As follow-up to the European Spatial Development Perspective (ESDP), the Danish Presidency is focusing on the implications of globalisation and the role of cities in regional development.

In three main sections, this report deals in detail with the problems relating to the role of cities in regional development. A number of Scandinavian researchers have contributed to the report.

The first section includes the Copenhagen Charter 2002 - the Danish Presidency’s suggested agenda for a discussion on future urban and regional development - as well as a number of operational recommendations. The second section deals in general terms with globalisation’s impact on Europe’s cities and regions. Finally, the last section deals with different aspects concerning the development of an urban identity concept.

The report is a contribution by the Danish Ministry of the Environment, Spatial Planning Department to the international conference European Cities in a Global Era - Urban Identities and Regional Development. It is intended as a supplement to the conference, introducing key aspects of the issues discussed and providing background reading.
EUROPEAN CITIES IN A GLOBAL ERA

URBAN IDENTITIES AND REGIONAL DEVELOPMENT
Cities and regions are facing great challenges as a consequence of globalisation. In many ways, cities are the driving force of the global economy. The challenge for the future is to determine how this force can pull with it an entire region without compromising our identity. In other words, we must remain locally anchored in a changing global world.

Initiating a debate on these matters is vital in order to meet the challenges in future urban and regional development in Europe. The following report deals with the relationship between the identity of cities, globalisation, and regional development as part of the forthcoming conference entitled European Cities in a Global Era - Urban Identities and Regional Development.

However we do not merely want to initiate a debate. With the Copenhagen Charter 2002, we want to set the agenda for the debate on urban and regional policy.

At one and the same time, cities are the bearers of the cultural heritage of Europe and the clearest illustration of our present: a present where cities are expressions of growth, wealth and community, as well as decay, poverty and loneliness. It is also clear that globalisation has different effects on our cities and regions. Large financial districts and communication centres have not been established in all cities. Some cities have instead developed as places for specialised production. But all cities are part of, and are affected by, the global economy.

There is a great challenge for Europe’s cities and authorities here, and it is about looking at the problem of cities and regions in a more functional and integrated light. Looking at cities and regions holistically. Understanding the important relationships between urban and rural areas. Supporting co-operation and development both within and between cities and regions. Therefore, the two principal elements in the Charter are to utilise and improve the identity and
qualities of our cities in global competition and to ensure balanced and coordinated development within and between the cities and regions of Europe.

Urban and regional policy is crucial for future European cohesion, and this was also emphasised in the European Spatial Development Perspective (ESDP). European cities and authorities must be at the leading edge of endeavours to promote cohesion and balanced development in Europe. Without active local involvement from cities, it is impossible to ensure the goals of sustainability that have been set at both national and international levels.

I am extremely pleased that we are focusing on this dimension during the Danish EU Presidency, and I would like to take this opportunity to thank all the contributors to this report.

I would also like to thank Fonden Realdania, which has contributed to both the conference and the report. In partnership with the City of Copenhagen and the City of Frederiksberg, Fonden Realdania is also part of the ten-year urban and housing exhibition, Copenhagen X.

I hope that the conference in Copenhagen and this report can contribute to inspiration and debate and thus comprise a stepping stone for future regional policy as well as urban and environment policy and work for sustainable development in Europe.
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ILLUSTRATIONS AND AUTHORS
The need for common efforts towards balanced urban and regional development has grown in line with European integration and increasing competition between cities. With the conference European Cities in a Global Era - Urban Identities and Regional Development, the Danish Presidency will focus on the role of the cities in regional development at a time influenced by globalisation.

Globalisation intensifies the need for an integrated perspective on urban and regional development. In many ways, cities function as the driving force of the global economy and are important actors in regional development, which puts pressure on the urban environment and leads to certain regional disparities in growth opportunities. Therefore, the fact that regional and urban policy is often perceived as two separate entities is a problem. The EU and the Member States face a great challenge ensuring that future urban and regional policy contributes to regional development, without comprising the environment and the identity of our cities - and without creating large areas that do not share in the benefits of development. This means that initiatives at various authority levels must be co-ordinated. It means that we must begin shaping a regional policy where the role of the cities as growth centres is supported for the benefit of the region as a whole. Therefore, global development emphasises the need to revise our knowledge and strategies if we are to ensure balanced urban and regional development. This is also a central objective of the European Spatial Development Perspective (ESDP).

At the ministerial conference in Tampere during the Finnish Presidency, Denmark undertook to take a closer look at experience gained from the Interreg Programme. A debate on urban and regional development should, however, also be viewed in connection with the inevitable conse-
sequences of the global economy, both the positive and the negative. Therefore, it is not enough merely to assess the experience gained from one isolated programme. A broader debate is needed on how we ensure that regional policy contributes to a balanced and polycentric development pattern, thus creating frameworks for growth in all the regions of Europe.

The quality and identity of a place are becoming increasingly important parameters in urban and regional development during globalisation. Therefore, the concept of urban identity is central in this conference report. The objective is not, however, to provide a definitive answer to what urban identity is. The objective rather is to elaborate the diversity of the concept and to support urban and regional development embedded in the place. In this connection, a number of Nordic researchers and practitioners have contributed to examining the relationships between globalisation and urban and regional development, and the identity of place. The views of these authors are their own contribution to the debate and therefore do not necessarily represent the views of the Danish government. Likewise, the articles do not constitute an exhaustive discussion on the subject, but attempt rather to provide an interdisciplinary approach to a complex issue.

The report opens with the Copenhagen Charter 2002, a statement from the Danish Presidency, which also provides an agenda for the debate on future urban and regional development in Europe. The Copenhagen Charter, the subsequent articles and the conference together constitute an invitation to politicians, planners, researchers and other interested parties to enter the debate on the future objectives and strategies of European regional policy.

At the same time, we hope the ten-year urban and housing exhibition, Copenhagen X, being held from 2002 to 2012 will inspire future urban development in other
European cities. We are pleased that the two large municipalities of the Danish capital - Copenhagen and Frederiksberg - along with the foundation Fonden Realdania, are working together on Copenhagen X, and as such highlighting the long-term perspective in development of the spatial environment.

The significance of globalisation for urban and regional development

Globalisation implies a new division of labour between countries, regions, and cities. To a much greater extent than before, cities and regions are specialising in niche areas where they have special expertise. This means that cities and regional networks will increasingly become central players in global competition.

Many believe that development of the new knowledge economy will, in many ways, lead to larger cities experiencing a greater level of growth than smaller towns. Yet smaller towns are also experiencing increasing growth on the basis of more international relations. Smaller towns, however, often fulfil other functions than those of larger cities. In general, larger cities represent centres where knowledge and communication resources are concentrated, whilst smaller towns still essentially manufacture specialised goods.

Global competition can, however, have negative consequences for cities and regions if it depends on development strategies without a long-term perspective. The result can be a social and spatial separation between cities and regions, as well as between urban and rural areas, with only few areas benefiting from global competition.

These trends provide some specific challenges for urban and regional policy. If we are to promote balanced regional development throughout Europe, then it is essential that we strengthen co-operation and coordination as well as initiate long-term and holistic strategies. Both the role of the larger cities and smaller towns must be encouraged, allowing development to contribute
to growth for the whole region. There is a continued need for us to ensure regional development whereby cities complement one another, and where conditions of life in weaker cities and regions are safeguarded so that everybody shares in the benefits of development.

**Urban identity as a potential in spatial development**

The value of cultural and spatial symbols, or the identity of the place, is an important competitive parameter. At the same time, the identity of the place provides a feeling of belonging and meaning for local inhabitants. Cities evolve constantly as a consequence of both big-city competition and development of the global economy, as well as mass-media proliferation of cultural values and the global flows of businesspeople and tourists. The result is that cities are becoming more and more uniform, thereby losing their local character, but also that central urban areas and buildings are allocated higher priority at the expense of less spectacular buildings and peripheral urban and rural areas. This development reflects an unconstructive relationship between local preservation and globally inspired renewal.

Yet the dynamics of the identity of the place resulting from globalisation can also be used constructively. By making the scenery, architecture, history, local lifestyle, and culture the basis for development, and at the same time drawing on new trends, it is possible to see both local and global characteristics reflected in one another. In this way, it is possible to preserve local character for the benefit of both local and global actors.

The spatial environment is fundamental if the identity of the place is to be created, developed, and promoted. Highlighting local identities in relation to the spatial environment means being aware of how global and international flows are assimilated into local construction, so development is based on neither rigid traditionalism nor uncritical internationalism. It also means involving all urban areas in development. It means that the different identities of a place, including those affiliated to social and cultural environments, urban and regional knowledge competencies, and the various spatial features of a city and region, etc., are considered when the spatial environment is to be developed and renewed.

The basis for development of our regions therefore should be a broad understanding of European urban history, qualities and identities. It is also necessary to acknowledge the less positive features of a given city or region and assess how these features can be applied constructively in development.

In the future, it will be a challenge to commit to long-term and holistic strategies for urban development that do not differentiate between centre and periphery, but rather, are based on a more varied picture of the identities of the place. Strategies that take into consideration both the negative and constructive aspects associated with urban identity.

**Sustainable urban and regional development**

It is important that development strategies be rooted in the culture, nature and commercial structure of an area in order to ensure sustainable development. Urban policies and regional strategies should be structured so they are based on the place and the life led there, both in respect to transport, environmental planning and other aspects relevant to everyday life. Development must counteract social exclusion. The city and region must be accessible to all. This concerns physical access as well as social and cultural accessibility.

Everyone must share in the benefits of development, not just within urban areas, but throughout Europe, as well as in the individual Member States and regions. The central message of the ESDP was that, because of this, we should create the framework for a polycentric development pattern. We must ensure sustainable and balanced development in larger cities and smaller towns in all regions for the benefit of regional development as a whole. Holistic development of our cities and regions must be based upon local diversity, as also emphasised in Local Agenda 21 work.

The Copenhagen Charter 2002

We will face great challenges in the future, but also great opportunities. Everyone responsible for urban and regional development at all authority levels must work together to perform these tasks. It is through debate and the joint formulation of action strategies that we can ensure balanced and sustainable development. There is no secret formula for how we can ensure such development. However, it is possible to sum up a number of factors; an agenda which is important to debate in order to ensure frameworks for regional development based on growth and sustainability.

The Copenhagen Charter is a suggestion for such an agenda. The aim of the Charter is to function as a stepping-stone on the path towards improved urban and regional development in Europe. Firstly, the Charter addresses the need to acknowledge the connection between urban policy and regional development. Secondly, the Charter also addresses the need to focus on urban and regional conditions of life in a global era, where the identity of the place is an important aspect. In other words, strategies developed on the basis of an integrated perspective of urban and regional development can support identities of place and thereby contribute to creating growth in all regions of Europe. An aspect that should underlie future European debate on regional policy.
Drawing attention to the issue of cohesion between the challenges of globalisation and the development potential of urban identity is the first step. However, the individual authorities responsible for urban and regional development must take the decisive leap from words to action.

The problems and issues in the different articles are illustrated with differing perspectives and summarised in this chapter with an article on challenges and policy recommendations. The article shows how the abstract discussions in the report can be offered specific relevance in strategy and policy development, and thus become a useful tool for planners and decision-makers.

The dynamics and consequences of globalisation are extremely important for future developments in European cities and regions. But how can these global dynamics be exploited without compromising the local qualities in European cities? And how can global dynamics be used to promote urban and regional development?

The Copenhagen Charter contains ten principles on how the challenges of globalisation can be managed in urban and regional strategies in order to secure cohesion and continued sustainable development. Through the Charter, the Danish Presidency wants to inspire decision-makers, researchers, and other stakeholders in regional and urban development in Europe to take part in the debate on urban and regional development. The Charter also emphasises the necessity of an integrated approach to spatial development, if we are to promote balanced regional development.

COPENHAGEN CHARTER 2002 AND RECOMMENDATIONS
The global changes promote standardisation in many ways, including architecture, images and culture. Diversity, identity and locally anchored development can protect against this conformity. In addition, the special characteristics of specific urban areas and regions provide the driving force for social and economic development. The location-specific qualities and identity give meaning to the sense of place by making it unique.

Cities comprise a paradox. They embody the leading centres of development, but they are also fertile soil for social exclusion and environmental problems. Many city residents have poor access to transport, housing, education, social services, jobs and other services. Most European towns and cities have old industrial and harbour districts that need to be regenerated.

Determining how to regenerate balanced and polycentric development in cities and regions using the special local and regional qualities, competencies, identities and creativity is therefore a major challenge.

The challenges
Globalisation generates new challenges in preparing strategies for urban and regional development. The Copenhagen Charter 2002 aims to recommend how to manage the challenges of the global era, in which maintaining growth and sustainability as well as identity and diversity has become increasingly difficult.

The global competition between cities and regions has shaped a new global division of labour. National borders and cultures do not limit the chains of production and consumption. Companies can choose where they want to locate, and people where they want to work and live, on a global market. These changes influence the cities and regions of Europe. The disparities between European cities and between cities and the countryside are increasing. Rural areas with small and medium-sized towns often have limited opportunities for development.
Meeting the challenges
An integrated approach to urban and regional policies is needed. Urban development and regional development are interrelated. All strategies and programmes with spatial effects at the local, regional, national and European levels influence urban and regional development. In the future, authorities need to take responsibility for enhancing co-operation and co-ordination to promote cohesion, sustainability and growth in all of Europe. Meanwhile, policy-makers must consider how globalisation affects regions and cities, to prevent imbalanced development. If an integrated approach is not implemented, the lack of co-ordination between different levels of authority will not only result in greater disparity between different areas in the same region but also increase the gaps between the regions of Europe. In the end, this will lead to development that is extremely unsustainable. Future regional policies in Europe can contribute to reinforcing the role of cities and towns as growth centres that benefit a whole region, to improve the territorial balance in European development.

Local, regional, national and European authorities need to take responsibility for ensuring sustainable and balanced urban and regional policy. Urban and regional authorities should assess their potential role in the global economy and convert this assessment into specific strategies for their territory. The foundation for this could be the principles of the Copenhagen Charter 2002. The 10 points of the Charter are not the final answers, but they outline main principles. Strategies for urban and regional development and implementation thereof need to be carefully tailored to individual circumstances to develop and enhance the characteristic identities of cities and regions. Interreg, URBAN and other EU programmes support regional and urban development and regeneration, but progressive strategies for urban and regional development should make use of these programmes in relation to national and regional initiatives.
Regional development in global competition

1. Use the forces of globalisation constructively by assessing the local potential in the global economy and integrating this into strategies for urban and regional development.

2. Use regional and urban identities as the starting-point in adapting to global changes and dynamics by interpreting and registering the characteristics of the physical environment, architecture and the social and cultural capital in the region and its cities.

3. Develop an integrated perspective on urban and regional policy by promoting awareness of the role of towns and cities in regional development, to promote regional cohesion and a polycentric urban pattern.

4. Co-ordinate strategies for urban and regional development and support partnerships between public and private actors.

5. Develop innovative and sustainable long-term perspectives in which regional identity and cities’ potential strengths are linked to regional competencies, creativity and culture.
6. Use the architectural history of the city and global trends to shape the urban and regional environment, to protect diversity and local identity and to counteract the monotony of the global architectural expression.

7. View the revitalisation of the city and region as a dynamic process and make use of local customs and new initiatives.

8. Create diverse and creative living and working environments in all urban districts by including all cultures and potential factors in the development process.

9. Enhance integration in the entire region to avoid social exclusion by ensuring that everyone has access to sustainable transport, jobs, housing, knowledge, education and social services.

10. Strengthen opportunities for public participation in the discussion on strategies for urban and regional development and thereby empower local actors by making use of their knowledge about the place and its potential.
Urban and regional identity has become an issue of great political concern, due to the impacts of globalisation and the restructuring of cities and regions. Paying due reference to the other articles in the present report, this article examines the concept of identity and discusses how recent urban and regional strategies deal with the concept. Conclusions and recommendations for urban strategies and regional policies are presented.

Globalisation: threats and challenges
Urban as well as regional planners have always been interested in understanding how to deal with spatial identity. However, globalisation has now given spatial identity a special priority on the planning agenda. On the one hand, globalisation has caused changes in the economy of cities and regions, changes so radical that cities and regions risk losing their identities. On the other hand, globalisation forces cities and regions to become more visible towards new markets and political arenas.

Cities and regions are thus faced with the threat of losing identity while at the same time they are challenged to find new ones. Therefore, cities and regions have engaged in a new discourse on spatial identity.

The discourses on identity have exhibited two strands (Gerner 1997, Staun 2002). One strand, ethnos, stresses the importance of heritage. It focuses on community spirit as formed by intrinsic and coinciding rela-
tions of joint ethnic status, language, religion and history. The arguments are emotionally-based, binding individuals and community together in common feelings and inherited cultural values. The other strand, demos, stresses the importance of the contract. It focuses on general and mutual rights and responsibilities of the citizen and society. The arguments are rationalist, binding citizens and society together in joint agreements on civil rights and duties.

The ethnos position has dominated discourses on national identity, e.g. as related to the forming of European national states in the 19th century and the current revitalisation of nationalism. However, discourses on national identity have also shown to be strongly influenced by the demos position, as was the case in post-war and post-Cold War Germany (Staun 2002).

