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The European City – a Model for Future Urban Development and its Elements

*Die europäische Stadt – ein Leitbild
zukünftiger Stadtentwicklung und seine Charakteristika*

With 3 Figures, 3 Tables and 3 Photos

Cities in Europe have slowly evolved and developed over several centuries. During quite a long period we have seen phases of rise and of decline of cities in Europe. Before the period of industrialisation, feudalism, trading and the growing importance of national states influenced and shaped cities as well as city networks in Europe. Industrialisation, a phenomenon of the modern age, again produced new cities and also an enormous growth of European cities. Urban development policy in Germany has set the focus on the "European city". The article concentrates on how the term is used in German urban development policy and on the challenges German cities are confronted with. Expectations addressed to the European city model are reflected. Imports as well as exports of this type of city are considered. The findings lead to conclusions on the importance of the European city as a model and guiding vision in urban planning.

1. The European City in the Context of German Urban Policy

1.1 The European city as a model

German urban policy has adopted the "European city" as a guiding idea[1]. For the time being, the basic idea of the "European city" is still abstract. Any concrete characteristics have yet to be for- mulated and it is not clear which impacts they may have under the existing social and spatial conditions. This is why the goal of this essay is to break down the "European city" into several planning-related components, sifted out of the technical and scientific discussions. Positive features of this guiding idea are identified and confronted with present and future problems in German cities. At the same time the question of

its "European" core in a globalised world is analysed. The essay is considered to be an initiating contribution to relevant discussions that – finally – will have to open out into more concrete and applied concepts.

Central political documents and initiatives concerning urban development in Germany refer to the "European city". Against this background, two important political approaches, formulated in the last few years, will be examined: the "National Urban Development Policy" and the "Leipzig Charter on Sustainable European Cities".

1.2 The German National Urban Development Policy

In 2007, the National Urban Development Policy initiative was launched by the German Federal Government. Politicians, the German federal states, municipalities, associations and all interested persons are to formulate and realise a new position for future urban development in Germany in the context of a dialogue-based process (cf. BMVBS 2007). The reference to the "European" city is repeatedly underlined. Positive features of the physical shape and of the social and administrative organisation of the "European city", as documented in the relevant specialist literature, are taken up by goals and thematic priorities. The "European city" is considered to be a spatial and social model, a value model and especially a model for success.

In the context of the National Urban Development Policy initiative, the Federal Government's position in the field of urban development shall be clearly defined and existing instruments and programmes (e.g. urban development funds) shall be adapted more rapidly to new requirements. A further intention is to make the public more aware of problems and chances for cities and to find new partners for urban development. Existing successful – national, municipal and private – strategies

shall be supported, expanded and optimised. Currently, the National Urban Development Policy is characterised by six thematic priorities:

1. Getting citizens involved in their city – Civil Society;

2. Creating opportunities and preserving cohesion – the Social City;

3. The innovative city – a driver of economic development;

4. Building the city of tomorrow – combating climate change and assuming global responsibility;

5. Improving urban design – *Baukultur* (promotion of the built environment und planning processes);

6. The future of the city is the region – regionalisation.

1.3 The European Union's Leipzig Charter

At the beginning of 2007, Germany took over the Presidency of the Council of the European Union (EU) for six months. At that time, the "Leipzig Charter on Sustainable European Cities" was adopted by the EU member states. The Ministers responsible for urban development of the EU member states agreed upon a common understanding of cities in order to provide a modern definition of the European city concept at the beginning of the 21st century. The member states acknowledge basic values such as participation of citizens; mixing housing, employment, education, supply and recreational use within urban districts; social integration and the quality of public spaces. They are used as a basis to formulate requirements and strategies. Based on various conditions and prerequisites, the EU member states must specify the require-

ments according to their relevant situations. Although a joint European tradition is expressed by the Charter the document does not give any examples for historical common grounds of the regions and countries involved.

Integrated urban development policy is considered to be a joint, central instrument, fairly taking into account all concerns and interests relevant to urban development. Integrated urban development meets sustainable development objectives, involves the citizens and coordinates key aspects of urban policy. Another important priority is to counteract the exclusion of deprived urban areas, e.g. by applying a proactive education policy in problem areas. Not only is the existence of such areas a problem, they may also endanger social integration and security and the attractiveness and competitiveness of cities. It is important to strengthen cities as promoters

of spatial development strategies adapted to each specific local context.

The Leipzig Charter advocates a compact settlement structure of European cities to meet the requirements of climate protection. The reason: Given systematic implementation, short distances and less urban traffic may be realised. In addition, fewer greenfield sites would be used for new buildings. Another important contribution towards climate protection is to increase the energy efficiency of buildings. High-quality public spaces should be ensured and developed as soft location factors.

2. Challenges in German Cities

The German Federal Government's Urban Development Report 2008 (BBSR 2009) describes the challenges underlying the political approaches
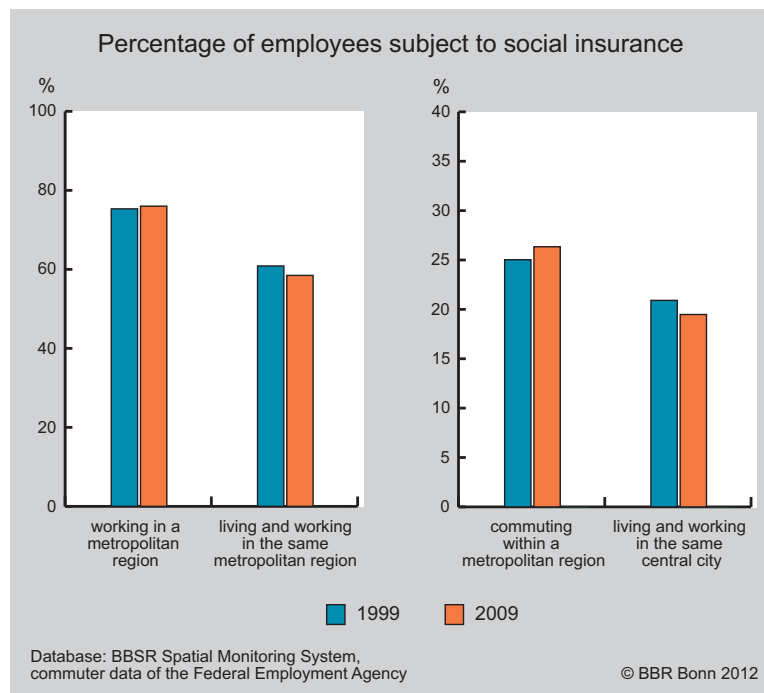

Fig. 1   Commuters in city regions in Germany, 1999-2000 / *Pendler in Stadtregionen in Deutschland 1999-2000*

discussed above. In normative terms, they can be assigned to the following major tasks:

– Increasing the attractiveness of cities and city regions;

– Inner-city development and compact settlement structures;

– Improving the various functions of city centres;

– Adaptation of the urban community to social requirements;

– Protecting the environment, climate and resources.

2.1 Increasing the attractiveness of cities and city regions

In the course of centuries, cities have lost their original compactness and concentration. They require more space and have expanded into the surrounding land. Daily life in cities nowadays happens within the context of a city region. As a consequence, the number of commuters in city regions continues to increase (cf. *Fig. 1*).

