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## London: Europe's global city?

### Report

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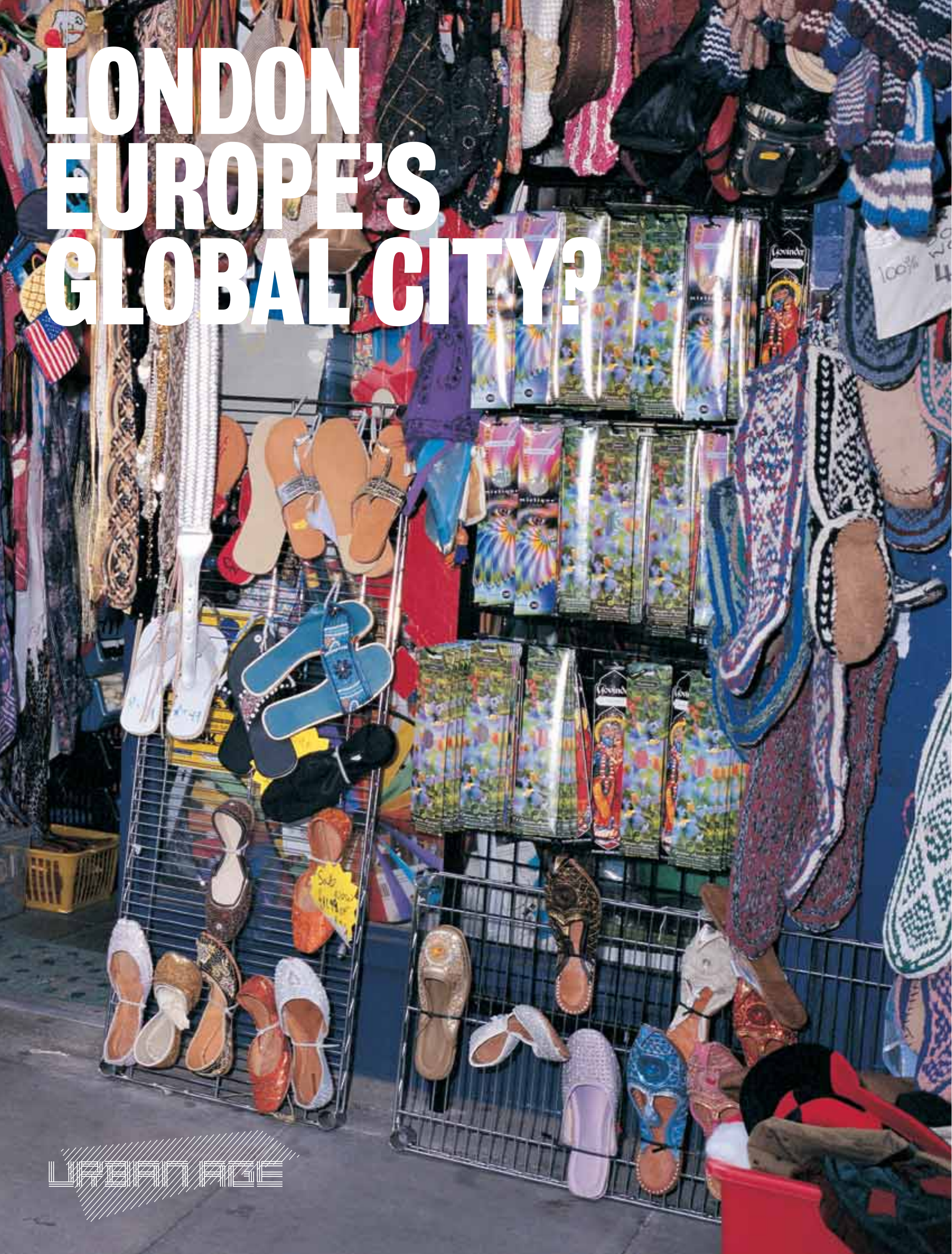
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# LONDON EUROPE'S GLOBAL CITY?



# GOVERNING THE UNGOVERNABLE?

Deyan Sudjic

**T**he single most arresting fact about London is that it is growing. After decades in which, like every other major European and North American city, it was haemorrhaging people, the victim of the hollowing out doughnut effect, London has turned around. The forecasts now point to sustained and substantial population increases; much of it through migration. Something remarkable has happened here. A combination of an ageing population beginning to understand that the only source of the young and able-bodied that will be needed to care for the baby boomers in their declining years, and to pay the contributions needed to fund their pensions will have to be from outside, and of the booming opportunities for the highly skilled in everything from banking to the art market, have between them transformed the character of the city, and its prospects. The transformation is both reflected in, and in part the product of, a transformed system of city government for London.

Recently, London's only remaining evening newspaper carried a front page story to the effect that the first directly elected mayor in the city's history, Ken Livingstone, was so exercised by the thought of his legacy that he intended to run for office for two more terms so as to be able to preside over the opening ceremonies for the Olympics of 2012. The story does not have to be literally true to pose real questions about the impact of the singularly un-British approach to local government that Livingstone represents. After two or more decades of drift, and ambiguity, London as an urban entity now has a clear focus of power. It is a development that is the most startling product of Tony Blair's local government reforms. They were intended to change the face of all the country's big cities. London is the one success story of a reform that has elsewhere failed to take root. It should have been the most difficult, and the most unmanageable, and yet it has turned out to be the city in which a change of government, or rather the introduction of a government, has had the most clear cut impact.

