cities also have their own databases. Examples are a GIS database of Amsterdam (www.os.amsterdam.nl) developed by the city of Amsterdam and the University of Amsterdam. The Helsinki Area Database (www.hel.fi/tietokeskus, Aluesarjat) covers the functional urban region of Helsinki and offers flexible access to small-area statistics at the municipal, district and small-area level. There are also thematic databases. Figure 1 shows the proportion of 65-74 year-olds in various grids in Helsinki.

18. Patrick Joyce 2003 *The Rule of Freedom. Liberalism and the Modern City.*
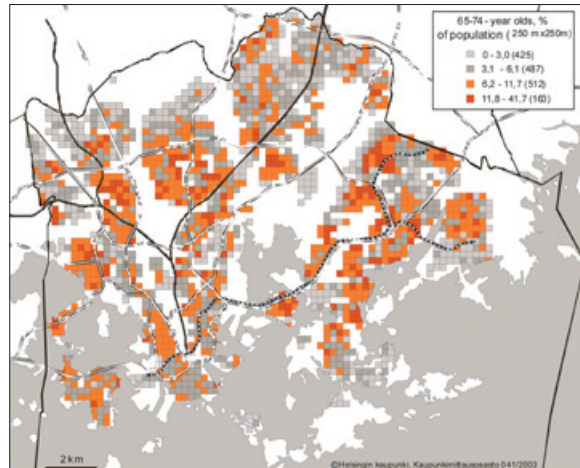
Proportion (%) 65-74 year-olds among the population in Helsinki, 2003 (250 m x 250 m)
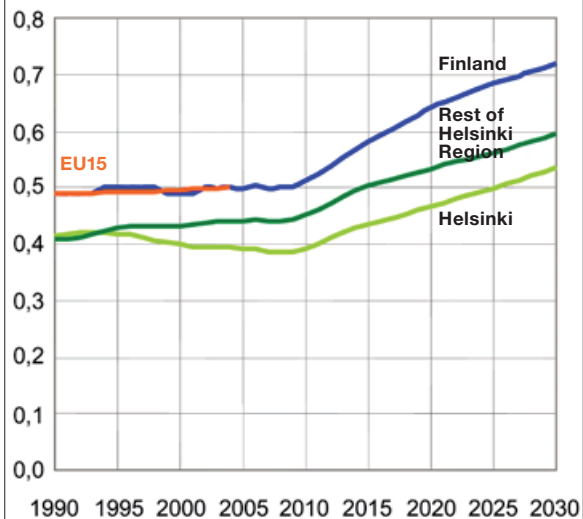
Dependence ratio in Helsinki, rest of Helsinki Region and Finland 1990-2003 and forecast 2004-2030 and EU15 1990-2004

Figure 1

Representing cities

In addition to statistics, cities are represented in media, films, novels, policy documents and brochures of development projects. Also in cases where the representations of cities are not based on facts or scientific research but on beliefs, soft research results, half-truths and slogans they can be influential and legitimate urban policies. Documentary films such as those by Mark Saunders can make people aware of urban problems and motivate action. Douglas Young (University of York) reported that in

9. Data and representations

Canada words such as 'intensification' and 'beauty' are magic words that can legitimate development projects. Maria Kaika asked whether metaphors such as 'green space' are used just in order to legitimate projects.

Literature studies have a role in disarming such representations. John Eade[19] (University of Surrey) asked how London, which is not particularly beautiful but rather ugly and dirty, became attractive to tourists. How had London managed to reproduce a pleasant image? Eade presented London as a city with multiple representations giving it an ambiguous ambiance. He compared London represented in academic writings and in two novels: Simon Blumenfeld's *Jewboy* and Monica Ali's *Brick Lane*. In the first one London is working class and Jewish, the second one tells the story of Nazneen who came to London from Bangladesh for an arranged marriage and who explores the British immigrant experience.

Johan Fornäs's (Linköping University) project City Identities analyses the ways big cities are represented in the media. Media has a role in defining local, national and transnational identifications. The project analyses what is the effect of media narratives and cultural artefacts on people's identity.

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19. Eade J. (ed.) (1996) *Living the Global City: Globalization as a Local Process*. Routledge.

10. Approaches and methods

Comparative research

Comparing cities has been one popular method of research in urban studies, especially since the rise of globalisation studies. Neil Brenner (New York University) explored promises and pitfalls of comparative urban studies. He argued that mainstream comparative urban research has treated cities as discrete, self-enclosed and analytically distinct units. This kind of comparative analysis has developed generalisable causal explanations explaining the similarities and/or differences among the particular cities under investigation.

Recent debates on globalisation and global city formation have generated a renewed interest in comparative urban studies and challenges previous methodologies. Brenner criticised three major 'framings' for comparative urban research that have emerged through debates on globalisation (1) studies of global city formation and global hierarchy; (2) analyses of the degree of convergence among economic, political and spatial structures within globalising cities; (3) typological and/or descriptive accounts of the divergent pathways of urban restructuring under globalising conditions. While these strands of research have generated fruitful insights, Brenner argued that they have also frequently contained one or more significant methodological limitation, including: (1) untenable assumptions regarding the nature of globalisation, its possible empirical manifestations and its potential causal effects; (2) a failure to specify and/or theoreticise the causal mechanisms that putatively link global forces to local outcomes; (3) insufficient consideration of the changing scalar and institutional configurations within which the process of urban development unfolds; and (4) insufficient attention to the constitutively uneven, path-dependent and contextually embedded character of urban socio-spatial change.

In conclusion, Brenner argued that comparative approaches remain more central than ever, but that greater methodological reflexivity and contextual sensitivity will be essential to further the advancement of research on global urbanisation. Drawing upon the work of historical sociologists Tilly and McMichael, as well as upon the radical geographical literature on uneven development (Smith and Massey), Brenner suggested that the development of an incorporated, variation-finding methodology could provide a fruitful basis for confronting these challenges.

Examples of comparative studies are a comparison between North American and European cities and a comparison between European cities. Serena Vicari (University Milan-Bicocca) presented the results of the comparison between 10 North American and European cities (Detroit, Houston, New York, Toronto, Glasgow, Liverpool, Naples, Milan, Marseille and Paris). The comparison shows that cities use different strategies to answer economic restructuring and that some cities succeed better than some others. Cities with a high materialistic culture often give preference to jobs and income in their policies. Some cities, for example Paris, are socially oriented and prefer planning and preservationist policies, whereas market-oriented cities (New York, Detroit, Houston) emphasise uncontrolled development, minimalist planning and strong economic growth. Eicari identified bargaining contexts (*dirigiste*, dependent public, entrepreneurial and dependent private) based on different types of intergovernmental support (mixed or diffuse) and market condition (unfavourable or favourable). This comparison shows that national policies are still important in effecting urban development models. Cities, however, have policy choices and practice different policies[20]. Some important topics for further research are political actors and leadership in urban development, informal political actors and democracy and public sphere and space.

Adrian Favell (University of California, Los Angeles) compared European cities and produced a typology of an ideal-type European city, with Amsterdam as the cultural Eurocity, London as the economic Eurocity and Brussels as the political Eurocity. Amsterdam, building on an historical tradition of religious tolerance is famous for its liberal attitudes making it a magnet for people seeking a refuge from conservatism; and yet the central puzzle remains: foreign Europeans find it an extremely difficult place in which to settle down. There are few immigrants from Europe, although there are many ethnic immigrants from outside Europe. London has developed an extraordinary open labour market for foreigners with a remarkable degree of undocumented immigrants. It has become a magnet for the young from everywhere in Europe who have moved there to learn the global language, and be part of the swinging, libertarian de facto capital of Europe. Brussels is the self-styled official capital of Europe, the political hub of the European Union and NATO, in large part because of its extraordinary location at the historical crossroads of Europe. Brussels is multicultural and multinational. It is favoured by cosmopolitan immigrants, however, rejected by Belgians.

Transactional urbanism

Robert Beauregard[21] (Columbia University) introduced a new approach that he calls 'transactional urbanism'. At the present time scholarly communities transcend national boundaries and even language differences are

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20. Savitch H.V., P. Kantor & S.H. Vicari (2005) Cities in the International Marketplace. The Political Economy of Urban Development in North America and Western Cities.
21. This is a summary of the paper Beauregard presented at the Helsinki Conference.

dissolved by multilingual interpreters and the spread of English as a global means of communication. What a Brazilian urban theorist knows about industrialisation is filtered through understandings of related processes in South Africa and China. Ideas circulate globally and, while not all places and scholars are joined in a seamless web of fluid connections, the flows that do exist make any claim to a uniquely Canadian or Italian urban theory problematic.

At the same time, scholars from different countries are faced with divergent histories, dissimilar state formations, varied social divisions, differently organised and performing economies, and diverse patterns of urbanisation. These factors influence the themes they explore and the theoretical and methodological approaches they adopt.

Beauregard proposed an approach to comparative analysis that focuses on the flows of influences – the flows of ideas and practices – that connect places. No place or place-based activity is likely to have evolved solely as a result of 'local' and internal factors. People, ideas and practices migrate. Michael Peter Smith has termed this 'transnational urbanism'. But, to the extent that comparative analysis is not always cross-national, many times developing comparisons within the same political or cultural spaces, a more inclusive label is required: thus, transactional urbanism.

Beauregard introduced two types of case-oriented comparative analyses: strategic comparisons and discursive comparisons. Strategic comparisons proceed from the juxtaposition of two or more cases and the simultaneous identification of qualities whose presence and/or absence captures the inherent differences among the cases. That is, explanation emerges deductively along pre-selected theoretical dimensions and inferentially through the probing of agreement and disagreement. Examples of strategic comparisons are Saskia Sassen's *The Global City* (1991) which compares and contrasts New York, London and Tokyo in order to identify the core elements of the global, finance-based city; Susan Fainstein, Ian Gordon and Michael Harloe's *Divided Cities* (1992) on London and New York; Janet Abu-Lughod's *New York, Chicago, Los Angeles* (1999); and Thomas Bender and Carl Schorske's edited volume titled *Budapest and New York* (1994).