In cities and regions, the ethnos position seems to be present, when urban riots occur due to the presence of ethnic minorities and when ethnic groups fight for regional devolution. Historically, however, urban identities are closely connected to the demos position. Par excellence, European market towns and trade cities were regulated by statutes defining civil rights and obligations. Some statutes were national, whereas other were founded on internationally codified, e.g. the Magdeburg and Lübeck statutes, by which cities were connected across national boundaries. The city statutes were a breach with feudal society and were crucial to the forming of the new ruling class, the citizen. When taking the demos strand as a point of departure, identity is likely to be polycentric rather than monocentric, formed as it is by citizens organising their life in their own interests, however within a common legal framework of society.

Closely connected to the idea of identity is that it has to be authentic. However, modern marketing acts as if identities are artificial. Modern marketing knows that identities are not visible by themselves. They are
made visible only indirectly by signs and symbols. Accordingly, we can only grasp identities indirectly, via interpretations, and we can only express identities indirectly, via representations.

Even when we search for authentic identities by excavating the historical heritage, we find only representations that have to be interpreted.

These brief introductory remarks on general aspects of identity stress that urban and regional identities owe much to multi-layers of historical and current processes rather than one all-embracing cultural spirit of each urban and regional community. Urban and regional identities are not inherited in any authentic manner. Rather, they are artificial and have to be made visible by interpretation and reinterpretation of local culture, practice and aspirations of the city and region society. According to these observations, it is not possible or relevant to make joint interpretations of the European city or region.

Urban strategies

The articles in this report reveal that identity is a matter of great concern to European cities, either because they have had to reshape lost identities or because they search for new ones. The rebuilding of many cities demolished during World War II revealed how intense historical identity is to the general public. Even though Gdansk, for example, had become an important shipyard town and in many aspects changed its social identity, the city was keen to reshape the historical identity of the medieval merchant town after the war.

According to Karl Otto Ellefsen, the idea of preservation became very influential after the Second World War, an idea promoted by the international community of planners in several charters, one of which was the Venice Charter from 1964. However, the authors of this report recommend avoiding the stigmatisation of the old part of the cities as museums, a view so common to urban planning.

The problems of the historic strategies become apparent in the former industrial cities that have lost their economic base. They need to identify with new rather than historical roles, and they need the entire city to be part of the new identity. Hence, Jens Karning, in his article, suggests that cities should set up strategies for new development paradigms which can embrace the entire city as frameworks for the globalisation forces. He suggests that cities should not fight globalisation. Rather, they should lead the forces of globalisation into directions that work positively for the realisation of new visions for the cities. The most pronounced example is the Emser-Park project covering the old industrial Ruhr district. Other authors of the present volume (e.g. Andersen) are close to the same argument when they suggest giving priority to long-term rather than short-term strategies. The short-term strategies are usually based on spectacular events created in cooperation with great international architects. Such events may be recognised world-wide for a period, but are often soon forgotten.

Cities undergoing a restructuring process have experienced that the process in itself rather than the results of the process endows the city with a new identity. According to Mats Olsson, this was the case in Malmö. Furthermore, Malmö experienced a pronounced commitment by young people to the city. The fascination of the urbanisation process was also at stake when cities were made the icon of modernism in the 19th and 20th centuries. Haußmann’s Paris, praised by Baudelaire and the impressionists, Robert Moses’ New York and the Scandinavian functionalist design are but a few examples of this modernist fascination.

Thus, one should acknowledge that the construction of urban identities by means of preservation of the historical city is also a “betrayal” of the city’s modernist heritage.

• Any efforts to make the city identical to the historical city should be counterbalanced by the fact that cities are far excellence the locus of modernity. Accordingly, urban identity should not be considered to be static. Rather, urban identities should reflect the changes and development of urban society.

It has been argued (Ashworth 1998) that a small elite which dominates urban planning and preservation efforts is crucial for the signification of the urban identity. The preference for preservation of historical buildings and monuments expresses the norms of the elite and leaves little room for the citizen to feel at home. Taking into account that cities are the locus of social conflict and segregation, it seems obvious that the story of the city belongs not just to the elite. The easy response to this problem is to press for more democratisation of decision-making. However, it has to be acknowledged that the act of producing an urban identity does not restrict peoples objects of identification. Rather than being restricted by the symbols of the elite, people create their own identities in their own logic of street life, joking relations, slang and symbols. According to the French sociologist and philosopher Michel de Cherteau (1984), the production of a first order culture by the elite does not restrict ordinary people. Rather, it gives cause for the production of second order cultural production by the ordinary people. Thus, rather than just asking for a public dialogue on the first order cultural production, one should also ask for a new dialogue between the first and second order cultural productions. In consequence, the dialogue should be mediated in a multitude of current cultural expressions of the elite and the people.

“second order” dialogues with the citizens and cultural and social movements.

The efforts to market urban identities take place in a period of changing planning paradigms. To an increasing extent, cities are elaborating strategies rather than plans. Formerly, development required plans. Today, development is no longer to be taken for granted, and cities are deeply involved in stimulating development. They do SWOT analyses, co-operate with other cities, agencies and firms, form new partnerships, and develop visions. However, their strategies can often not cope with the situation because what is needed are changes that can be seen only from the perspective of a new urban identity. Thus, in order fully to grasp the range of radical strategic choices open to them, cities should explore the options from the perspectives of imagined alternative urban identities.

• In formulating their urban strategies, cities should operate from the perspective of alternative urban identities in order fully to cope with the radical changes they are facing.

Regional strategies

EU regional policies have been dominated by a concern for a fair regional distribution of welfare. In order to avoid great disparities between regions, the EU Structural Funds are concentrating on regions lagging behind the EU average. And massive funding by the European Agricultural Guidance and Guarantee Fund subsidies current ways of living in regions dominated by the primary sector. This welfare approach has dominated EU regional policy for many years. However, strands of the EU regional policies are also oriented to regional development. Most pronounced is the work carried out during the late 1980s and the 1990s by the Member States on the European Spatial Development Perspective (ESDP). Informal and non-statutory as it is, it invites governments, decision-makers, organisations and the European Commission to contribute to goal-oriented spatial development of the EU. Within the EU, the Interreg pro-

The ESDP launches new ideas to counter-balance tendencies of economic concentration in core regions of Europe. The general idea is to support development of regions via the generative forces of the cities. Thus, rather than a welfare perspective, the ESDP is based on a development perspective, thereby offering an alternative to the current regional policies.

The idea of supporting regional development outside the European core areas is a break with former mainstream thinking of regional development. Formerly, theories of regional development were based on the presumption that economic development diffuses from the centres. Empirical evidence had shown that growth centres induce a convergence of income and welfare (Cavazos 2001). According to this theory, the regional policies of the 1950s and 1960s were dominated by supporting the development of hierarchical urban systems suited for channeling economic development from the largest centres to the smaller centres. In the 1970s, regional development changed drastically. One reason was the increasing price competition for industrial production of standard products due to the opening of international markets, being facilitated by new international trade agreements and major declines in transport costs. Meanwhile, the production of service- and knowledge-based products started to develop.

These developments radically changed the economic life of cities and regions. One overall conclusion was that the former growth model was nonviable, since it came out in the open that regional development was much more dependent on local capabilities within the regions rather than on external relations. Further, it was envisaged that technology and education, and other factors internal to the region, stimulated economic development rather than being an achievement of economic development. Finally, it was acknowledged that the strongest position in international competition was held
by products that were difficult to copy elsewhere. Thus, the new wisdom is to develop specialised competencies. The single company may specialise. However, more viable synergy and strength will be developed if specialised competencies are developed in regional networks of specialists, suppliers, specialised education and labour markets, much of which is nested in tacit abilities and competencies that are difficult to codify and hence, difficult to copy elsewhere.

This new wisdom has given rise to a concern about searching for regional identities, since closely related to the economic identity of a region are competencies that are especially embedded in the region. This is why the branding of regional identities has become an integral element of current regional policy-making.

In his critique of the growth centre model, Sven Illeris suggests that urban systems develop in two tiers rather than as one mono-hierarchical system. The one tier consists of the largest cities. They are the centres for business service, administration and some special branches of high technology. The other tier consists of towns and smaller cities usually dominated by manual production. Illeris makes the interesting observation that, in some respects, the smaller cities rather than the large cities have become global, since manual production is the object of more international trade than e.g. the service production of the large cities. This observation may run contrary to a general impression that the largest cities are the most internationalised. At least in the case of Denmark, Illeris' observation is supported by the fact that, during the 1970s and 1980s, manual production firms have to a large extent have become subcontractors, integrated in international chains of production.

To the extent that towns and smaller cities become international, they are becoming generators of local regional development rather than just mediators of regional development spreading from the large centres. This new role of the cities lays the groundwork for establishing a new urban-rural partnership in which the cities are given responsibilities for regional development.

Formerly, towns and smaller cities usually competed in their role as centres in the local hierarchies. Now, it seems more reasonable for cities to co-operate in their role as "subcontractor" on the world market. Cities embracing complementary urban functions may co-operate as one larger "city". And they may co-operate on the establishment of labour-market facilities, education, and specialised business services in order to build up competencies that are needed in the region but which are too spe-
cialised for each city to establish on its own. This strategy for building regional competencies via urban networking has become the key model for regional development, as suggested by the ESD P.

Following the ideas of the ESDP and the above-mentioned observations on regional policies, it should be considered:

- That the perspective of regional policies should include a broader amount of the regions with development potentials outside the European core regions and not just focus on the regions lagging behind.
- That crucial development potential is connected with cities developing international relations and with systems of cities suited for polycentric networking.
- Accordingly, special attention and programmes should be focused on inter-urban development.
- Local regional development policies should focus on the enhancement of regional competencies via goal-oriented learning processes facilitated by networks of urban and regional actors and made visible by launching interpretations of the regional identity.

In regional policies, the interplay between top-down framework conditions and bottom-up actions has become an organising principle (e.g. the partnership principle). Accordingly, the ability of regions to match regional policy measures has become crucial (Bailey and Propris 2002). Only regions with an institutional milieu above a certain threshold capacity are able to take action and to co-ordinate local agents, firms and decision-makers in joint strategies and initiatives. These regions should be in focus for strategic investments in framework conditions for establishing polycentric networks strong enough to guide the development of their region.

Left behind are regions with institutional milieus that are below the threshold. Such regions are in need of more traditional welfare assistance.

Finally, regions suffering structural crises so profound that institutions and firms have become part of the problem might need special development programmes to achieve more radical changes. At EU and national levels, development programmes of this kind have to be carefully prepared and jointly contracted by the regions and the superior regional policy body.

It is beyond the scope of this article to make detailed propositions about the EU regional policy. However, following the above-mentioned ideas of stressing the development perspective, the role of cities and the need for a match between top-down and bottom-up, it should be recommended in general that regional policies be subdivided into three strands as mentioned below. Similar approaches have been introduced into the research programme of the European Spatial Planning Observatory Network (ESPO N) closely related to the upgrading of EU’s regional policy.

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At the EU and national levels, regional policy should be subdivided into three strands:

1. The first strand should focus on the establishment of framework conditions for the development of polycentric urban systems in regions with sufficient local milieu for urban networking (“potential polycentric development regions”);

2. The second strand should focus on the “well-fare” type of assistance to regions where the institutional milieu is generally too weak to build strategies for regional development from below (“peripheral regions”);

3. Finally, the third strand should focus on the provision of development contracts with regions restructuring their economic base and in which the institutional milieu is part of the restructuring process and hence not suited to handle the problems (“restructuring regions in crisis”).

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What challenges does globalisation create for spatial planning? What advantages do European cities have that make it possible to avoid many of the negative consequences of globalisation? What role can Europe’s large and small cities adopt in regional development? And what does the concept of globalisation actually mean - and is this phenomenon new at all?

GLOBALISATION

The processes of globalisation occur everywhere. However, what are their consequences for European cities? Many people have pointed to the effects on world cities such as New York and Tokyo. However, most Europeans live in cities of quite another character, better described as medium-sized regional centres. This chapter examines the dynamics of European cities and the role of cities in the global age.
Globalisation is inescapable. The colossal and continuing economic integration of the world has repercussions on all aspects of urban life. It is a force to be reckoned with in the decades to come. But how did it develop and what challenges do European planners face?

Within the last decade or two, the word globalisation has become one of the most powerful and pervasive concepts in use in the English language, or in most languages for that matter. For true to the very nature of what the word is describing, it seems to creep into every language un-translated, in its original and by now global form.

Globalisation comes from the noun "globe", which entered into common usage in the 15th century. Its etymological origin is in the Latin word "globus" meaning "spherical", and globe means "something spherical or rounded" and refers to "spherical representations of the earth, a celestial body, or the heavens".

Spherical depictions of the earth in the form of a globe were used as early as the time of the ancient Greeks, the earliest in 150 BC. The earliest surviving terrestrial globe was made in Nuremberg in 1492 by Martin Behaim, a globe said to have influenced Christopher Columbus to attempt to sail west to the Orient.
The usage of words like “globalisation”, “globalise” and “globalising” in their contemporary meaning, however, is a fairly recent phenomena dating back only to the 1960s. Globalisation today has primarily come to mean the colossal economic integration that has taken place in the post-World War II period. But globalisation is also at the heart of a heated global debate about the implications of this increasing economic integration. The fundamental question in this debate is: Has globalisation made the world a better place to live?

The protagonists of globalisation claim that progress - economic, technological, political, etc. - has improved the lives of millions and millions of people, allowing countries and businesses to thrive and further contribute to the bettering of circumstances.

The critics of globalisation maintain that, even so, 30,000-35,000 children under five die every day of preventable diseases, and that the gap between rich and poor has never been more evident than today: the assets of the world’s top three billionaires exceed the GNP of all of the 48 least developed countries (population: 600 million). But whether poor or rich, it seems beyond doubt that the manifold implications of globalisation are going to influence our everyday lives for decades to come.

Conquering the world - the development of globalisation
According to the geographer John Rennie Short, it is possible to identify at least three major waves of globalisation that brought the world closer together. The first, he suggests, is the period from 1492 (Christopher Columbus’ first voyage) until about 1865 (the end of the American Civil War), the second is the period between 1865 (the end of the American Civil War) and 1989 (the end of the Cold War), and the third and current period began in 1989.
The encounter between the Old and the New World in the 15th and 16th century, resulting from the voyages of explorers like Christopher Columbus, Amerigo Vespucci, Francisco Pizarro and others, bridged the hemispheric divide in a series of transactions and exchanges of people, plants, animals and viruses that created a global world. More probably than technological sophistication, skilful organisation, or religious devotion, it was the introduction of diseases from the Old World for which the indigenous peoples had no immunity that made it easy for the Europeans to gain control. The population of the New World dropped from approximately 54 million around 1490, to just over 5 million by 1650. This demographic catastrophe necessitated the import of slaves from Africa to work the mines and estates. These dramatic population changes, along with economic exploitation and cultural domination, characterised the first period of globalisation.

The second phase of globalisation, according to John Rennie Short, began after the American Civil War. At this time the US constituted itself as a major world player along with the Europeans. This period of globalisation was characterised by growing political internationalisation and continuing and overwhelming economic globalisation. The expansion of railway transportation and shipping in the second half of the 1800s reinforced the economic integration. The invention of the telegraph in the mid-1800s (simultaneously by Samuel Morse in the US and Fothergill Cooke and Wheatstone in Great Britain) and the adoption of the gold standard by most major nations by 1870 encouraged capital mobility, a force which has been a trademark of globalisation ever since. The wealth and riches of Europe and the US were further added to by the colonisation of wide areas of Africa and Asia.

Even if the economic globalisation we are currently experiencing seems overwhelming, many economists profess that the period from 1870 until 1914 is still by far the most globalised period yet in history. Mass migration also contributed to this globalisation. About 60 million Europeans migrated to the New World in the century after 1820.

The period 1914-1945 constitutes a rupture of world wars and economic depression. But as early as 1944, at the Bretton Woods Conference, the Allies created the economic framework that would shape most of the second half of the 20th century and pave the way for increasing globalisation. Part of this agreement was the creation of three supranational governing institutions, the International Monetary Fund (IMF), the World Bank, and the General Agreement on Trade and Tariffs (GATT), which in 1994 would evolve into the more binding World Trade Organization (WTO). All of these institutions have been instrumental in the development of globalisation as we know it today.

Understanding the world - the challenges of globalisation

Economic integration thus is the prime prerequisite of globalisation. But the implications of economic integration are felt in all areas of society. Not least so in the city, where all of the challenges seem to converge. Thus in the future, urban planners must not only understand the structure of economic development, but must become multi-talented jugglers, able to balance social, environmental, cultural, infrastructural, security, legislative, political and economic issues and challenges.

The following is an attempt to single out some of the main challenges urban planners are currently facing. It should be noted that the four areas singled out below - the environmental, the social, the cultural and the political areas - do not constitute the full list of challenges, and that they are, in the true sense of globalisation, intertwined and strongly interdependent.
Environmental challenges
Nowhere has humankind altered the environment more than in cities. The ecological impact of cities today reaches far beyond their individual boundaries, and the growth in cities during the last century has been a crucial source of environmental change. For centuries before that cities may have dominated political life and high culture, but in the 20th century they became the common habitat for the human species, an expansion derived primarily from migration and population growth.

The urban impact extends far beyond the city limits and into hinterlands, to downwind and downstream communities, and in some respects to the whole globe. The crucial challenges of providing water and energy, of garbage disposal, sewage system maintenance, and pollution control will occupy planners for decades to come. And in the light of the massive growth of cities in poor countries, we would do well, in a global sense, to remember that it took wealthy countries almost a century to organise partially effective responses to the pollution effects of urbanisation.

