

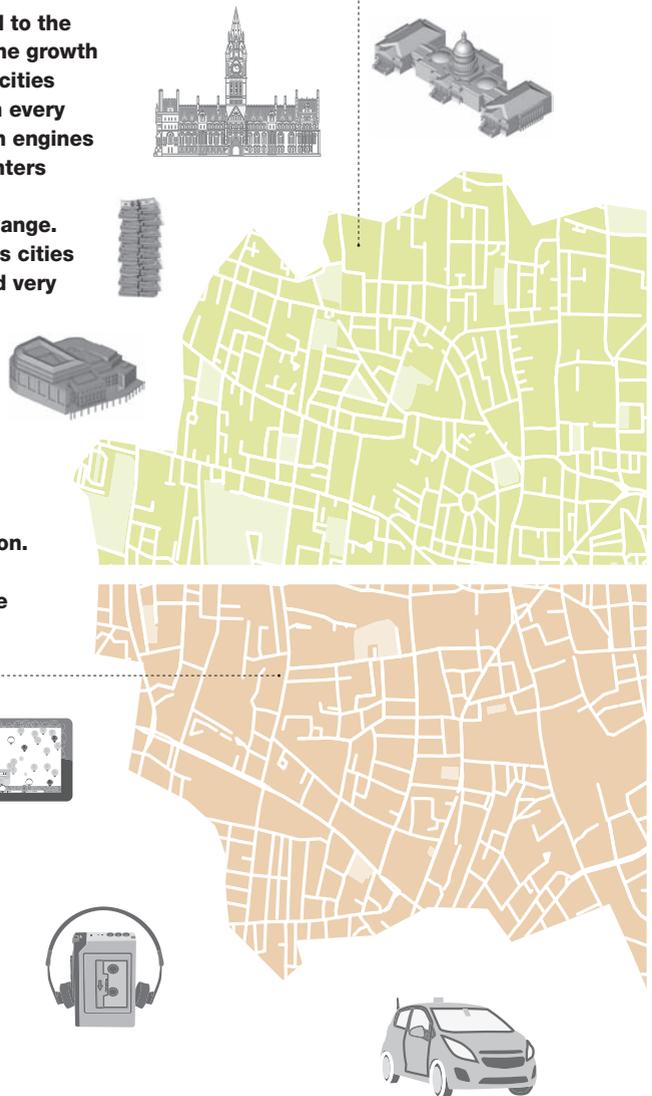
Introduction

1: The decision-making capacity of cities
Because cities bring together the decision-making machinery of public and private institutions and organizations, cities are centers of political and economic power.

Cities have always been central to the development of societies and the growth of their economies. Towns and cities in every historical period and in every geographical context have been engines of economic innovation and centers of cultural expansion, social transformation, and political change. This remains true today, even as cities around the world have inherited very different physical settings and have adapted to different roles and specializations in an increasingly integrated global system. Although they often pose social and environmental problems, towns and cities are essential elements in human economic and social organization. In this context, we can identify four fundamental aspects of the dynamism of cities:

4: The generative functions of cities
The concentration of people in cities makes for much greater interaction and competition, which promotes innovation and facilitates the generation and exchange of knowledge and information.

The four fundamental functions of cities
The common themes that run through this book relate to four fundamental functions of the role of cities, whose development can be traced historically and uncovered in cities across the globe. Each of the city types in this book illustrates different emphases and combinations of these functions and of creating and maintaining the infrastructure and social context to support them.



Cities, in other words, are not just concentrations of people. Nevertheless, the numbers are impressive. Cities now accommodate more than half the world's population. Between 1980 and 2010, the number of city dwellers worldwide rose by 1.7 billion. Much of the developed world has become almost completely urbanized, and in many less-developed regions the current rate of urbanization is without precedent. Metropolitan areas like Mexico City and São Paulo have been adding half a million people to their population

each year: nearly 10,000 every week, even taking into account losses from deaths and out-migration. It took London 190 years to grow from half a million to 10 million. It took New York 140 years. By contrast, Buenos Aires, Kolkata (Calcutta), Mexico City, Mumbai (Bombay), Rio de Janeiro, São Paulo, and Seoul all took less than seventy-five years to grow from half a million to 10 million inhabitants. Urbanization on this scale is a remarkable geographical phenomenon—one of the most important processes shaping the world's landscapes.