Despite his incendiary past as a self-styled man of the left, Livingstone is clearly now modelling himself on a combination of big city American mayors of the stamp of La Guardia, Koch and Giuliani, with a touch of the imperial style of Francois Mitterrand thrown in, rather than the more restrained tradition of municipal public service. It's inconceivable that a Labour traditionalist would, as Livingstone has done, earmark £100,000 from the Greater London Authority's budget to spend on fighting a public inquiry to defend his personal choice of sculptor for a singularly lifeless tribute to Nelson Mandela destined for Trafalgar Square. Nor would such a figure ever have claimed that it was his duty as mayor to lead, rather than to listen, a destiny manifest in his decisions on everything from questions of aesthetics, to the extension of the congestion charging zone westward.

The intriguing question posed by Livingstone's highly personal, interventionist style of shaping London in his own image is

personified at the most superficial level by the affair of the Mandela statue, and in a much more far reaching way by the eruption of a wall of skyscrapers which have been breaching the 305 metre barrier along Bishopsgate, encouraged by Livingstone's enthusiasm for creating Europe's first skyline to aspire to the model of Shanghai rather than Manhattan. How much is the jaw dropping scale of the capital's once in a century transformation the product of the imposition of a single guiding vision, or would it have taken place without it?

London has tended to shrug off attempts to tame and direct its growth ever since its townfolk ignored the attempts of Tudor monarchs to prevent the growth of suburbs outside its city walls, and its refusal to accept Christopher Wren's masterplan for its reconstruction after the Great Fire of 1666. Its rush westward was given a massive, and entirely unintended boost by the random creation of a heavy bomber aerodrome at Heathrow that later became Europe's largest airport. And the Great Lurch East of the 1990s, represented by the eruption of the Canary Wharf financial centre from the site of a derelict banana warehouse was equally accidental. It was the product of the market taking ruthless advantage of a set of tax incentives and planning relaxations, intended to have a quite different effect and encourage the growth of small business in the area.

If one believes that London is a gently anarchic city that has always grown haphazardly in fits and starts, and it is that quality that is behind its long-term robust good health, then the interventionism proposed by Livingstone is either irrelevant, or even counterproductive. In fact, the Mayor has produced a blueprint for future development that is as prescriptive as anything London has seen. It remains to be seen how effective it will be. Certainly London has had large-scale urban visions in the past. It was Nash's London that was heroic enough to inspire Napoleon III to remodel Paris, just as it was the London Underground that used to set the pace for the Paris Metro. The Barbican, London Wall and Paternoster Square were all the product of carefully considered planning strategies, at least two of which have subsequently been expunged.

But in the last quarter of a century, London has got out of the habit of seeing that such strategies are possible, which is what makes Livingstone's blueprints for physical and transport policy seem so strikingly different from what has gone before. For London, it is the legacy issues that are really what the Olympics are all about. Learning from Barcelona's experiences, Livingstone is planning to use the games for the catalytic effect that they will have on London's bleak eastern fringes. The Olympics will be focussed on Newham and Stratford to help kick start London's eastward growth, in the attempt to find somewhere to put the extra 800,000 Londoners that Livingstone is predicting will need to be housed in the next two decades.

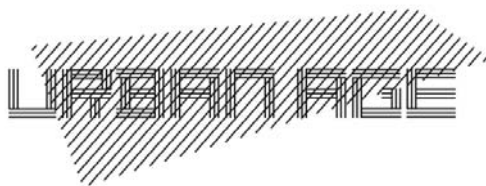
Development will be concentrated on Stratford, which will get the stadium, the pool, an aerodrome, hockey stadium and four indoor arena, and the 17,000 bed Olympic Village; the Lower Lea Valley that will be the

site of the smaller venues. The scale of the project is massive, and will see what amounts to the total reengineering of East London. Depending on how you count the cost, it could be anything from £2 to £4 billion, once the games have ended and everything has been tidied up. As far as transport is concerned, the flagship will be the Olympic Javelin, a high-speed shuttle running on the cross channel rail track from St. Pancras to the Olympic stadium in just ten minutes. There are promises for an expansion of the East London line, the Docklands Light Railway and the North London Line, but not as yet any clear commitments from the government about the future of Crossrail.

Nor are these the only major developments underway in the city. The area around King's Cross is just beginning to take in the scale of the transformation that is about to overtake it. The new St. Pancras station, designed to handle traffic on the high-speed link to Paris and Brussels through the channel, is just the first step. The huge glass and white steel box awkwardly tacked onto the back of Victorian St. Pancras will soon form just part of a sprawling development on the site of the railway and canal lands. As one developer labours on a masterplan for a project that will match Canary Wharf in its scale, another has already opportunistically swooped in to take advantage of the possibilities offered by a shift in perceptions of the area that is already taking place. This is no longer an area dominated by the drug and sex trade. The Guardian newspaper will be moving into offices here. At White City, a gap in the city's fabric for most of a century is being filled in by a giant shopping complex. South of the Thames, at Elephant & Castle, the comprehensive approach to planning of the 1960s is being unpicked on a massive scale.