Strategic comparative analysis has its material roots in the rise of trade between cities, the emergence of empires and nation states and, more recently, globalisation. Trade requires distinctions, not just among commodities but among financial arrangements, storage capacities, trans-shipment possibilities, market potential and transaction costs. Nation states set cities within territorial bounds and mediated the ability of cities to act independently by allocating to them only certain powers. Globalisation differentiates places.

The intent of a discursive comparison would be to explore the 'play of differences' between and among the cases in order to churn up additional layers of signification. No single case would be privileged. The origins of discursive comparisons are in multiculturalism, postcolonialism and identity movements. Globalisation also has contributed through its framing of the emergence of diasporic communities, worldwide telecommunications and cosmopolitan citizenships.

What if we suspended the fixity of case boundaries and focus on the flows of people, ideas and practices across places and the way these flows alter how places and place-based activities develop. The emphasis is on transactions rather than on either the presence or absence of fixed qualities or of innumerable differences.

A transactional urbanism begins with the assumption of the porosity of place boundaries. The expectation is that people, ideas and practices migrate and do so for a variety of reasons: trade, adventure, population pressures, famine, religious prosecution, and fame. To this is added the belief that places and place-based activities grow and change as a result of forces that operate within and across their boundaries, and that the distinction between what is internal and external or what is local or non-local is often blurred. The focus, then, is on the diffusion of ideas and practices. These practices are borrowed and adapted, imitated, rejected, imposed, transformed into various hybridities, and have consequences that range from the minor to the significant. They travel along pathways of power and their influences can reverberate back to the point of origin, thereby transforming ideas and practices in the exporting place.

The idea is to break down the boundaries of cases and to erase any assumption of primacy. The comparison is in the juxtaposition of multiple cases and in the transactions that connect them. Unlike traditional comparisons – and this is most important – the goal is not to theorise each case but to theorise the cases holistically; that is, as a functioning unit.

An example is Michael Peter Smith's work and especially his book *Transnational Urbanism* (2001) where he uses the flows of immigrants to connect places to each other. Another is the writings of Manuel Castells on global flows. Castells writes of cities that are fragmented and then reconstituted in networks of different types; for example, commodity chains, drug cartels, scholarly communities. A third example is Daniel Rodgers' *Atlantic Crossings* (1998) that tells a fascinating story of the flow of innovations in social policy from Western Europe, New Zealand and Britain to the United States in the early 20th century. Municipal incorporation, public franchising, housing reform and city planning in the United States drew upon borrowings from abroad.

Beauregard argued that we need more comparative work and to better understand how places and place-

based activities are interconnected within countries and across national boundaries. This means more than searching for commonalities; it requires that we identify the flows of people, ideas, and practices and explore the consequences of these transactions. Strategic and discursive comparisons have their use, but they should not be the only methods we use for doing comparative work.

11. Challenging the European point of view

Urban studies have been dominated by the Chicago model since the beginning of the 20th century. In recent years this North American model has been challenged by European urban scholars who have turned to European classics such as Weber, Simmel and Durkheim and developed a European approach. One aim of the Helsinki Conference was to look critically the Western approaches, both European and American, and introduce voices from China and Africa and post-socialist Eastern Europe.

China

Tang Wing-Shing[22] (Baptist University, Hong Kong) challenged the applicability of Western concepts in analysing contemporary Chinese cities. One reason for this was that in China, unlike in Europe, the city was never recognised as an independent entity. It was a centre in the nationally organised production network, a node within the networks of government and a site of socialist representation. There were, at best, economic planners working on cities, but not urban professions specialising in their economic, social, spatial, cultural or political problems.

Considerable changes have taken place in Chinese cities since the 1980s. There are more cities, more urban people and people move freely around cities. Life in cities is less controlled by the plan from the centre. Cities have more independent budget power and larger financial resources at their disposal. Cities suddenly found that land is an asset that can be bought and sold. How can we understand these changes? How have Chinese urban studies conceptualised these developments?

Tang argued that Western studies on China have focused on the spatial manifestation of urban reforms. The term 'dual-track urbanisation' has been coined to differentiate some post-reform salient features from the previously state-dominated ones. Some scholars differentiate 'urbanisation from above' and 'urbanisation from below' and give attention to the emergence of small towns.

The problem with this Western approach to China is its focus on emerging patterns rather than processes. Since the launching of urban reform twenty years ago, Western scholars applying concepts developed in the West to China have expected to see decentralisation of power, increasing autonomy, the development of the market and even the development of democracy. Accordingly, buzz concepts such as marketisation, commodification, governance and civil society can be detected in the literature. We are bombarded with the argument that all features and associated problems observed can be attributed to marketisation and commodification. Demolition of old houses in inner cities all over China is seen as an outcome of the rent gap. We are told that individual choices now determine location and life styles.

These studies have failed to recognise that underneath the changes is a more durable continuity. The most prominent aspect is the continual dominance of the state. The Chinese state has increased its control over local authorities via new techniques and technologies. The replacement of the State Development and Planning Commission by the State Development and Reform Commission in 2003 has, in fact, increased control. In Beijing, for example, privately owned houses made up one-third of the total area in 1998. The Land Reform Law of the People's Republic of China in 1950 did not confiscate the rights of these owners, nor did the 1954 or 1975 Constitution. Such a move was not taken until the early 1980s, when urban land was formally taken over by the state, as proclaimed in Article 10 of the 1982 Constitution. The state announced in 2001 that land banks should be established to consolidate the monitoring power of the state. The right of the countryside to develop independently was yielded to the city after implementation of the city/leading-counties regional administrative system in 1982. Many rural counties have been subordinated to the cities.

Contemporary China has to be understood also in terms of what has not changed. The state still grants the autonomy, and relinquishes the formerly approved authority. The Communist party also still has power. Stressing individual choice in land and housing consumption ignores such important features in Chinese cities. Still in the 21st century, public housinging, in one form or other, exist in cities such as Shenzhen. The *danwei's* (work unit) role in urban housing provision actually strengthened in the 1980s and 1990s. Individuals play only a minor role. Housing consumption, which is not merely individual household choice, is also affected by the behaviour of state-owned enterprises and state organisations. More than 80% of the land leased was handled by negotiation between local government and the land user rather than by open land auctions. The state still has a complete monopoly over the primary market. It is bizarre to blindly talk about consumer rights and sovereignty, the pillars of a capitalist market. It is not legal rights, but *wenjian jingshen* (government documents) that count. By emphasising individual choice in the market, Western studies have ignored the fact that the old practices of land and housing consumption still exist.

Some Western-minded scholars claim that urban planners have now a more active role than before. However, the urban planning system has not really changed. The hierarchy of planning has remained basically intact. The state still retains the authority to approve the master plans for most cities.

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22. This is a summary of the paper Tang presented at the Helsinki Conference.

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Beijing

In the case of studies on land and property, the concepts of rent gap, rent-seeking and game theory have been employed. However, the social relations of land and property are different in Chinese cities from those in the West. A site is not necessarily occupied and used by the highest bidder. Important questions are: Why is the capitalised ground rent of a rural land plot set at such a low level that it generates a rent differential, thereby inducing development? Why is the actual ground rent of an urban land plot so low? Using the game theory slides over important questions such as are players in an equal position, and how land resumption compensation is determined.

Drawing on experience from the West, gated communities and migrant enclaves are invoked to depict the spatial distribution of a middle-class neighbourhood and migrant housing. These categories are restricted to the documentation of land rights leaving out important questions concerning the reasons for social inequality and spatial polarisation.

Western studies on China can be criticised because they have emphasised changes at the expense of the continuity, and empirical description at the expense of explanation. The state continues its intervention in the city by controlling the local authorities, land and property, and development. Many Western studies' concepts and theories such as urban governance, rent gap, game theory, gated communities, migrant enclaves and land rights, cannot really come to terms with the difference *cum* continuity in Chinese cities. As a consequence there has not been any substantive progress in the theoretical understanding of the city in post-reform China. Tang recommends paying more attention to four areas: geographies of difference, time and space, justice and spaces of hope.

11. Challenging the European point of view

Africa

Alan Mabin[23] (University of Witwaterstrand) introduced African cities as places which accommodate wealth and poverty, the rich and the poorest and most desperate populations of the world. Africa is becoming an increasingly urban continent and there is a need for new institutions dealing with the changed way of life.

One concept introduced by Mabin to analyse the African city is the concept of the circularity of migration, people moving between cities and rural areas. African cities are not walled and are dependent on their rural surroundings. Cities rely heavily on rural households, production in the countryside and on the trade between villages and cities. Cities are not growing because rural people migrate to cities, but large proportions of populations engage in complex patterns of movement between rural and urban spaces. This explains why, in the 1980s and 1990s, African urban growth has been occurring slowly. For example, in Uganda the political disruption in the 1970s led to a huge out-migration. In the 1980s, as political stability was restored, urban growth picked up again. Another example is Zambia where the urbanisation at first was the fastest in the region but is now stagnant; people have returned to their areas of origin and village life style.

Persistent circular migration affects the use of land. Inhabitants' possibilities of staying on the land on which they live are determined by the complex system of customary, informal and formal practices. A customary practice is the allocation of land by traditional leaders; informal practices are purchase and rental of land without any official registration and taxation; formal practices are activities in which land is secured through registration and taxation. These three practices of land allocation are an important part of economic relations in urban Africa. The management in African cities is often concentrated only on managing negative effects of the dispossession of land. Land is alienated from traditional owners and accumulated in the hands of an emergent elite class.

The African urban environment is divided. An example is Maputo with the distinction between *cidade cimente* (concrete city) and the rest of the city. In the former we can find some forms of 'proper' built environment (even if mixed with informal markets or decayed buildings); the latter lacks any resemblance to urban space as it is known in places such as Hong Kong, New York, Buenos Aires or Berlin. African cities are described as places with fear, places where violence and dispossession rule. The official statistics do not show the real amount of violence and crime, sometimes whole communities and urban economies revolve around fear.

Post-socialist cities

The experiences of post-socialist cities, according to Jiri Musil[24], can provide a lesson for urban theory. Now we can compare the normative concept of the 'socialist city' with the real development in socialist cities and analyse the factors that prevented the realisation of the socialist ideal.