The car is a good example of a 20th-century technology that has had enormous environmental (and social) consequences at both local and global levels. In 1910 there were less than a million motor vehicles in the world. By 1995 this number had reached 777 million. Today cars are responsible for about a fifth of the carbon dioxide added to the atmosphere. Worldwide about 1 to 2 percent of the land surface is taken up by auto space (roads, parking lots, gas stations, etc.) matching (and overlapping) the space taken up by cities. Auto accidents currently kill about 400,000 people annually. And surveys indicate that an American adult spends roughly twice as much time behind the wheel every day (72 minutes) as average parents spend with their children. Examples of challenges created by automobile technology are countless and will remain on the urban planning agenda for decades.

Social challenges
What has been termed as almost an ethic of individual self-fulfilment and achievement is arguably one of the most characteristic features of modern global society. Several scholars have outlined the immediate threats thrown upon us by this individualisation: tradition, family, and even democracy - usual and common strongholds in societies around the world - are at risk. The immediate question facing the urban planner in the light of individualisation is obvious: should planning help individuals in their quest for self-fulfillment and commit itself to increasing individualisation, or should planning maintain its classical commitment to helping establish a sense of community, which would mean countering excessive individualisation?

Another major trend with severe implications for the urban planner is the continuing force of migration, both within and between countries. This migratory trend has implications for the make-up of societies around the world and also involves fundamental political issues. The initial result of migration is increasing multi-ethnicity. The problems faced by the planner in the wake of this are to help establish surroundings that allow both multiethnic and multicultural cohabitation.

Weaving through practically all of the social challenges raised by globalisation is the very obvious and undeniable problem of segregation. Segregation both within and between nations comes in many different guises, but poverty and lack of opportunity in most cases constitute the primordial emblem of segregation. However, the scope of causes and the consequences of segregation are much larger than this, and the dramatic and fundamental inequalities in the distribution of wealth and opportunity cannot but raise issues concerning safety (personal and local) and security (communal and global). The overall challenge inevitably becomes finding ways to make the benefits of globalisation available to more people (everybody), and not only to a privileged few. This is a challenge in which planning has a privileged role to play.
Cultural challenges

For many, the globalisation of culture is identical to the incessant spread of American culture, ideas, products, entertainment, and politics, resulting in a homogenisation of the cultures of the world. And it is certainly not untrue that the co-modification of culture, be it sports, music, art, cinema, or dance for that matter, seems to confirm this view, evidenced by the growth and power of the largely American-run or Americanised media and entertainment industry of the late 20th century.

But this view of culture is contested by other developments, in particular the growth of individualisation, information technology, and communication, which together have facilitated the development of heterogeneous cultural expressions. A look at any urban area around the world is evidence of the simultaneous existence of both homogeneous (primarily Americanised) and heterogeneous cultural trends.

In this light, culture is, it must be said, not an unchanging, static container holding a certain locality's past. It is not simply the passive consumption of imported cultural products. Culture, rather, is an ongoing and dynamic process that allows a locality to engage in a critical and productive exchange with the world.

Culture also has a role to play in a continuing process of empowerment. In our day and age, consumption and culture seem to be the prime vehicles for self-expression. But whereas consumption favours the well-to-do middle and upper classes, culture in all its richness, from soccer to sadomasochism, has the ability to become inclusive and empower both the less well-off and the marginalised.

The identification and involvement of local cultural milieus in urban planning, the balancing of global trends and local customs, and the involvement of all areas of society in the planning process will be even more important in the future, if planning is to continue to reflect the cultural richness of localities and the ideas of the people living there.

Political challenges

Early on in the present phase of globalisation, say the 1970s, many scholars believed that politics, and in particular the nation-state, would lose its importance in a globalised world. This observation has been pursued by most of the media in the last decade or so as well, implying that voters are increasingly distrusting of politicians, and sickened by politics.
But lately many of the more enlightened scholars have stressed the continuing relevance of both the nation-state and of politics. The need for cooperation - locally, regionally, and internationally - has possibly never been more evident, and the need for strong public participation in the governing of world issues has never been more necessary.

The continuing importance of democratic institutions and of democratic governance promises to remain one of the major challenges in our age of globalisation, and indeed one where urban planning, a fundamental form of participation in the public affairs of a locality, will have to develop new, strong, and democratic habits.

Postscript

In 1998 the Nobel Prize in economics was awarded to Amartya Sen for his contributions to welfare economics. The Swedish Academy of Sciences in particular wanted to commend Professor Sen for his clarifications of "the conditions which permit aggregation of individual values into collective decisions, and the conditions which permit rules for collective decision making that are consistent with a sphere of rights for the individual". In passing, this is a proposition that would seem as relevant for a research program on urban planning as it has proven to be for economics.

Amartya Sen was born in India, and educated in Calcutta and Cambridge, UK, where he is now Master of Trinity College. He has taught and lectured all over the world. Thus, as almost an embodiment of globalisation, he consistently contributes, as a scholar and as an individual, to the debate about the future development of globalisation. It seems fitting to let Professor Sen describe the penultimate challenge we face in the light of continuing globalisation:

"[T]here is a basic need to recognise that despite the big contributions that a global economy can undoubtedly make to global prosperity, we also have to confront, at the same time, the far-reaching manifestations of inequality between and within nations. The real debate associated with globalisation is, ultimately, not about the efficiency of markets, nor about the importance of modern technology. The real debate, rather, is about inequality of power, for which there is much less tolerance now than in the world that emerged at the end of the Second World War."

(The Observer Sunday, June 25, 2000)
What is the role of cities in regional economic development, primarily in terms of number of jobs? We shall consider two aspects: the role of cities in the development of regions outside the local area, and the role of cities in the development of their own region. Before starting, it must be stressed that the article will only deal with this question in the Western world, in particular in the European Union. In other parts of the world, conditions and processes are different.

### IS GROWTH IN CITIES CONTAGIOUS?

**How Cities and Towns Influence Regional Economic Development**

Sven Illeris

The cities of Europe are not tied up in national hierarchies but are part of multifarious networks with an infinite number of cities in different regions. With globalisation, the cities' relationships to each other and to regions have become complex and multifaceted. The author examines the significance of cities for regional development. While many would maintain that economic growth in larger cities always spreads to other regions, using European examples, the author demonstrates a more varied picture: a chequered mosaic where it can be difficult to find cohesion between various causes. The author claims that both large cities and small towns contribute to regional development significantly, although in very different ways. He argues that competition between cities should be regulated, so that many types of city, and thus regions, can be secured positive development.

**The national dynamo?**

It is often assumed that it is possible to improve a region's economic development by selecting a city (or “centre”) elsewhere for promotion. The desired effect is that growth in the “centre” will spread to the neighbouring regions. But is this necessarily so? Can we improve a country’s economic development by developing its capital (or main economic centre) and then assume that it will pull with it the development of
the whole country? Is it true that the only chance of any country - given the increasing global competition - is to allocate all resources to the development of its capital?

This idea seems to be intuitively captivating. At least, it has often been put forward as a self-evident truth. But it has also been argued in a more scientific way, based on a theory suggested by the French economist Perroux (1955).

He did not originally consider regional questions, but the relationships between the sectors of an economy. If a sector, or even only a large company, grows, it will buy more inputs (raw materials, semi-manufactured goods, machines, services etc.) from other sectors, which then will experience growth; they, in turn, will buy more from still other sectors, etc. The originally expanding sector will typically be innovative and demand creative inputs. And its products - sold elsewhere in the economy - will be better or cheaper than previous products, thus spreading growth impulses. Instead of trying to promote growth everywhere, the total impact of a targeted effort will be bigger if a “strategic” sector is selected, from where there is a maximum of spread effect.

This idea was later extended to regional development and used to argue in favour of the selection of “growth centres”, cities from where spread effects could increase the economic development of neighbouring regions. In the 1960s, this notion was widely accepted, and growth centres were selected to work as dynamos in many countries. But in the 1970s these policies were largely abandoned. Since the 1990s, the growth centre idea has been revived. It is important to consider the various arguments behind the changing assessment of growth centre policies.

First of all, the growth centres of the 1960s very rarely lead to the anticipated results in neighbouring regions. This is not necessarily an argument against the theory, since the ineffectual ways in which growth centres
were selected in the 1960s constituted a watering down of the idea. Due to local political pressures, too many centres were often selected so that only absurdly few resources could be allocated to each.

Perhaps one could verify the theory, not by looking at the effect of the too common small selected growth centres described above, but by looking at the spread effect from national capitals or main economic centres? Following the logics of the theory, this effect should be stronger in the neighbouring regions with declining effects as one moves farther away. Of course, many other factors - some of which are impossible to measure in a quantitative way - have an impact on regional economic development. However, a hint may be obtained by measuring development in zones 100-250 km from the capital and zones over 250 km away. Of course, this will only be possible in countries where distances from the capitals are large enough. One can try to do this in western European countries (except Germany, which has several main economic centres) over the period 1955-2000, by measuring changes in the population, as these correlate well with employment. The following results appear: In the United Kingdom and Finland, the regions nearer to the capitals have consistently higher growth rates than the more peripheral regions. But in France, Spain (with 2 main centres), Norway, and Sweden, the opposite is the case. In Italy (2 main centres), the results fluctuate within sub-periods. There are good reasons for all these findings, but the growth centre theory is not really supported.

One could also look for empirical support of the argument of the importance - in the context of international competition - of large national capitals or main economic centres. Do countries with a dominant capital city show higher growth rates than countries with more polycentric urban systems? Again, national growth rates depend on many other factors; we can only look for a hint. However, there is not the slightest indication that countries with the former type of urban systems - such as the United Kingdom, France, or Denmark - have higher competitiveness than countries of the latter type, such as the United States, Germany, or Switzerland.

Even the theoretical construction of the growth centre notion is questionable. The theory rests on the assumption that the chain effects between sectors in an economy are analogous with chain effects between...
neighbouring regions. It is a fact that a growing sector buys inputs from certain other sectors, but the beneficial spread of growth impulses to adjacent regions is merely an assumption that seems to be without much substance. Geographically, the chain effects outside a sector’s own region are so dispersed that they do not pull growth in any particular geographical direction. In spite of the intuitive attractiveness of the growth centre theory, it must be concluded that neither empirical, nor theoretical arguments give much support to it.

Regional effects
What about the role of cities in the development of their own region? Here, we are on firmer ground; they must contribute to it. 1,000 new jobs in a city are 1,000 new jobs in the region, too.

But does this necessarily point to a policy of supporting the growth of big cities? Are they likely to grow more and induce more growth in their region than medium-sized or small towns?

From the beginning of the industrial revolution until the 1960s, there was no doubt about the answer. In this period of rapid urbanisation, large cities showed the highest rates of growth. There were, and still are, many reasons for this:

• A large labour market is an advantage for both supply and demand, so workers and employers prefer to locate where there is a large labour market. Geographically, the chain effects outside a sector’s own region are so dispersed that they do not pull growth in any particular geographical direction. In spite of the intuitive attractiveness of the growth centre theory, it must be concluded that neither empirical, nor theoretical arguments give much support to it.

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• A large labour market is an advantage for both supply and demand, so workers and employers prefer to locate where there is a large labour market. In particular, the size of the markets for highly qualified personnel has become more and more important.

• In order to enhance their attractiveness, especially to highly educated people, big cities offer amenities such as cultural services.

• In a big city, the costs of supplying goods and services are minimized due to a large local market and good transport facilities to distant national and international markets.

• It is also cheaper and easier for firms to obtain inputs. In particular, this is the case with information and knowledge inputs, which are becoming increasingly important. Though information can increasingly be obtained electronically, face-to-face meetings with people in public administration, interest organisations, media, research institutions, consultancy firms, etc. remain important - and they are concentrated in capitals and other main urban centres.
Firms also have advantages connected with a location in the same agglomeration as other firms in the same or related sectors. Both co-operation networks and inspiration from competition stimulate them to increase their competitiveness. Such clusters are often formed in big cities.

So overwhelming were the advantages of big-city locations and the associated superior growth rates that urbanisation theories bestowed the status of a law of nature to the notion that firms will naturally move to urban centres. It was even thought to be reinforced in the second half of the 20th century, when the importance of qualifications and knowledge increased, and when sectors over-represented in big cities, such as consultants and high-tech industries, grew more than any other sectors.

Therefore, it came as a shock when, in the 1970s, it was observed that the real world did not behave as predicted by the theories (see Figures 1-3).

The figures describe the overall pattern. The reality behind the pattern is a rather unstable mosaic (which has also been observed in North America since 1970): Some big cities grow, while others do not. Some small towns and rural areas grow, while others do not.

And some areas grow in some periods and not in others. Copenhagen stagnated in the 1970s and 1980s, only to recover vigorously in the 1990s - when, for instance, growth in Paris was below the French average.

It may be added that if regional economic development is measured in terms of GDP per capita, we also observe a convergence towards the average (Sørensen 1997).

So there are forces which now pull in the opposite direction to the forces mentioned above of geographical concentration:

- Manufacturing has shifted away from big cities to medium-sized and small towns, where there are lower costs and more stable labour.
- Regional and local services - e.g. education, health, and social services - have expanded tremendously, especially in the 1970s. Medium-sized and small towns benefited relatively more than big cities (while rural areas often lost their few services, shops and primary schools).
- Clusters - like those within big cities - also exist in specialized industrial districts outside big cities. Strong cultural traditions of entrepreneurship, innovation, and networking make some of them very competitive.
- Car ownership, air travel, TV and telecommunications have made life in small towns less isolated than previously, both for firms and for families, and increased their attractiveness, relative to big cities. This has been especially important for areas with pleasant climates ("sun belts"), beautiful landscapes, and exciting urban environments. They have attracted qualified people who again attract firms - or set up their own. But dull or even uncomfortable environments are left behind, and the extremely low population densities in northern Scandinavia seem to hamper the creation of sufficiently strong local networks and labour markets.

The move of manufacturing out of the biggest cities means that capitals or main centres are not particularly important for international competition. International trade primarily deals with agricultural and

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### TABLE 1.

| 1,400,000 INHABITANTS (COPENHAGEN, CONTIGUOUSLY BUILT-UP AREA) | 14% |
| MUNICIPALITIES WITH 150,000 - 300,000 INHABITANTS | 15% |
| MUNICIPALITIES WITH 25,000 - 100,000 INHABITANTS | 19% |
| MUNICIPALITIES WHOSE BIGGEST TOWN HAS 5,000 - 20,000 INHABITANTS | 22% |
| MUNICIPALITIES WHOSE BIGGEST TOWN HAS LESS THAN 5,000 INHABITANTS | 22% |
| DENMARK TOTAL | 18% |

**DENMARK HAS RELATIVELY LARGE EXPORTS OF FOOD. BUT EVEN IF AGRICULTURE, FISHING AND MANUFACTURING OF FOOD AND BEVERAGES ARE EXCLUDED FROM THE CALCULATION, THE PROPORTIONS ONLY CHANGE TO 13% IN COPENHAGEN AND 20% IN THE 5,000-20,000 BRACKET.**
manufactured products. Big cities do, of course, compete internationally for certain types of activities and investments, which require highly qualified staff, good international accessibility, and excellent amenities. But the importance of this competition has been exaggerated in the public debate. Apart from serving themselves, metropolitan centres primarily produce services for their own countries. They do export some services, but services are internationally far less traded than manufacturing goods (services internationalise primarily through foreign direct investment, creating affiliates in foreign countries or acquiring existing local firms there). Thus, even in London, a survey in 1998 found that other countries constituted the main market area for only 9% of employment (Ellis et al 2002).

International trade is more important for smaller towns, where the bulk of manufacturing industries are now located. Medium-sized and small towns show a variety of specialisations, some serving their local surroundings, others primarily selling manufactured goods or special services to the rest of the world. Accordingly, their competences and identities are very different. Table 1 shows an - admittedly crude - calculation of the export share of the production of different sizes of Danish towns.

To conclude: Since the 1970s, the long term development of all size-classes of big cities, small towns and rural areas in the Western world is close to the average, though with much individual variation and considerable short-term instability. Development today is influenced by the high number of factors influencing the location of economic activities and pulling development in different directions.

Policy conclusions
The observation of overall average growth rates in all classes of cities and towns does not mean that there is no need for policies to promote regional economic development. There are still cities and regions with too few jobs and too low incomes. However, efforts must be made where the problems are - one cannot expect much spread of effort to other regions or the whole country.

In recent years, it has been broadly recognized that, as far as possible, local and regional governments should carry out development policies, as these are better than national or European authorities at taking local problems and potentials into account. The observation of an unstable mosaic pattern supports this argument.

However, the devolution of development policies has led to a reinforcement of the century-old competition between cities. Previous competition between European countries, now regulated by the EU, to some degree continues, although now disguised as competition between cities. There are positive aspects of this competition, and it inspires actors to do their best. However, while we accept that competition between companies is in the general interest, competition between cities is different. Cities are local societies, whose citizens have lives and resources that cannot be allowed to be written off in the same way as losing companies. National and EU authorities must establish rules of the game which ensure that economically weak cities and regions have sufficient resources to be able to compete against strong ones.

It is also in the general interest that cities and towns in the same region cooperate to complement each other wherever possible, in order to reach the best possible results for the region as a whole. This is exactly the purpose in the proposed EU European Spatial Development Perspective (ESDP).