This is a shift that is producing qualitative as well as quantitative changes. For the rest of the world it provides a unique opportunity to see the tensions and fault lines between planning and market forces, between a centralised vision and laissez-faire. For Londoners it's a giddy, dizzying ride, which once more puts it in the uncertain territory of a metropolis in the midst of the kind of change it has not seen for a century.

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# ACCOMMODATING GROWTH OR CONFLICT?

## Housing and urban neighbourhoods

**H**igh land values, continuous price hikes and the inability of supply to keep pace with rising demand have made housing one of the most difficult hurdles to London's continued growth. It is a key factor determining Londoners' well-being: renters are burdened by housing costs and prospective first time buyers face increasing difficulties in accessing home-ownership. Disadvantaged immigrant families suffer overcrowding in some parts of London and those living in temporary or transitory accommodation rank by the hundreds of thousands, while middle class families continue haemorrhaging to the outer edges of an ever more extended metropolitan region, all due to the lack of space and suitable units within London. Policy-makers and planners, for their part, are pressed to make room for new construction, devise mechanisms to provide affordable units and guide the growth process so that new developments can be integrated to the fabric of existing neighbourhoods to enhance, rather than detract, from the grain of the city's built environment. To add to the challenge, there is widespread concern – especially at the level of local councillors – that intensification of land should not compromise public amenities, such as open and green spaces or the river, and that intensi-

fication can lead to town-cramming and over-development.

A prevalent argument among those studying the social geography of the city has been that the concentration of social disadvantage in inner London results from the uneven distribution of affordable housing units. While certain inner districts are dominated by estates owned and managed by local councils, providing social units which are affordable yet many are problematic in terms of construction quality, maintenance and social conditions, the same quantum of housing is virtually non-existent in the outer boroughs. After decades of governmental neglect, the impact of renewed interest by volume house builders, coupled with public sector grants and the growing involvement of civil society have not solved this basic issue. While many core neighbourhoods have experienced a return of the middle classes, in parts of Hammersmith, Brixton and Clerkenwell, for example – the decaying and rapidly shrinking stock of affordable housing in inner London continues to be, depending on the analyst's view, an entrapment or the last resort for the least fortunate in a largely unaffordable metropolitan housing market.

Current policies in London aim to increase the supply of housing and develop dense and vibrant urban neighbourhoods with a social mix and a variety of housing

sizes, building typologies and tenure types. The urgency of this agenda transcends the realm of housing and it has important implications for social integration and for London's ability to keep functioning; many of the city's key workers in the fields of health, transport, policing and education find it increasingly difficult to secure housing within the city. However, this goal is obstructed by ingrained preferences for low density neighbourhoods (with house and garden typologies) and against multi-family units. Despite high land values, there are often insufficient incentives for housebuilders to build more affordable units. Many new up-market developments in disadvantaged neighbourhoods are self-segregated from the local urban fabric, especially along the River Thames, and actively buffer their residents from the everyday life of their surrounding communities. Even subtle design differences and the distribution of units within a scheme can lead to the formation of micro-ghettos, such as those developments which clearly separate affordable units from those at a market rate, thus stigmatising their occupants; a phenomenon that is often unintentionally caused by the requirements of social housing providers for low maintenance costs in shared areas and the need for larger family units.

Good design can make higher densities compatible with urban attractiveness, reconciling the demand for personal space and privacy, with London's need to grow in a compact manner. A combination of units of varied sizes and costs, the integration of housing with other uses and open spaces, and an overall upgrading of the quality of new developments through clearer design and construction guidelines, constitute important steps towards more socially integrated communities. These principles have been embraced in the UK and wholeheartedly adopted by the

Mayor of London since the publication of the Urban Task Force Report. The redevelopment of large portions of East London in preparation for the 2012 Olympic Games is seen as an opportunity to demonstrate the reach of design in practice. How much will the Olympic Park, like other regeneration sites across the city, catalyse a regeneration of the derelict areas surrounding it? And what legacy will the Olympic Village create as a model of socially sustainable housing? Are questions worth asking. How to stimulate housing construction and secure affordability, the important roles for the private and social sectors to play, and the response of the general public to a denser model of city living remain important issues that must not be neglected. Financing and design strategies must be thought simultaneously from the formulation of citywide strategies to the implementation of individual projects. It is in the challenging realm of housing that the need for joined-up thinking makes itself the most evident at every stage of the development process, from the drafting of citywide housing strategies to the implementation of individual projects and the creation of sustainable and socially integrated urban communities from their very inception.