What happened in the 20th century in East European and East Central European cities was indeed a remarkable experiment. Marxism, which was behind the 'real socialism' theory of the city, is a variant of holistic social philosophy stressing the systemic nature of society and cities. Marxist social scientists, politicians and planners tended to see the city as an organism. Their approach was a holistic functional approach. The other important idea guiding the building of socialist cities was aiming at harmonious, non-competing and non-conflictual urban society. Capitalism in the view of Marxists destroyed the harmonious pre-capitalist urban community and the mission of socialism and communism is to re-establish it. It was assumed that after removing the causes of social conflicts; that is of private property and capitalism, the new harmonious society would emerge. Today we question the idea of the city as an integrated unit and know that even pre-industrial cities were much less harmonious than Marxists thought.

The reality that emerged after the revolution was not the 'new society' and of 'new good city' dreamt of by political and social philosophers. Universal justice was undermined by social and political processes. Marxist-Leninist socialism did not create the rule of the proletariat but – as prophesised by Max Weber – bureaucracy and elitism. The socialist society, after removing the socio-economic inequalities linked to capitalism, remained rather unequal and not as harmonious as was represented by its advocates.

In 1953 Maurice Frank Parkins published a book based on a thorough study of official documents and statements by leading Soviet architects and town planners. He concluded that Soviet architects and town planners agreed on 10 principles:
1. Limiting population size and growth of cities.
2. Planning construction project and services.
3. Eliminating the differences between the city and the village.
4. Individual projects as completely planned.
5. Super-blocks as basic planning units.
6. A programme for community services.
7. An individual approach to each city.
8. The regard for national tradition in architecture and city planning, with stress on 'socialist realism' in architecture.

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23. This is a summary of the talk Mabin gave at the Helsinki Conference.

24. This is a summary of the paper Musil presented at the Helsinki Conference.

9. The city as a 'living organism'.
10. Priority for housing and the use of standard designs for residential projects.

If we now compare these principles with the reality of socialist cities we see that only some of them were applied successfully. There were other forces shaping socialist cities, not only the visions of socialist planners. Thus we can now characterise the development of cities in the socialist era by the expression: 'from social utopianism to economic realism'. Cities were regulated and manipulated from above by political, economic and cultural elites; however, at the same time spontaneous and unplanned social processes (migration, family life, uses of time, life style preferences etc.) shaped the so called 'planned' cities.

In former Czechoslovakia one can distinguish three generations of urbanisation strategies. The first one was a socialist version of Christallers' central place theory. The second was a more realistic modification of the first one. In the third phase a socialist version of the growth pole theory was added to the central place theory. There was concentration of activities and population in the main urban agglomerations, and a shift from providing services to a policy focusing on economic growth and production.

The failure of socialist management and planning of cities was due to two reasons: (1) a utopian way of thinking; and (2) a simple and technocratic interpretation of the functioning of cities. Utopian blue-prints were behind the static perspective of socialist urban scholars. Architects and technocrats dominated the field and they did not see cities as processes and did not understand the pluralistic nature of cities.

Analysing the transition

Victoria Szirmai[25] discussed urban research done in Hungary. From the beginning of transition, the importance of urban areas increased because of the intensification of international relations, European integration, globalisation and socio-political transformations. There were several crises in urban areas after the collapse of socialism. At the beginning there were no public debates concerning these crisis and contradictions. The experts on regional development, political representatives and local governments emphasised the economic importance of cities. They did not speak about social problems such as poverty and social exclusion. The research was focused on urban economics and less on the social problems in urban areas.

In the first part of the 1990s, researchers became interested in the transition processes in urban areas. They analysed the post-socialist change, evaluated the consequences of the collapse of the centralised political and social system and studied the formation of market economy and the new urban society with the possibilities of re-integration into Western Europe. Privatisation of urban land and housing stock and the evolution of a real estate market were important research topics. Other important research topics were the changing urban governance, the re-centralising efforts of the state, local economy, effects of investments and transnational companies, transformation of traditional industries, increased number of cities, changing urban hierarchies, and environmental conflicts.

From the second part of the 1990s urban social problems came into focus. The negative consequences of transformation had become visible, for example accelerated sub-urbanisation, environmental problems and growing poverty. At the beginning of the transition, architects and urban planners tended to accept the effects of globalisation without criticism, today many criticise the effects of globalisation. Competition between cities is studied by paying attention to social problems in cities. The ethnic segregation of Budapest has been an important research topic

Eastern drama

Göran Therborn's project Capital and Nations: Eastern Europe in the 20th Century[26] compares capital cities, seeking to answer the following questions: What roles do capital cities play in the life of nations? Why do these roles differ among nations? What are the consequences of such differences? Capital cities have two roles, one focusing on political representation and iconography (how do capital cities manifest political power), and the second on the location of the capital in the spatial patterns of the national culture and of the international location of the nation's culture. Capital cities are special cities, as centres and as representations of nations. They are sites of national power and focal points of national identity. The 20th century has been dramatic in the history of Eastern European capital cities. The project analyses this history as ethnic, political and symbolic dramas.

The East-Central strip of Europe, between Scandinavia, Germany and Italy in the west and Russia in the east, from Helsinki to Ottoman Istanbul was the multicultural, multi-ethnic part of the continent. There were histori-

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25. This is a summary of the paper Szirmai presented at the Helsinki Conference.

26. This is a summary of the project outline. The first publication from the project is G. Therborn, 'Monumental Europe: The National Years. On the Iconography of European Capital Cities', *Housing, Theory and Society* 2002 (19):26-47, dealing with the rise of national capitals in Europe, from Paris of the Revolution till late 19th century Budapest.

cally largely lands of religious tolerance with several coexisting ethnic groups and languages, ruled over by distant and more often than not rather insouciant princes. This pre-modern social and political pattern, based on heavy peasant exploitation, was challenged in the l9th century by the rise of nationalism, and by a new urban industrial economy attracting an enormous number of rural migrants. Out of 15 current capitals of the region, from Sofia to Helsinki from Prague to Kiev, 150 years ago only three, Ljubljana, Warsaw and Zagreb, had an ethno-cultural majority of the current nation (When this study was done, data for Belgrade, Skopje and Tirana were not available). Helsinki was Swedish-speaking, Sofia was Muslim and Jewish more than Bulgarian, and Bucharest was largely Greek. Many, from Tallinn (Reval) to Buda, were mainly German. Pressburg/Pozsony, today´s Bratislava was German and Hungarian, and Vilna was above all Jewish.

Industrial immigration and democratic nationalism had changed the ethnic composition in nine of the future capitals before World War I. The rest got their national ethnic character only through the world wars and the ethnic cleansings during or immediately after them. Early modern Vilna was killed off in the Holocaust, and Warsaw was physically destroyed. Today, bi-cultural Riga is the only really non-monocultural capital of the area, and not a very happy one. (Helsinki still has a small Swedish-speaking minority culture of some significance.) Very recent immigration has added some new ethno-cultural diversity, for example to Athens.

The 19th and the 20th centuries saw the carving up of Eastern European empires into nation states, each with their new national capital. Athens, Belgrade, Bucharest, Budapest and Sofia, in the 19th century, Tirana just before World War I, and Helsinki, Tallinn, Kaunas (instead of Polish-occupied Vilnius), Warsaw and Prague just after. Then a new wave arose after 1989: Minsk, Kiev, Bratislava, Ljubljana, Zagreb, Sarajevo, Skopje, Chisinau. Well before independence, ethnic migration and constitutional changes had led to new city governments. Prague got a Czech majority government in the 1860s, Tallinn an Estonian government by the end of the 19th century. In 1873 Hungarian Pest and largely German Buda and Obuda became (mainly) Hungarian Budapest.

The region was a major battlefield in both world wars. Many capitals changed hands during World War I due to German-Austrian offensives: the Baltic capitals, Warsaw, Belgrade and Bucharest. The Russian Revolution of 1917 had strong reverberations in the area: there was a Red-White civil war in Finland, with German troops coming to the recapturing of White Helsinki; the Russo-Polish war stopped just outside Warsaw; there was a short-lived Soviet Republic in Budapest in 1919. Polish troops occupied Wilna/Vilnius, keeping the city until World War II. The wave of late wartime radicalism was everywhere defeated – except in Russia, the Ukraine and Belarus – and succeeded by a general suppression of the left, save in Czechoslovakia. The authoritarian rightwing regimes tended to be ruralistic. The Hungarian Horthy regime was particularly hostile to its capital city, for being radical, cosmopolitan and Jewish.

During World War II, the whole area was either under Nazi German occupation or influence. It was the major theatre of the Holocaust from which only the Jews of Finland and Bulgaria escaped. The killing of the Jews transformed the whole regional city culture, in which the Jewish intelligentsia and the Jewish bourgeoisie had played a very important role. Vilnius was completely changed demographically and culturally. Physical war damage differed widely, extensive in Budapest and Belgrade, total in Warsaw, limited in most of the other capitals. But the area experienced many cases of what the German historian Karl Schlögel has called 'urbicide', of almost total physical destruction, and annihilation or expulsion of its population. After the war, the German minorities were driven out and the region became Communist, south of the Gulf of Finland. The Baltic republics were incorporated into the Soviet Union, as they had been in l940. An armed uprising against Communism took place in Budapest in l956, and in the face of Czechoslovak dissent, Prague and Bratislava was secured by Soviet troops in l968.

Then in l989 the Communist regimes collapsed, and with the break-up of the USSR the Baltic republics became independent again. Mass demonstrations played a key role in the political change, but there was no lethal violence, except for some in Bucharest and in Riga. The break-up of Yugoslavia, however, led to war, and hit Sarajevo horribly. Belgrade was bombed by NATO in 1999.

The return to capitalism and the opening to the West led to dramatic social change, of a contradictory character. There was massive impoverishment in the l990s, and the health situation of the population deteriorated in the countries of the former Soviet Union. But the process also had many winners, and the capital cities, taken as a whole, were among them. Prague was turned into a major international tourist destination. Foreign investment flowed primarily into the capitals. Sometimes the spatial economic differentiation has become dramatic. Bratislava's GDP per capita is almost three times that of the eastern regions of the country. Shops, restaurants, cafés, banks and private cars have changed the urban scene and that of the capitals in particular. Metropolitan life has been vitalised. At least in several places, the post-Communist period has also seen a rise of ambitious and influential city mayors.