Many of the world's big cities are the product of long periods of development; of a "golden age" of wealth or creativity; or, more often, of successive waves and cycles of development and of demographic, social, cultural, political, and administrative change. Each chapter in a city's history leaves its mark, for better or worse, in the layout of its streets, the fabric of its buildings, the nature of its institutions, and the cultural legacies of its residents. The layering and imprint of these are, of course, uneven; some elements are more durable than others, some are more cherished, and some are simply bypassed or left unchanged. This book charts the diversity of the world's cities, focusing on the different types of cities produced by patterns and processes of urbanization, past and present.

Foundations

In many ways, the foundations for today's cities were laid by the Greek and Roman empires. Their legacy is described in Chapter 1. The ancient Greeks developed a series of fortified city-states along the Mediterranean coast, and by 550 BCE there were about 250 such colonies, some of which subsequently grew into thriving cities, centers of rational inquiry and open-mindedness. The Roman Republic was established in 509 BCE and by 14 CE the Romans had conquered much of Europe. Most of today's major European cities had their origin as Roman settlements, which introduced innovations in civil society, urban administration and governance, and infrastructure. In many of these cities it is possible to find traces of the Roman street layout, as well as city walls, paved streets, aqueducts, sewage systems, baths, and public buildings.

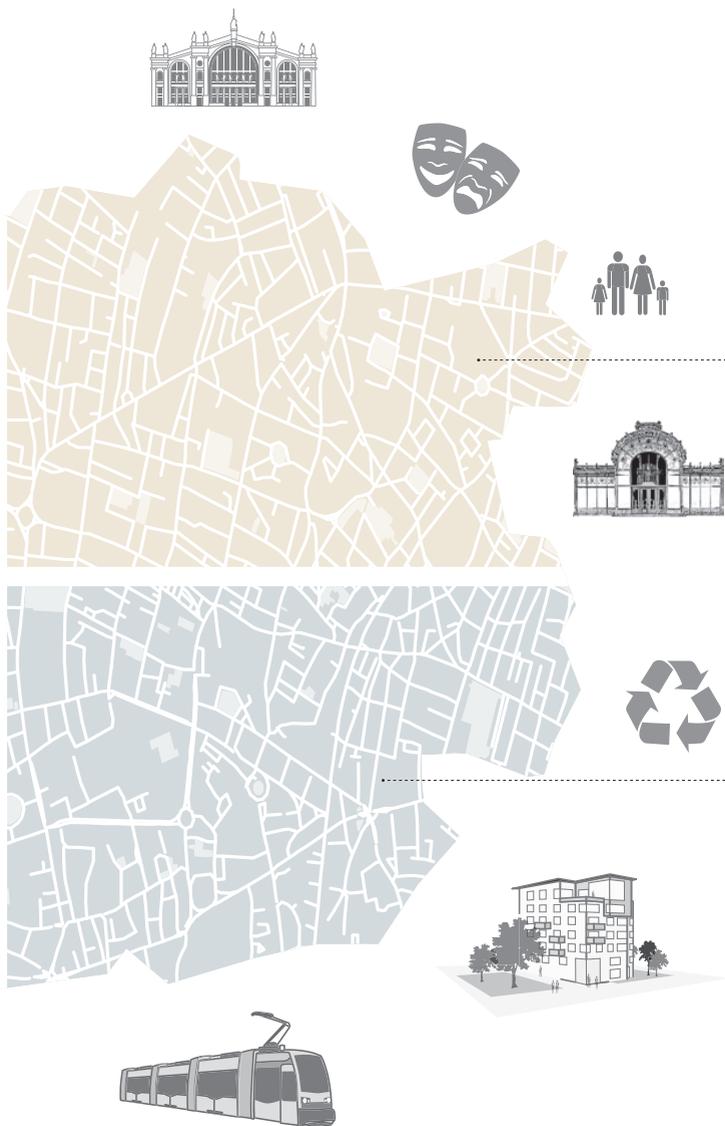
The traces and echoes of Greek and Roman urbanism survive in many of today's cities, but their heyday was followed in Europe by the Dark Ages: decidedly rural, introverted, and not at all urban-oriented. From the 11th century onward, however, the feudal system of the Dark Ages faltered and disintegrated in the face of successive demographic, economic, and political crises. These crises arose because limited amounts of cultivable land could not cope with even modest population growth in the absence of significant technological improvements. To bolster their incomes and raise armies against one another, the feudal nobility began to levy increasingly higher taxes. Peasants were consequently obliged to sell more of their produce for cash in local markets. Gradually, a more extensive money economy