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# EXPANDING THE CITY CORE

## Labour market and workplaces

London is growing. It continues to show a robust demographic growth, unlike most large European cities, and in contrast to the other global cities, its employment levels are still rising. In the face of a recent economic slow down, activity in the city has been sustained by a number of factors that include the current volume of major urban development projects, some of them already under construction, and a larger number on the drawing boards or passing through the planning process. In a longer term, this array of commercial space construction, public works and infrastructure investments will play an important role in determining the direction that London's economy will take. Without doubt, it will change the city's face and the grain of its built environment. So, rather than asking whether or not London is growing, the important questions ahead relate to what drives the city's economic dynamism, what social and physical implications are to be expected from its current development path and how public policies and interventions can sustain this growth at the same time that they extend its benefits to those who have been left behind and the areas where concentrated disadvantage persists.

Expanding the supply of office space in London is a clear policy priority in the urban

competitiveness agenda put forward by the Livingstone administration. The expansion of Canary Wharf and the rash of new office towers planned in the City and its fringes sparked by the iconic success of the Gherkin, confirm the commercial reality of this trend. If the city is to continue attracting foreign investments, the Mayor argues, it needs to cater to their spatial needs; the lack of suitable state-of-the-art offices may become the most important bottleneck to the consolidation of London as a world city and financial capital in the context of intensified regional competition for high value-added functions. The Mayor's London Plan, put forward in response to these challenges, envisions a central activity zone characterised by high-rise buildings and the intensification of land-uses in "opportunity areas" (such as White City, Elephant & Castle, King's Cross and Stratford) that are scattered throughout metropolitan London. They present an under-utilised capacity of transport accessibility.

Urban and regional economists may question this agenda in terms of the external linkages and sources of growth on which the London economy actually depends; the extent to which the city's dynamism is linked to transnational finance and its related sectors is a matter of debate. But, so is the relative weight of office costs in the location budgets of firms deciding to either stay in

or leave London, where labour costs far exceed those in other regions of the UK or abroad. Turning the argument on its head, critics may argue that it is the concentration of high-skilled workers and the continuous replenishment of all segments of the city's labour force through international migration, rather than the supply of office and other commercial space, which ties these firms to the city and offsets the high costs of doing business here. Hence, protecting and strengthening this urban asset of London should be a policy priority that supersedes property-led development strategies. A final question relates to the effects that the current emphasis on the "office economy" will have on London's diverse urban economy and segmented labour markets: how will the benefits of growth reach those at the periphery or unrelated to this services-oriented complex? How effectively are mechanisms such as planning gain or affordable housing quotas used to tackle pervasive exclusion?

Adding to this question are overarching concerns about the actual strength of the projected growth, given the highly cyclical and volatile character that the London economy has shown in the past, and about the accuracy of the estimated ratios of office space needed per new job created. It has been argued that the deep technological, economic and social changes that are currently reconfiguring the relationship between work routines and workplaces have changed the assumptions on which quantitative assessments of office needs are posited at the same time that they necessitate more thorough qualitative appraisals of the functionality of workplaces and their morphological capacity to facilitate cooperation processes and non-routine tasks.

The debate for planners and urban designers also extends to concerns about the multidimensional effects that the proposed

regeneration schemes will cause both on their immediate vicinity and on the city as a whole. Issues range wide: from the impacts of high-rise structures on microclimates and visual corridors to the effects that employment clusters may cause on the quality of life and congestion levels of the neighbourhoods where they will be located. While some may find office developments a threat to the urban fabric of residential areas, others will see the mixed-use schemes in which most of these developments will be embedded as an opportunity to enhance local connectivity and remediate longstanding urban blight.

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# BRINGING LONDON TOGETHER

## Transport and mobility

**T**ransport is an urban obsession. From the iconic importance of subway systems via the brave new architecture of airports to the humble bus shelter, city governments find themselves locked in a permanent struggle to build, maintain and improve their transport systems. They need to be sure people can move within their cities and get to them. Civility, commerce and competitiveness all demand movement. Thus, London's Underground diagram, Charles de Gaulle airport and Los Angeles's freeways are each, respectively, a powerful expression of their city. Londoners understand their urban landscape in a particular way because of the false simplicity of Harry Beck's Tube map.

London has in recent years spent much time and money attempting to improve its urban transport. After more than half a century of under-investment, the city's commuter rail and Underground systems had fallen into serious disrepair. The Tube, in particular, which had been the world's best urban transport system in the 1930s, has suffered years of breakdowns and failures. A low-subsidy policy has also been pursued, which has given London some of the highest public transport fares in the world.

Conservative governments in the 1980s and 1990s started a process of re-investment

which Labour has continued since 1997.

First, the Docklands Light Railway was constructed from the edge of the City of London to the Isle of Dogs in the former docklands. The same government gave the go-ahead for a major extension of the Jubilee Line, which ran from Green Park via Westminster and the South Bank to the new business district at Canary Wharf (on the Isle of Dogs). The extended Jubilee Line has significantly assisted the regeneration of inner south London and the East End. A new tramway was built in Croydon, a major sub-centre in the far south of the city. The Underground was extended to Heathrow Terminal 4, while BAA (the private airport utility) constructed the Heathrow Express.