The most remarkable distinguishing feature between cities and city regions in Germany is their development dynamics, or more specifically: the coexistence of shrinking and growth. The future of the service and knowledge economy will be more and more shaped by the competition of cities for economic development potential. Such potential increasingly involves human resources: Companies choose their locations according to where skilled workers are, and skilled workers locate where a variety of jobs is offered and an attractive "urban" living environment exists.

Although more than half of the German large cities were able to record population growth in the last few years, it is not only the question whether

this trend will continue which is important (BBSR 2009: 31). Of greatest importance are the shrinking cities. This is also true for some of the large cities in Germany. Medium-sized towns reveal even stronger development disparities. Therefore towns outside the conurbations, in rural areas, which fulfill an important central place and labour market function for their region, have to be stabilised. In stabilising them, a variety of functions has to be maintained and opportunities for supralocal cooperation have to be created.

2.2 Inner-city development and compact settlement structures

Competition is not only growing between cities and city regions but also within cities among their districts. In cities with increasing population, the number of inhabitants in inner-city areas is often increasing, too. Experts often attribute this process to the locational choice of the so-called "creative class" (*Florida* 2002). Members of this class prefer living in central districts and thus help to overcome the latters' former appearance of neglect and initiate the enhancement of their status.

A special group of social "winners" nowadays favours residential areas in inner cities that in former times had been popular among students (*Brühl* et al. 2005). A student atmosphere, various gastronomic and cultural amenities – ideally in a Wilhelminian-style environment – are considered to be effective factors of attractiveness. However, when competing for large flats, families are often outbid by flat-sharing students, who, by combining several single-households, raise the level of rents.

These different phenomena can only be proved qualitatively by examples. From an aggregated quantitative point of view it can be ascertained that population growth in inner cities is mainly caused by migrants from abroad and by the age group of 18-30 (*Sturm* and *Meyer* 2008). Members of this

age group move to the city for training, education or to start a career. Often these are the children of people who had left the city and moved to sub-urban locations. The number of people within this age group, however, is going to fall rapidly in the future (see, among others, *Beckord* 2009).

In many cities, new houses for families could be built on inner-urban brownfield or conversion sites, also promoting inner-city development. In addition, ecological and social goals or simply the need to ensure functioning urban structures draws public attention to the edge of the cities. Here, from the 1950s to the 1970s, large residential areas were created, which now face demographic change. These challenges, however, not only affect the large housing estates, the problems of which have already been discussed for decades (cf. *Krings-Heckemeier* et al. 2009). They face, above all, infrastructural deficits and a lack of demand on the housing market.

2.3 Improving the various functions of city centres

Living in inner cities supports the current urban policy objective of improving the role of city centres or district centres. Many centres have lost their functions and thus their attractiveness. Inner city areas are characterised by vacant buildings, discontinuities in the spatial structure and urban scenery. Large industrial, commercial or other buildings, partly constructed in the brutal styles of the 1960s and 1970s, have left aesthetic disturbances in the sceneries of city centres.

Concentrating on retailing alone as the key towards promoting centres (*Güttler* and *Höhne* 2000) does not solve the problem. Planners and politicians are convinced today that vital, attractive centres with mixed uses of buildings, including residential uses, are required. This is what the German Urban Development Programme "Active City and District Centres", launched in 2008, advocates.

2.4 Adaptation of the urban community to social requirements

Various urban-society related processes occur in the context of growing or shrinking cities: ageing, heterogenisation and social polarisation. This is why action is needed. An increasing number of older people is accompanied by a growing number of single-person households. In the largest German cities, already about one quarter of the population lives in single-person households (BBSR 2009: 27). Nearly half of all dwellings are occupied by only one person. Every second single woman is 65 years old or older; for men it is every sixth person.

Challenges faced by the urban society, such as the divergence of "poor and rich people" or the preconditions for integrating migrants, have already been a political priority for the last few years (*Fig. 2*). Subsidised investment along with measures in the fields of urban development, education or labour market policy in problem neighbourhoods has been successful in this context, e.g. as part of the programme "*Soziale Stadt*" [social city], funded by the German Federal Government and the federal states, which has explicitly addressed and involved the residents.

However, social problems with a long history cannot be solved in the short or medium term. Differences in income and prosperity, household structures, age, origin and cultural affiliation determine the requirements of future urban planning.

2.5 Protecting the environment, climate and resources

Descriptions and justifications of the current demand for residential areas in inner cities might give the impression that these areas exclusively consist of green and traffic-calmed Wilhelminian-style areas. But in reality, many inner-city areas struggle with heavy traffic, noise and emissions, a
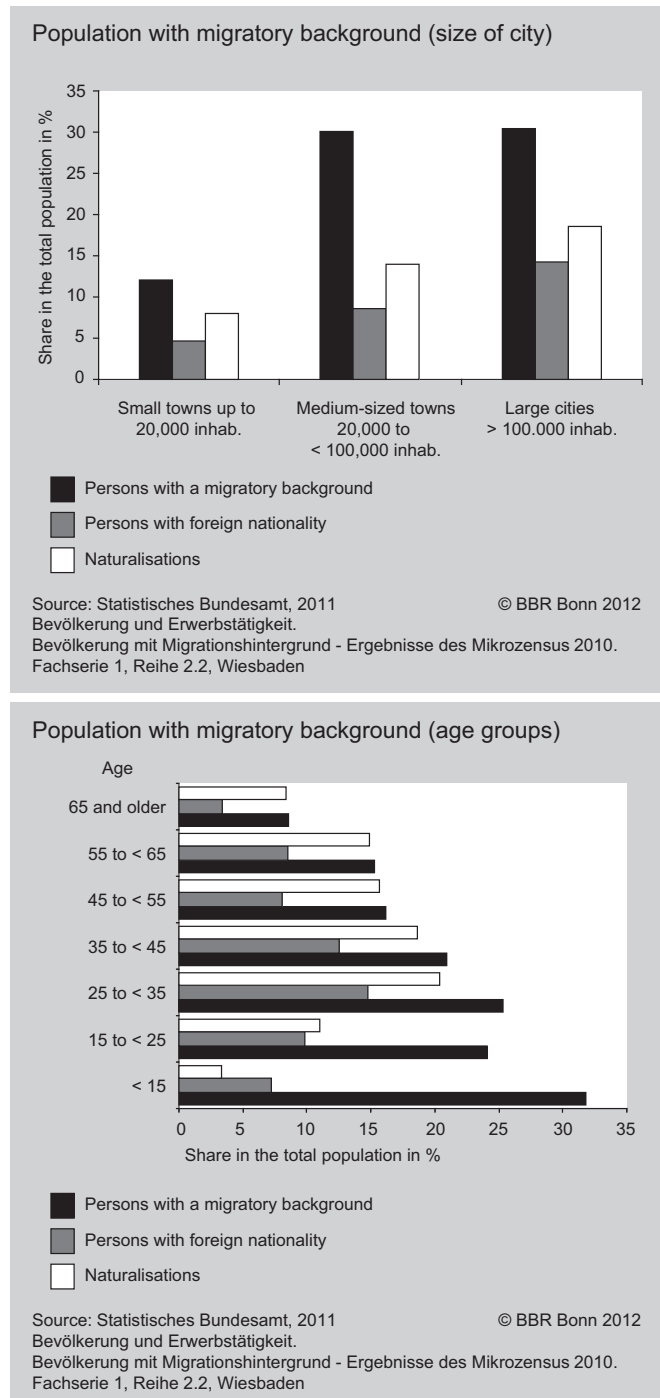
Population with migratory background (size of city)