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One of the many changes normally ascribed to globalisation is that cities and regions today create still closer cross-border networks. Even if there is nothing new about this as such, it is relevant to observe what this means for the single locality. This article argues that globalisation must not be understood as an infringing process leaving us powerless. The meaning of globalisation depends on local conditions, and European cities have special conditions and, therefore, special opportunities.

The cities and regions of Europe constitute a close-knit system of economic and political relationships built up over more than one thousand years. Cities and regions are the nodes of society in terms of economy, social relationships, culture, and politics. With the advent of nationalism 300 years ago, another model was taking shape. Localities became subordinate to the state, which was given a centralised and uniform code of practice. Communication between the cities of a country was improved, leading to more division of labour and new opportunities for development. Thus, the nation-state provides the political and administrative infrastructure for the development of the national territory and constitutes, therefore, a significant basis for economic growth (Lefebvre 1991).

With the fall of the Iron Curtain, the European territory changed dramatically. The importance of the states has diminished in tandem with a growing number of organisations becoming more important for...
European integration. In particular the EU, with its single market, has become the dominant non-nation-state actor and increasingly performs the overall, national planning and co-ordinating functions regarding economic and commercial relationships. At the same time, local and regional authorities have acquired increasing responsibility for commercial and employment development and, thus, also for the welfare of the population.

The globalisation debate of the past decade has focused on the reduced possibilities of the state to control development. The impotence of the state is claimed to be the reason for the increase in economic, social, and political differences. In addition, the large cities have been singled out as the "new", central commercial and political unit, even though it is intrinsically impossible to distinguish a city from its region on the basis of economic or social processes. In spite of the past decades of marked decentralisation across almost all of western Europe, we are still lacking a thorough debate on the division of labour and responsibilities between the local, regional, and national levels.

The cities of globalisation
The cities apparently most affected by globalisation are world cities such as Los Angeles, Mumbai, Mexico City, and Lagos. These cities are inhabited by populations the size of medium-sized states. And growth will continue for the next decades, although not in the large cities of North America (Hall & Pfeiffer 2000). Their significance will also exceed the weight according to the size of their populations, as they are business markets and national or continental centres. These large cities, or world cities (Friedmann & Wolff 1982), are in a league of their own; they constitute the control centres of the global economy but, additionally, most often also contain the most important political organisations as well as cultural and educational establishments.
The world cities are today characterised by a number of trends that may become reality also for minor cities and city regions:

1. New industrial structure. In the world cities, particularly two kinds of business sectors have crystallised as being important. On the one hand, this applies to the finance and insurance sectors, strategic corporate management, and the business service sector, such as law firms, telecommunications or computer services, and, on the other hand, an array of sectors servicing the former, including building and construction, restaurants, entertainment and security services. These new industrial structures are replacing manufacturing industries and, partly, the public sector.

2. Social polarisation. Global megacities are experiencing a growing gap between a well-educated group of high-wage earners and a group of unskilled workers on minimum wages. The well-educated group performs management functions, is employed in transnational corporations, international organisations, financing and business services. This group is “outsourcing” increasing numbers of household chores - childcare, cleaning, cooking, gardening - which, in turn, are performed by the other group, not infrequently immigrants or other people with a marginal status in the labour market.

3. Physical restructuring. The physical environment of the world cities is constantly being transformed to be able to match global competition. New office blocks, shopping centres, hotels and luxury housing are added. In addition, the relatively large social inequalities enhance the spatial division. In the large cities of Asia, Latin America, and Africa, social inequalities have created outright physical barriers, which keep unwanted groups out of the realms of the social elite. Fences, private security guards, and the establishment of secluded neighbourhoods intended for the affluent parts of the population are some of the methods. Conversely, the socially marginalised congregate in ghetto-like settlements in the periphery of the city or in run-down neighbourhoods abandoned by the middle class a long time ago.

However, most Europeans do not live in world cities but in medium-sized and minor cities. These minor urban communities will not become centres of the global economy and its hierarchy of decisions. Their potential must be found somewhere else. One possibility is the service sector and niche industries in which special skills and knowledge may ensure competitiveness. Knowledge industries are regarded as the only realistic way of ensuring that welfare develops steadily in the future. This demands large, long-term investment in education and research. However, money alone is not sufficient; social structures and cultural relationships must be adapted to the new conditions, e.g. by acceptance of new norms and attitudes as well as openness towards the new and the different. In particular, this is a challenge to older industrial cities, which have seen de-industrialisation take place over the past decades.

Local politics in a global era

Globalisation is not only an economic process of change but also entails changes and restructuring of the political system. Again, this has clear consequences at local level in cities of all sizes. Everywhere, the requirement to increase competitiveness is leading to marked changes of local political prioritisation, strategies and institutional structures (Mayer 1995).

In almost all Western countries, local politics have become more important to industrial policy. The reason for this strengthening of the local level is the competition from outside. In many countries, state relationships with regions and cities are what can be termed horizontal. Instead of hierarchical structures, co-operation between, and integration of, local actors now often take on the responsibility for economic policies.
Another change in local politics is the trend of prioritising the business sector and employment at the expense of social and welfare policies, with other political areas such as educational and cultural policies sometimes being adjusted to considerations for business and labour market policies. This is the shift in prioritisation lying behind the term of "entrepreneurialism" (Parkinson 1991).

At the same time, the growing importance of local politics also implies, however, that it is feasible to develop new forms of partnerships between public and private actors. New forums for involvement of non-public actors, such as private citizens, organisations or local associations, are coming into play. Similarly, the public sector is leaning towards the private sector by setting up task-oriented enterprises (Harding 1997).

Globalisation can be affected by local factors
As a consequence of globalisation, by far the majority of large cities in western Europe have staked heavily on developing their competitiveness. The fact that urban areas are now generally regarded as economic and cultural development centres has been of particular benefit to the capitals. Generally, smaller towns do not have the same large spectrum of possibilities for development. But still, it is often much easier for them to mobilise local resources. There is a large difference between how cities and regions have reacted to the economic, political and social changes that began to take hold in the early 1980s. And given that social relationships influence global processes, globalisation can of course also be affected by how well the local community is prepared.

The fact is that globalisation per se does not mean that public regulation, the welfare state or economic policies are replaced by an uncontrollable market. The conse-
A TAXI DRIVER IN NEW YORK TAKES A BREAK FROM HIS WORK. AS A SERVICE WORKER, HE IS A TYPICAL REPRESENTATIVE OF THE CITIZENS IN THE GLOBAL MEGACITIES. THE GAP BETWEEN UNSKILLED SERVICE WORKERS AND HIGHLY-EDUCATED EMPLOYEES IS GROWING AND MAY GIVE AN IDEA OF THE FUTURE IN EUROPEAN CITIES.

Sequences also depend on local conditions. Most states have responded by developing new types of control and regulation, such as increased co-operation between the public sector and the business sector.

This is not to suggest that globalisation is insignificant or that the process can be controlled locally or nationally. On the contrary, these closer relationships between states and enterprises also alter the possibility of the nation-state to control and regulate development (Andersen et al. 1999). Even a country trying to maintain its influence through binding co-operation, political decentralisation and development of local qualifications has to realise that its clout in relation to urban and regional networks is being reduced.

Globalisation not only creates losers. For one thing, access has been gained to previously closed markets, which is of benefit to many enterprises, particularly the transnationals. Among the winners, we typically find well-developed Western countries, which can determine the rules of globalisation through international organisations. Increased freedom of movement on the labour market has, in contrast, not been an outcome of globalisation. An increasing number of countries are imposing restrictions on immigration.

Two models for urban development
What can cities do when encountering the above challenges? Several cities and regions are trying to increase their competitiveness; the simplest way is aggressive marketing of
impressive shopping, office, and residential buildings, preferably combined with museums or all-commercial crowd-pullers. Such projects can be seen everywhere in city-close dock areas; London Docklands is probably the best known example, but the pattern also recurs in cities such as Amsterdam, Oslo, Hamburg, and Copenhagen. The model is typically based on a partnership between state and local authorities, funding the transformations. Most commonly, the infrastructure is improved in the selected areas while one or more public institutions are established, ensuring constant attraction of the public. Private investors’ risk, however, comprises only financing and renting of the all-commercial building project. The model is tangible and produces rapid and visible results. However, the long-term effect is more modest – an additional public museum, as well as a shopping and office centre. The knock-on effect is small, both as to addition of new jobs and development of local business qualifications.

A less widespread model is the long-term and integrated one, which among other places was tried out in Hamburg in the 1980s and the early 1990s. This development strategy is broadly founded, complex, and based on all important actors, both private and public, contributing positively. The model makes strong demands on leadership, both because it is complex and it has a long-term objective. According to such a strategy, the controlling actors cannot avoid encroaching on individual participants in the coalition. The model does not aim at spectacular projects but at the development of lasting business qualifications that can improve competitiveness.

This short-term project model produces rapid and visible results, but rarely enduring effects for urban and commercial development. On the other hand, the model does not make such strong demands on political leadership. The existing social relationships are not challenged to any appreciable extent. Conversely, the long-term model often involves a “clash” with existing social and political structures. This makes high demands on leadership, but can become a necessary, stable platform upon which the labour market and businesses can be revitalised.

**Final perspective - the world seen from Europe**

So far, the debate on changes in local politics has often been conducted in the light of North American examples. Frequently, large cities have been overwhelmingly favoured – well assisted by the discussion about the global cities (Sassen 1991). In principle, Europe’s many small and medium-sized cities are facing the same challenges, opportunities and threats. However, there is a substantial difference as Europe distinguishes itself decisively from North America, both through political tradition and the public regulation of basic welfare benefits. In our part of the world, the labour markets are more regulated and ensure the interests of the workers to a much larger extent. Increased efficiency cannot be achieved only through cuts in people’s welfare and rights in the labour market. Well-developed types of division of labour and partnerships between public and private institutions assist in ensuring both competitiveness and efficiency. The differences between the individual western European countries in this respect may, however, not be disregarded (cf. Esping-Andersen 1999). The important conclusion is that, although globalisation may be a shared precondition for all cities and regions, the tangible effects depend on local conditions and politics.
But how can cities develop without losing existing qualities? And how can local identity be interpreted, while at the same time remaining open to global impulses? How is the city experienced by the people moving around in it? And what is needed in order for people to experience the city and its development as meaningful and relevant?

Identity makes a place something special. This chapter illustrates how identity can contribute to developments in cities and regions that are increasingly becoming important in the global economy.

Several of the authors refrain from using the concept of identity in the singular. A city does not have one, but many identities, for identity is a question of perception and can be linked to many different aspects of the city. When one talks of one identity, the definition can easily be understood as a sign of nostalgia, in such a way that identity is comparable with our perception of the past. It can also lead to marginalisation, because one fixed definition can exclude others. Therefore, problems may arise if one attempts to fix a city’s identity with a few simple catchphrases. Identity is both about how a city is experienced from the outside and how it is experienced from different perspectives from the inside.
IDENTITY AND URBANITY: 
THE HETEROGENEOUS, DEMOCRATIC CITY

Peter Madsen

The concept of identity involves two interrelated ideas: unity and individuality. A person’s identity makes him or her unique, individual; but identity is also what we have in common with others. Generally, in modern society, an individual’s identity is chosen rather than given, meaning that a person’s individuality is not determined by belonging to a single, unified community with members identical to oneself. Rather, identity evolves through assimilation of characteristics from a plurality of communities; individuality is complex and heterogeneous.

In two ways the modern city is a setting for acquisition and development of this heterogeneous identity. A city is a physical living space as well as a significant, symbolic, mental space. Thus, the modern city should not favour uniformity but create the setting for plurality, complexity and heterogeneity. This creates a democratic identity: the city becomes a physical and mental setting for the acquisition and development of identity and reflection on the possibilities available to the modern, emancipated individual. But what is implied by a democratic urban identity?

Identity and community

“Just as a person gives evidence of the same emotional essence in his gestures with his hands, in his way of walking and in the sound of his voice, each expression occurring in my journey through Paris - the cafés, people’s faces, the poplars along the quays, the bends of the Seine - stands out against the city’s whole being, and merely confirms that there is a certain style of a certain significance which Paris possesses.”

In this quotation by the French philosopher Maurice Merleau-Ponty, identity is understood to be something which lies beneath the surface, a unity, or a meaning which is
revealed through various individual manifestations.

As with the personality of an individual, so too that of a city; as the character of an individual, so too what seems to be a city’s characteristic traits: the comparison is appealing. Behind the diversity of a city lies a unity; a unique identifiable significance with which the city’s inhabitants identify. This perception of unity may, however, be problematic. It ignores variation or leads to a situation where endeavours to achieve unity exclude variation or anything which does not fit into the unified city. The search for unity may lead to efforts for homogeneity.

The concept of identity is ambiguous. It may refer to absolute individuality: when the police identify a criminal using a characteristic unique to any individual such as a fingerprint. Identity may refer to something less specific, as when one is searching for oneself. The concept of identity is also associated with the collective, to something common with which the individual identifies. Thus, identity and community are interrelated. Questions regarding identity, like questions regarding community, have a historical character: to search for oneself is, in many regards, a modern endeavour. The modern philosophical tradition revolves around the concept of the individual. Søren Kierkegaard was among the founders of this branch of philosophy, which emphasises choice as a personal, individual matter. The crux of the matter was, for Kierkegaard, the conscious choice of the religious dimension. Later, this thesis of personal responsibility for one’s choices and actions was appropriated into secular existentialism. This is a modern concept: individuals perceive themselves and their own personality as something autonomous; individuality is emancipated. Individuality consequently becomes a task for the modern individual. Thus, questions regarding community are perceived differently than would be the case if individuals perceived themselves as becoming a member of already established communi-
ties, like the immediate and extended family, the social environment and fields of activity, the religious community.

In addition to the religious community, the national community has often been a refuge for a form of modern subjectivity which found itself left to its own devices. In many ways the national community is a product of modernisation, or is, in its function radicalised by modernisation. In Germany and Italy, nationalistic pathos acted as a lever for the formation of states which promoted trade and industry and thus modernisation. In Denmark, expectations regarding a unique national community became not least an imaginary space in which the nation's military defeat could be managed.

Modernisation
It is characteristic of modernisation that previous forms of community are destroyed and replaced by new ones. Some of these new communities represent attempts towards revival of previous community forms: nationalism and religious traditionalisms are widespread examples. Other new communities originate from common interests which developed out of modernisation: trade unions are a good example. Depending upon their convictions, political parties include elements of both. These modern communities all have in common that they are taken over from tradition or constructed: they are not spontaneous or "organic", they do not evolve from a given and inherited aspect of daily life. Membership in such a community is thus characterised by choice rather than assuming an identity, the individual establishes one through identification. This is true regardless of whether membership is real (for example in a trade union) or imagined (in a nation).

Mental challenges in the modern city
Historically, the big city has been home to open, arranged non-essentialist communities. From the perspective of the individual, there is identification with a plurality of these communities: individuality is heterogeneous. Kinships or relationships are primarily elected affinities. Organic communities which functioned as social organisational forms in the past are being replaced under modernity by arranged communities including those arranged by public institutions, from local to national governments and supranational organs. The city is the physical and symbolic space for this modern, heterogeneous identity. The reflexive acquisition and development of this identity represents an intellectual, emotional and symbolic exertion which is greater than that required for identification with a clearly defined "organic" community, whether the community is a family or similar group or an abstract, common symbolic community with mundane (the nation) or transcendental (God) characteristics.

What can the city contribute? The question has a historical and contemporary dimension. The concentration of the international style in architecture and city planning (as laid out in actual projects such as those of Le Corbusier in Paris and Hilbersheimer in Berlin, although only partially realised)
implies an eradication of all traces of history; that everything will have the same character; or historical as well as contemporary heterogeneity will become invisible. An ideal city, on the contrary, does not hide functional and social variation behind architectural uniformity. An ideal city displays its historic layers without being museum-like: refunctioning, gentrification, etc. are also part of life in the city. An ideal city makes an effort to fit into its surroundings physically and symbolically. It provides a setting for individual life in a variety of communities while at the same time curbing the tendency of market forces to determine the shape of the city space and its transport routes. It does not permit systematic functions, i.e. the abstract logic of the market and of administrative bureaucracy, to "colonise" the "lifeworld", i.e. the framework of understanding in daily life (cf. Habermas 1987). An ideal city promotes continuous reflection over the given frames of reference. An ideal city builds on the local and absorbs impressions from the outside. Its inhabitants are both citizens of the city and inhabitants of the world.

International exchange takes place at all levels: information, trade, economy, education and movement of people across national borders. None of this is radically new, but together these processes mean that the individual's life situation and city life as a whole, seen from a mental perspective, are affected by increasing complexity and speed. In other words, every urban situation is at the same time both local and global because the city has been spun into a web of physical connections which extend out into the world in many directions. The city has also been spun into a mental web of influences and impulses originating from all corners of the world. To reflect on one’s situation has, in principle, become the same as reflecting on the global situation. In the end everyone is a member of the global community. The global community has only a limited institutional framework (such as the United Nations) for the purpose of common administration of the actual global situation.