The office of Mayor of London was inaugurated in 2000 and one of its key responsibilities is transport, including buses, the Underground, river services, major roads and taxi regulation. Having reduced fares and increased bus services in the period 2000 to 2004, Mr. Livingstone has now embarked on a different policy. Fares are being increased in real terms to provide resources to allow the Mayor to invest in new infrastructure.

To invest in new assets including the East London Line, the Thames Gateway Bridge, the West London Tram and the extension of the Dockland Light Railway, the Mayor's agency, Transport for London, has been given

Treasury permission to borrow under newly introduced rules. Bonds have been issued to raise the necessary resources.

Thus, London's bus system has been enhanced, its existing Underground is (albeit over a long time scale) being renewed and additional infrastructure is being built. Following many years of decline and under-investment, significant resources are being devoted to improvements. It is not yet possible to judge how well rebuilt or new assets will perform.

Congesting Charging was introduced in 2003 and has proved a successful example of demand management. Drivers entering a zone in the centre of the city during working hours must pay an £8 a day charge. Traffic reductions have been in the range 15 to 20%, with a greater cut in congestion. The Mayor has advanced plans in place to extend the zone westwards.

London is a vast, polycentric city. The Greater London Authority (i.e. the Mayor and Assembly) is responsible for an area of 1,500 sq. km., though the commuter rail system embraces an area six times this size. The Underground is one of the world's most extensive urban rail systems, as is the bus network. Travel-to-work times in London are long by international standards – 56 minutes each way, on average.

Another key transport development is the final section of the high-speed rail-link from St. Pancras to Paris and Brussels. This line will provide a new link from Kent and Stratford to King's Cross. To the north of King's Cross and St. Pancras lies a vast tract of abandoned industrial land. These "railway lands" are currently in the process of being regenerated as part of a major scheme which will, in effect, extend central London northwards. The development will see substantial numbers of new homes, workspace, retail

and public facilities within easy walking distance of the West End. Because of the available rail, underground and bus transport, the area is extremely accessible and will be redeveloped (as will Stratford City) at relatively high densities.

London's original expansion was actively encouraged by its Tube and rail systems. If it had not been for the imposition of the "Green Belt" around the Greater London area in 1939, the transport system would almost certainly have created the relentless sprawl found in many other contemporary cities. As it is, London's growth has jumped over the Green Belt to places such as Reading, Milton Keynes, Crawley, Essex and Kent.

In today's London, public transport is increasingly seen as a means to encourage greater intensification of uses, particularly around interchanges and stations. King's Cross, Stratford, Elephant & Castle and Cricklewood/Brent Cross each use transport capacity as the catalyst for major developments. Additional projects such as the east-west Crossrail and improvements to the north-south Thameslink would make significantly larger developments possible around their stations.

Without effective mass transit systems, cities – London among them – are unlikely to prosper, except as car-dominated, low-intensity, polluted super-suburbs. For this reason, transport's dominance of urban thinking is wholly justified.

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# CHANGING VALUES

## Public life and urban spaces

London's relationship with its public domain is changing. Walk along Kingsway, a busy thoroughfare split by an underpass and polluting traffic, and you will find nearly twenty new bars, cafes, sandwich shops and fusion-food takeaways, all of them opened in the past five years. They are crowded and thriving, and they spill out onto the street. Many have young French, Italian and Polish staff serving behind the counters, demonstrating a seemingly natural expertise at handling an espresso or toasting a panino.

These scenes are duplicated across London, in the high streets of Clerkenwell and Chiswick, Stratford and Stoke Newington. The new cappuccino culture reflects not only the pervasive presence of a younger and more international population, but also a new attitude to London's "old" public realm. Historically, London's public spaces have been residential squares, or larger parks. The city's current imagination of public realm encompasses spaces that are less green and more densely occupied; a shift in lifestyle that is both threatening and enriching. The downside is the pervasive consumerism that nullifies street culture; the upside is the recognition that the quality of the public realm – paving, lighting, street furniture and landscaping – does matter, and that we are beginning to take pride in how our city looks and feels after years of neglect.

Trafalgar Square must be the flagship

of this new-found attitude. Somerset House, Tate Modern's Turbine Hall, the renovated Southbank, and the King's Road are others. Trafalgar Square had become a race track with three lanes of traffic whizzing round the "heart of the capital", where Londoners have traditionally met to celebrate, commiserate and protest. Only four years ago, it was hard to reach the heart of the Square; a perception reinforced by the statistic that in 1997 less than 10% of users were Londoners. The simple act of reuniting one side of Trafalgar Square to the National Gallery, and opening a grand staircase to the north, has redefined the sense of both enclosure and permeability to one of London's iconic urban landmarks. Today, tourists and Londoners alike use the space as a stage-set of theatre and reality. Regardless of the, at times, overly aggressive programming of events, Trafalgar Square does perform an important function in the public life of the capital; and all this without the overpowering presence of retail.

The Mayor of London has followed the lead of Rome, Barcelona and Copenhagen in initiating the 100 Public Spaces programme, which aims to transform three places in every London borough over the next decade. The goal is to create spaces that work throughout the day and year, for the many constituencies that are beginning to re-engage with the city's public realm. As such, they constitute a new approach to inner city liveability at a time of increasing density and rising demands for quality open spaces.