Source: Statistisches Bundesamt, 2011 © BBR Bonn 2012
Bevölkerung und Erwerbstätigkeit.
Bevölkerung mit Migrationshintergrund - Ergebnisse des Mikrozensus 2010.
Fachserie 1, Reihe 2.2, Wiesbaden

Population with migratory background (age groups)

Source: Statistisches Bundesamt, 2011 © BBR Bonn 2012
Bevölkerung und Erwerbstätigkeit.
Bevölkerung mit Migrationshintergrund - Ergebnisse des Mikrozensus 2010.
Fachserie 1, Reihe 2.2, Wiesbaden

Fig. 2 Population with immigrant background / *Bevölkerung mit Migrationshintergrund*

lack of recreation areas and increasing health risks affecting children and older people in particular.

Other problems are environmental degradation and a waste of resources caused by land use. Although land consumption has arrived at a historically low level (i.e. a national average of 113 ha per day between 2004 and 2007), land use is decreasing much less than could be expected from the declining building activities of recent years. The first reason for this difference is the trend towards smaller households. Secondly, despite the planning for compact cities, new owner-occupied dwellings on the edge of the cities are mostly built on newly developed sites, requiring more and more space. Recycling derelict sites would, however, help to save land (*Fig. 3*).

The debate about urban resources currently focuses on energy and climate. Rising energy prices, decreasing fossil fuels and the impacts of climate change require safe and sustainable solutions to ensure services for the public. The share of renewable energy sources in total final energy consumption was just about 8.5 % in 2007 in Germany. The share of wind energy in electricity generation from renewable energy sources was 45.1 %, the share of biomass energy was 8.5 % (BBSR 2009: 31). Cities and city regions have an ambivalent relationship towards the environment: On the one hand, they are "large consumers" of natural resources and "large issuers" of harmful waste products. On the other hand, large cities – not only in Europe – are characterised by a high efficiency of resource use owing to their compactness and concentration. Technical potentials like combined heat and power technology using renewable energy sources may be efficiently used in cities. But currently, it is most of all rural areas that expand the use of renewable energy sources (e.g. biogas or wind power), thus functioning as suppliers of sustainable energy. The production of renewable energy in urban areas, however, is still unknown territory in many respects. Here, new development options have to be found.
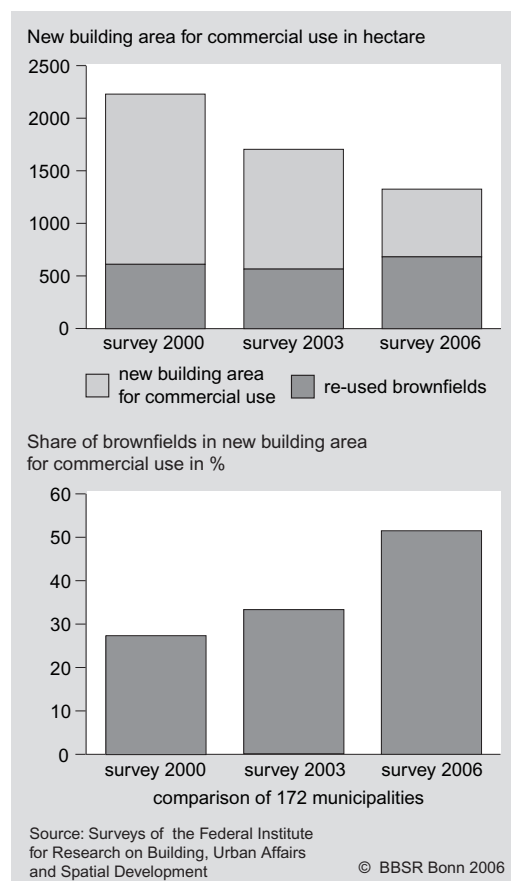
New building area for commercial use in hectare

new building area for commercial use   re-used brownfields

Share of brownfields in new building area for commercial use in %

comparison of 172 municipalities

Source: Surveys of the Federal Institute for Research on Building, Urban Affairs and Spatial Development   © BBSR Bonn 2006

Fig. 3   Share of commercial building sites recycled
Anteil gewerblicher Bauflächen mit Flächenrecycling

3. Expectations towards the European City – Features and Normative Meanings

3.1 The debate on the "European city"

Cities in Europe have slowly changed over several centuries (cf. *McCarthy* and *Danta* 2003); today, as a rule, they mirror various epochs. Again and again, there were moments of decline, changes of importance or the founding of new cities in Europe (cf. *Girouard* 1987). Before the

Tab. 1 Physical shape of the "European city*" / Morphologie der „Europäischen Stadt"*

Positive features	Sources
• Various functions of buildings, mixed residential areas (architecture, uses)	*Bodenschatz* 2006: 3; *Kegler* 2008; *Marcuse* 2004: 112; *Rietdorf* 2001: 2
• Separate centres and compactness	*Bodenschatz* 2006: 3; *Kaltenbrunner* 2007: 696; *Kegler* 2008; *Marcuse* 2004: 112
• Public pedestrian-friendly space not touching people's privacy • Urban structure out of streets and squares • Access to public spaces	*Bodenschatz* 2006: 3; *Kaltenbrunner* 2007: 696; *Marcuse* 2004: 112; *Siebel* 2004: 15/16
• Existence of attractive city centres	*Bodenschatz* 2006: 3; *Lenger* 2007: 649
• Urban scenery including historic buildings	*Kegler* 2008; *Lenger* 2007: 649; *Siebel* 2004: 43
• Quite high compactness of buildings and uses	*Bodenschatz* 2006: 3; *Siebel* 2004: 36; *Marcuse* 2004: 112
• Functioning public transport networks	*Bodenschatz* 2006: 3; *Tank* 2006: 15; *Marcuse* 2004: 112

industrialisation, feudalism, trading and the rise of national states influenced and shaped cities as well as city networks in Europe. Industrialisation, a phenomenon of the modern age, again produced new cities and also led to an enormous growth of European cities.

The discussion about the European city is, above all, a typically German or German-speaking phenomenon[2]. On the international level, there are few publications dealing with the category of the European city: The URBAN 21 report more or less incidentally mentions the fully grown city characterised by ageing of the population with declining dynamic development (*Hall* and *Pfeiffer* 2000: 12). Although this is an example presented in an international context (the Urban 21 Global Conference), it was mainly launched by German experts[3].