**Urban identities**

The relations between the mental and physical-institutional management of the social field has, in a European context, obtained its form through the interaction of the public sphere and democratic institutions. The historical path away from absolute monarchy has been long. Old European cities are characterised by both political power and religious institutions. The centralised political power has left its mark on cities in the form of monumental buildings and city planning. Religious institutions have left their mark through monumental building of churches, cloisters, etc.
Increasingly, universities won independence from church and state and evolved into relatively autonomous institutions for intellectual management of history and culture, as well as practical disciplines. Libraries and universities as well as different levels of educational institutions left their mark on cities. This was also true for the growing democratic institutions at state and local levels. Merchants' and craftsmen's cities were increasingly affected by industrialisation. In addition, trade was increasingly centralised in department stores. Cities of the 19th century with their horse-drawn wagons and/or sea-going vessels were affected by the new wonder of transport - the railway. In this way, the contemporary city displays its political, social, manufacturing, transport, and intellectual history for those who care to notice. If, that is, this history does not disappear behind the exhaust from the twentieth century's dominant wonder of transport - the automobile.

Proponents of automobile transport have appealed to modernity's core concepts: "development", "progress" and "necessity". As an ideology on four wheels, the automobile is the perfect incarnation (or rather encapsulation) of the supposedly free individual envisioned by liberalism. In fact, automobile traffic is a clear example of how the pursuit by each individual of his or her own interests counteracts the interests of each individual. Cyclists, the majority of road users in Copenhagen, experience the city differently: in addition to a practical use of the city space (they reach their destination more quickly), their daily tour through the city becomes an opportunity to become immersed in the interaction between weather, history, urban space and people.

The "identity" of a city lies in the interaction of all these factors: its inhabitants and their cultures, its institutions and their buildings, its transport systems and infrastructure and thus the city's place in the surrounding world - in conjunction with its residential, commercial and administrative buildings. The physical structures of a city represent its accumulated history and at the same time provide the setting for its inhabitants' daily lives. City development must protect both aspects, both the physical setting and the symbolic space. It has meaning - it offers inhabitants inclusion in a meaningful context - for example, "I am a resident of a city with a democratic system of government" or "I live in a city with diverse consumer and entertainment opportunities". This means something to them: it challenges them to "buy new clothes", "go to a gallery", or "think about how the city council could make the city better for oneself and fellow inhabitants". A city organises daily life and gives it meaning: the meaning it provides for its inhabitants.

The Port of Copenhagen: vision and reality

Most of the Port of Copenhagen no longer functions as traditional docks. This has given rise to new opportunities to undertake significant changes to the existing city. A large area was previously occupied by a shipyard and machine construction facility but was released and could have been rebuilt for a number of uses. For example, a beautiful and complex building with a public swimming pool and library combined with a bazaar or global food market where Danish vendors would work alongside members from the many new and older ethnic groups that have immigrated to Denmark. Such a site use would provide food for both body and soul (like a Roman bath or an oriental bazaar), a place for cultures to meet and recreational opportunities - all in one outstanding location in the city centre. This was, at one time, the author's vision for this disused urban space. Such a building complex would have had significance and meaning: it would have been an opportunity for physical interaction between the different inhabitants and cultural groups of the city. It could have characterised the city as a space where a sense of community is expressed visibly and where the political institution managing the common interests of the city focuses on creating attractive and stimulating spaces for ordinary citizens' daily lives. The building complex was not envisioned as a place for consumption like restless shopping, but rather a setting providing daily food needs in an open atmosphere where the curious could...
taste foreign cuisines. These opportunities could have existed a few steps away from a new subway route and within cycling distance from most parts of the central city.

Instead the area was used for administrative buildings for one of the large Danish banks, which in the mean time (an example of the trend of globalisation) was absorbed into a Nordic bank. A monumental, and in many ways beautiful building complex: it represents, though, something entirely different than the previously described vision: the city of banks rather than the city of citizens.

In the southern port area, citizens made themselves heard. Thanks to a local citizens’ initiative, an area of the harbour front has been laid out as a public park with a meeting house. The park integrates elements of the previous land use, harbour, and industrial functions, thus preserving its history. The park is also evidence that inhabitants of the city not only have rights but also exercise these rights, just as city hall does.

The democratic city
As long as the city has similar characteristics, it displays its democratic identity. The democratic community should be preserved and highlighted rather than communities associated with consumers, automobile drivers, or economic institutions. It is infinitely more difficult to promote this identity than it was to promote the identities characterized by the church or absolute monarchies, not to mention Fascism or Stalinism. Between the results of citizens’ initiatives on the one hand and the building of a town hall on the other, there are a multitude of areas where the modern, secular, democratic city manifests itself: in school buildings, libraries, parks, pedestrian streets, public squares and sports complexes, as well as cultural institutions. The key is to combine the physical elements of these buildings with the essence of their social character. In this way the city develops settings for individual development and participation in a variety of communities.

Returning again to Merleau-Ponty’s comparison: the democratic city has a multitude of gestures, tones of voice and ways of walking. Cities are all different, each with its own history, geography, social and economic situation. This is a characteristic of democracy rather than unity: the city’s inhabitants are diverse. In the same way that it is a strength of democracy to be a consensus framework for development and an intermediary between society’s diverse groups, interests and endeavours, so too must the democratic city, at many levels, signal a tolerance of heterogeneity - and the will to bring the diverse together. From both a physical and mental perspective, this might be a guiding principle for urban development in Europe in the 21st century.
The article argues that developers operating internationally with their standard projects produce urban uniformity, and that some of the paradigms and strategies developed by spatial planning in response to the new global conditions are tending to do the same.

However, if planning institutions remain confident of their role and use the concept of identity consciously in their work, they may secure a local context for global ideas, which is a necessary precondition for creating terms of reference in a globalised world.

Uniformity
On the face of it, changes in European cities are assuming increasingly uniform forms. Within the same time frame, the same programme packages are launched in all cities by developers operating internationally.

In the current debate on the city, two very different views of this development can be encountered: The one considers uniformity as a loss of local identity and a blurring of local cultures - as a restriction on the opportunities in the experience and living space surrounding us. The other view stresses homogenisation as unavoidable but also as a genuine expression of the new global conditions.

The fact that fundamental social changes elicit widely diverging assessments is nothing new. When industrialisation disintegrated the pre-industrial city, a similar debate was going on and when some very extensive restructuring was taking place again after World War I, these changes came to consti-
tute the dominant theme of a cultural struggle during the inter-war period. However, although there are precedents of the kind of debate we are facing, it is nevertheless a new complex of problems. First of all, the issue of uniformity versus locally anchored differences is not only a question of attitude, but also one of the inherent dilemmas of globalisation. Globalisation seeks out and operates in relation to differences - it is fuelled by differences, so to speak - but it leaves uniformity behind. Thus, we are forced to come to grips with this dilemma.

Looking at the architectural themes for debate spawned by the new conditions, it seems like we have approached the architectural debate of the inter-war period - the debate between a kind of modernism craving for internationalisation and the regional or traditional architecture craving for local change and tradition instead. In a certain sense, globalisation has realised the visions of modernism of the 1930s. However, architecture today is produced in another way than earlier, under different circumstances, with other consequences and other objectives than earlier and, in spite of the similarities, the debate is thus about something different and has to be conducted in another way.

Another thing is that upon a more thorough analysis, the prima facie uniformity turns out - by the standard of the central urban districts - to occur together with increasing diversification and deepened inequalities in cities and urban regions. Diversification between affluent and poor neighbourhoods, diversification between neighbourhoods in the ascendant, benefiting from the dynamism of globalisation, and neighbourhoods in decay, not being capable of connecting to the dynamism of the new economy. The outcome is increasing disintegration of the coherence of the city, both as an economic and a social structure. So globalisation not only produces uniformity. The conditions created by globalisation, and by which globalisation is
created, concurrently produce uniformity between certain types of areas in different cities, and they produce increasing differences between districts within individual cities. Globalisation redefines, so to speak, the differences by which we normally describe the city.

In other words, we are in the middle of some marked restructuring of cities, and this demands a new kind of understanding and new actions.

In the professional debate, we are actually also encountering a string of concepts indicating such new understanding. We see new types of directions for action aiming at more strategic plans, reflecting the dynamism of the market in new ways and orienting itself towards the themes of globalisation.

However, it may be reasonable to take a closer look at whether the political and professional attitudes and strategies emerging over the past ten to fifteen years relate clearly to the above-mentioned phenomena - and in particular whether they relate clearly to the potential uniformity.

If we believe at all in the possibility of the existence of institutions capable of thinking of the city as a unity and a community - i.e. planning is possible under the new urban conditions set by globalisation and de-industrialisation - then efforts try to see the city as a combined productive space in both an economic and cultural sense. However, a productive space will only function if opportunities are given to many different groups, in many different spaces, and with many different social and cultural practices, to create new formations which realise the basic potential of the city - its cultural and social dynamism.

This necessitates that we set ourselves free from the tendency to focus only on central urban districts or the tendency to apply the same strategy to all parts of the city. That we try, instead, to build up an understanding and some strategies, which can cope with thinking of the city as a unity, but a unity only functional by virtue of the capacity of many parts to work with their own programmes.

**Identities**

With some caution, the concept of identity can be launched at this point. The concept may, at a very abstract level, be applied to the entire city - i.e. the special character of the city. However, this can never be anything other than delicate encirclement of a volatile dimension, which we must endeavour to maintain and extend.

Used in the plural, however, the concept refers to the fact that a given city has many identities, which are registered by many different groups with many different cultural and social preferences. In the plural, the concept furthermore alerts us that our identity as individuals is built up partly by our moving over time through many spaces and our successive settling down in many different spaces with many different identities.

Identity may be perceived as a purely visual dimension, solely attached to the physical or architectural space, or the concept may be perceived as comprising the unity of the architectural space, the way in which it is used socially, and the symbols it carries. The extended definition of the concept entails that identities can be read anew and redefined without any significant physical changes having taken place - in other words, that the spatial identity is a dynamic relationship like almost any other aspect of urbanity.

Getting back to the presumption of the tendency towards urban uniformity, the hypothesis is that identities are being eroded and diluted or disintegrated by the uniformity striking central urban districts, particularly as urban actors adapt to international norms. Obviously, the architectural spaces created in some urban areas are global repetitions, but seen from the extended use of the identity concept, uniformity only becomes a reality if social and cultural practices are homogenised as well. They do so,
of course, to a certain extent - and again in certain districts in particular. But only by taking interest in all the elements that constitute the extended identity concept can the potential for an independent urban identity emerge.

Architecture has been international since the Renaissance. New economic forms and new structures of power have tended to bring about the same kinds of urban structures and edifices in all cities affected by the new forms. But in the encounter with the local landscape, i.e. topography and climate, as well as social and cultural practices and traditions, these global models have been modified. It seems as if the problem we are facing is that these modification and adaptation processes are weaker than they used to be - or are non-existent.

My claim is, however, that the modification of the international norms is still possible if the planning institution believes in itself and acts intelligently - that working deliberately with identities as a counter-strategy against uniformity is one of the important new tasks when planning. I will try to make this claim plausible by means of a number of examples. The article is entitled "Restructuring and urban identity" based on the understanding that the past 20 years have seen a fundamental economic restructuring of Western societies, and that this economic restructuring is bound to be connected with spatial restructuring. All such spatial restructuring may predominantly be created through the market or it may, to a larger or smaller extent, be influenced by an explicitly formulated and deliberately pursued restructuring strategy. The latter category is covered by the examples below.

**Bilbao**

Bilbao is often quoted as an example of a successful urban restructuring strategy. However, the way in which this strategy is often described - when Frank Gehry’s museum is depicted as the entire strategy - is symptomatic of the simplification and misreading taking place. The Bilbao strategy is interesting - but only because it consists of much more than Gehry’s building.

Explaining the strategy as solely a question of enticing Gehry and Guggenheim to Bilbao and thus creating an iconic building is to apply a form of explanation which actually contributes to uniformity. This form of description emphasises that the freely available global element being is the crux of the matter; that everything is about finding this particular signal with its global power of transmission.

Gehry’s building is described as the building that put Bilbao on the world map. As a communicative statement, this is correct,
but as a description of a restructuring strategy it is nonsense. The problem of being put on the world map in this way is that such a position will quickly fade away. The spectacular building operates in the same media reality as other advertisement statements - it will soon be outdone or overshadowed by other spectacular edifices.

However, the Bilbao strategy is more interesting than this because it consists of many elements and many layers orienting themselves in different ways towards the international, towards the local, towards the practical-functional, and towards the symbolic. Gehry’s building speaks out in an international cultural space, but at the same time, a large music and concert centre has been erected as part of the same strategy for urban transformation, and this centre speaks into the local and regional cultural space. It is within the field of these two buildings that, both in a concrete and symbolic sense, a restructuring process must be triggered. At the same time, the central parts of the city have become better linked with the entire urban area covered by an improved and prominently shaped underground system, and the public spaces and the river - perceived as a particularly symbolic laden place - have been made accessible and interesting in new ways. Combined, these measures offer the possibility of a new future and a new way of functioning, where the urban spaces are used in new ways and a new awareness of the material future of the city can arise.

The difficult part is to maintain what has now been created, to supplement it, to make it proliferate, to retain commitment, primarily among citizens, and, thus, also among investors. Whether the strategy will hold up in this respect remains to be seen. What is more or less certain is that, within a few years, Gehry’s building in Bilbao will no longer be anything exceptional but merely one among many other interesting buildings. It caught the attention of the world for a brief moment. It is part of the architectural world’s self-concept and misreading of the media reality surrounding us if we believe the building will retain the awe it inspires today. The crucial point is the local processes the project is able to trigger towards a new understanding of the city - the capability of the project to assist in the building of a new identity, to change Bilbao’s overall identity as an industrial city to a new identity linked to the cultural. The attempts of the Bilbao strategy to utilise the cultural may be put into perspective by being held against a strategy containing many similar elements, but applied in relation to a different starting point, and linked in a different way and with a different objective.

Santiago de Compostella

Santiago de Compostella has been the target of a form of religious tourism for centuries. In the past decades, the flocks of tourists have grown in parallel with general cultural tourism. To an increasing extent, these large flocks have left their marks on the city, partly in the form of traffic pressure, partly in the form of more and more facilities and shops adapting to tourism and thus slipping into tourism’s internationalisation and uniformity. The city’s response to this situation was an overall strategy containing an array of practical measures in relation to traffic and improving pedestrians’ possibility to walk around and experience the city. However, the quite fundamental measure was to make existing residents stay in the inner city. This was done by persuasion and economic incentives in the form of urban renewal subsidies. By ensuring that the historic city was still populated, a safeguard was implemented against the sneaking touristification. With people living in a place, there will also be local shops, local life, and thus less space for tourism to gain the upper hand. With people living in a place, tourists will visit a city still characterised as being an authentic space for daily life, with the large monuments in another context than if they were allowed to become a display of heavy cultural stones in a tourist space. Like globalisation in general, mass tourism harbours the same intrinsic dilemma: It is searching for the exceptional, but leaves - if left
uncontrolled - the exceptional dismantled, trivialised, and made uniform.

An element of making the inner city an attractive place to live is to maintain it as a space of daily life by investing in new car parks, new schools, refurbishment of parks, new housing, and a new - but modestly sized - art museum. All these new facilities were built as state-of-the-art buildings. This adds new cultural statements to the unique accumulation of cultural manifestations in which Santiago de Compostela is steeped. Through this strategy and these additions, the city is surviving the flocks of tourists and, in the long term, it will remain interesting as a tourist destination because it remains a living space.

Alvaro de Siza’s projects stand out as the most distinct examples of additions, which are quite modern, international in their point of departure, but still indisputably local in their tangible appearance. His absolutely modern museum building places itself with complete ease immediately next to one of the large convent complexes, and his additions to the convent garden express an infinitely sensitive ability to add new layers to the existing. This is not the grand international architect delivering his signature building. This is another kind of architect - and, in terms of urban identity, a much more interesting architect - who knows how to participate in and vitalise the city’s cultural and historical dialogue with itself and its surroundings.

Santiago de Compostella’s strategy is, similar to Bilbao’s, directed at the cultural, but the cultural in a wider sense. It is arguable that the cultures of daily life take centre stage to a much larger degree in Santiago de Compostella. The starting point is also different. The problem is not to assign a new path for a city marked by industrial culture but to ensure that a city, already economically a part of the service society, can survive in this context.

Whether the focus is on globalisation or urban restructuring, the problem confronting us as city planners is how we transform cities so that they can function under a new economic and social order. With regard to identity, it is all about examining how urban identities referring to industrial logic can be replaced by identities referring to another perception of the city and daily life.

Bilbao is the epitome of an industrial city, whereas Santiago de Compostela is arguably already a part of a service economy. I would like to conclude the studies of how restructuring and identities are interlocked with an example at the regional scale. An example where initial identity was attached to the industrial to an extreme extent.

**Emscher Park**

The Ruhr has, so to speak, no history prior to industrialism. The area here is a product of industrialism to such a radical extent that earlier structural and historical features have faded away. Thus, it is also an area whose entire identity is attached to the industrial. The visual identity is the large industrial factories. The cultural and social identity is attached to the life unfolding around the factory.

Therefore, the problem of transformation takes on another and more dramatic character. Not only are some structures changing, leading to the entity functioning in another way. There is a total breakdown of the existing. In this landscape, very few elements can be found for which the new service economy has any advance interest.

This recognition formed the groundwork of the strategy formulated in connection with the so-called Emscher Park Project, covering old Ruhr.