Suburbanisation has spread, and American-type segregated, guarded and gated communities of the privileged have sprung up, at least from Tallinn to Budapest,

possibly also further south. Socio-economic inequality has risen everywhere, including urban inequality. Policies of restoring urban real estate to the heirs of former private owners have created special patterns and problems.

There is also a political differentiation, which we have not studied systematically yet, with the capitals leaning much more to the liberal right than the provinces. The national capitals are the main entrance of international culture. To Hungarians, Poles and Romanians, polled in 2003 by Elemér Hankiss and his team, Paris is the world centre of culture, fashion, life style, and new ideas.

The political and social changes have also expressed themselves in symbolic dramas. The main street of Vilnius, today Gedimino prospektas, named after 14th century Lithuanian Grand Duke Gediminas, has been Russian Katedralnaya, Polish Mickiewicz, Nazi Adolf Hitler, Soviet Stalin, and Soviet Lenin.

The 19th century rise of nationalism manifested itself in the cityscape in the last decades of dynastic rule. Budapest expressed itself with aristocratic grandeur as the royal capital of the Imperial and Royal Double Monarchy. A new central avenue of Pest, Andrássy, led to a Millennium Monument (in 1932 renamed Heroes' Square), accompanied by the continent´s first underground transport system (metro). An enormous Gothic parliament was erected on the Danube, competing with the Habsburg castle on the Buda hill, a castle which was also extended. The last Habsburg rulers had to accommodate national monuments to and commemorations of rebels and heretics, for example Kossuth and Petöfi in Budapest, and Jan Hus and the Husite general Ziska in Prague, the Hus monument on the main square of the Old Town, and Ziska high up on the Vitkov hill. New ethno-national theatres were important national manifestations in multi-ethnic cities.

The search for new, national architectural styles began in the second half of the l9th century. It was perhaps most expressive in Budapest, with the Orientalist buildings of Ödön Lechner. The new bourgeoisies of the early 20th century sponsored Art Nouveau – in Austria-Hungary usually known as Secession – architecture, most impressively in Riga and Prague. From the eve of World War I, Prague also became a site of avant-garde Cubist architecture.

The fall of the dynastic empires called for symbolic destructions and celebrations. After 1878 most of the Ottoman mosques of Sofia were de-sanctified, the Big Mosque became a hospital. Habsburg monuments and names of streets, stations and buildings were banned in Czechoslovakia. In Old Town Prague the Counter-Reformation Maria Column was torn down, and in Bratislava the statue of the 18th century empress Maria Teresa was blown up. But in Budapest the victory of the counter-revolution put a recast statue of Emperor Franz Joseph back on Heroes' Square. In Zagreb, now part

of Yugoslavia, the main Franz Joseph Square became Tomislav square, named after a medieval Croatian king. In Warsaw the huge Russian Alexander Nevsky cathedral was blown up, and the statue of the Russian general who crushed the 1830 uprising was removed.

New national parliament and ministerial buildings were put up in the region, and monuments of freedom and independence erected. Most ambitious and memorable of the latter is probably the Freedom Monument in central Riga. The Lithuanians had to build a new capital, Kaunas, after the Polish occupation of Vilnius in 1920. The city of Pressburg/Prespurk/Pozsony got a new name in 1919, decided by the Prague government while the city´s national destiny at the peace conference of Trianon was still undecided. Falling back on an ancient medieval reference, the city was renamed Bratislava and proclaimed capital of Czechoslovak Slovakia. (I am here indebted to Silvia Miháliková.)

The arrival of Communism after World War II brought a new symbolic turn. In its Stalinist form it meant two things. In style there was a rupture of the historical link between aesthetic modernism and the political left. This meant, first of all, a commitment to urban restoration. The reconstruction of Warsaw, including its noble and royal palaces, was the most remarkable example, but repeated on a minor scale all over Communist Europe. So-called 'socialist realism' included a renewed search for national forms, which meant Renaissance in Poland, early 19th century Classicism in Hungary, and Byzantine traditions in Romania and Bulgaria (Anders Åman).

Second, the Communists introduced their own iconography and nomenclature. Red Army memorials, of large, elaborate lay-out, were usually the first to be erected – sometimes begun before the war had ended. These were followed, after careful deliberation and planning by statues of Stalin and Lenin, and later by images of domestic leaders and heroes. The importance of where and how to portray Stalin led in Warsaw to a delay until Soviet de-Stalinisation made the whole project obsolete, and to the embarrassing giant monument on the Letna hill above Prague finished in 1955, dynamited by the authorities in 1961. Stalin and Lenin avenues and squares abounded, whereas Marx and Engels, save in Belgrade and East Berlin, were accorded a minor role in the iconography and the nomenlature. Andrássy Avenue in Budapest was renamed after Stalin, later to become the Avenue of the People's Republic. Pre-1917 monumentality and mainstream national monuments, for example that to the Unknown Soldier in Warsaw, were usually respected and even restored. Jan Hus was incorporated into the Communist canon. But the Habsburgs were now removed from Heroes' Square – replaced by popular historical heroes – and from the street register of Budapest, together with the *revanchiste* monuments of the Horthy regime. The statue of Tsar Alexander was

kept in Sofia, as he has been on the Senate Square of independent Helsinki.

New monumental buildings were very unevenly distributed. Communist Party headquarters, built anew in the modernist style after the period of socialist realism, were large and centrally located, but laid no claim to particular attention. Existing buildings were used by the governments. The main exceptions were in the Balkans. Sofia got a new city centre – the old had been destroyed in an air raid – with a new towered Communist Party headquarters with a red star on top and new ministerial buildings around Lenin Square. In Bucharest, there was first the palatial Casa Scinteii, built in 1950-1956 for the party newspaper *Scinteia*, and then the colossal House of the People of the 1980s, at the end of the Boulevard of the Victory of Socialism. By comparison, the Soviet-donated Palace of Culture, dominating the Communist cityscape of Warsaw, appears rather modest.

Then came the fall of Communism, with its symbolic consequences. Marx, Engels, Lenin and local Communist figures disappeared as did a commemoration of Republican Spain and the International Antifascist Brigade from Budapest. The Dimitrov mausoleum in Sofia was dynamited, with great effort. The Red Army memorials have mostly not been touched. The Bulgarian Central Committee building became the Presidency of the new republic, whereas the Polish Communist Party building became a finance centre. Monuments to the victims of the Communist regimes have been put up in most capitals: several in Warsaw, Riga and Budapest, one in Prague, but none in Bratislava, which has seen little change of its iconography (the statue of Communist leader Gottwald has been removed, though). The Hungarian government (then of Viktor Orban and the liberal right) has also instituted a virulent anti-Communist museum, The House of Terror, and Riga has a Museum of the Occupation. But in Prague the equivalent is a tiny, ill-kept private museum owned by an American.

Pre-Communist nationalists have returned, even without democratic credentials. Bratislava has its Hlinka Square, Warsaw its Pilsudski Square with a statue of the marshal. Warsaw is celebrating Polish military glory in several ways – a tradition resurrected already by post-Stalinist Communism, in the sword-wielding Warsaw Nike of 1964, most strikingly perhaps in an obelisk paying homage to 'A Millennium of the Polish Cavalry', with inscriptions of battles from the early Middle Ages to World War II. Post-Communist Moscow has also stepped up the monumentalisation of the Great Patriotic War (aka WWII), while Riga is now paying great monumental homage to the Latvian War of Independence (in 1919). This kind of martiality is, of course, absent from the urban heirs of the Good Soldier Sveik, and also of the modest glories of the modern Hungarian army, and Riga's example appears less attractive in Tallinn and Vilnius.

Another kind of post-Communist monumentality is the new global moment of urban imagery, provided by (international) bank and insurance palaces and trade centres, mainly routine modernist skyscrapers. Standing out, in a positive sense, is Frank Gehry's twisted tower for a Dutch insurance company in Prague. Riga has embarked upon an ambitious riverside development. Moscow, and to some extent East Central European capitals such as Budapest, Prague and Warsaw, are competing for 'global city' status. At the same time, historical city centres have become major assets in the international competition for tourist revenue, and are therefore being refurbished as well as preserved.

12. Interdisciplinary urban science

One aim of the Urban Science Workshop Series was to call scientists from different disciplines and various committees of ESF to discuss urban issues and build bridges between various approaches. The term 'urban science' was chosen for the workshop series to underline the scientific nature of urban science with its own theories, concepts and traditions and taking a distance from common sense understanding of cities.

Communication across boundaries between disciplines was the great challenge of the series. In the workshops a common language was learnt and an attempt was made to increase understanding between scientists, administrators, practitioners, politicians and activists. This was not always easy. There were three types of problems. The first problem was that humanists, natural scientists, social scientists, architects, activists and politicians could not agree on which are the most important urban questions. Also in different countries and cities the most important urban problems are different. The second problem was that scientists from different disciplines did not use the same vocabulary and would give different meanings to the same words. Some attempts were made to re-define concepts; however, there is still much that need to be done to develop a common vocabulary. The third problem concerns the prescriptive nature of urban science and the demands for applicability. Scientists are usually trained to be value neutral; however, urban studies tend to be normative and in town planning visions of 'good' cities have always been important.

The Manchester workshop focused particularly on the topic of interdisciplinary research. Robert Evans (Cardiff School of Social Sciences) and Simon Marvin (Sustainable Urban and Regional Futures) asked is interdisciplinary research possible? They evaluated research programmes launched in the UK by the Engineering and Physical Sciences Research Council (EPSRC), the Natural Environment Research Council (NERC) and the Economic and Social Research Council (ESRC): Civilised City and Red Bus Report in the early 1990s, Sustainable Cities programmes in the mid-1990s, and Cities and Competitiveness and URGENT programmes at the end of 1990s. Their conclusion was that failure of nerve and funding prevents a radical interdisciplinary approach to urban research. The city remains disciplined by different research frameworks, which construct it in different ways. Thus EPSRC sees the 'sustainable city' mainly in terms of technological systems; NERC sees it in terms of the flows and stocks of natural resources; ESRC sees it as a distinctive form of social organisation. To the extent that interdisciplinary research occurred, then it was within research councils not between research councils. Breaking down barriers between disciplines is difficult, the results are unpredictable and unfortunately often such exercise is not rewarded in terms of career.