Behind central London's facade of happy consumerism lies another reality. London may be one of the world's greatest cities, yet its physical environment does not live up to this reputation, and in many ways it epitomises JK Galbraith's maxim of "private affluence, public squalor". The so-called public space of many housing estates is "SLOAP" (Space Left Over After Planning); abandoned territories of fear and conflict which only now are receiving attention. Much of London remains gritty to the point of squalor, with cracking pavement, unsafe lighting, an incoherent clutter of street furniture, poor design and shoddy workmanship.

While the tension between inner city residents and night-time revellers seems to have attained equilibrium in the streets of Barcelona, Amsterdam or Manhattan, London is still struggling to balance this equation. The City of Westminster famously reversed its decision to pedestrianise a large part of Soho because of the noise and disruption it caused to the local residents (i.e. voters), including acres of rubbish from heaving restaurants and bars. As inner-city regeneration grows increasingly reliant on the mantra of mixed-use development, its combination of different and at times incompatible activities can engender conflict and fuel a sense of increasing social exclusion.

As ever, in this profoundly mercantile city, private investors have got there first. In the 18th and 19th Centuries, London's developers created beautiful and sustainable set-pieces of urban design: the great squares and streets of Bloomsbury, Belgravia or Bedford Park. In the 1980s, Canary Wharf took the bold steps of investing in high quality open spaces for its privileged users in what was then an unknown location. This has paid off handsomely. Retail developers have taken note: the remodelling of the Elephant & Castle site will

replace an enclosed shopping mall with a traditional grid of streets, and interstitial landscaped public spaces. Today Broadgate, Paddington Basin and More London vie to create London's slickest and most controlled environments as unique selling points of these emerging commercial districts.

One pressing question is if, and how, London can leverage private funding for public realm projects without relinquishing control to private interests. The Elephant & Castle scheme illustrates the challenge of revamping a space's negative image while preserving its character and generating benefits for local stakeholders.

The promotional rhetoric of new projects at Stratford City, Elephant & Castle, King's Cross and White City privileges the design of their spaces over the design of their buildings, underscoring the significance of public space in realising the commercial potential of a regeneration area. While this signals a new-found engagement with the civic, the increasing privatisation of the "public" realm raises questions about whether and how London's public spaces can create the spontaneous possibilities of truly urban places and continue to be spaces where, as Richard Sennett put it, you feel safe "lost in a crowd."

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# TOWARDS A EUROPEAN CITY MODEL?

Joan Clos

It is difficult to speak of a standard European model of the city if we take into account the diversity of the continent's cities, especially in terms of their respective traditions, whether Anglo-Saxon, Central European, Nordic or Mediterranean. Nonetheless, we can extract a set of common characteristics that are present in all these cities, and which define a similar way of understanding the city.

The normative European city is a dense, compact area where a host of various activities occur in the same place and where there are also people from a substantial mix of social backgrounds. Its public areas are places of peaceful, enriching co-existence. Its residents' mobility is not entirely dependant on cars and public transport plays a major role.

Let's examine the aforementioned characteristics more closely. We are talking about cities that are:

- Compact: grouped around a core and rather than sprawling like American cities, thereby preserving the integrity and coherence of their open spaces;
- Suitably dense: favouring mobility on foot or by public transport, bringing services closer, and avoiding an excessive level of green field development;
- Used for many purposes in the same area: combining residence, work and leisure to create an urban lifestyle that is diverse and complex;
- Home to people from diverse backgrounds: reducing the tendency towards ghettos caused by income, origin or race, thus encouraging better levels of social integration;
- Based on public spaces: these act as integrating platforms for various activities and for peaceful co-existence of different social groups;
- Places where public transport dominates: the pressure of private cars is limited.

These features are interdependent. Public transport needs a high concentration of people, and public areas also call for a variety of uses. All of this shapes the city.

This form of city construction originated in part from the city's maturity and size when the industrial revolution began and when private vehicles first made their appearance. It was a city accustomed to compact, high density lifestyles; either within city walls or within surrounding districts. Activities were mixed and everything took place in the areas marked out by streets or public squares. This tradition continued at the advent of the industrial revolution, when homes lay cheek-by-jowl with factories.

At the start of the 20th Century, economic activity became more specialised, especially in industry and transport. The demand for quality housing and improved living conditions in the city prompted public health officials and modern architects to try and regenerate the city. Such regeneration, however, was often carried out with considerable respect to the existing city fabric, and zoning redirected new economic and residential uses towards the suburbs. Consequently, the compactness of the core was preserved. However, the city witnessed spatial segregation of activities and sometimes a reduction of densities in the new growth areas.

The other major factor behind the trans-

formation of cities in the 20th Century was the private vehicle, which offered the appeals of freedom and efficiency. New growth areas in European cities were built around car use. However, the old city centre was ill-equipped for this new traffic. Consequently it encountered major problems when trying to make cars the universal means of transport as American cities had done. Due to the compactness and density of European cities, public transport had to play a vital role to ensure the city's function.