The debate on the meaning of the European city is part of the discussion about the ideal orientation of future urban development, planning, architecture and politics in general. The mere definition of the European city evokes expectations. It may be considered both an urban development

concept (*Bodenschatz* 2006: 3) or a social concept (*Siebel* 2004). Morphology and special forms of social and administrative organisation of the European city together produce the space of cities. What is established in people's minds is the result, especially the image of "living" in public spaces. Today, gearing planning towards this feature is a precondition for the functioning of new, more complex locations including office buildings of the service industry, e.g. "Potsdamer Platz" in Berlin, "Rheinauhafen" in Cologne or "Hafencity" in Hamburg. Additional cultural and gastronomic facilities, high-quality residential areas, an attractive environment and the accessibility of public spaces increase the attractiveness of such locations – financed by investors and far from local self-government with its origins in the ancient *agora*.

3.2 Features and expectations

When trying to find specific characteristics of the European City in the academic literature, the struggle for a common understanding becomes

Tab. 2 Social and administrative organisation of the "European city"
        Das Gemeinwesen in der „Europäischen Stadt"

Positive social and organisational features	Sources
• Welfare-state related organisation • Social and administrative organisation of the urban community and related institutions	*Siebel* 2004: 17; *Knorr-Siedow* 2001: 62; *Lenger* 2007: 649; indirectly *Nida-Rümelin* 2008: 33/34
• Self-government and political citizenry (civil society, emancipation)	*Siebel* 2004: 13; *Hasenpflug* 2002: 16
• Flexibly dealing with new requirements and crises • Consistency	*Rietdorf* 2001: 2; *Knorr-Siedow* 2001: 62; *Siebel* 2004: 33
• Autonomous authority of cities in the field of urban development and planning	*Lenger* 2007: 649; *Bodenschatz* 2006: 3; *Siebel* 2004: 33
• Social, cultural and economic absorptive and integrative capacity of the urban society	*Knorr-Siedow* 2001: 62; *Rietdorf* 2001: 2; *Siebel* 2004: 22ff.

apparent. For example, it usually remains unclear whether the alleged features of the European city refer to the past, the present or to the anticipated future. Some contributions follow the European city into the present, e.g. references to social housing (see, among others, *Siebel* 2004: 17). In addition, the various relevant authors concentrate on rather different aspects of the European city. In acknowledging the development of the 20th century, e.g., the efficient public transport network is regarded as a prime advantage of the European city. Referring to local public transport builds a bridge to the sustainable development discussion. Other major facets are compact structures with mixed uses, pedestrian-friendly with access to vital public spaces.

In addition, conservation is widely acknowledged in the European city. It finds large support, and, compared to other urban models, there is a European peculiarity: Preserving historic buildings is carried out through extensive conservation programmes and in a specific tradition of comprehensive programmes to redevelop old town centres (*Photo 1*).

Tables 1 and *2* list the essential features of the European city, as highlighted by several authors. In fact, the discussion about the European city covers more than building aspects, which is why social and organisational aspects are involved, too. These social and organisational features refer to the advantages of a well-organised community and efficient public institutions.

European cities have developed slowly, with specific phases of urban growth and in the context of changing power constellations. They look back on a remarkably long tradition, with a high degree of adaptability which bears a large potential for sustainability.

However, the authors also discuss contradictions among these positive features. Apart from the humanistic values, open social processes, individuality and cultural pluralism also may imply destruction, illegality and crime. European cities have provoked the exclusion of certain segments of the population and have accepted poverty. In many respects, the idea of the European city corresponds to the idea of "controllable ur-

Photo 1 Regensburg – world cultural heritage and a prime example for the touristic value of a medieval built environment (Photo: Gesellschaft für Erdkunde) / *Regensburg – Weltkulturerbe und Paradebeispiel für den touristischen Wert einer mittelalterlichen Bebauung*

banity", which means that positive elements of the past shall be used selectively today and in the future, avoiding the negative social implications. *Nida-Rümelin* (2008) pleads for a normative concept of urbanity in which the European city should be oriented towards achievements such as a strengthened responsibility of the civil society, a "tamed" market economy and a balance between identity and pluralism.

These formulated expectations brought forward with respect to the European city are not reflected in more precise geographic definitions. The authors assume that, Europe-wide, urban planning, architectural and socio-organisational fea-

tures are not identical but nevertheless show similarities beyond the individual building particularities in terms of their functional and political background (cf. *Bodenschatz* 2006: 3; *Hassenpflug* 2002: 16, *Venturi* 2004: 105).

Nevertheless, it is difficult to find a shared baseline with regard to the expectations towards the concept for the whole of Europe, which might eventually lead to a common norm. The first reason is the fact that a perspective on the European city – reaching beyond Germany and representative for the whole of Europe – is lacking. The second reason is that the Leipzig Charter as a central document

of the EU member states does not refer to any common history of European cities.

There is another reason why a comprehensive norm of the European city is questioned (e.g. in the context of different urban development processes, according to *Sieverts* 1997). The one-dimensional view of the European city and its images is criticised. The European city is much more complicated and diverse than what the "feelings associated with the town of the Middle Ages" (*Siebenmorgen* 1985: 5)[4] evoke. Idealising the past leads to the question whether preserved historic town centres today are "historic monuments or living spaces" (*Meckseper* and *Siebenmorgen* 1985)[5]. Such criticism meets with British response: *Stephan Marshall* (2006: 269) criticises the British urban development discussion because it is merely oriented on the ancient town in a totally unbalanced way.

Emphasising the importance of historic centres and forms may hide the true nature of modern agglomerations. Today's large cities in Europe are the result of the industrial society. Features of different epochs interfere with each other, new forms cover old ones. Today, the inner city has lost many of the functions that used to exist in medieval times, encompassing not only trade but also manufacturing, housing, the church and local government (*Ganser* 2000: 43). Nevertheless, features taken over from the past may still be positive and adequate under new, present or future, conditions. Critical authors of the German debate do not principally deny common historic grounds in Europe but simply consider them incompatible with today's reality and spatial forms – e.g. large housing estates, daily commuting and regional relations, living and working in suburbia.

From following the search for a normative description of the European city, we can draw the interim conclusion that positive features can be extracted from the urban-policy related discussion. These features however, as elements of the present European urban society and policy, have to be adapted to the new conditions in order to be successful. It is therefore important to realise that not all positive physical and social features of the European city automatically contribute towards sustainable development and towards solving upcoming problems in cities.

3.3 The modern age – a gap in the discussion on the European city

The specialist literature on the European city covers essentially three important epochs: Antiquity, the Middle Ages and the first decades of the industrialisation. The modern age is hardly ever mentioned, although it is very important, as an era of far-reaching social and technological visions. According to *Häußermann* (cited after *Siebel* 2004: 17), the tradition of welfare state regulation can, for example, be found in communal housing and social housing programmes ranging from the late 19th century into the 20th century. The modern age itself expressed scepticism towards a harmonising historical view. In this context, both positive and negative impacts of the modern age on European cities shall be briefly discussed.

The philosophy of the modern movement sought to break away from old-established foundations and to question recognised rules (*Benevolo* 1983: 889). Modern thinking in the fields of art, architecture or literature also expressed new technological possibilities and the search for a good and secure life. In striving for independence, architecture accepted "the objective and experimental and collective working method of modern scientific research" (*Benevolo* 1983: 894). In this context, the Bauhaus style in Central Europe can be mentioned as an example of a holistic approach of the modern age, with *Walter Gropius* and *Ludwig Mies van*

der Rohe and many other eminent figures as well as students as representatives. New forms, materials, construction methods and urban planning concepts increased the architectural variety; migration (including forced migration of German jews to Palestine) and exports spread the ideas, above all in the western world. As a matter of fact, White City in Tel Aviv is a built example for the reach of the Bauhaus style. First optimistic new building projects – based on the idea of securing "light, air and sun" for the inhabitants, released people from the bad hygienic conditions of 19th century cities, provided working-class families with "adequate" shelter, partly industrially constructed, and with access to green areas. Other examples are Margarethenhöhe Garden City in Essen or the Römerstadt housing estate in Frankfurt.