2: The transformative capacity of cities

The size, density, and variety of city populations tend to have a liberating effect on people, allowing them to escape the rigidities of traditional, rural society and to participate in a variety of lifestyles and behaviors.

3: The mobilizing function of cities

Urban settings, with their physical infrastructure and their large and diverse populations, are places where things can get done. Whatever the local economic or political system, cities provide efficient and effective environments for organizing labor, capital, and raw materials and for distributing finished products.



developed, along with the beginnings of a pattern of trade in basic agricultural produce and craft manufactures. Some long-distance trade even began in luxury goods, such as spices, furs, silks, fruit, and wine.

The regional specializations and trading networks that emerged provided the foundations for a new phase of urbanization based on merchant capitalism. One such network is charted in Chapter 2: the Hanseatic League, a federation of city-states around the North Sea and Baltic coasts. Inter-city trade became an engine of growth, and cities became cultural crossroads and political powerhouses. Among the legacies of late medieval urbanism were craft guilds, the codification of urban governance and the democratic process, and the creation of key public institutions. In some cases, the core of the old town remains as a beautifully preserved example of medieval European urbanism, attracting tourists and presenting some interesting issues associated with historic preservation.

In sharp contrast to cities based on trade are those whose *raison d'être* has been the administration of imperial power. At different times, and in different world regions, the likes of Athens, Beijing, Budapest, Constantinople,

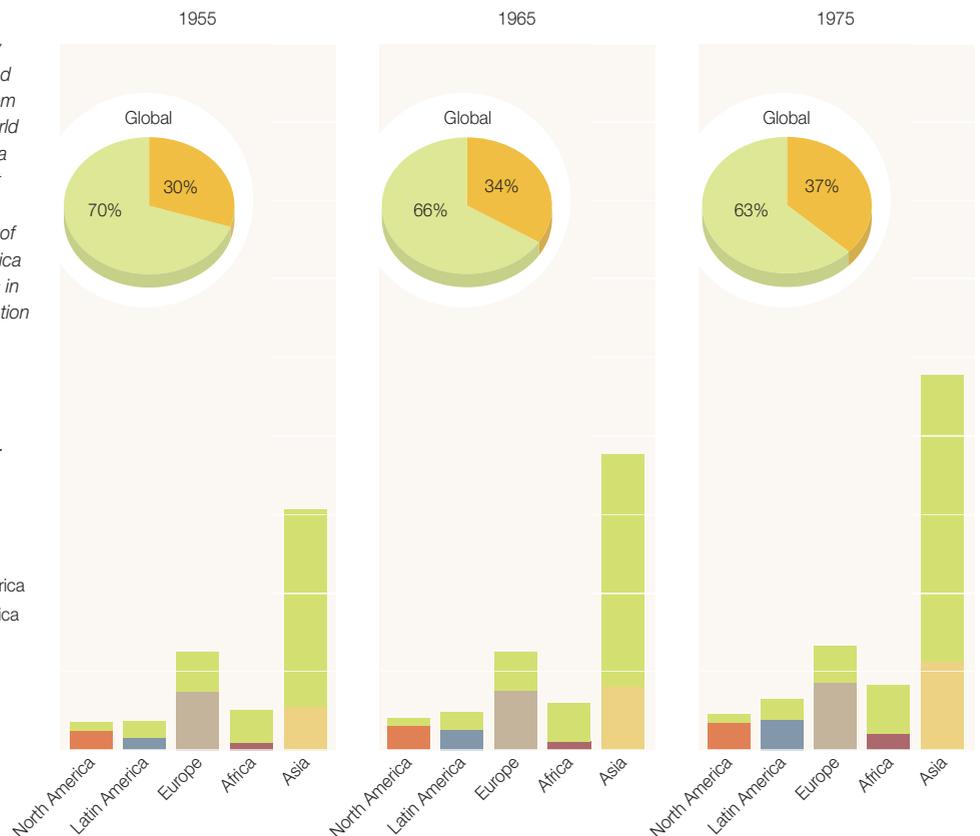
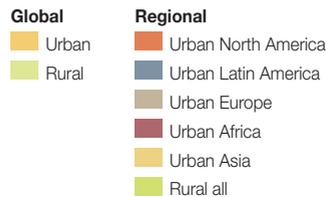
Kyoto, London, Moscow, Mexico City, Rome, and Vienna became an expression, in brick and stone, of imperial power and grandeur. As Chapter 3 illustrates, the layout, principal buildings, and neighborhoods of such cities all reflect the centralized power of the imperial era. The imperial city exemplifies some of the generative functions of cities in terms of the exchange of knowledge and ideas, while its declarative built form expresses the relationships between art, power, and the city.