Manchester

Urban ecology

Urban ecology is one example of an interdisciplinary field of study. Urban political ecology, according to Aidan While (University of Manchester), attempts to understand the complex socio-ecological processes and exchanges that sustain cities. It is based on a long tradition of viewing landscapes and settlements as the result of historical processes of human-nature interaction, and is rooted in both political economy and cultural studies, with the aim of developing a better understanding of the dynamic ways in which, on the one hand, political and economic power can shape ecological futures and, on the other, how ecologies can shape political and economic possibilities in cities.

Urban political ecology questions the dualistic thinking that has isolated physical and social phenomena. As Roger Keil writes: 'One of the main insights shared by most authors in urban political ecology is that the natural and symbolic, the natural and the cultural, the pristine

and the urban are not dual and separate realities but wider intertwined and inseparable aspects of the world we inhabit'[27]. Urban political ecology calls for new ways of thinking about cities as socio-ecological hybrids. It regards the 'urban' as a complex, multiscale and multi-dimensional set of processes and builds on notions such as *urban metabolism* and *ecological footprints*.

Examples of research problems calling for both natural and social sciences explanations are climate change introduced by Ingemar Elander (Örebro University) and architecture, discussed by Maria Kaika, not just produced by a single person's imagination, no matter whether he is Haussmann or Moses. Jürgen Breuste introduced a view of urban ecology which combines human ecology (Chicago school) and urban landscape ecology (Sukopp). European urban landscapes are not wild but used by people. They are anthropogenic landscapes. The following text by Jürgen Breuste introduces some useful concepts in studying landscapes.

Urban structure types and soil sealing

The landscape can be seen as a continuum of structures and as a process that is changing constantly. Factors producing various landscape patterns can be identified and different landscapes can be compared. Agrarian landscapes, high mountain landscapes, post-mining and industrial landscapes can be investigated, evaluated, planned and managed. In recent years an attempt to improve the environmental condition in cities and to protect nature in cities has led to an interest in urban landscape.

The deterioration of the landscape became a serious problem in the 1970s in Central European cities. Politicians and planners were requested to do something and spatial planning was introduced to improve environmental management in cities. Spatial planning requires a comprehensive survey of the urban landscape, the city and its surrounding countryside. Such surveys include spatial analyses of surface covering, using mapping and GIS, and detailed investigations of the condition and interrelationships of the individual elements of the urban ecosystem (for example plant societies, climate conditions, soils etc.). Germany, and later also other European countries, carried out ecological investigations and applied the results in spatial planning. The Sukopp School in (West) Berlin initiated urban ecological research in the 1970s, and in the 1980s other German cities applied and further developed this research. Spatial models were developed to improve spatial environmental management. These spatial models search for a balance between different environmental conditions (soil,

water regime, climate, vegetation etc.). Because the data of ecological conditions cannot be collected from the whole city, example investigations and 'ecological landscape types' are usually used in urban environmental management. Typical combinations of the soil, vegetation and climate conditions can be determined and represented by spatial (landscape or ecological) type.

The landscape models used in the management of cities should offer a spatial overview, be based on fast and cost-efficient collection of the data, illustrate interrelations between environmental elements, be linked to other spatial planning instruments, fit into the hierarchy system of spatial planning, be compatible with land use structures and provide assessment methods.

Whereas in the 1970s agrarian and forest landscapes were important objects in landscape planning, today urban landscape has become more important. A new discipline, urban ecology, was developed to investigate the ecological conditions of urban landscapes and apply this new knowledge in planning[28].

Urban landscapes are understood as consisting of urban settlements and their surroundings, urban and peri/sub-urban or metropolitan landscapes. Urban landscapes occupy more and more space and an increasing number of people are becoming urban dwellers. Even in Europe where this process is not very fast, urban landscapes today cover a great amount of former agricultural and forest landscapes in the surroundings of cities and towns. We do not find urban landscapes only inside administrative borders of towns and cities, but they include about a 10 or more kilometre-wide zone surrounding cities or towns – the peri-urban zone[29].

Figure 2 shows the distribution of urban landscapes in Germany where the daily total growth rate of urban land use forms (settlements and traffic areas) is very high at 70.4 ha per day.

Urban landscapes consist of a mixture of land use forms: residential, industrial and cultivated areas such as agricultural and forest landscapes. The comparison between different landscapes is not easy because their density and land use mixture are different[30]. Property owners and developers influence land use in their attempt to make urban landscapes economic and effective[31].

27. Keil, R. (2003) Urban political ecology. *Urban Geography* 24, 723-738.

28. Breuste, J. 2001: Nutzung als Untersuchungsgegenstand und Raumbezug der Stadtökologie. Natur und Landschaft 33, vol. 2/3, pp. 95-100.

29. Breuste, J. 1996. Landschaftsschutz – ein Leitbild in urbanen Landschaften. In: Bork, H.-R., G. Heinritz, R. Wießner (eds.). 50. Deutscher Geographentag Potsdam 1995, 1, pp. 134-143.

30. Breuste, J. 1995. Die Stadtlandschaft – Wandel und Perspektive einer Kulturlandschaft. In: Bayerische Akademie für Naturschutz und Landschaftspflege ANL) (ed.). *Laufener Seminarbeiträge 4/95* (= Vision Landschaft 2020: Von der historischen Kulturlandschaft zur Landschaft von morgen), pp. 63-74.

31. Sieverts, T. 1998a. Die Stadt in der Zweiten Moderne, eine europäische Perspektive. Informationen zur Raumentwicklung 7/8, pp. 455-473. Sieverts, T. 1998b. *Zwischenstadt: zwischen Ort und Welt, Raum und Zeit, Stadt und Land.* 2. ed. Braunschweig/Wiesbaden.
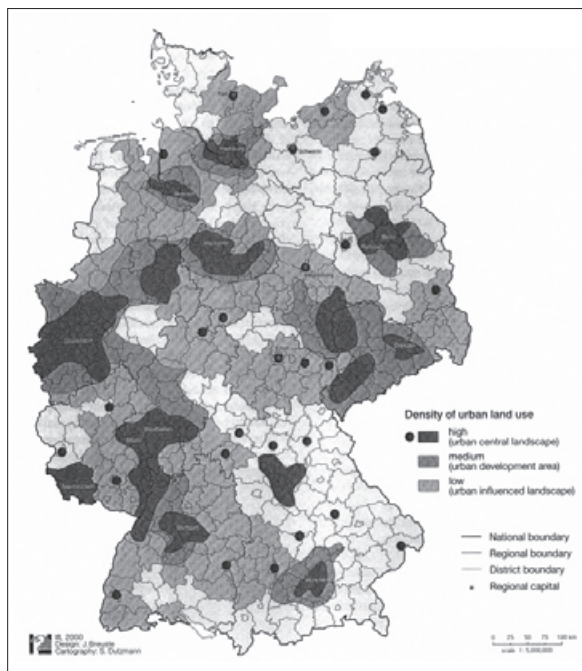
12. Interdisciplinary urban science

Figure 2. Urban landscapes in Germany *

Urban structure types is a methodology in urban ecological research and management. They are areas with homogenous physiognomic development, with distinguishable characteristics as to built-up structures and open spaces (vegetation and soil sealing). They are to a large extent homogeneous concerning density and share of the built-up areas and open spaces (soil sealing areas, vegetation types and urban forest). Ecological characteristics can be described using the land use form and the structural characteristic. Spaces with similar structural features and land use form have comparable habitats or household functions. Urban structural types describe the habitat and vegetation structure, the climate conditions, the soil, the soil sealing intensity or the ground-water renewal. Urban structure types characterise spaces with similar environmental conditions. Dominant types are residential estates and areas of mixed use, industry and commercial areas, areas of specific use, traffic areas, leisure and recreation areas, agricultural areas, forest areas, water tables, derelict land and filling grounds, quarries and disposal sites[32].

*Breuste, J. 2002. Urban Ecology. In: Bastian, O., U. Steinhardt (eds.).
Development and Perspectives of Landscape Ecology.
Kluwer Academic Publishers, Dordrecht. pp. 405-414.

32. Wickop, E. 1997. Environmental quality targets for urban structural units in Leipzig with a view to sustainable urban development. In: Breuste, J., H. Feldmann, O. Uhlmann (Eds.): *Urban Ecology*. Leipzig. pp. 49-54.

Examples of sub-types of residential estates in Leipzig/Germany (by using built-up and open space/vegetation structures) are:
1. City centres
2. Detached kerb-close apartment buildings with built-up courtyards (1870-WW I)
3. Terraced kerb-close apartment buildings with built-up courtyards (1870-WW I)
4. Detached kerb-close apartment buildings with open courtyards (1900-WW II)
5. Terraced kerb-close apartment buildings with open courtyards (1900-WW II)
6. Free standing blocks of flats in rows (since WW I)
7. Large new prefabricated housing estates (since 1960)
8. Detached and semi-detached houses
9. Villas
10. Former village centres.

Characteristics of urban structure types are connected to the utilisation and intensity of land use, soil sealing degree, age of land use and spatial position (isolation, neighbourhood of other uses) (Landesanstalt für Ökologie etc. 1989, p. 13). The utilisation form (economic function of the land) alone is not a sufficient indicator for ecological characterisation (Arbeitsgruppe Biotopkartierung im besiedelten Bereich 1993).

Function-oriented land use types (maps, listings etc.) are used in planning. Indicators are also used to characterise various urban structure types. The data to characterise the vegetation in ecological urban spatial patterns, in particular biotope mapping, are often ambiguous. The term 'vegetation structure' is used to refer to the areas with vegetation cover with different utilisation and maintenance.

The following terms have been used to characterise vegetation structures: 'decorative green, open and/or garden areas, garden properties, green areas, larger jointly used green areas, accompanied green, intensively managed lawns' (Arbeitsgruppe Biotopkartierung im besiedelten Bereich 1993). The definition of utilisation types and building structures includes scientific analysis of urban structure types and the instruments of urban planning (such as master plan, zoning plan and site/property planning). Therefore they can easily be used in administrative, political and legal action. Urban structure types are today broadly used in modern environmental documentation and monitoring of cities, in environmental management and in urban ecological analysis. They provide a crucial means to monitor the environmental development in cities using aerial photographs or satellite images, computers and maps and data[33]. The cities of

33. Breuste, J., T. Keidel, G. Meinel, B. Münchow, M. Netzband, M. Schramm (1996): Erfassung und Bewertung des Versiegelungsgrades befestigter Flächen. Leipzig (=UFZ-Bericht 12/1996).