With the Athens Charter, drawn up at Athens in 1933 and published by *Le Corbusier* in 1943, a revolutionary manifesto for urban planning was created. Nevertheless, the ideas of the Athens Charter were heavily over-exploited after World War II, for example to create large-scale monofunctional housing estates, to radically redevelop historic urban areas, to create vast transport corridors and to separate urban areas

according to land-use categories. The initially integrating character of the Bauhaus style was reduced to effectiveness and mass production, as the modern-age projects became part of the Fordist economy – in conceptual and financial terms. Economic prosperity, the welfare state and the German model of the so-called "social market economy", the dramatic rise of the automobile sector, the sheer need for housing after World War and the desire to live in a green environment instigated spacious and space-consuming planning and building activities – partly at the expense of urban areas worth conserving. The road towards new uniform urban neighbourhoods and suburbanisation, for new urban landscapes, for car-oriented cities and regions was irrevocably paved. Nevertheless, the positive features remain: e.g., the willingness and optimism to try new ways of spatial planning or fostering social housing and large open spaces. On the other hand, even if the modern age is constantly being heavily criticised, even today, resource-intensive modern-age planning projects, like e.g. for motorways, are initiated and implemented, to meet the seemingly urgent mobility requirements – despite fossil fuel limits and the incompatibility with the ideas of sustainable development. Still,

Tab. 3 Phases and driving forces of urbanisation in four different cultural regions of the world
         Phasen und Triebkräfte der Urbanisierung in vier verschiedenen Kulturregionen der Erde

City or continent	East Asia Chinese city	Latin American city	North American city	European city
Beginning of urbanisation	1500 BCE	100 BCE, Andes Colonisation in the 16th century	End of 17th/beginning of 18th century (most traces of Indian settlements had disappeared)	800 BCE 13th century peak of city foundations
Driving forces	Religious cults Presence of ruling elites	Religious cults Presence of ruling elites Production of raw materials	Capitalist trade and administration Emancipation of the population Freedom of religion	Trade and administration Emancipation of the population

after all, the majority of the population today lives in large housing estates or in the suburbs of towns and cities, be they economically strong or weak. The modern age is present anywhere in Europe, with its both positive or negative results, – and should not be excluded from the phenomenology of the European city. If, according to *Siebel* (2004: 35), the society that created the traditional European city does no longer exist, it nevertheless lives on in the built environment, changing, however, beyond the produced space[7] (*Lefebvre* 1974).

4. The European City Compared with International Urbanisation

4.1 A variety of city models

Another way of characterising the European city is to compare it with other urbanisation models (*Tab. 3*), even if colonisation and globalisation have resulted in the existence of combinations of the different city models. Although *Peter Marcuse* (2004) denies that European cities disappear or that they turn into a general type of globalised city, it cannot be ignored that urban sceneries and functional mechanisms have developed in a similar way all over the world. Still, there is a specific common ground which unites European cities and distinguishes them from other countries in the world. The following analysis focuses on American and Chinese cities on the one hand and exchange processes between European and non-European cities on the other hand.

The North-American city, especially as evolved along the eastern coast, arose in the 18th century and was inhabited by trading immigrants (*Chudacoff* and *Smith* 1988: 4f.). Nowadays, this city model represents socially polarised cities, with settlements spreading massively into the outlying land, especially at the junctions of important highways and without any relationship to the existing city centres ("urban form of settlement

without city" – *Häußermann* 1998)[7]. In the absence of alternatives, shopping malls are accepted as "public" spaces (*Lenger* 2007: 650ff.), without actually being public. Compared with land-use change in Germany, there is virtually no intervention into this process by the U.S. federal or the state governments (*Kreibich* 2001: 44). Generally, current forms of European urban development nevertheless point towards an American model despite the differing societal conditions, as here, "looking into detail, there are institutions and cultural classes in society providing very different preconditions for urban development" (*Häußermann* 1998: 77)[8].

The Chinese city is much older and characterised by the presence of sovereigns and religious cults (*Siebel* 2004: 13). As many of the original timber constructions have not survived and also owing to the cultural revolution, numerous architectural traces have disappeared. The emerging leading class in China does not have any relation to the ancient city. Neither there nor in Latin America cities are as closely related with the social development as in 19th century Central and Western Europe (*Toyka-Seid* 2008: 148). Chinese cities nowadays face enormous population growth, which makes their development principally different from that in most European cities.

4.2 Exports of the European city model

Construction methods, planning theories, cultural symbols and peculiarities have often been imported and exported. Cities founded in South America by the Spanish and Portuguese in the wake of colonisation, for example, provide ample evidence for these processes (*Girouard* 1987: 235; *Photo 2*).

Colonial cities represent the often failed idea to separate natives and colonial powers, lifestyles and standards. In the former colonialist cities, today,

Photo 2 The Bund waterfront area along the Huangpu River in Shanghai with various historic European colonial-style buildings; some of them are actually copies of European buildings. During the 1920s and 1930s, the Bund flourished with headquarters of banks, trading houses, consulates and hotels. Nowadays, it is a popular promenade and tourist attraction opposite Pudong, the new commercial centre (*Photo*: *B. Adam*). *Die Uferpromenade des Bund entlang des Huangpu in Schanghai mit verschiedenen historischen Bauten im europäischen Kolonialstil; darunter Kopien europäischer Gebäude. Während der 1920er und 1930er Jahre florierte der Bund als Standort von Bankenzentralen, Handelshäusern, Konsulaten und Hotels. Heute ist er eine beliebte Promenade und Touristenattraktion gegenüber von Pudong, dem neuen kommerziellen Zentrum.*

colonial-style buildings are very popular and partly used by local elites (*Photo 3*). On the West African coast, former European forts and other colonial buildings are even listed as UNESCO world heritage sites (*Toyka-Seid* 2008:152; UNESCO World Heritage Center 2009). In the 20th century, the ideas of modern architecture were disseminated over the world, e.g. owing to the emigration of Bauhaus representatives.

In China with its present-day urban boom, the European city is highly appreciated. Large numbers of European and German architects have been commissioned to create urban design or even to plan whole cities. Urban design has received major inspirations from Europe: public spaces, public green areas and squares, but also streets, courtyards and other elements of the built environment. Copies of blueprints of European development projects, such as Thames Town, created by *Atkins* on the Yangtze River Delta, or Anting New Town by Albert Speer & Partner, representing the German example (*Kaltenbrunner* 2007: 700), show how easily Asian investors use European design

Photo 3 Cape Town – colonial architecture exists side by side with a "globalised" appearance (*Photo: B. Adam*)
Kapstadt – Es existiert ein Nebeneinander von Kolonialarchitektur und Globalisierungselementen

for their new projects. Copies of Western European culture are simply taken over. Gerkan, Marg & Partner Architects designed and built the Chinese city of Lingang which includes an open public central square, following the example of Hamburg (*Gerkan* 2008). Behind the scenes, the Chinese operate with a comprehensive planning concept comparable to that of 1970s West Germany, but, of course, embedded into a centralist system regulated by the state, where self-government, smart growth or resources conservation are not established concepts. Collaborative projects between European and Chinese universities and exhibitions promote the discussion and the exchange on *"Baukultur"* (especially urban design and architecture).