Industrialization

Industrialization rewrote the landscapes of many cities and prompted the emergence of an entirely new kind of city—the industrial city—whose fundamental reason for existence was not, as earlier, to fulfill military, administrative, ecclesiastical, or trading functions but, rather, to gather raw materials and to fabricate, assemble, and distribute manufactured goods. Industrial economies could be organized only through the large pools of labor, the transportation networks, the physical infrastructure of factories, warehouses, stores, and offices, and the consumer markets provided by cities. In addition to their new infrastructure and economic activities, industrial cities brought significant

Urban growth across the world

Urbanization is a global phenomenon, but the way cities are developing, the experience of city life, and the prospects for the future of cities vary widely from region to region. While much of the developed world has become almost completely urbanized, in Africa and Asia the current rate of urbanization is without precedent. North America is the most urbanized continent in the world, with more than 80 percent of its population living in urban areas. In contrast, Africa is less than 40 percent urban. To put these figures in perspective, only 30 percent of the world's population was urbanized in 1955. Currently, some 200,000 people are added to the world's urban population every day. By 2030, six out of every ten people worldwide will live in a city, and by 2050 this proportion will increase to seven out of ten people.



social, cultural, and environmental impacts: new class structures, urban poverty and inequality, pollution, socio-economic segregation; and philanthropy and liberal reform. Manchester, the focus of Chapter 4, was the shock city of 19th-century industrialization, growing from a small town of 15,000 in 1750 to a city of 70,000 in 1801, a metropolis of 500,000 in 1861, and a world city of 2.3 million by 1911. Today's industrial cities include the likes of São Paulo, Brazil, and Guangzhou, China; while many of the industrial cities that sprang up in Europe and North America in the 19th and early 20th centuries have experienced deindustrialization as the economy has globalized and jobs moved offshore.

The unintended consequences of industrialization, together with the progressive possibilities of new technologies, saw the birth of city planning. Meanwhile, city-based education and communications saw the advance of reason, rationality, and science over tradition, myth, superstition, and religious absolutes. As Chapter 5 shows, cities everywhere began to modernize, but Paris was the acknowledged capital of modernity in terms of both physical and cultural expression. Nineteenth-century Paris acquired wide