By application of the park concept, it was recognised, among other things, that the urban structure in the area was a kind of overgrown village without the historical, urban concentrations to which the new service economy is often attached. Conversely, the park concept expressed the ambition of being able to build a new kind
of urban landscape, which united the recreational and the productive in new ways. Within this overarching framework, general objectives for the orientation of the transformation projects were formulated: to rectify the ecological problems; to create a new material basis for residents in the area, a new local economy, including a large role to be played by energy production and particularly renewable energy; and to create some new cultural structures and new spaces around this transformation. To a large extent, it was a question of building a new identity for the area, not by drawing up a master plan, but by formulating a series of objectives which could inspire broadly. The transformation process came to consist of many projects widely anchored in the area.

The recognition that there were no historical inner cities meant that the strategies normally applied were out of the question. Instead it was recognised that existing history, expressed in huge industrial monuments, constituted a strong visual identity. That it was by reinterpreting the significance of these industrial monuments - to load them with new meaning, so to speak - that a new identity could be built, connecting to new forms of daily life.

Based on the large old industrial plants, an array of unique parks was created - activity parks, exhibition parks, production parks, office parks - all drawing upon the qualities vested in the industrial landscape. In this way, the spaces known in all other kinds of restructuring projects were avoided and instead some quite new forms of spaces of daily life were established, connecting to new forms of daily life.

The point of departure for this article was the tendency of globalisation towards uniformity and the question of whether the identity concept may act as a form of guideline when formulating counter-strategies to this uniformity. At this point, it is important to observe that part of the predominant thinking within the planning world is drawing in the same direction as international investors' standard packages. When the introduction of an internationally oriented cultural institution, designed by an international star architect, is regarded, in professional circles, as the cornerstone of a successful transformation strategy, it is relevant to see this as a form of intellectual standard package which contributes to producing uniformity.

The necessary counter-strategies, however, cannot be formulated simply by referring to local tradition. The task is to make the transformation processes add new layers to the city in order to create a dialogue with the many historical statements making up the urban landscape in a way that is specific to the individual city or the individual neighbourhood. If counter-strategies become a question of a regional or historicising architecture freezing traditional forms, the outcome will inevitably be both the creation of non-functional frameworks for daily life and the presentation of unsupported cultural statements.

Our everyday lives are overridingly characterised by globalisation. Having recognised this, as professionals we have the task of trying to activate the structures which can modify the universal and make it settle as something specific locally. Identity does not emerge by freezing the existing but by let-
Vis-à-vis these demands on restructuring strategies, the Emscher Park Project is one of the most interesting because, with its overarching common, necessary and comprehensible objectives, it is capable of activating broadly and thus anchors the discussion and the tangible projects in the local public mind. Once this happens, the necessary resistance structure has been established. Lyon's parallel improvement effort in all neighbourhoods across the city, complemented by an administrative organisation optimised to this task, also constitutes an interesting strategy.

Or illustrated by a single Danish example: When one of the most talented young architects co-operates closely with local groups in one of the most dilapidated neighbourhoods in Copenhagen and creates new public spaces that reflect both the international and the present time and are anchored in the local area, both physically and culturally, then a more promising example of the creation of identity and counter-strategies emerges than the ones attached to vast glittering cultural institutions.
The preservation of historic urban areas is today the general strategy for maintaining and strengthening identity and local character in the majority of European towns and cities. However, current preservation strategies are not unproblematic. There is often a conflict between, on the one hand, preservation and, on the other, a town or city's need for transformation and space for the expression of the identity of our age. In such a situation, it is important to be aware that there are many different methods of preservation. Those responsible for safeguarding make a number of choices - either consciously or unconsciously. Reality operates with very different perceptions of the meaning of authenticity and identity. The author shows the spectrum of European preservation practices and indicates the attitudes the different strategies express. Finally, he has some critical comments and requests for those who must make the choices in future preservation.

The need to renew the physical surroundings and abandon old ideas has been a dominant concept inherent in industrial society's urban development and has been a credo for modern urban planning. The concept of preservation grew as part of what we can call the general criticism of modernism in architecture and urban studies, which developed through the 1950s, 1960s and 1970s. This criticism was primarily based on dissatisfaction with the results of modern urban development, the destruction of old cultural environments and the building of new environments that met all functional requirements but that did not meet the social and cultural patterns requiring space in European towns or cities. The criticism led to changes in the values that guided urban planning. Attempts have been made to replace universal solutions, or environments that in principle could be placed anywhere, with regional or local solutions. Modern building technology and high-technology materials no longer only yielded benefits. The
scientific, rational argument for new surroundings no longer had the same power in public debates. It was safer to choose the empirically proven good and traditional solutions. The historical town or city as a monument gained an increased cultural value, because as an authentic monument it bears the town or city’s collective identity.

From the Venice Charter to “clusters of authenticity”

The Venice Charter (1964) was the first international political superstructure for a new preservation policy. The Charter’s primary goal was to preserve the cultural heritage that was partly destroyed by the war. Architecture and urban planning was also being greatly influenced by modernism’s values, and reconstruction was therefore also seen as being a threat almost as great as war itself. The specialists behind the charter focused on formulating operational international guidelines and they limited their area of interest to the undisputed historical monuments, buildings and historical urban cores.

There have subsequently been significant changes in European preservation authorities’ ambitions, values, and preservation strategies (see for example the two UNESCO reports from 1995). Preservation of surroundings has become a much larger issue and is seen as being a far more complex problem.

Firstly, preservation is not only limited to a unique historical object, but also includes the historical character of the surroundings. We are not as concerned with the documentation of the typical as with the documentation of the unique. The time perspective has been extended from the genuinely historical to include the recent past, and in some cases the surroundings produced today. Age in itself is no longer a necessary criteria for preservation. Ambitions have, in other words, expanded from focusing on “dead” ancient monuments to include living
environments that are a product of historical processes - cultural environments that are seen as being threatened by physical, social and cultural transformation.

Secondly, monuments are seen in the context of which they are part, a place, a town or city, a cultural landscape and perhaps also a region or a territory. The concept of place and how local character is described is of particular interest.

A further trait in the current approach to building preservation is that universal norms have been shown to be difficult to use. The discussion around an object’s or environment’s preservation value and the choice of preservation strategy is in practice relative to culture. Authenticity in western cultures has mainly been associated with the preservation of physical materials. However, in Japanese and Chinese cultures, authenticity has equally been linked to stability of form or (in other words) that the building is documented and that craftsmen’s traditions are preserved so that it is always possible to build it again. The history of the 1800s has a much greater value in the USA than in Europe and the concept of “historical traces” has a completely different meaning in a Norwegian village than in a central European pre-Roman town or city.

The specialists behind the Venice Charter were architects and art historians. The current approach to preservation is based to an equal extent on ethnology, social anthropology and linguistics. The criteria for evaluating what is worth preserving in a cultural environment in the Nordic countries has, however, expanded from including historical value, age, different types of craftsmanship and aesthetic qualities, to include a set of various socio-cultural criteria such as representivity, identity, symbolic and environmental values.

A consequence of this is that the concept of authenticity, which is closely linked to identity, and which has always been a central concept in the discussion around preservation, has received a new content. From being unambiguous, the concept of authenticity has expanded to become a relative concept comprised of many different dimensions.

"Clusters of aspects of authenticity" is a formulation that was used at UNESCO’s Nara conference in 1995, when the principles in the Venice Charter were reformulated. Authenticity can be linked to original mate-
materials, similarity of form, historical continuity of use, unchanged traditions of craftsmanship, and to continuity of the landscape or construction in which the object is placed.

Our approach to preservation today means that we often find ourselves in a situation where very many objects in a historical building environment and very many urban environments are eligible for preservation. When the field is expanded to include "living", expanding, and economically flourishing urban areas, conflicts arise between preservation and many other social, cultural and political urban development goals. Preservation is an interest that, with an authority that is disputable, competes with other interests. This conflict is particularly obvious in developing countries where the need for economic growth and modernisation is unquestionable.

Architecture, historical identity and place
As a part of the criticism of modernism from the 1960s onwards, theories were developed which focused on local character, and which formed the background for many later architectural and urban planning strategies. The theories of the architects Aldo Rossi and Christian Norberg-Schultz can illustrate the thinking behind the new approach to urban architecture. They have different views of how identity is linked to the city, and their perceptions are also part of the current debate. In other words, by going back to Rossi and Norberg-Schultz we can improve our understanding of the situation today.

Rossi's central theoretical work L'architettura della città (Rossi 1966) was inspired by contemporary structuralism and can also be seen as being a part of an Italian academic tradition in understanding the urban environment. Italian towns and cities were only bombed lightly during the war and suffered little damage. However, economic development, particularly in northern Italy, has placed great pressure on historical town and city structures. A town or city is in Rossi's theory a "manufakt", a historically produced result. A town or city as it exists today is an expression of need, its change over time and the way physical surroundings have developed as a tool to satisfy these needs. The town is therefore a structure where the throw-offs of all eras are incorporated and reused. In other words, a town or city's architecture...
marks its history. It bears and expresses collective memory - the town or city's identity.

Rossi, from an analytical viewpoint, sees the town or city, on the one hand, as an expression of general principles. The town or city builds on a language (basic structure) with a given number of elements or basic units (types); building types, structural and topologic principles. This language forms a structural unity where the units mutually define each other. As for other languages, the town contains its own grammatical rules for its own change. The town's structure is also the basis for self-regulation, but also a potential object for transformation in the sense that new needs can demand new structural principles.

However, on the other hand, the town or city can be seen as being something singular and special, as a locus solus - a distinctive place. It can also be seen as an artefact. For example, a building or a specific part of an urban environment is an expression of the general principles of architectural order but also has unique aesthetic properties that point back to the unique historical events at this place.

Christian Norberg-Schultz developed the concept of place and gave a different interpretation of its content (Norberg-Schulz 1979). The antique place was governed by the genius loci, the place's divine spirit that gave it its distinctiveness. Locus was also primarily understood within a religious context, as a holy place and this can illustrate the meaning Norberg-Schultz gave place in his architecture theory.

Norberg-Schultz was inspired by the philosopher Martin Heidegger, and his theoretical approach was phenomenology. He wanted to discuss the surroundings as they really are, as objects and entire places, not divided up into categories. His concepts are not precise in the conventional scientific sense, but are characteristic such as use, feature, atmosphere, and character. Every place must possess its own aesthetic quality. The problem with new development is that it often does not manage to retain these place characteristics. A “loss of place” therefore occurs which is also a loss of identity. The task of architects and urban planners should therefore be to give people reference points by creating meaningful places or in other words through making genius loci visible.

If we compare Rossi's and Norberg-Schultz's theories, three points are particularly interesting. Firstly, Norberg-Schultz searches for a comprehensive description and flexible categorisation of the urban elements that Rossi's urban theory inspired. In addition, Norberg-Schultz emphasises the natural landscape and the cultural landscape's meaning for a place's spatial structure and charac-
ter. Thirdly, the approach to discussing the relationship between town or city/place, physical surroundings and identity are very different. Place, for Rossi, is a continually changing “manufakt” that documents place history and therefore bears place identity. For Norberg-Schultz, a place's meaning or identity is a fixed quantity that can be interpreted through taking care of the existing architecture and through new architecture.

Preservation strategies

European towns and cities demonstrate a wide spectrum both in terms of objects selected for preservation investment, and how preservation is carried out and set in the context of other urban development. In practice, all preservation involves intervention in reality and affects the surroundings, either physically, or through changing their meaning. Throughout European history there have been detailed discussions not only of what should be preserved but also how preserved objects should be maintained and where relevant treated. Should an area or an object be returned to an assumed original form based on fragments of knowledge? Or does a town or city ruin lose its authenticity, its beauty, charm and patina so that it becomes in practice a false copy? Or can this be avoided by the preservation process clearly showing the divide between authentic material and the new so that the principles are clearly shown? The diversity in approach is shown in the field’s abundant concepts expressed through small but significant differences of approach, conservation, restitution, regeneration, rehabilitation, reconstruction, renovation and restoration. There are very different views on how and to what extent guidelines should be given for new development in preservation areas. Preservation and transformation should be seen in the context that new building development should submit or mimic old buildings through using guidance on form. But it is also possible to claim that towns and cities are constantly changing and that new architecture should primarily express the needs of the day by adding an authentic expression of this onto the old form.

European towns and cities demonstrate the breadth in the discussion around which historical elements should be highlighted as either history-bearing or identity-creating. Glasgow’s celebration of its industrial history and the ritualisation of the Ruhr area’s industrial monuments in Emscher Park, which Jens Kvorning wrote about in his article (pp. 50-57), attempts to link the town or city’s identity with recent history. Other towns, such as Oslo, prioritise preserving their landscape characteristics.

Most towns use very hybrid preservation strategies that vary from area to area.

RESTORATION OF THE RIVERBANK AND JOZE PLEČNIK’S PROJECTS IN LJUBLJANA, SLOVENIA ARE A RARE AND VERY SUCCESSFUL EXAMPLE OF HOW A RESTORATION PROJECT OF AN ENGINEERING AND ARCHITECTURALLY VALUABLE INFRASTRUCTURE PROJECT CAN STRENGTHEN A CITY’S IDENTITY.
Discussion of these complex strategies can however be reverted to the purer approaches, with clear theoretical justifications.

- On one side there are the museum preservation strategies where total and authentic preservation of urban areas has precedence over all other considerations. In this strategy, all new building is undesirable. Venice is the best example of this type of strategy.

- Reconstruction strategies involve the recreation of something that has existed previously. The Polish restitution of historical monuments and urban centres is a clear example of a reconstruction strategy (Karsten 1987).

- Structural preservation involves differentiating between stable historical structures and more transitory expressions of form. Preservation work focuses on the principles that have controlled the town or city’s architecture and has resulted in structures with a high degree of permanence. In a built-up area with a city block structure, structural preservation will involve preserving the block division and possibly also the buildings’ typology. However, maintaining the building pattern and the style may be of lesser importance. A significant difference between this and reconstruction strategies, critical or otherwise, is that structural preservation allows greater freedom for new projects to redefine historical traces, transfer new principles of architectural order onto the historical traces, and develop typologies.

- Narrative protection emphasises the historical-narrative (history-telling) elements of a town or city. Preservation work is not focused on the whole, but on the often incomplete fragments. These, combined with new urban development, represent a resource that projects can use and make clearer. Narrative protection therefore makes it possible to combine the need for change, the need for new cultural expression and the documentation of historical continuity. The strategy is politically and professionally more pragmatic than consistent reconstruction or new structural entity concepts.

- General preservation of urban environments can be seen as being a fifth strategy, even though in practice it will include elements of the four previously mentioned strategies. The difference with this strategy is that it builds on a wide approach to what has value in the surroundings and links the identity concept of built-up areas, physical properties, and spaciousness to the concept of quality. Attitudes to what should be preserved in Copenhagen’s city centre illus-
RSTRAT THIS STRATEGY. THE DANISH SAVE SYSTEM'S ANALYSIS METHODS FOR RECORDING "URBAN ARCHITECTURAL VALUES" FOCUSES ON JUST THESE QUALITIES. THIS IS NOT PRIMARILY ABOUT A COMPLEX ANTIQUARIAN DISCUSSION, NOR A THOROUGH SURVEY OF THE CITY'S HISTORY, BUT A SYSTEMATIC OBSERVATION OF THAT WHICH IS CONSIDERED TO BE OF VALUE IN THE CITY'S ARCHITECTURE AS IT APPEARS TODAY.

AUTHENTICITY?
All preservation work is simpler than it was some decades ago, because cultural monument protection has acquired political force throughout the whole of Europe. However, at the same time, cultural monument protection has become more difficult because the whole authenticity problem with the historical narrative and meaning-bearing aspects of preservation-worthy objects and their environments has become more difficult to relate to. Monuments rise above the discussion. They raise ideological problems in restoration, but have a meaning-bearing weight that can only be damaged by destruction. Problems arise when the surroundings we use daily as part of the living city (with the power of society's economic, productive, social and cultural activity) become monuments worthy of preservation. The fear of losing history can empty such historical monuments of meaning and make them into aesthetic figures without depth.

AUTHENTIC COMES FROM THE GREEK WORD AUTHENTES FOR INSTIGATOR. THE CONCEPT MEANS THAT AN OBJECT IS COMPLETELY GENUINE AND RELIABLE. AUTHENTIC IS A DEMANDING CONCEPT TO USE BECAUSE EVERYTHING IS AN AUTHENTIC EXPRESSION OF WHAT IT IS. THE DISTINCTION BETWEEN THE GENUINE AND THE FALSE IS DIFFICULT TO DRAW AND CHANGES OVER TIME. THAT WHICH WAS CONSIDERED IN ITS TIME TO BE A CULTURAL EXPRESSION OF LITTLE VALUE CAN BE SEEN LATER TO HAVE VALUE AS A CULTURAL MONUMENT. AN OBJECT'S MEANING IS DEPENDENT ON CULTURE AND CHANGES WITH IT.