There are, of course, elements which cannot be easily transferred from Europe to China, like,

e.g., slow growth, moderate city size and polycentrism. Nevertheless, elements of the European urban model might still be adequate for meeting the challenges of present-day emerging countries (*Toyka-Seid* 2008: 163).

In addition, historical elements of the European city are selling well in the Western world, considering, e.g., the much-discussed American "New Urbanism" with the copyright town "Celebration" or the imitated buildings of Venice in Las Vegas – elements in stark constrast to modernity.

4.3 Imports to Europe

New technologies and related building regulations led to the skyscraper typology developed in New York and Chicago. In 1891, the first skyscrapers

towered above church spires. In 1920 they be-
came characteristic elements of the urban sil-
houette (*Girouard* 1987: 318). In booming
growth regions outside Europe, this type of
building is nowadays regarded as a symbol of
power referring to the history of western pros-
perity. Many global cities are characterised by
high-rise buildings in their central business dis-
tricts (*Sassen* 1991), as elements of internation-
al urban design and urban development (*Marcuse*
2004), along with the gentrification of neighbour-
hoods close to CBDs, the spatial separation of
ethnic and income groups or the suburbanisation
of residential, shopping and cultural facilities.

However, high-rise buildings have not really be-
come constitutive elements of the European
city. The skyline of Frankfurt is still a Europe-
an exception. Nevertheless, also in Europe,
high-rise buildings are increasingly becoming
an integral part of large urban development
projects. They are landmarks representing com-
pany headquarters and capable of contributing
to a "cosmopolitan" idea of the city.

Furthermore, shopping malls and "urban enter-
tainment centres" have found their way into Eu-
ropean cities. Backed by large investors operat-
ing nationwide and independent of any detailed
decision-making processes, projects could be
quickly implemented. Vacant inner-city sites
caused by structural economic change, were rap-
idly "filled". Today, this new kind of "urbanism
directly and indirectly produced by the commer-
cial and the service sector" (*Christ* 2002: 110)[9]
results in a new specific urban feeling, creating
specific new urban images and atmospheres.

As a result, the import, export and the mutual
acceptance of ideas and principles of urban de-
velopment show that various urban development
models interfere with each other. Without doubt,
globalisation has led to more homogeneous ar-
chitectural guidelines especially in those cities
intensively involved in the global economy.

5. Conclusions on the Role of European Cities Elements in Urban Development

5.1 From the model of the European city towards more concrete planning concepts

The German National Urban Development Pol-
icy and the Leipzig Charter focus on positive fea-
tures of European urban development. With their
general formulation of priorities and objectives,
however, they do not account for a detailed pic-
ture of the European city with all its dynamic
conditions and ambivalences, where urban
growth is as important as phases of shrinking.

Politicians use the notion of the European city
to find possible answers to current challenges
within a mostly positive context. However, a
practice-oriented concept and structuring
standards are required which help to use the
properties of the European city for solving
emerging problems of cities. In these conclud-
ing remarks, by comparing the challenges of
urban development on the one hand (Section 2)
with the features of the European city on the
other hand (Sections 3 and 4), the requirements
of such a concept shall be outlined and the foun-
dations for a general framework shall be laid.
It appears that the European city offers input and
experiences for future urban development bear-
ing more than an abstract political impulse for
discussion and action, starting off from the
present-day social conditions. In order to do
this, it is necessary to adjust the features de-
rived from the historical analysis to the present
situation in synthetic and dynamic terms.

Although this contribution refers to the specific
situation of urban development in German cities,
the EU in general and special initiatives like the
Leipzig Charter have a common European basis
that allows for a common European understand-
ing. European cities share a common history of
building, polycentric urban systems, moderate
city sizes and a generally slow development.

5.2 The European city as a "construction set" for urban development

Characteristics of the "old" European city seem to solve a number of present-day problems, which is why current urban policies refer to these elements. The European city model may also be considered as a qualitative feature in the global competition. Against the background of old (manufacturing) and new (service-based) economies, the European city represents not only a historic product but also an esteemed and reproduced type of space which may act as a specific advantage in the competition of locations and cities.

Historic models and the generally accepted view of the compact structure of the European city comply with the current demands on using land economically, recycling derelict sites, reducing motorisation and avoiding unrestricted land use at the periphery. Functional mix facilitates the general supply situation and the cultural participation not only of senior urban inhabitants. The spatial and social consequences of the new communication media, above all the internet, however, remain disputed. Do they support centrally organised and resource-conserving processes or do they counteract them? On the one hand, they may help to save distances and facilitate access to information. On the other hand, they produce new traffic because they require delivery or just-in-time production and exclude those groups of the population who do not use these new media.

A precondition for using the spatial benefits of the "old" European city is that it distinguishes itself from other locations. The former urban-rural disparity no longer exists; to a great extent urban forms of living are ubiquitous. In Europe, not only "city air" is liberating. This is why cities must develop new attractions. It is not enough to highlight various epochs or just the "old" town. Only when combining elements of various epochs, a new attraction may be produced: green polycentric cities of the modern age along with

the conservation of the historic core. In addition, a city's attractiveness relies very much on a functioning urban community which means that educational and employment opportunities, cultural facilities, a large number of leisure facilities, a mixture of different uses of buildings or urban areas, short distances and efficient local public transport must be available (*Adam* and *Sturm* 2012). Realising this, however, is jeopardised by the shortage of local government budgets in Germany and other European countries. Closing public libraries, theatres, hospitals or indoor swimming pools as well as the declining support of local public transport counteract the competitiveness of cities. Tendencies to centralise infrastructural facilities lead to larger distances, social costs and more traffic. Reducing the state involvement in social housing is in marked contrast with the traditions of the European city and will result in discriminations on the housing markets.

5.3 Demands on societal organisation of planning processes

Among the urban society, a consensus on European city standards has to be reached. It may be achieved when the urban society has become emancipated and integrated into a joint process of political participation and communal planning. Conflicts – like the current polarisation tendencies – must be unveiled and dealt with to find useful solutions.

Projects to revitalise urban brownfields are led by market-economy criteria. New developments, so-called "flagships", emerge on central and popular sites: office locations with gastronomic or other cultural facilities, public or semi-public areas and high-quality housing within a high-quality environment. They are to attract people earning good money. Investors plan and build, cities hope to gain more attractiveness but bear the risk of large resource-intensive projects. Traditionally, the European city is characterised by a large

organised urban community – and not by a small selection of large investors. The financial basis of this community is at risk in many places. The reasons are the ways how local budgets are managed, declining tax revenues and increasing costs. The urban community requires public-private partnership solutions helping them to fight the fiscal thumbscrews, and a policy improving urban attractiveness at a calculable risk.