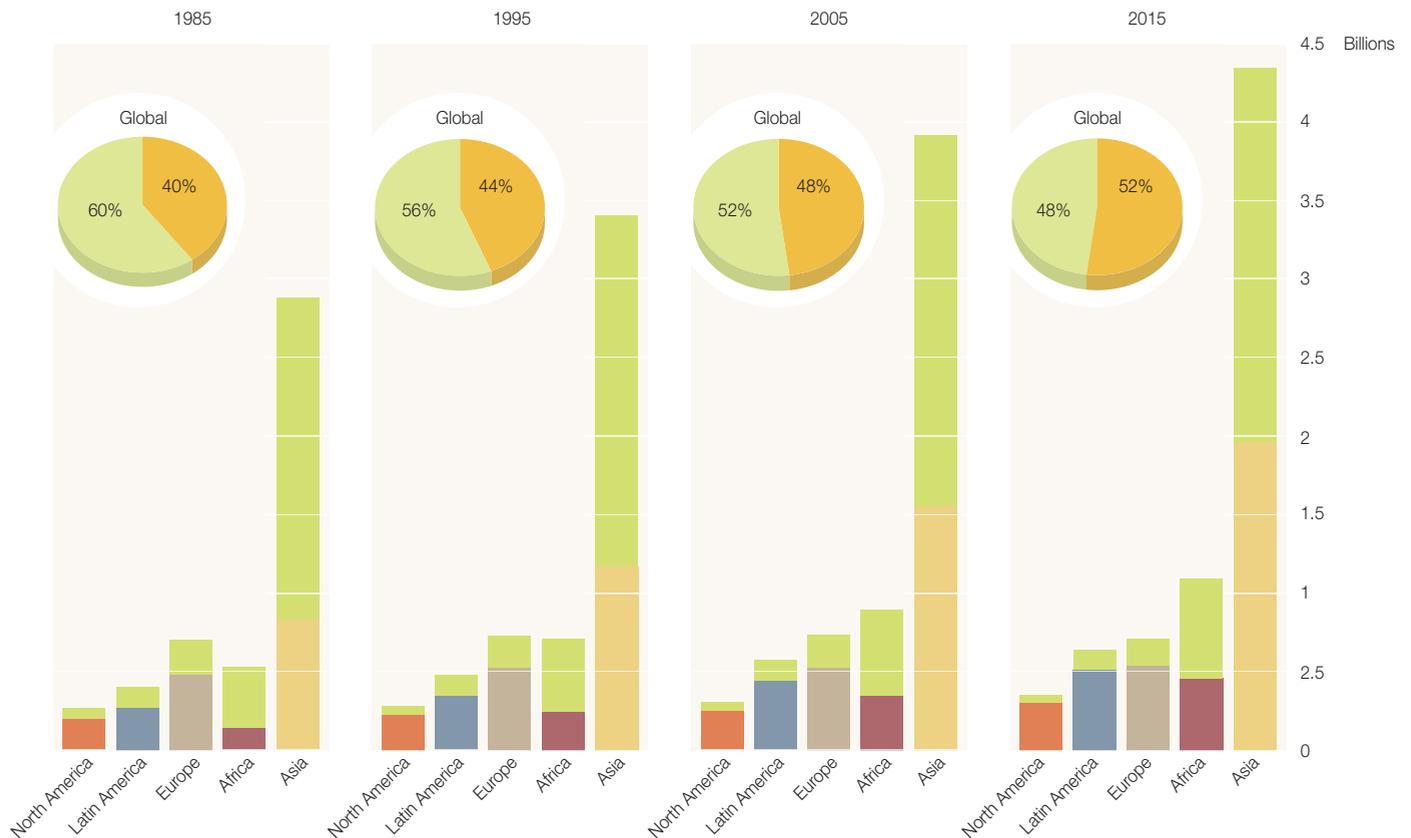
boulevards, new bridges, a new water supply system, a gigantic system of sewers and street lighting, public buildings, and extensive improvements in urban parks that turned them into places of leisure. Within this new framework, modernized industry flourished, along with significant new artistic and cultural movements, mass entertainments, and new spaces of consumption. Amid the revolutionary ferment of ideas, Paris attracted and developed an unrivaled artistic and cultural scene.