Even so, the concept of authenticity is important in the discussion of preservation strategies. Urban architecture is no constant. Architecture is always a tool for changing societal needs, and these cannot always be met within the historical urban structure. The natural consequence of this is that the historical town or city makes space for the urban functions that do not come into conflict with it. While the need for physical transformation, which is the authentic need for today's urban society, is met by other parts of the urban structure. The problem in the historical core can then be that it exists as a theme park for historical monuments that primarily serve as wings for tourism and as an entertainment centre in the developed urban region. The quality requirement for new architecture is then simple - it must be like the old.
Of course, since the 1950s, many of the roles of the bicycle have been overtaken by the motorcar. Yet from out of the congestion of traffic in the city, new pockets for the bicycle as a medium for motion and urban experience may emerge. In many northern European cities over the last 30 years, the bicycle has returned as a source for multifarious and improvisational urban culture.

The bicycle enables city dwellers to develop an active bodily relationship to a city’s labyrinthine structure, appropriated (Reeh, 1991) via the movements of everyday life. In Copenhagen, a third of the inhabitants ride a bicycle to and from work. Nothing points to a decline in these figures; on the contrary. Perhaps the traditional Danish bicycle culture can inspire experiments elsewhere in Europe.

The bicycle can often seem too old-fashioned these days to be taken seriously in the promotion of urban life and identity in this era of globalisation. Has not the bicycle been reduced to something Europeans these days only see on the TV when they watch Tour de France?

A Danish cycling story
over three generations

The Danes’ use of the bicycle as a means of transport has long been recognised by the rest
of the world. In 1963, National Geographic Magazine published a long article on
 Copenhagen, where a full-page photo shows the main street, Strøget, not as the pedestrian
 street it is today, but rather as a street populated not least by bicycles.

Riding a bicycle was nothing strange for the cycling woman, born in 1925, in the photo's
 foreground. Already as a child, when few people had cars, she rode a bike. During the
 war (1940-1945), when private cars were out of service or laid up, the bicycle played a key
 role in family transport - even across greater distances. In the first decades after the war,
cars were expensive and in short supply. Not until the 1960s did the car become more
 widespread. At that time, some of the bicycle's functions as an individual transport
 means disappeared. Yet the bicycle survived and since 1975 has made a strong comeback.

Despite one, and then a second car in the family, the woman in the photograph continued
cycling the 4-5 km from her terraced home to her office, right in the middle of

Copenhagen, at least during the summer months. Even when she later was to move out
to one of the northern suburbs almost 10 km from the city centre, during the summer she
rode her bike all the way in to the city instead of taking the train. Only when she turned 65
did this custom wane - three quarters of an hour along cycle paths with blue and green
 scenery - in favour of driving and the eternal fight for one of the few spaces in the under-
ground parking lot. At 77 years of age she still cycles, around where she lives: to the harbour
and to the sea, to and from her children's homes to pick up her grandchildren from
school and kindergarten.

The woman's children - born around 1960 - did not cycle in the city when they were small;
it was simply too dangerous, their parents felt. They sat on a child seat on the back of mum's
bike, but learned how to ride at the family summer cottage, cycling through the woods
and to the beach. Only as they got older were they allowed to cycle in the suburban town
where they lived, although still managing 10-
12 km a day to and from school, 5-6 km each way, regardless of the weather and time of year. The children never got a moped, but instead bought a bike with gears, and then at a later age - over 30 - acquired a car.

Transport to and from work - from 5 km all the way up to 18 km each way - is still by bicycle for several of the children - now over 40 years old. In fact, for the most part the cars are left unused during the week, unless it is raining, snowing, or dark. If heavy items need to be transported or even the entire family then the car is naturally used, and also for trips during weekends, to summer cottages, grandparents, and friends. Car, bicycle, and public transport are functioning side by side - the bicycle having a prominent place in day-to-day life.

The grandchildren can ride unaided from the age of 5, although great care must be taken in traffic. One of the grandchildren, who is 7 years old, lives right in the centre of Copenhagen and goes to school 1.5 km from where he lives. But instead of taking the bus, walking or going by car he cycles - not by himself, but on his trailer bicycle, which is attached to the back of his father’s regular bike. All in all, it makes a bike with three wheels, two chains and one frame - 2.5 m long, but a quick and easy means of transport. The adult in front controls the speed, direction and braking, while the child at the back gets some exercise and becomes accustomed to the rhythm of the city flow of cars, pedestrians and ... bikes. They reach school in a matter of 5 minutes, and the father can cycle on alone, towing the trailer bicycle behind him.

During weekends throughout the year, this grandchild learns to ride alone around the summer cottage; during a year he will ride up to 800 km (without falling off) on uneven forest paths and gravel roads, which provide the only access to the best stretches of beach. The bikes will have to wait amongst the trees.
close to others and you can allow yourself to observe them while you wait for the lights to turn green. And you will soon learn to keep your distance once the flow begins to move. Cyclist tempers vary widely and can often get away with being so - without presenting a serious threat to others.

When bicycle and bicyclist are moving towards a set destination, then traditional observation or contemplation of urban scenery is suspended (Reeh 2001). Of course, people see parts of the city while they are cycling, yet the appreciation of urban space is subordinate to the special care needed to actually steer the bicycle. The cyclist’s attention is not only directed at fellow cyclists and weaving cars. In order to ensure constant motion without any unnecessary stops, the cyclist will also be aware of the red traffic lights up ahead, and will readily accelerate in order to make the green light. The role time plays in the equation means time is often spent looking at watches whilst cycling - at churches and towers, at the front of shop windows, bank corners, and neon signs. The collective demands on visual attention and presence of mind colours the cyclist’s overall urban appreciation.

The overlooked asphalt bike path
In particular, cyclists almost always look down at the asphalt in front of them. Sections of asphalt come at variable speed - from 0 kph when the lights are red, up to 40 kph down bridges or hills. Without thinking about it, you can reach 20-25 kph between sets of traffic lights.

Asphalt may be an elastic material, but holes can appear over time which the cyclist must avoid, just as he or she must negotiate puddles and go round broken glass from bottles or indicator lights. Every obstacle on the asphalt is registered immediately by the experienced urban cyclist, who picks out the lowest curb access point from road to footpath.

The cyclist reacts to every deviation from the norm, yet does not think about these sections or bands of asphalt of differing shades of grey. Bike-path asphalt is overlooked in two respects (Reeh 2002a) by the cyclist in motion. On the one hand, the cyclist overlooks the asphalt - surveys and monitors it. On the other hand, the aesthetics of the asphalt are overlooked - it remains unnoticed. Nevertheless, gazing at the asphalt feeds the individual cyclist’s silent deliberations of the self and of the world in general.

PARTICIPANTS AT THE AUTHOR’S SEMINAR ON URBAN CULTURE DREW A WEEK’S MOVEMENTS IN COPENHAGEN ON A MAP JUST AS THE STUDENTS LIVED IN DIFFERENT PLACES, THE ROUTE DRAWINGS WERE CHARACTERISED BY PERSONALITY AND WAY OF LIFE. THE CYCLE, HOWEVER, PROVED TO BE THE DECISIVE MEANS OF TRANSPORT FOR THE STUDENTS.

IF ALL 18 PARTICIPANT MAPS WERE PLACED ON TOP OF ONE ANOTHER, A PICTURE OF AN ANYTHING BUT PARTIAL CITY CAN BE SEEN. IT IS NOT DIFFICULT TO RECOGNISE ALL THE MAJOR THOROUGHFARES AND GEOGRAPHICAL FORMATIONS OF THE CITY’S CENTRAL DISTRICTS. AS SUCH, SOME OF THE OPTIONS THE INDIVIDUAL HAS, AND MAYBE WILL MAKE USE OF NEXT TIME, CAN BE SEEN. A CITY FOR BICYCLES IS OPEN TO IMPROVISATION AND UNPREDICTABLE MOTION.
How is the cyclist’s practical and reactive, rather than aesthetic and contemplative view of the asphalt to be represented? To capture on film what the cyclist looks at without really seeing, I undertook the experiment of regularly stopping and vertically photographing the asphalt in front of me. Every 150 metres of the 5 km route from home to work was recorded from two angles: a wide-angle view which caught the broad perspective cyclists are constantly aware of, and a portrait view which focuses on the fine variations in the body of the asphalt, as well as disparities in it (chewing-gum, glass fragments, paint lines). Neither of the two picture types correspond to the complexity and dynamics of the urban cyclist’s gaze, but they indicate fragments of fields of vision cyclists overlook - see without registering - during their human-powered forward motion (Reeh 2002b).

The city of the bicycle - forms and extension of urban space

The bicycle is a method of transport easy to control. The bicycle is adaptable to continuous route improvisation (Reeh 2002d) in the urban street labyrinth (Reeh 2002c). Better than the car, the bicycle allows the cyclist to make regular route changes. On a bicycle, the city is a network of optional routes (Reeh 2002b), one of which may arouse interest on the way in to town, whilst quite another presents itself on the homeward trip. There are no great variations in time used, although the mental differences are noticeable. The choice of route reflects the mood of the cyclist, and the route chosen affects the day’s mood.

The dangers of cycling

Cyclists come under the heading of so-called soft road-users. Bicycle frames are made of metal, yet the cyclist’s body is not protected by a chassis. At most protection comes in the form of a cycle helmet of hard foam material with a plastic coating and straps to keep it firmly on the head. Children often wear such helmets. Other safety equipment is required: lights after dark, reflectors on both front and back wheels as well as at the front and rear of the cycle, bike bells, etc. For it is, and will remain, dangerous to ride a bicycle in the car-dominated city.

Cyclists not only have to keep their balance. Cyclists must also pay attention to and avoid other road-users, all of whom are struggling for space and lanes. And there are many in the struggle: other cyclists (including the lightning-fast dispatch cyclists in colourful suits), pedestrians, mopeds, scooters, cars, buses, trucks, etc.

Motorists, bus drivers and especially lorry drivers must get used to taking particular care - during, for example, a right-hand turn - not to run into cyclists and knock them over. Every year in Denmark, 1500-2000 cyclists are injured or worse - killed in traffic. In 2001, this figure reached 56 - more than one fatal traffic accident a week. Fortunately, this trend has been on the decline for quite some time.

Cyclists need independent infrastructure

Over the last 30 years, cyclist safety has systematically been improved through the development of a comprehensive system of infrastructure specifically designed for cycling.
CAN THE BICYCLE BECOME WIDESPREAD IN MANY EUROPEAN CITIES? OR WILL IT REMAIN A SPECIAL PHENOMENON ASSOCIATED WITH CITIES LIKE COPENHAGEN AND AMSTERDAM? HERE THE BICYCLE HAS ALREADY BECOME A SPECIAL MEDIUM IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF URBAN IDENTITY. THE BICYCLE UNITES BODILY MOTION WITH THE EXPERIENCE OF URBAN SPACE.

FURTHER READING IN TEXTS BY THE AUTHOR

• Cycle paths can be found in cities on nearly all busy streets and roads - even in places where one might not have expected enough space to be left for the cars. Separate cycle paths are the absolute precondition for growth in popular cycling.
• In addition, there are also separate traffic lights for bicycles, at dangerous junctions, for example, where bicycles are allowed to proceed or turn at other times than cars.
• In some places the road is even painted blue at junctions where bicycles and cars cross. These long painted stretches of cycle path really help stress to car drivers that they must give way.

Moreover, development of a separate bicycle infrastructure means that it is not necessary to cycle all the way into the city and all the way home again.
• On the trains, by purchasing a special cycle ticket (just over 1 euro) you can take your bicycle, either by getting on at selected doors or by using allocated cycle carriages. Thus cyclists can skip more boring or demanding areas of their journeys and first make use of their bicycles after arriving in the city centre or green recreational areas.
• All taxis (and many private cars) are equipped with a special attachable bike rack capable of carrying at least one bicycle on the back of the car - again, for a nominal extra fee (1.5 euros per bike). People can cycle to a party and catch a cab home again.

Bicycle infrastructure must be fine-tuned and inventive in order to promote all the situations whereby a bicycle can interact in busy everyday life. But since bicycle infrastructure benefits such a broad section of the population, the investment pays dividends in the form of fewer cars (more space, less pollution), individual flexibility combined with improved public health (cycling, unlike sports activities, need not be planned in advance), and, equally important, urban residents’ general sense of well-being by moving around the world under their own steam.

Can urban cycling become more widespread in Europe?
The above urban reality is Danish and, in particular, a Copenhagen trait. Similar conditions exist in other Nordic cities, in certain German cities, and in Holland. But can the bicycle, as a human-powered medium for transport and urban experience, establish itself throughout the rest of Europe? Can the bike prevail in larger cities where car traffic has seized hold of urban space with long queues and polluted air?

In principle, nothing is standing in the way of the bicycle becoming more popular as a means of daily transport in congested towns or cities, and in particular for shorter distances (up to approx. 5 km). Periods of public transport strikes may prove the catalyst that inspires city dwellers to suddenly take to using bicycles in their everyday lives. In time, however, proper cycle paths must be built. An independent and extensive cycle infrastructure is the primary condition for cycling’s evolution from an individual experiment to a collective culture that unites personal transport and urban identity.

A city like Paris is - and could be - an excellent city for bicycling. Distances are not that great within the city limits and height differentials are manageable. Only at bicycle pace does Paris open up with a wealth of new impressions and possibilities.

It is already possible to cycle in many big cities. You can test this on your next holiday either by hiring a bicycle when you get there or by simply taking your own bicycle with you. Airlines accept bicycles as baggage, and airport buses in Paris, for example, have become accustomed to people bringing one with them as baggage.

This baggage provides a medium for development of urban identity. The bicycle unites bodily motion with appreciation of urban space. There is a need for both in big-city globalisation.
The articles illustrate Swedish and Danish examples where spatial planning has had an influence on urban identity and, on a larger scale, on regional development. The authors are practitioners and show firstly how Malmö has managed to redefine its identity from an old industrial city threatened by decline to a multiethnic and multifaceted knowledge centre. Identity has been a central resource in very positive developments. Secondly, there is a description of how the “Finger Plan” from 1947 has been of vital importance in the development of the Greater Copenhagen region, and how the plan’s fundamental principles still form part of regional planning.

EXAMPLES FROM THE ØRESUND REGION

Since its opening in 2000, the bridge between Sweden and Denmark has stood as a symbol for the new Øresund region. The 15-km-long train and road bridge forms a direct connection between Denmark’s capital and Sweden’s third largest city, Malmö. Copenhagen International Airport lies at the geographical centre - one of Europe’s busiest airports. The region has many old commercial centres, amongst others the university cities of Lund and Roskilde, as well as a number of small and medium-sized cities, and rural areas. The new region extends over 20,000 km² on both sides of the Øresund and has a total of 3.5 million inhabitants.
A new identity is developing in Malmö. The city, with complementary qualities to those of Copenhagen, is searching for its role in the Øresund region. The city has used a range of long-term development strategies and consciously worked with identity. Following a dramatic change in its structure, the successful industrial and commercial city is on its way into the knowledge and information society. Important development factors are a new university, high-quality housing, the development of Västra Hamnen (the western harbour) and central Malmö and not least the integration of the city’s immigrants.

After the expansion of the 1960s and 1970s Malmö, like many other industrial cities, was hit by structural changes. The shipbuilding industry, which had for decades been so important, died. This was followed a few years later by closures within the automobile and cement industries.

The great crisis in trade and industry came at the beginning of the 1990s, when the city lost around 27,000 jobs in three years. The public sector was also hit, a knock-on effect of weakened tax revenues due to industrial decline. This, together with an extensive exodus from the city, led to a record deficit in the municipal finances. We talked then about an “economic meltdown”.

Malmö went through an identity crisis. The previously proud self-image of “a successful industrial and commercial city” gradually slipped over into “Malmö, a city in crisis”.

Mats Olsson

PLACE AND IDENTITY - MALMÖ
Work on visions and long-term strategies
The long-term industrial recession was a difficult and destructive time for the city of Malmö. The turning point only came in 1994 when it was finally decided that the Øresund Bridge would be built. A new region with new opportunities would be the result of this great investment in infrastructure.

But what role could Malmö play? Malmö risked, in the worst-case scenario, becoming "a black hole" in a region that otherwise was developing well. It was clear that Malmö had to act offensively if it was to take advantage of the new opportunities. It was therefore decided to carry out comprehensive work on visions. The first step was to map Malmö’s strengths and weaknesses. At the same time, different sectors were analysed. This concluded with development proposals for the economy, education, culture, environment and traffic.

The planning division summarised the programme in a development proposal and gave it a physical form and localisation in the city, which visualised the vision and thus enabled its communication within politics, in the media, through exhibitions etc. This activated external interests and visions that could gradually be converted into long-term strategies and action plans within the following areas:

### ANALYSIS OF MALMÖ 1995

**Strengths**
- Malmö in a new region (Øresund Bridge)
- Revival of cultural life
- Historical centre
- Recreation (parks and coast area)
- Concentrated city (the urban density)

**Weaknesses**
- Economy in imbalance
- Obsolete industrial and commercial structure
- Low education level
- Lack of high-quality housing
Primarily, Malmö’s weak points are strengthened. We saw no opportunities in 1995 to change the trade and industry situation without acting indirectly through first introducing measures within education and housing and later within trade and industry. A number of strategic projects were developed and implemented gradually.

We considered the large proportion of immigrants in Malmö, approximately 25%, to be an opportunity for ethnic diversity and internationalisation of both the business world and culture, but also as a latent threat if integration failed. It was therefore important to attempt to influence the situation proactively, primarily through encouraging immigrants into the educational system and then further out into the employment market.

Malmö’s role in the region, both in the Øresund and Scania region, had to be clarified and the network with the surroundings developed.

Identity and the negative self-image had to be dealt with if the vision was to be implemented.