Again: What we lack most is areas with historic buildings or monuments, short distances, functioning neighbourhoods, accessible places, access to green areas and various uses of buildings. Conflicts emerge and impede development for the growing demand for housing at reasonable prices. Improving and upgrading the housing stock in formerly low-class locations may result in enormous profits, but may force local inhabitants to move out, owing to increasing rents. The recent protests in a number of the larger German cities reveal the conflicts that such an evolution may imply.

Generally, living together in the European city, given the wide variety of interests and chances of citizens and investors, has become more complicated; this has to be taken into account by planners and decision-makers. The emancipation of the urban society has to be revived because supporting a self-confident articulation and representation of one's own interests is unquestionable in a democratic urban society – equal rights and chances, on the one hand, equal duties on the other hand. Beyond a nostalgic look to the past, the history of the European city provides experiences and conceptual ideas.

5.4 Integrating the European city into a global city model

The international challenges which urban development in Europe has to face often arise with dimensions different from the European ones,

according to different criteria and based on different development histories, but in similar thematic contexts: climate change and the search for energy efficiency, growth and shrinking, migration or expansion of cities towards the periphery. Global networking and exchange already create a common ground.

Today, urban centres look similar in many parts of the world as they have been developed by internationally acting investors, architects and companies. Historic urban areas redeveloped according to the same example of the European city may appear replaceable in the same way: Beyond specific national characteristics they are dominated by "globalised" – mainly touristic – facilities.

Cities have become international and may become even more international. Germany starts to consider itself as a country of immigration. Migrants from various continents bring their own cultures along, and the social, cultural and economic absorptive and integrative capacity of the European urban society is challenged. Former industrial regions, like the Ruhr Area, in the 19th and 20th century one of the largest mining areas in Europe with a high rate of immigration, are said to have an enormous integrative capacity. This effect cannot be created only or mainly based on the labour market when access is restricted. At present, the integrative capacity of urban labour markets is even being reduced, when office and residential buildings instead of buildings for mass employment are built on brownfield sites in inner cities. At the same time, people have to face the fact that integration is a long-term process – however this process can be supported based on various historical experiences.

5.5 Adapting the European city model to diversity and dynamic development processes

Today's cities and city regions are characterised by a variety of features. Above all, the "old" Eu-

ropean core city is usually only part of today's agglomerations that consist of a number of belts around the core. It may inspire and in some cases it is reality. A restricted perspective of a predefined and idealised type of city not only ignores regionalisation but also modern urban expansions and large building projects or significant transport infrastructure sites. It also neglects large shopping malls or spatial distances modified by communication technologies. These differentiations underline the demand for a sectorally and spatially integrated urban development.

Multifunctionality, which in former times combined trade, manufacturing, housing, religion, culture and political responsibility in a close spatial context, has never been without problems. Re-establishing multifunctionality has to take possible conflicts into account. In addition, in many cities, the built results of decades of development towards a sort of monofunctionality have to be overcome, and trends reversed, e.g. with regard to the tertiarisation of city centres as practised in the 1970s (*Freund* 2002).

At all times, access to political life and built public spaces of cities has been restricted in one way or another. Coping with emerging challenges requires identifying and defining limits of the social and physical ideal. Societal changes, such as the increasing number of elderly people, require revised architectural concepts. Cities and city regions must be open to all kinds of cultural ideas (of cities) and ways of life, even if differences and contradictions are evident. Differing social systems and conditions have always produced differing urban environments. It would therefore be counterproductive to stick to a narrow-minded view of the European city without integrating its physical and social values in everyday urban life and without advancing them.

In the same way as the authors of this essay take a multidimensional look at the European city, the elements of the European city model must be tied together with political and planning concepts in a multidimensional way. On the one hand, a set of guiding rules is required, e.g. mixed uses of buildings, a high practical value of the urban environment, the support of an emancipated urban society and a well-functioning urban community. On the other hand, variables may be defined under these conditions that consider changes and also allow changes.

Notes

[1] in German: "*Leitidee*" or "*Leitbild*"

[2] Publications such as "La Città Europea" *(Guidoni* 1978) are, firstly, rather descriptive and, secondly, essentially refer to historical aspects.

[3] The study was commissioned by the Federal Ministry of Transport, Building and Housing in order to prepare and to be discussed by the World Commission URBAN 21.

[4] "Gemüts- und Gefühlswerte, die man mit der Bürgerstadt des Mittelalters verband"

[5] "Denkmal oder Lebensraum"

[6] With "La production de l'espace" *Lefebvre* aims at a comprehensive theory of space produced by society. In doing so, he rejects the modern age concept and, by defining three interacting levels of spatial production – experience physically, think up conceptionally and live in the company of others – , he creates scope for the future without totally breaking with the past.

[7] "städtische Siedlungsform ohne Stadt"

[8] "Unter der Oberfläche jedoch, so die These, liegen Institutionen und kulturelle Schichten, die sehr unterschiedliche Voraussetzungen für die Stadtentwicklung bilden."

[9] "Was Handel und Dienstleistungen direkt an Stadt produzieren"

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Summary: The European City – a Model for Future Urban Development and its Elements

The adoption of the "European city" is the guiding idea of German urban policy. For the time being, the basic idea of the "European city" is still abstract. Section 1 informs about the German policy of urban planning and the meaning of "the European city" in this context. Moreover, the European Union's Leipzig Charter on Sustainable European Cities is discussed. The Leipzig Charter – adopted by the EU member states in 2007 – aims at a modern definition of the European city concept at the beginning of the 21st century. Based on the German Federal Government's Spatial Development Report 2008, Section 2 describes the challenges underlying the political approaches. They can be assigned to the major tasks, e.g.: increasing the attractiveness of cities and city regions, the adaptation of the urban community to social requirements, or protecting the environment, climate and resources. As a central part of the article, features of the "European city" as well as related expectations are derived from the academic literature. Based on historical urban development processes, positive features of the physical shape and the social and administrative organisation are identified in Section 3, e.g.: various functions of buildings, mixed residential areas (architecture, uses), the existence of attractive city centres, functioning public transport networks, autonomous authority of cities in the field

of urban development and planning, social, cultural and economic absorbing and integrative capacity of the urban society. The authors also discuss contradictions among these positive features that have to be considered by conceptual ideas based on the "European city". Another contribution towards characterising the European city is to compare it with other models of urbanisation. Despite the many differences within Europe, where are the specific common grounds compared with other countries in the world? To answer this question, Section 4 describes American and Chinese cities on the one hand, and exchange processes between European and non-European cities on the other hand. Conclusions on the role of the discussed European elements in urban development are structured along five requirements (Section 5): from the guiding idea of the European city towards concepts, the European city as a "construction set" of urban development, demands on urban-society related processes, integrating the European city into a global city model, adapting the guiding idea 'European city' to diversity and dynamic development processes. In the same way in which the authors of this essay take a multidimensional look at the European city, the elements of the European city model must be combined in multiple dimensions in political and planning concepts. On the one hand, fixed guiding principles are required, e.g. mixed uses of buildings, a high practical value of urban structures, support of an emancipated urban society and a functioning urban community. On the other hand, variables can be defined under these conditions that consider changes and also allow changes.