Globalization

By the mid-20th century, economic globalization had resulted in the creation of an international urban system in which certain cities—"global cities"—acquired key roles in areas such as transnational corporate organization, international banking and finance, supranational government, and the work of international agencies. Global cities, the subject of Chapter 6, are the control centers for the flows of information, cultural products, and finance that collectively sustain economic and cultural globalization. They provide an interface between the global and the local. They contain the economic, cultural, and institutional apparatus that channels national and provincial

resources into the global economy, and that transmits the impulses of globalization back to national and provincial centers. The rise of globalized consumer societies has meanwhile meant that cities are increasingly the setting for mega-events and spectacle; for the promotion of celebrity culture; for innovative and daring statements in architecture; for developments in fashion, theater, film, music, and art; for the rejection of tradition and convention in favor of the new, the challenging, the trashy. In this context, Chapter 7 features Los Angeles, a city that is widely viewed as the paradigmatic automobile city and the precursor of the postmodern city, where spectacle and consumption have become the dominant characteristics of urban life. At the same time, and for some of the same reasons, it is held up as an exemplar of dystopian urbanism.

Cities in less-developed regions stand in sharp contrast to all this. Whereas urbanization in developed countries was driven largely by economic growth, the urbanization of less-developed regions has been a consequence of demographic growth that has preceded economic development. Large increases in population, well in advance of any significant levels of industrialization or rural economic



Source: UN (2005)

Thirteen city-types

Each chapter explores a distinct type of city, with a core case study supported by secondary examples to demonstrate the patterns of production, consumption, generation, and decay of the 21st century's defining form.

development, have resulted in “uncontrollable urbanization” and “overurbanization.” For fast-growing rural populations, the limitations of agricultural development often mean an apparently hopeless future of drudgery and poverty. Emigration is no longer a demographic safety valve, as more affluent countries have put up barriers to immigration. The only option for the growing numbers of impoverished rural residents is to move to the larger towns and cities, where at least there is the hope of employment and the prospect of access to schools, health clinics, piped water, and the kinds of public facilities and services that are often unavailable in rural regions. Cities also have the lure of modernization and the appeal of consumer goods—attractions that rural areas are now directly exposed to via satellite TV.

Megacities

One dramatic outcome of this, described in Chapter 8, is the “megacity”: a city of 10 million or more in population. Megacities not only link local and provincial economies with the global economy but also provide a point of contact between the traditional and the modern, and between formal and informal economic sectors. The slums and squatter settlements of megacities are often associated with severe problems of social disorganization and environmental degradation. Nevertheless, many neighborhoods are able to develop self-help networks and organizations that form the basis of community amid dauntingly poor and crowded conditions.

In some countries, governments and planning authorities have sought to avoid the



problems associated with urbanization by creating planned settlements on greenfield sites. In France and Britain, new towns were created in the second half of the 20th century to accommodate “overspill” population from the slums of big cities, and to create poles of new urban development in economically depressed regions. “Instant” cities have also been created as capital cities or administrative centers in some countries, sometimes to sidestep regional political rivalries, and sometimes to seek to take advantage of the efficiencies expected to result from the close proximity of government agencies in new, purpose-built settings. Chapter 9 focuses on Brasilia. Brazil’s new capital city, on a cleared site in the Amazon, was intended to symbolize a new age in Brazilian history. The city is self-consciously rich with messages meant to

transform Brazilian society through new and radical forms of architecture that were planned as exciting, soaring, and uplifting symbols of modernization. As an “instant” city, Brasilia embodies innovative approaches to infrastructure and spatial organization; however, it also exemplifies some of the unintended consequences of planting a new city.