Munich[34], Berlin (Stadt Berlin 1996), Leipzig[35] and Halle have successfully used urban structure types in their environmental planning.

Soil sealing is the process of removing the vegetation covering the soils and sealing the soil with impermeable materials (bitumen, concrete, stone pavements etc.). The purpose of soil sealing is to use these areas as building grounds or as sidewalks, streets and roads. Urban growth increases soil sealing. Soil sealing is both an indicator of de-naturalisation in cities (vegetation, soil) and of anthropogenic changes of natural processes (climate, water regime, species diversity etc.). Soil sealing is also connected to ecological functions. Some authors understand soil sealing to mean the covering of surfaces with 'impermeable substances' that prevent exchange between soil and near-surface air layer. Some others include in soil sealing only such soil surfaces that exceed certain values of the run-off and the evapo-transpiration rates[36].

The concept of soil sealing was introduced in empirical landscape-ecological mapping (for example biotope mapping) and understood first as referring only to the 'remaining' surfaces of the vegetation structures without vegetation cover. 'Vegetation-hostile' surfaces were called 'soil sealing' surfaces. Studies showed that different types of surfaces had different types of influence on the urban ecological system; this suggests that the term 'soil sealing' is still too broad. This applies also to biology which only seldom uses the term 'vegetation cover'.

The use of the term 'soil sealing' is useful in order to differentiate 'surface-friendly[37] vegetation cover'[38] and 'vegetation-hostile' soil surfaces. The increase in the use of vegetation-hostile soil surfaces means de-naturalisation of cities. Therefore the degree of sealed soils in the spatial unit plays an important role in urban ecological management. Sealed soils are called metahemerobic areas[39]. This kind of use of the term 'soil sealing' has some problems: soil sealing is not the only process responsible for de-naturalisation. Soil sealing alone cannot explain the intensity of the anthropogenic influence on the urban ecosystem. Sealed soils do not

include areas changed because of continuous driving over and trampling. Soil sealing does not recognise all changes in soils and water. Sealed soils are not in general life-hostile. Incompletely sealed open spaces (for example. stone layers as pavements) can produce some herb coverage within 1 to 2 years after end of use.

If we want to analyse anthropogenic influences, indicators to characterise various kinds of influence can be developed. Important questions to be studied are the following:

1. the influence of continuous trampling and driving on vegetation cover (monitoring and evaluation of the real use of the surfaces);
2. the influence of the infiltration of precipitation water into the ground (monitoring and evaluation of the different infiltration promotion by soil sealing textures and soil conditions);
3. the influence of surface run-off (monitoring of the different run-off promoting surface textures, soil conditions and angle of inclination of surfaces);
4. the influence of evapo-transpiration (evaluation of evaporation promoting surface characteristics, for example thermal conductivity, thermal capacity etc., and of the degree of radiation benefit to the surfaces); and
5. the influence of the temperature characteristics of locations (analysis and evaluation of thermal factors such as radiation benefit, material characteristics, anthropogenic thermal supply etc.).

In addition to the general loss of vegetation the risks of soil sealing are connected to the effects on the urban water system. Soil sealing affects storm-water run-off and the ground-water table. A general goal of the ecological urban development must be to increase infiltration and reduce the storm-water run-off. Different kinds of soil sealing (pavement types) have a different infiltration capacity.

Investigations of infiltration capacity of differently sealing types show that usual classifications using physiognomic characteristics such as gaps between the pavement elements are not sufficient to show hydrological features. Vegetation density of the gaps, material enrichment (indicator of 'ageing'), intensity, duration and frequency of the precipitation are also relevant. Different soil sealing types and their characteristics can be summarised in soil sealing catalogues which describe infiltration capacity, run-off and evaporation under different conditions. These categories can be used to improve urban environmental management[40]. Reduction of the degree of sealed soils, improvement of their water permeability

34. Duhme, F., S. Pauleit 1992. Naturschutzprogramm für München: Landschaftsökologisches Rahmenkonzept. Geographische Rundschau 44, vol. 10, pp. 554-561. Duhme, F., Pauleit, S. 1994. Strukturtypenkartierung als Instrument der räumlich-integrativen Analyse und Bewertung der Umweltbedingungen in München. part 2: Erprobung der Strukturtypenkartierung in einem Testgebiet. Freising.
35. Kabisch, S., Kindler, A. Rink, D. 1997. *Sozialatlas der Stadt Leipzig.* 1997. Leipzig.
36. Pietsch, J., H. Kamith 1991. *Stadtböden. Entwicklungen, Belastungen, Bewertung und Planung.* Taunusstein.
37. Schulz, A. 1982. Der KÖH-Wert, Modell einer komplexen, planungsrelevanten Zustandserfassung. Inform. z. Raumentwicklung, pp. 847-863.
38. Reidl, K. 1992. Flora und Vegetation als Grundlage für den Naturschutz in der Stadt. Teil 1: Methodik und Ergebnisse der Kartierung am Beispiel Essen. *Naturschutz und Landschaftsplanung 4*, pp. 136-141.
39. Bornkamm, R. 1980. Hemerobie und Landschaftsplanung. *Landschaft und Stadt* 12, Vol. 2, pp. 49-55.

40. Münchow, B, M. Schramm 1997. Permeable pavements – an appropriate method to reduce stormwater flow in urban sewer systems? In: Breuste, J., H. Feldmann, O. Uhlmann (Eds.): *Urban Ecology.* Leipzig. pp. 183-186.

and spreading the infiltration are important in improving urban environmental management. Also an improvement of the monitoring methodology (remote sensing, GIS) and spatial evaluation (experimental research and determination of sealing characteristics for different functions) is needed.

Studies show that those landscape elements can be protected which are valued and re-used. New uses are important for linking the past with the present. Historical elements of the landscape are important for the identity of citizens; however, people's appreciation of buildings and landscapes can be influenced through increasing information and education. Competition between land uses affects the making of new landscapes: Urban planning, at its best, can negotiate between various interests.

Landscape is also changing without any intention to change it. Therefore it is important that landowners, developers, decision makers, planners and inhabitants take a shared responsibility in steering the shaping of the landscape. In a process of negotiating between competing interests, a consensus and a feeling of shared values is important. With clear targets and distribution of responsibilities, planning can help preserve the past and build the future landscape while respecting cultural and ecological heritage.

13. Recommendations and the way forward

The aims of this Urban Science Workshop Series were to promote interdisciplinary research, suggest research topics and explore urban research methods; to be applicable to cities in solving their urban problems and useful for the scientific community in drawing up urban research programmes. In the workshops and the final conference several research topics, approaches and methods were suggested.

Research topics

The Urban Science Workshop Series began with a long list of research topics suggested by ESF Member Organisations. Workshops increased the amount of research topics. Social cohesion, mixed neighbourhoods, exit strategies of the middle classes and suburbanisation were regarded as important research topics, as well as urban health, change from the bacteriological city to antibiotic city, from a collective view of public health to privatised view of public health. Research topics such as collective identities, symbolism, culture and urban tourism were suggested. Environmental issues, for example land consumption, traffic congestion and energy sustainability were seen as important research topics by those coming from the urban ecology school, while political scientists stressed issues of urban governance, cities as collective actors and welfare policies. Challenges to European town planning (increased density and deteriorating infrastructure), commodification, suburban shopping malls and the reduction in of public space were found important by architects, developers and town planners. Activists paid attention to the plurality of voices and a will to solve urban problems. Urban economy, competition between cities and the innovative capacities of European cities were also mentioned frequently as important research topics.

The study of these research issues will help decision makers to solve urban problems and draw up urban policies. The problem for academic and scientific research programmes is how to combine such a variety of research topics. Two proposals are worth considering: a workshop on European classics and a research programme on European cities.

Workshop on European classics

Urban sciences have been dominated by American theories and concepts of the Chicago school. In recent years some European scholars have revived the interest in European classics such as Max Weber, Georg Simmel and Emile Durkheim. A thematic workshop starting from the ideas of these and other European scholars can explore the applicability and relevance of European ideas, concepts and theories to our present-day cities and compare European cities to the representations of American, Asian and African cities. One aim of such a thematic workshop in bringing together urban scientists from various European countries can be to develop an urban theory.

Research programme: The European City

As a title for the proposed urban research programme 'The European City' is simple but challenging. It sets all kind of agendas for the different political and academic actors. Among the questions that could be asked are the following: Is the European city specific, compared to North American and Asian cities? Are there different types of European cities? Various kinds of comparisons can be made: between cities in different institutional contexts, between world cities and cities with different functions, between capital cities and other kinds of cities, between cities with large hinterlands and cities in borderlands, between harbour cities and other types of cities, between cities in economically booming areas and cities in collapsed areas. The European City programme could analyse whether European cities deal differently with vulnerabilities than North American and Asian cities and question differences between European cities. The focus of research can be on empirical issues such as physical, social, political, economic and ecological issues but also theoretical issues (concepts, epistemologies, methods) taking into account different disciplinary traditions in urban studies.

Methods and approaches

Several workshops discussed methods. Interdisciplinary urban research was found to be important, because urban issues do not obey the boundaries of disciplines. Natural sciences, social sciences and the humanities with their variety of methods and approaches can all contribute to an understanding of urban phenomena. Comparative studies were suggested several times as a fruitful method. Comparing European cities as well as comparing European cities with North American, Asian and African cities was suggested. There were also proposals to develop spatial theory, theory of place and middle-range theories, and to put more emphasis on symbolic issues. Involvement of civil society including non-traditional forms of knowledge were regarded as important. It was suggested that cities should be analysed as processes, not only looking at the outcomes, and there should be an attempt to explain rather than describe.

Concepts

One aim of Urban Science Workshop Series was to explore, learn and develop communication between disciplines. What became evident many times was the underdevelopment of our vocabulary necessary to grasp current urban phenomena. There is a need to develop new concepts and a common language not just for scholars from different disciplines in order to understand each other but to catch new urban phenomena. Several interesting concepts were proposed in workshops: local patriotism, urban health, cities as collective actors, circular migration.