The original city, which still exists, is now the heart of this new European city, thanks to its capacity to transform itself, to integrate economic and social changes and, at times, to rebuild what war had thoroughly destroyed. This is a complicated, yet necessary, internal transformation, and public authorities have been highly involved in the process. This can be seen with the remodelling of the old Paris by Haussmann or the opening of the Via Laietana in Barcelona, for example.

Of course, we cannot say that all European cities are true to these characteristics. In many cases they show opposite trends, especially when they have undergone expansion and transformation in the latter half of the 20th Century. We can mention countless examples of this. Other cities are paradigms of this European model and yet, combine compactness with dispersion, as is the case of the Metropolitan Area of Barcelona. Why is this so?

Social segregation and specialisation in production are spontaneous trends brought about by individuals, groups and sectors with a view to improving efficiency. This gives rise to spatial segregation which is supported by people simply expecting the car to solve all their mobility problems. In the long run, this zoned approach to the city, which for a certain time was useful for production, generally brings about strong restrictions to a city's economic and social efficiency. Accordingly, we must seek different models of organisation.

As we enter the 21st Century, how are the internationalisation of socio-economic relations and the growth of the knowledge economy influencing the European city?

Industrial manufacturing activity is losing its specific weight in the economy, particularly in Europe and the rest of the developed world. This is due both to the relocation of production to other places and to the declining use of human labour in the manufacturing process. Classic industrial specialisation will no longer play a major part in shaping the city, but creative synergy in all spheres of services and production activity requiring high levels of knowledge, will find a better setting in this complex but not necessarily standardised city. In this sense, we may say that the characteristic traits of the European city are efficient in terms of advanced economic development.

From the standpoint of positive co-existence in the city, experience shows that solutions which create ghettos, while apparently straightforward and reassuring in the short-term, may sow the seeds of far-reaching conflicts, whereas integrating solutions, although more complicated, better contribute to establishing and enriching long-term co-existence.

Lastly, it should be pointed out that the compact, integrated city is friendlier to its

surroundings, offering coherence and diversity and environmental benefits (conservation of energy, water, air).

Nevertheless, it is necessary to avoid the unconsidered and standardised repetition of these characteristics. We must not forget that some of the features we now value such as density, without quality urban design and with a mix of incompatible uses for example, have led in the past to situations of deep crisis in the city and could do so again in the future.

We therefore need to "reinvent" older European cities on the basis of their experiences of urban transformation. Their continuing capacity for transformation, by preserving their assets and at the same time rectifying failures, will once again make it possible to rebuild cities that can look to the future with optimism.

*Joan Clos is the Mayor of Barcelona*



From top to bottom: detailed ground plans showing one kilometre squares of Barcelona, Paris, Berlin and London



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POLITICAL SCIENCE ■

Alfred Herrhausen Society  
The International Forum of Deutsche Bank



# URBAN AGE LONDON CONFERENCE PROGRAMME 11-13 NOVEMBER 2005

## FRIDAY 11 NOVEMBER

**Location**  
Idea Store, 319 - 331 Whitechapel Road, London, E1 1BU

### 18.30 to 19.30 Reception

**Welcome**  
Howard Davies, *Director, London School of Economics and Political Science*  
David Adjaye, *Principal, Adjaye Associates, London (architect of the Idea Store and member of the Urban Age Advisory Committee)*

### LONDON CONFERENCE CONTACT

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M 07913 405 764

### LOCATIONS

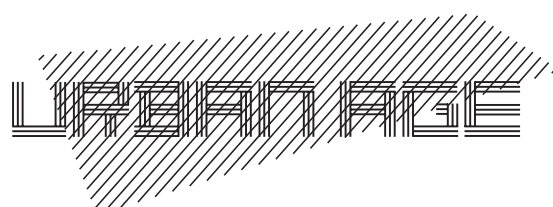
#### FRIDAY 11 NOVEMBER

Idea Store  
319 Whitechapel Road, London, E1 1BU

#### SATURDAY 12 NOVEMBER TO SUNDAY 13 NOVEMBER

**City Hall**  
The Queen's Walk, London, SE1 2AA

**The Wapping Project**  
Wapping Hydraulic Power Station, Wapping Wall, London, E1W 3ST  
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organised by the Cities Programme  
at the London School of Economics and  
Political Science and the Alfred Herrhausen Society,  
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## SATURDAY 12 NOVEMBER

**Location**  
London City Hall, The Queen's Walk, London, SE1 2AA  
*Bus leaving at 08.15 from: Grange Holborn Hotel, 50-60 Southampton Row, London, WC1B 4AR*

*Breakfast will be available from 08.30 to 09.00 at City Hall*

### 09.00 to 09.30 Opening Session

**Welcome**  
Wolfgang Nowak, *Spokesman of the Executive Board, Alfred Herrhausen Society, Deutsche Bank*

**Urban Age Project: The story so far**  
Richard Sennett, *Professor of Sociology, London School of Economics and Political Science and Massachusetts Institute of Technology*