Zusammenfassung. Die europäische Stadt – ein Leitbild zukünftiger Stadtentwicklung und seine Charakteristika

Die deutsche Stadtpolitik macht sich die „Europäische Stadt" als Leitbild zu Eigen. Die zugrundeliegende Vorstellung von der „Europäischen Stadt" bewegt sich dabei zunächst auf einem abstrakten Niveau. Kapitel 1 informiert über die deutsche Stadtpolitik und die Bedeutung der „Europäischen Stadt" in diesem Zusammenhang. Darüber hinaus wird die „Leipzig-Charta zur nachhaltigen europäischen Stadt" betrachtet. Die Leipzig-Charta – 2007 von den EU-Mitgliedsstatten beschlossen – zielt darauf ab, die Idee der „Europäischen Stadt" am Anfang des 21. Jahrhunderts zeitgemäß zu definieren. Auf der Grundlage des Stadtentwicklungsberichts der Bundesregierung aus dem Jahre 2008 werden in Kapitel 2 die Herausforderungen beschrieben, die den Politikansätzen zugrundeliegen. Diese Herausforderungen lassen sich umfasstenderen Aufgabenbereichen zuordnen, beispielsweise der Steigerung der Attraktivität der Städte und Stadtregionen, der Anpassung des städtischen Gemeinwesens an gesellschaftliche Anforderungen oder dem Umwelt-, Klima- und Ressourcenschutz. Im Hauptteil des Beitrages werden Merkmale der „Europäischen Stadt" genauso wie damit verbundene Erwartungen aus der Fachliteratur hergeleitet. Basierend auf historischen Stadtentwicklungsprozessen werden positive Merkmale zur physischen Gestalt und zum Gemeinwesen identifiziert (Kapitel 3), z.B. eine vielfältige Funktionsmischung, gemischte Wohnquartiere (Architektur, Nutzungen), die Existenz eines attraktiven Stadtzentrums, ein funktionsfähiges Netz des öffentlichen Verkehrs, die Kompetenz der Städte, Stadtentwicklung und Stadtplanung selbst zu lenken oder die soziale, kulturelle und wirtschaftliche Integrations- und Absorptionskraft der Stadtgesellschaft. Über die Identifizierung der Merkmale hinaus greifen die Autoren Widersprüche im Komplex der positiven Zuschreibungen auf. Ein weiterer Ansatz zur Charakterisierung der „Europäischen Stadt" liegt in dem Vergleich mit alternativen Modellen der Urbanisierung: Wo liegen bei allen innereuropäischen Unterschieden Gemeinsamkeiten im internationalen Vergleich? In Kapitel 4 werden exemplarisch amerikanische und chinesische Städte ebenso wie Austauschprozesse zwischen europäischen und außereuropäischen Städten skizziert. Schlussfolgerungen zur politischen und planerischen Bedeutungen der „Europäischen Stadt" und ihrer Elemente werden in Kapitel 5 gezogen. Sie orientieren sich an fünf Anforderungen: von der Leitidee „Europäische Stadt" zum praxisrelevanten Leitbild, die „Europäische Stadt" als Baukasten der Stadtentwicklung, Anforderungen an gesellschaftliche Prozesse, Integration der europäischen Stadt in ein Weltstadtmodell, Anpassung einer Leitidee „Europäische Stadt" an Vielfalt und Dynamik. So mehrdimensional wie der Blick auf die „Europäische Stadt" in diesen Beitrag angelegt ist, so mehrdimensional müssen auch die Elemente einer Leitidee „Europäische Stadt"

in politischen und planerischen Konzepten verknüpft werden. Es muss zwar Fixpunkte geben, wie z.B. leitende Prinzipien der Nutzungsmischung, eines hohen Gebrauchswertes städtischer Strukturen, der Förderung einer emanzipierten Stadtgesellschaft und eines funktionierenden Gemeinwesens etc. Unter diesen Voraussetzungen können aber auch Variabilitäten definiert werden, die Veränderungen nicht nur berücksichtigen, sondern zulassen.

Résumé: La ville européenne – un modèle pour le développement urbain futur et ses éléments

La mise en œuvre de l'idée de la « ville européenne » est le concept directeur de la politique urbaine allemande. À présent, l'idée fondamentale de la « ville européenne » est encore abstraite. Le premier chapitre informe sur la politique allemande de la planification urbaine et sur la signification de la « ville européenne » dans ce contexte. De plus, la Charte de Leipzig sur la ville européenne durable est considérée. La Charte de Leipzig – adoptée en 2007 par les ministres responsables des affaires urbaines de l'Union Européenne – vise à une définition moderne du concept de la ville européenne au début du 21ième siècle. Sur la base du Rapport sur le Développement du Territoire 2008 du gouvernement fédéral allemand, le deuxième chapitre décrit les défis qui sont le fondement des approches politiques. Ils peuvent être assignés aux tâches majeures, par exemple: promouvoir l'attractivité des villes et des régions urbaines, l'adaptation de la communauté urbaine aux demandes sociales, la protection de l'environnement, du climat et des ressources. Une partie principale de l'article est la dérivation des marques distinctives de la « ville européenne » ainsi que les attentes qui se rapportent à cela, qui sont dérivées de la littérature académique. Sur la base des processus de développement urbain historiques, les marques positives de la forme physique et de l'organisation administrative et sociale sont identifiées dans le troisième chapitre, par exemple: les fonctions différentes des bâtiments et des zones résidentielles mixtes (architecture, usages), l'existence des centres urbains attractifs, un fonctionnement des réseaux des transports publics, l'autorité autonome des villes dans le domaine du développement urbain et de la planification urbaine, une capacité absorbante et intégrative de la société urbaine dans le domaine social, culturel et économique. Les auteurs discutent aussi les contradictions parmi ces marques positives, qui doivent être considérées dans les idées conceptuelles basées sur la « ville européenne ». Une autre contribution à la caractérisation de la ville européenne est la comparaison avec des autres modèles de l'urbanisation. Malgré des nombreuses différences en Europe, où sont les fondations communes en comparaison avec les autres pays du monde? Pour répondre à cette question, le quatrième chapitre décrit les villes américaines et chinoises d'une part et les processus d'échange entre les villes européennes et non-européennes de l'autre. Des conclusions sur le rôle des éléments des villes européennes dans le développement urbain qui étaient discutées sont structurées dans cinq demandes: du modèle de la « ville européenne » aux concepts, la ville européenne comme « kit » du développement urbain, demandes aux processus qui se rapportent à la société urbaine, l'intégration de la ville européenne dans le modèle de la ville globale, l'adaptation du modèle de la « ville européenne » aux processus de la diversification et du développement dynamique. En même manière dans laquelle les auteurs de cet article ont considéré la ville européenne dans les multiples dimensions, les éléments du modèle de la ville européenne doivent être combinés avec des multiples dimensions dans les concepts de la politique et de la planification. D'une part, des modèles fixes sont nécessaires, par exemple l'usage mixte des bâtiments, une grande utilité pratique des structures urbaines, la promotion d'une société urbaine émancipée et une communauté urbaine qui fonctionne bien. De l'autre part, les variables peuvent être définies à ces conditions qui rendent ces changements possibles.

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