Research policy

The ambitious challenge of the ESF Urban Science Workshop Series to include various disciplines and offer a platform for scientists, administrators, committee members, practitioners, politicians and activists to discuss urban issues was successful in creating heated debates and a lot of criticism: everyone wanted to participate and suggest important urban issues. In the Paris workshop the normative and utopian nature of urban studies was challenged. In the Milan workshop the debate concerned the first cities and the question of whether cities or the countryside producing surplus were the first to emerge. In the Helsinki Conference aan emansipatory research style collided with the academic one. Such conflicts and contradictions can be taken as a sign of the success of the series, and as Neil Brenner remarked in Helsinki: 'urban studies are a stimulating field of study exactly because of its contested nature'. One result of the long process of the Urban Science Workshop Series was to increase the communication between urban scholars and the linking of European research institutes. This was just a beginning and the usefulness of the series will be in the projects and joint research programmes it inspires. The following two addresses continue the discussion about a European urban programme. The first one is a critical evaluation by Guido Martinotti and the second one is a suggestion by Göran Therborn on how to proceed.

Forget Urban Science

There is a tendency to get lost in nominalistic disputes, as if giving names to things might change their nature. No doubt this is sometimes true, but only shamans are able to perform this well. Scientists should avoid competing with them and instead try to develop useful concepts, not words.

There is no such thing as 'urban science', not in the least because the object is difficult to define. The

problem is that the object of our efforts is there for all to see, although rapidly changing, and it would be a mistake to put ourselves in the awkward position of being the only ones incapable of seeing it, because we look along the wrong wavelengths. The object is there, but it is elusive, because it is large and complex and defies theoretical unification. Nature is also large and complex, and modern science would still be in the pre-scientific era, had not some geniuses such as Bacon, Newton, Kepler, Copernicus, Galileo, and the like been able to simplify it into bodies, atoms and forces. I do not have very many hopes that we can perform similarly, but we should be aware of the course, and try not to imitate the natural sciences, but to learn from them.

This is why we must not be too depressed if we have no 'urban science'. That was a nice fancy phrase in the European academic research marketplace, and I do not regret that we used it, also because I know the ESF structure and the need to adopt common denominations. On the analytical level, however, we have to be more precise. I believe that calling it 'urban studies' or 'urban investigations' is better although not quite good enough. There is a good word, which is not only a word but has a strong reference to reality, and this is 'field'. There exists undoubtedly an 'urban field of studies' or a 'field of urban studies' that usefully unifies different disciplines on the same 'object' despite the fact this object is difficult to define, and no unified grand theory of it is available, nor could be. I have in mind the field of 'classical studies', which is, I think, an excellent example. There is no such a thing as a 'classicist science', although many university departments in Italy, formed by the merger of previous institutes of *Scienze giuridiche* with 'Literature' or other humanities are called *Dipartimento di Scienze dell'Antichità*. But also in this case it is an academic catchword, and there is no common scientific paradigm for such an indefinable object as 'Antiquity'.

There is, on the contrary, a very clearly identifiable 'field of classical studies' or a 'field' of classics, in which scholars of philology, archaeology, history, ancient law, philosophy, architecture or art, easily converge with glee and mutual recognition, without losing their identity as philologists, archaeologists, historians and so on, but being able to speak mutually understandable languages in useful cross-fertilisation without any particular worry about a common scientific paradigm. Much as we did in these urban science workshops in which we came together to discuss our beloved city [Milan], knowing perfectly well what an economist, a sociologists or a planner are going to say, but adding richness to our thoughts from their ability to carve the object of study each one in his/her particular way, that other experts would not think about. Frankly, the only uninteresting part of the discussion, for me was when we started to discuss 'urban science'. So forget 'urban science' if it

has become a dead weight, and let us embrace the 'urban field' instead.

As much as I think that the use of the word 'science' is misleading, I would not object to 'urban'. Here I would entirely follow the recommendation by Durkheim, in his first chapter of *Le Suicide*, where he makes a plea for the scientific use of common words, for example suicide, even if they are not derived from a theoretical definition. Everybody understands the word 'urban', despite the fact that its content is rapidly changing, as much as everybody understands 'suicide' even if a more precise definition of the content of this word is necessary in sociology. Also in Italy academia has come to call urban sociology the *Sociologia del territorio e dell'ambiente*, which is more precise, as in German academia it is called 'sociology of settlements' as Jiri Musil suggested. But I have the feeling that this choice in the Italian case did not solve the problem: rather it created an additional one with terms that the general public does not clearly recognise – and some sociologists neither.

But identifying our common activity as the 'field of urban studies' or 'urban investigations' would be only the first step. I think Göran Therborn was right; there is a need to propose a new theory of place. But then I would go one step further to draw the full conclusion.

I have no doubt that there is indeed a kernel in this field, and we must illuminate it. Let us call it a 'new theory of place', I rather like the concept, or any other better term that might emerge from the common endeavour. Clearly the kernel of our disciplines, from urban planning (namely shaping the future) to urban history (namely detecting the weight of the past) is the interface between space and society. Space is a physical variable that can be measured so that entities which are placed in 'space' can be seen through the visible eye or detected with physical instruments, and obeys the laws of physical mechanics, among which the impenetrability of bodies is the major one. Of course there can be a metaphorical use of 'space', as in the Lazarsfeldian 'property spaces', but we do not need to bring that additional dimension here (if you allow the pun). Society, on the other hand, as such, does not have a physical dimension, it is a symbolic entity: you cannot impress society on any type of film or device. You can see only social facts, in so far as there are physical actors producing them, including the modification of the space where they are produced. But it is an indirect detection. Space then becomes a sort of sensitive film itself (a Wilson chamber) where traces of society are being recorded. The problem is that the decoding of these traces is extremely difficult, and the interface between the physically visible, and the symbolic realm in which society or 'social facts' in the Durkheimian sense, are located, is extremely complex and interactive to the point of defying the mechanical assumptions between management of urban spaces and human behaviour that are usually embodied in planning manuals.

The situation is increasingly complicated by the fact that for only a few decades the space in which human behaviour occurs has been reduced to the point of practical non-existence by a powerful and universal tool that allows interaction regardless of distance. The social effects of the use of this device have been subjected to all sort of hyperbolic and unwarranted extrapolations, particularly by techno-utopians linked with the mass media on one hand and the techno-industry on the other. But when all the hype has been trimmed down, the hugely important fact remains that most social sciences models of socially relevant space (that is, place) are built on rules and paradigms based on the assumption of the 'tyranny of space' that imposes limitations in the degrees of freedom allowed by it. Central place theory and all other models of more or less Christallerian derivation, as well as the kernel of social ecology, plus the basic gravitational models of transportation sciences, all depend on corollaries logically derived from the 'tyranny of space'. Today this space has become 'slippery' and there is no doubt that it is our obligation as scholars in this field to redefine it in theoretical terms. Thus I fully agree that an effort towards finding a new theoretical definition of 'place', meaning by 'place' socially relevant physical spaces, should be a major goal in our common work.

I am not totally convinced that some of the proposals already on the table should be set aside as being only evocative or metaphorical. In fact all theoretical paradigms are by definition metaphors of some aspects of reality. The crucial issue is not whether one paradigm is metaphorical or not, but if it is a good metaphor or not. In the sense of being more or less capable of representing reality in a way conducive to more enlightenment rather than confusing the issue. Also I think it should be stressed that most of the current paradigms are based on speculation rather than sound empirical data. These phenomena are too recent for that, so in any theoretical effort a strong empirical orientation should be supported.

Finally I believe that we have an obligation to systematically describe the new urban entity, besides providing it, eventually, with a theoretically good, sound terminology. Much as was done in the 1920s with Park's Chicago and in the 1960s with the term 'metropolitan community' that has guided us to understand what was going on in what I called the 'first generation metropolis', and helped the US Federal government to produce that extraordinary tool for observation that were the SMAs. This object is certainly indefinite (not 'infinite', please!) but it still has existence, and the old contrapositions have not totally disappeared, despite H.G.Wells's acute Anticipations. We may scorn the old urban/rural dichotomy, but we cannot scorn the fact that the largest part of the EU

13. Recommendations and the way forward

budget is siphoned off by agricultural policies, or that in many electoral systems there are relevant 'rotten boroughs' in terms of parliamentary representation, or that both in the 2004 US Presidential elections, and the French EU Constitution referendum of yesterday [29 May 2005], the difference between the urban vote and the rest was sharp.

Now to add an important step. We can take a number of actions, among those listed by Henk, plus others. Among the various actions I would strongly recommend that the Methodology Group keeps a very close eye on the ERHOS project and similar ones. Without large scale comparative and integrated databases of geo-referenced data we will never be able to produce a significant step forward in empirically sound theories.

But I believe that if we really want to make a decisive step forward, for us, but above all for our students and future scholars, we should be able to set up an innovative European Urban Investigations Centre, EIUC; innovative in the sense of allowing periodical access by teams of scholars, and in the sense of being partly on-site and partly on-line. I have some ideas and I would happy to elaborate on them, if there is a general feeling that we should do it. Do the natural sciences think that we use too little money? Well, here we are.

The way forward for European urban studies[41]

Cities have a special significance in Europe. The city republics of Athens and Rome, and the medieval autonomy of European cities, a globally unique phenomenon as Max Weber stressed, have made cities a central part of European values and institutions. Arguably, the most important institutional bond between Western and Eastern Europe, after the schism of the Christian Church, was the medieval spread eastwards of Magdeburg and other central European urban law. The importance of cities was re-asserted again in modern Europe, with the model roles of Paris – 'capital of the nineteenth century' (Walter Benjamin) – and London, as the centre of the world economy. The construction of the European Community has centred on what Stein Rokkan called 'the City Belt' of Europe, of strong cities and (relatively) weak states and, running from Italy through the Rhineland to the Low Countries.

In other words, urban studies have a special relationship to the project of Europe, which the European Science Foundation should pay attention to. At this current juncture, a few targeted interventions by the ESF could have a great and positive impact on a branch of social and cultural study which ought to be a European forte.