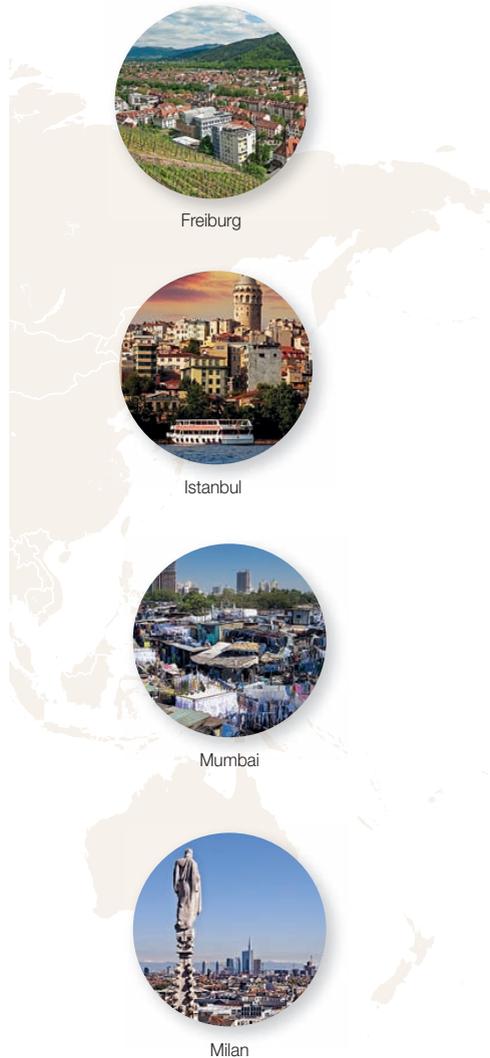
Contemporary patterns and processes of urbanization are heavily influenced by the economic and cultural globalization that has gathered pace since the 1980s. Some cities—Hong Kong, Miami, and Vancouver, for example—have become regional crossroads, and in the process have acquired a distinctively transnational character. Chapter 10 shows how Miami has become a financial and a cultural capital as well as an important hub for various illegal activities for a transnational region that extends beyond the southeastern United States to the Caribbean, Central America, and South America. As a result the city has developed a unique cultural mix, in many ways more temperamentally like the Mediterranean European coast or parts of Latin America. This cosmopolitanism is reflected in entertainment and cuisine: Colombian discos; European club scenes; traditional American bars; Cuban cafés; and restaurants specializing in “Eurasian,” “New World,” and “Nuevo Latino” cuisine have displaced the kosher delis and seafood shacks.

Chapter 11 details another aspect of economic and cultural globalization: the increasing importance of design. Cities in developed countries, initially a product of the manufacturing era, have been thoroughly remade in the image of consumer society. Competitive spending among affluent households has intensified the importance of style and design at every scale, and design professions have grown in size and importance, locating disproportionately in cities most intimately connected with global systems of key business services. Milan has a long history of specialization in certain aspects of design but it was only in response to the deindustrialization of the 1970s that the city embarked on a deliberate strategy of remaking and rebranding itself as a design city. Already evident in its built environment, its politics, its educational institutions, its design districts, and its fashion weeks, the city has revamped its infrastructure in preparation for hosting the World Exposition of 2014.

Sustainability

Meanwhile, worldwide awareness of the unintentional and unwanted side effects of urbanization has created an interest in the possibility of sustainable urban development. The world’s cities consume 80 percent of global energy and produce 75 percent of global CO₂ emissions. Sustainable urbanization requires compact, transit-oriented development, adaptive reuse, pedestrian- and bicycle-friendly settings, co-housing, landscaping that preserves and enhances wetlands and natural habitat, and the inclusion of ecological goals and criteria in governance and policy. As Chapter 12 shows, a good example of this approach is Freiburg, Germany, where two districts—Vauban and Rieselfeld—represent advanced examples of a commitment to sustainable urbanism. Other cities, as charted in Chapter 13, have taken a different approach to the unintentional and unwanted side effects of urbanization, investing in “smart” technologies. Digital technologies are beginning to change the ways that cities and their buildings operate, along with the ways that their inhabitants behave. The Internet and social networking are changing both the commercial and the socio-cultural organization of cities. “Smart” buildings, vehicles, traffic systems, and water and power supplies have the potential to make cities more efficient and more resilient.

There is, of course, a great deal of geographical diversity and variety in the world’s cities. Certain features of many cities are unique: the broad sweep of change always involves some degree of modification as it is played out in different environments. Every city has its own distinct character and story, yet many important generalizations can be made about different types of cities, with similar legacies, common sets of challenges, and parallel approaches to solutions. The essays and infographics in this book not only reveal the fascinating diversity of cities but also draw out important commonalities in their roles in economic, social, and cultural development and the ways in which technological, demographic, and political changes are reflected in their buildings and infrastructure.



Freiburg



Istanbul



Mumbai



Milan