Questions around planning and implementation methods were also subject to discussion and development. We have drawn inspiration for method development from our international co-operation. Within Eurocities (EDURC), we work with development strategies in continuous cooperation with colleagues from approximately 15 European cities and locally with our LOTS project in Västra Hamnen. Rotterdam gave us the idea for the quality control programme “Q-books” for University Island. The comprehensive quality programme for Bo01 was developed from international approaches. In the Union of Baltic Cities, we work with a city planning committee to build up a network around the Baltic. The development project in central Malmö is carried out in collaboration with London and Barcelona.

Method development involves that we apply a more open way of working, using scenario planning and parallel architect assignments for larger development areas, which gives an increased preparedness for the unexpected. However, flexibility must at the same time be balanced by long-term sustainable city development. The new methods focus outwards to a greater extent, towards the world around us, to engage different players and give a “catalysing effect” that, in the best case, can make wishes happen.

Strategic project: a new university in Malmö
There is a strategy in the planning division that is based on a long-term change in the population’s education and therefore the supply of knowledge to business. To achieve these desirable synergy effects between the university, the city and business, we proposed a university integrated in the city, located in the city centre, as a powerful driver of change and identity renewal. As Malmö City did not own the land, extensive acquisitions were made.

Our ambitions coincide with the national incentives at several educational sites in higher education. A committee was formed that reviewed the programme, the placement and the implementation of a new university in Malmö. In 1996 the government decided to establish the University of Malmö (the permanent university), and the first strategic project after the vision work had been realised. The University has been successful and already has around 18,000 students today. There is great hope today for the University of Malmö and the effect it can have on the revitalisation of both business and culture, and we are already seeing positive effects.

Housing exhibition Bo01 and Västra Hamnen
One weakness that the vision work highlighted was the negative picture given in the media of housing in Malmö. This led to the strategic planning decision to implement a
A new harbour was built in 1775, which was further expanded when the railway arrived in the middle of the 1800s. Industrial activity expanded substantially in this period, within shipbuilding, textiles and food production. At the end of the 1800s, Malmö was Sweden’s fastest growing city. During the 1950s and 1960s, Kockum Shipyard was the industrial locomotive for the entire Malmö area. Malmö maintained its role as a successful industrial city until the 1970s.

Housing project as part of an international exhibition Bo01, to show that Malmö can provide attractive housing in the region. Bo01 was also an important first step in converting the old shipyard into an attractive centrally located development area. The architecture of the housing project and not least durability are used to market Malmö both in Sweden and internationally. This has resulted in Västra Hamnen being selected as a national pilot area for sustainable city development.

In parallel with the housing exhibition, Västra Hamnen has also been developed as an attractive business area right beside the University of Malmö. Knowledge-based development enterprises are increasingly locating here while, at the same time, the housing development continues.

Malmö Incubator. With the permanent university in place, we have created platforms for new interaction between the university, business and the city.

An example is the Malmö Incubator (MINC), which is a development environment for new companies in co-operation with the university, business and Malmö City.

Commitment to Malmö (the EMÖ project). A comprehensive project that aims to inform and engage Malmö City’s 19,000 employees in becoming good ambassadors for the city and to participate in its development. One thousand supervisors have taken part in workshops over a two-year period, who in turn influence their personnel. The project has had great importance for identity and development work through creating a common platform for understanding Malmö in the past, present and in the future.

Integration
Today Malmö is a cosmopolitan city, with around 25% of the population having a foreign background. Ethnic diversity means that the city today has over 160 different nationalities. The high level of population influx in the 1990s gave an increase in population and an increased demand for
new jobs. The increase in population is mainly explained by the immigration of a poorly educated labour force. The employment level in Malmö for those born outside Sweden is around 34%, compared with around 70% for the Swedish-born population.

Net immigration has been positive since the start of the 1980s. At its height, net immigration was around 5,000 in 1994 in connection with the Bosnia crisis.

Integration of immigrants is crucial to Malmö’s future. Work is carried out in many areas to promote integration.

**The strategic direction of higher education.** IMER (International Migration and Ethnic Relations) is one of the study programmes at the University of Malmö. Establishing this programme is a good example of how we can influence educational profiles and develop an education that can in a natural way address questions about integration and ethnic diversity. Malmö City is funding the professorship in this educational area. The programme has many applicants, and the proportion of immigrants among students exceeds the average for Malmö.

**Malmö City creates business premises in residential buildings.** The majority of residents in the Rosengård urban district are immigrants and are in general unemployed. One wish amongst immigrants is to run a shop, equivalent to market trading, in the local environment. Malmö City looked favourably on this proposal and adapted the detail plans to accommodate their wishes.

**Integrated housing in typical detached housing areas.** Bunkeflostrand in southern Malmö is a typical detached house area composed exclusively of small houses. Planning the development of the area was based on a continuation of small house building. The City Council referred the plan back to the Planning Committee on the grounds that the plan was to be adjusted to include integrated housing, meaning that a new development concept was to be worked out that included the integration of multiple-dwelling housing.

**City town in Bunkeflostrand.** The basis for this is both integration as well as a response to the shortage of rental apartments in Malmö. The idea is to build durable rental apartments using recyclable material and large volume building. In total, around 1,200 rental apartments are planned to be built over three years. Each apartment is subsidised by around SEK 120,000 by the state. The state subsidy is to stimulate rental apartment building, as well as building using recyclable materials.

**Major investment in Malmö.** The basis for the major investment is the economic and social problems that resulted from unemployment at the start of the 1990s. This particularly affected residential areas with high proportions of immigrants, giving increased social problems and segregation. Parliament decided to invest over SEK 2 billion (ca. 220 million euros) over two years to support vulnerable groups in these residential areas in seven municipalities, including Malmö City. The goal was to improve living standards in the most vulnerable areas together with the residents. In Malmö, this was carried out in cooperation with the city areas Fosie, Hyllie, Rosengård and Södra Innerstaden. In the work and education areas alone, over 20 projects have been started e.g. language courses, contractor schools, craftsmanship courses etc.

**Malmö City’s housing enterprise works actively for integration.** MKB has 20,000 apartments. A large number of these originate from the time of the environmental programme and include areas such as Rosengård, Holma, Kroksbäck and Lindängen. The areas have high proportions of immigrants. We have taken responsibility for the apartment areas through establishing, for example, Jobbakuten, a special employment exchange. Experiences from this project show that the fundamental problem underlying the high rate of unemployment is not poor language skills or poor
motivation, but the surroundings, i.e. the largest obstacles being the employment market’s structure and attitudes.

**Malmö’s role in the Øresund region**

The future for Malmö can be described in a regional vision where integration plays a positive role in the development of employment, housing, education and business. From a strategic point of view, Malmö’s advantage lies in its geographical position, “being right by the capital” and not developing a strategy based on competing with the capital but utilising and focusing on special niches within housing, culture, recreation, education and business. At the same time, Malmö plays the role of a central area in the Swedish part of the region.

**Towards a new identity**

During the development period since the work on visions in 1994, Malmö’s identity has noticeably changed. We can say that the dynamism in the city’s change process has become its identity. The original identity “a successful industrial and commercial city” was replaced during the recession with “Malmö, a city in crisis”, and only when the city succeeded to turn itself around and look towards the future did its identity and self-image change.

When you begin to ask the residents of Malmö (and others) how they see Malmö today, you get replies such as “dynamic”, “colourful”, “green” (the parks) and “open”. The latter reflects Malmö’s long tradition of receiving impulses from outside, not least through immigration, which has been a mark of Malmö in all periods. The concepts “dynamic” and “colourful” are linked both to Malmö’s multicultural position and the character of the city buildings, which in certain areas of the city give a colourful impression.

From a marketing point of view, we have tried to summarise the new identity with concepts such as “diversity, meeting place and opportunities” without this having been clearly established. Experience shows that you can not simply change a city through “city branding” and slogans. It is not before a real change, which is experienced by the citizens and noticed by the world at large, that a new identity begins to grow. Only then can well-thought-through marketing strengthen these processes.

It also interesting to see that the young generation acknowledges the run-down industrial heritage and calls the city “cool”, which shows that Malmö should not deny its history, but deepen and nurture it. The process of change in itself becomes attractive and awakens a desire, not least among the young, to participate in this development.

**Increased urbanisation from the rural areas to the cities resulted in a housing shortage and overcrowding. Living and housing standards in Malmö in this period of strong development were also the starting point for the Social Democratic movement throughout Sweden and for the gradual development of the “Swedish home”, which grew out of the development of Malmö.**
A vital factor which has influenced the identity of the Greater Copenhagen region is the fact that it has been subject to continuous regional spatial planning. The region’s urban structure can still be attributed to the regional “Finger Plan” from 1947, which was ground-breaking at the time. As a result, Copenhagen’s urban development has been localised in “urban fingers”, running along radial railway lines and highways towards the old historic market towns of Køge, Roskilde, Frederikssund, Hillerød, and Helsingør. These market towns are situated 30-40 km from the Copenhagen city centre. The vision from 1947 was that between these urban fingers there should be open areas, green wedges, for the many inhabitants of Copenhagen’s dense residential areas to enjoy.

The Greater Copenhagen region is interesting from an international perspective because the basic elements of the plan from 1947 have been developed as a foundation for a modern city’s basic structure, and as a starting point for ideas about the future development in an expected new period of urban growth.

The current basic spatial structure laid down in 1989 continues to be based around urban fingers and green wedges, but the plans have now been developed and adapted to the regional development which has followed since the original Finger Plan. Today in the Greater Copenhagen region we are working with a connected urban network forming the central part of the Øresund region.

In 1947, the plan was based on a single-centre structure, focused around central Copenhagen. The basic structure from 1989 is a multicentre structure. In addition to Copenhagen’s central urban areas, junction points were identified in the five urban
This ongoing regional planning reflects a development which is also clear in the population statistics. In 1947, the Greater Copenhagen region had 1.4 million residents, primarily concentrated in the central Copenhagen urban areas. These residents had an average of 30 m² of available living space, and there were 42 cars per 1,000 residents. Today there are 1.8 million residents, who each have 50 m² of available living space, and each 1,000 residents have 350 cars at their disposal. The city has spread out, but the basic structure continues to guide the development, and random urban sprawl has largely been avoided.

The composition and structure of the entire urban area makes it easier to gain familiarity with the individual urban districts. This strengthens the residents’ identification with their district - promoting local identity in a metropolitan community.

**One region - one connected urban area - 50 municipalities and 5 counties**

The regional plan aims to promote the development of the Greater Copenhagen region as a cohesive urban region which compares favourably with other metropolitan regions in the European and global context, commercially, socially, culturally and environmentally.

The region’s identity as a city and as Denmark’s capital is no longer confined to central Copenhagen. Although the area has...
Green framework. The green framework encompasses the green wedges between the city fingers and the connected green areas which link the wedges across the urban fingers and with the rest of the open countryside. In response to the great urban pressure to place urban facilities within the green wedges and in the open countryside, one aspect of regional planning has been to prevent urban sprawl and to retain a clear boundary and distinction between city and countryside.

The wedges and the open countryside include areas used for recreational or business purposes, and areas needing protection due to environmental considerations. These different interests can conflict with each other, and regional planning must therefore weigh up how they should be prioritised in the different parts of the open countryside.

Transport framework. The region’s transport framework consists of a general public transport network and a general network of
been seen until now as one cohesive residential and labour market, today planning issues relating to Eastern Denmark and the Scania Region in southern Sweden are being put on the agenda.

The Greater Copenhagen region is an urban community consisting of 50 municipalities and 5 counties, variously situated in relation to the basic regional structure, and each with its own independent administration and finances. It is therefore important that the individual municipalities - on their own or in groups - divide up the task of cultivating and developing the special conditions and opportunities that are in harmony with their position in the region. This will contribute to the creation of good local communities for residents and businesses within the framework of the regional plan.

An example of intermunicipal cooperation has developed between the nine municipalities and three counties which together comprise the so-called Frederikssund finger. This urban regional cooperation is contributing to the Frederikssund finger becoming a vital part of the new Øresund region.

Discussion about the political and economic position of the Greater Copenhagen region in the national Danish context is a never-ending story. This relationship was also far-sightedly assessed in 1947 as a basis for regional planning: "With regard to Copenhagen, the special circumstance must be taken into account that this city, purely by virtue of its size, is able to attain certain advantages, of benefit to the whole country."

The structure of the Greater Copenhagen region in 1989

Guidelines for the basic structure and spatial and functional composition of the Greater Copenhagen region are based on regional goals and contain an internal balance between the structural elements shown in the formula above.

The internal balance between the structural elements in this “formula” can be attributed to the underlying goals:

- high mobility for everyone;
- good access to the city's facilities and the open countryside for everyone;
- minimisation of the environmental impact from transport;
- preservation of the open countryside; and
- maximum utilization of past and planned investments.

Elements of a spatial development strategy in 2002

The Greater Copenhagen Authority, as part of its ongoing planning activities, is to reassess its regional development strategy. This is to take place with a 12-year perspective. Renewal of the four structural elements is to be decided.

The city's structure and delimitation.

Today, about 85 per cent of the region's population live in the urban fingers centred around the historic city centre, the older densely populated and fully developed urban areas in the palm, and the city fingers containing newer urban areas and the remaining undeveloped urban areas.
roads and bicycle paths. The combined transport service has to ensure an appropriate balance between public and private forms of transport, and the satisfactory movement of the city’s traffic. The system has been constructed as a system of radials and rings. The road and railway radials all converge in the centre of Copenhagen, making this the most accessible part of the region. One of the imminent challenges for the region will be to find solutions for this area, which is burdened by the environmental impact from transport and plagued by traffic-flow problems.

The region’s railway lines, the suburban and regional trains, have connections with Copenhagen’s new Metro, which opened in October 2002. The Metro services the city centre and the central urban districts. The Metro is also the backbone of the new urban district, Ørestad, which stretches from the city centre towards Copenhagen International Airport.

The radial transport routes are joined transversely by superior public transport connections - either ring railways or suburban bus routes. Transport junctions have formed at the points where the transverse connections cross the radial routes. These have high accessibility and special significance for the localisation of facilities. There are transport terminals at these junctions, allowing people to change direction and efficiently reach all parts of the finger city. Outside the finger city, local rail links and suburban bus routes service the municipal centres and connect them with the radial routes in the finger city.

Localisation strategy. This strategy lays down principles for the localisation of urban facilities in the city. The principles in the localisation and transport strategy aim to improve the quality of the urban districts, limit the need for transport, and promote public transport over private transport, thus reducing the total energy consumption and pollution from transport.

The localisation principle in the finger city is linked to points with the greatest accessibility in the public transport network. Urban facilities which draw many visitors or commuters, such as office and service enterprises, shopping centres and culture, amusement and education facilities, are placed in areas close to a railway station. Urban facilities which service the entire region are placed at the junctions in the public transport network with the greatest regional accessibility. Less intensive and more space-consuming urban facilities should be placed in urban areas outside the immediate vicinities of the railway stations.

The Greater Copenhagen region, 2030
It is predicted that there will be 2.1 million residents in the region by 2030. We are therefore going to face new challenges which will call for new strategic thinking, while at the same time respecting the region’s identity and maintaining continuity in regional planning. This is not least in light of the fact that the Øresund region and the Mälaren region around Stockholm have been designated as new Nordic growth areas in a European metropolitan network. For this reason, future sustainable growth

THE FINGER PLAN
In 1993, the Danish Town Planning Institute reprinted the original Finger Plan from 1947 (Danish name: Skitseforslag for Egnplan til Storkøbenhavn) and included an English summary.
for the city has been put on the agenda.

The vision of an identity as the Human Capital, and the ambition for the Øresund region to be one of the cleanest metropolitan regions in Europe, as well as a functional, integrated, border region between Denmark and Sweden, provide the basis for the regional strategies of the future.

The spatial elements in the formula for the Greater Copenhagen basic structure will have to be supplemented with new regional strategies. These will need to reflect the commercial and industrial structure of the future. How are we going to earn our living? Where are we going to live? And how can the region’s natural environment be protected and utilised?

An international competition parameter for metropolitan areas, including the Greater Copenhagen region, will increasingly become that they can be identified with the flexibility of high mobility, easy access to the city’s facilities, and urban areas of high quality.

The 1947 Finger Plan encompassed the central Copenhagen urban areas and their immediate surroundings, while the 1989 regional plan encompassed the entire Greater Copenhagen region. The future map for structural and strategic thinking will encompass the Øresund region - seen from a European and a global perspective. At the same time, the ambition is to create a plan for growth which also has a vision in which good residential environments and environmental considerations contribute to the local identity.
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As follow-up to the European Spatial Development Perspective (ESDP), the Danish Presidency is focusing on the implications of globalisation and the role of cities in regional development.

In three main sections, this report deals in detail with the problems relating to the role of cities in regional development. A number of Scandinavian researchers have contributed to the report.

The first section includes the Copenhagen Charter 2002 - the Danish Presidency’s suggested agenda for a discussion on future urban and regional development - as well as a number of operational recommendations. The second section deals in general terms with globalisation’s impact on Europe’s cities and regions. Finally, the last section deals with different aspects concerning the development of an urban identity concept.

The report is a contribution by the Danish Ministry of the Environment, Spatial Planning Department to the international conference European Cities in a Global Era - Urban Identities and Regional Development. It is intended as a supplement to the conference, introducing key aspects of the issues discussed and providing background reading.