There are three priority areas into which European urban studies have to thrust forward. For each of them, an ESF papers-only conference could be an important impetus. These are:

1. The Specificity of European Cities and their Current Forms of Europeanisation. This means studying European cities from comparative perspectives and paying attention to the effects and implications of the EU, in particular of the new union of eastern and western Europe.
2. The challenge of New Urban Space, of spatial re-organisation, of urban networks and systems in a unified Europe and a globalised world. This ongoing restructuration of spaces also raises serious questions about urban governance. How is the ancient European tradition of urban distinctiveness and autonomy carried forward today?
3. A Cultural (as well as Ecological) Interdisciplinarity for Urban Studies. Urban research constitutes a field of disciplines that calls for interdisciplinary, as well as monodisciplinary efforts. Urban interdisciplinarity has two important directions, an ecological one and a cultural one.

1. Specificity of European cities and their current forms of Europeanisation

There is a valuable recent literature on European cities. There are, for instance Y. Kazepov (ed.) *Cities of Europe* (Blackwell 2005), W. Siebel (ed.) *Die Europäische Stadt* (Suhrkamp 2004), P. Le Galès, *European Cities* (Oxford University Press 2002). All of them are major works. The first-mentioned also includes a valuable programmatic article on 'The European City: A Conceptual Framework and a Normative Project', by Hartmut Häussermann and Anne Haila; there is a need to go further.

What the discussions revealed was a need for comparative perspectives in European urban research, and in particular in the Eastern European urban experiences. The question was raised, by Patrick Le Galès, and others, at the Paris workshop: 'Does the category of 'European cities still make sense?' At the workshop in Prague, the importance of studying Eastern European urbanism in a European context was stressed by the doyen of Czech urban studies, Professor Jiri Musil. The Helsinki Conference heard a very interesting contribution by Tang Wing-shing.

The German urban historian Karl Schlögel has argued, in a set of contemporary ethnographic essays on Eastern and East-Central European cities, that there is there a 'return of Europe out of the spirit of cities' (Marjampole Oder Europas Wiederkehr aus dem Geist der Städte, Munich 2005). His perceptive observations open a discussion about the urban implications of the vast changes of Eastern Europe since 1989.

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41. This is based on the report Göran Therborn wrote to evaluate the urban studies workshop series

Here are some crucial questions for urban studies trying to respond to the enlargement of the European Union: To what extent did the historical European-type of city survive the Communist period? Was there anything specifically European in, say, Communist Moscow, Warsaw, or Bucharest in comparison with Communist Beijing or Hanoi? How and to what extent did the Cold War divide previously very interconnected (though always somewhat different) cities such as Prague, Budapest, Zagreb and Vienna? To what extent are Eastern European cities being re-Europeanised, or are they globalised and becoming more cosmopolitan? How strong is the American influence in the new East, as indicated by the spread of gated communities and American brands of consumption? Is de-industrialisation in the East experienced and coped with in ways similar to what occurred in Western European cities? Are immigration and new ethnic diversity dealt with differently in Eastern and Western Europe? How are the East-West communications in Europe developing, in terms of migration, tourism and other kinds of travelling and intercommunication? What new intercity links, or transport, trade, contacts, are opening up? To what extent is there a convergence of Northern and Southern European urbanity? Has the EU any part in this?

Is the European/non-European city being eclipsed by the global and the non-global city? Are there tendencies of a de-Europeanisation of cities in Europe? To what extent is 'global' London a European city? Are European and North American cities converging or diverging? Are the rapidly rising Asian cities repeating somethings of the earlier European experience, or are they *sui generis*? In the emerging geopolitics and geoculture, what does the challenge of rising Asian cities, from Abu Dhabi and Dubai to Beijing, Shanghai, Seoul and Tokyo mean to the position of European-style cities?

There is still a lack of an overview of what the epochal processes of de-industrialisation and globalisation have meant to European cities. The role and the effects of European city planners and architects in various parts of the world, and the relationship of the outcome to European cities need to be analysed. The shrinking city has become a new phenomenon in post-industrial Europe, East and West. So far there is hardly anything to show how European cities are coping with this phenomenon in comparison with the boom-and-bust towns of the Americas.

The impact of the European Union did not really come up in the findings of the workshop sessions, something which underlines a significant deficit in European urban research. It should have a high priority on the research agenda, argued Enzo Mingione and others. In a number of ways the EU has a bearing upon the life of European cities.

In brief, the globalising world, the East-West coming together of Europe, and the transnationality of the European Union raise new questions about the specificity of the European city, and about its future prospects. A joint effort of European and non-European scholars will be necessary to achieve reliable answers.

2. New urban space, urban systems and urban governance

Another way of looking at cities is that of territory and governance. Major changes are currently taking place in the organisation of European territory and in the pattering of its built environment. They provided the starting-point for the Milan workshop and the keynote intervention of Guido Martinotti, who called for comparative studies of urbanisation processes, in Europe and the rest of the world.

It has been known for a long time that the traditional dichotomy, very distinctive in historical Europe, between town and countryside is no longer adequate. It is also becoming evident that the widening of the perspectives to take in suburbanisation and metropolitan areas no longer captures new developments of spatial construction and spatial relations, new networks and new patterns of agglomeration. Participants pointed to the rise of 'edge cities', of 'meta-cities', of 'dis-urbanisation', and the British geographer Ash Amin even questioned the idea of seeing cities as territorial units anymore. At the workshops both in Milan and in Prague, several speakers emphasised the need for analysing cities *qua* cities for users as well as for dwellers, highlighting how cities are increasingly developed for visitors of various kinds: tourists, commuting workers etc. There is an awareness of important changes going on, but there is still little firm empirical grasp of them, nor any consensus on a new conceptualisation of space.

This ongoing spatial reorganisation and new meaning of urbanity, of the urban landscape – a central concept in German urban ecology (Jürgen Breuste) – the new emerging European Urban Space calls for systematic attention to spatial networks of various sorts. The historical centre of an agglomeration may no longer be the dominant reference for the inhabitants, as Mike Savage had found in Manchester.

What is happening to old industrial clusters of cities, and to what extent are new clusters of the knowledge economy developing? How is the Eastern enlargement of the EU affecting intercity connections, competition and clustering, particularly in Central Europe? Intercity contacts on a policy-making level have increased substantially in recent years. Does that phenomenon give support to the argument, standard in the global cities literature, that cities have become (significantly more) autonomous from their nation state of location? How do the flows of influence on urban policy and development run? To what extent is it true, as some indicators – of political behaviour as well as of foreign investment and

standards of living – point to, that the capital cities of post-Communist Europe have become de-coupled from their nation states?

As Leo van den Berg stressed at the Milan workshop, the reorganisation of space raises new issues of urban management, urban policy, and urban governance, an important topic at the Stockholm workshop, which, however, concentrated more on the need for more knowledge to guide urban planners, and for a practice of urban design and development which pays more attention to the views and experiences of lay users.

The new spatial patterns of the built environment in Europe require a multilevel governance, to which a growing importance is in fact attached, as Alan Harding noticed in his report at the Helsinki Conference. Multilevel governance is the key object of investigation by one of the largest EU Networks of Excellence, CONNEX, which, however, is not at all concerned with urban governance. From the questions raised in Helsinki and in earlier workshops about who are the actors of this governance, and who should be – from some perspective of participatory democracy and/or of relevant information input – it was clear there is little firm empirical grasp of the actual functioning of urban governance in contemporary Europe. Above all, there is little consolidated comparative knowledge.

3. Urban cultural interdisciplinarity

Urban research is undertaken in many academic disciplines. Participants at the final Helsinki Conference concurred in the view that this basic multidisciplinarity of urban studies had better not be overshadowed by some notion of 'urban science'. Rather, urban studies and urban research should be seen as an area or field of scientific research from many disciplines. The need for, the implications, and the experiences of interdisciplinary research in the field were major concerns of the whole series. It was the focus of the Manchester workshop, and central also to the one in Stockholm. Experiences of interdisciplinary urban research programmes were presented in the course of the workshops, most extensively from the UK, Netherlands, Hungary, Germany, and also North American research experiences were introduced. It should be noticed that a Dutch evaluation of national urban research also stressed the value of monodisciplinary urban studies, as conducive to a deeper understanding of aspects of urban phenomena and dynamics.

The presentations of three large national programmes of social scientific urban research, in Hungary, the Netherlands and the UK, highlight indirectly a major lacuna in contemporary European urban studies, as seen from the social sciences point of view. All three countries have good reasons to be proud of their large-scale and wide-ranging programmes, unmatched, for instance, by

the home country of this writer (Sweden), even though their scientific and policy impact may have been limited (as Ian Gordon concluded for the UK programme). However, their foci, on competitiveness, cohesion, innovation, governance and similar topics, all left out urban aesthetics, urban symbolism, urban identity, urban cultural policies.

Just a few illustrations of important questions: How do European cities present themselves today, to potential tourists, investors, workers? What significance do cities give to iconic architecture, aesthetic urban planning, the arts, to cultural heritage, including the 'invention of traditions'? What kind of landmark buildings and demonstrative urban designs are developing in contemporary Europe? What forms do the current re-evaluation of waterfronts, by rivers, lakes and seas, take? Have urban cultural and artistic policies, and European Cultural Capital status had any measurable effects on tourism, on urban identity, and attractiveness as a dwelling-place? How important is the cultural and media sector to the urban economy? What is happening in contemporary Europe to commemorations, monumentality, urban iconography? What is the contemporary pattern of cultural and artistic influence in Europe, in terms of centres, nodes and channels? On what bases do the post-Communist cities impinge upon contemporary European cities? Are there national or transnational regional patterns of contemporary urban iconography and cultural policies?

Here is an excellent opportunity for the ESF to make a significant intervention at a very modest cost.

Among the three topics listed here: the European city from comparative perspectives; New urban space and new needs of multilevel governance; this last one of Cultural interdisciplinarity is the most urgent, given the state of the field, and the one where a well-organised ESF conference could have most impact, both as a signal to the field-workers and as an agora for focused interdisciplinary discussions. ESF should invite social scientists (of all disciplines), scholars of cultural disciplines, cultural writers, and city architects and urban decision makers in the areas of architecture and cultural policy.