### 09.30 to 11.00 Debate – The European City Model

Chair: Simon Jenkins, *Political Commentator and Author, London*

**Panel Discussion**  
Joan Clos, *Mayor of Barcelona*  
Job Cohen, *Mayor of Amsterdam*  
Gabor Demszky, *Mayor of Budapest*  
Anthony Williams, *Mayor of Washington, D.C. and President of the National League of Cities*  
Freddy Thielemans, *Mayor of Brussels*  
Enrique Peñalosa, *former Mayor of Bogotá*  
Nicky Gavron, *Deputy Mayor of London*

### 11.00 to 11.30 Coffee Break

### 11.30 to 13.00 The Future of London

Chair: Anthony Mayer, *Chief Executive, Greater London Authority*

**London: the global context** 10 min  
Tony Travers, *Director, Greater London Group, London School of Economics and Political Science*

**Living in London** 10 min  
Anne Power, *Professor of Social Policy, London School of Economics and Political Science*

**Designing London** 10 min  
Ricky Burdett, *Advisor on Architecture and Urbanism to the Mayor of London*

**Moving in London** 10 min  
Peter Hendy, *Managing Director of Surface Transport, Transport for London*

**Delivering urban governance** 15 min  
Gerald Frug, *Louis D. Brandeis Professor of Law, Harvard University*

**Open discussion** 30 min

### 13.00 to 14.30 Lunch

### 14.30 to 16.00 Expanding the City Core

#### THE WHITE CITY CHALLENGE IN WEST LONDON

Chair: Ricky Burdett, *London School of Economics and Political Science*

#### Presentations

**The White City scheme** 15 min  
Rem Koolhaas, *Principal, Office for Metropolitan Architecture, Rotterdam*

**Labour market demands** 15 min  
Bridget Rosewell, *Consultant Chief Economist to the Greater London Authority*

**Responses** 5 minutes each  
Dieter Läßle, *Professor of Regional and Urban Economics, Hamburg University of Technology*  
Saskia Sassen, *Ralph Lewis Professor of Sociology, University of Chicago and Centennial Visiting Professor, London School of Economics and Political Science*  
Hashim Sarkis, *Aga Khan Professor, Graduate School of Design, Harvard University*  
Ian Gordon, *Professor of Geography, London School of Economics and Political Science*  
Frank Duffy, *Principal, DEGW, London*  
Peter Bishop, *Director of Culture and Environmental Services, London Borough of Camden*

**Open discussion** 30 min

### 16.00 to 16.30 Coffee Break

### 16.30 to 18.00 Changing Values

#### ELEPHANT & CASTLE – THE FUTURE OF PUBLIC LIFE IN SOUTH LONDON

Chair: Tony Travers, *London School of Economics and Political Science*

#### Presentations

**Elephant & Castle: a regeneration story** 15 min  
Fred Manson, *former Planning Director, London Borough of Southwark*

**Security and community** 15 min  
Ian Thomas, *Chief Superintendent, Southwark*

**Responses** 5 minutes each  
Job Cohen, *Mayor of Amsterdam*  
Richard Sennett, *Professor of Sociology, London School of Economics and Political Science and Massachusetts Institute of Technology*  
Enrique Peñalosa, *former Mayor of Bogotá*  
Rem Koolhaas, *Principal, Office for Metropolitan Architecture, Rotterdam*  
Sophie Body-Gendrot, *Professor of Political Science and American Studies and Director, Centre for Urban Studies, Sorbonne*  
Roger Zogolovitch, *Director, AZ Urban Studio, London*  
Julia Thrift, *Director, CABE Space*

**Open discussion** 30 min

### 19.30 to 21.30 Dinner

**Location**  
The Wapping Project, Wapping Wall, London, E1W 3SP  
*Bus leaving at 18.30 from: City Hall, London, SE1 2AA*

## SUNDAY 13 NOVEMBER

**Location**  
London City Hall, The Queen's Walk, London SE1 2AA  
*Bus leaving at 08.15 from: Grange Holborn Hotel, 50-60 Southampton Row, London, WC1B 4AR*

*Breakfast will be available from 08.30 to 09.00 at City Hall*

### 09.00 to 10.30 Bringing London together

#### KING'S CROSS: A GATEWAY TO EUROPE

Chair: Deyan Sudjic, *Kingston University*

#### Presentations

**The King's Cross scheme** 15 min  
Graham Morrison, *Partner, Allies and Morrison, London*

**Making London central** 15 min  
Ben Plowden, *Managing Director, Group Communications, Transport for London*

**Responses** 5 minutes each  
Hermann Knoflacher, *Professor of Transportation Planning and Traffic Engineer, Technical University Vienna*  
Geetam Tiwari, *TRIPP Chair and Associate Professor, Transportation Research and Injury Prevention Programme, Indian Institute of Technology*  
Harry Dimitriou, *Bartlett Professor of Planning Studies, Bartlett School of Planning, University College London*  
Patricia Brown, *Chief Executive, Central London Partnership*  
Guy Nordenson, *Professor of Structural Engineering, Princeton University*  
Nigel Coates, *Partner, Branson & Coates, London*

**Open discussion** 30 min

### 10.30 to 11.00 Coffee Break

### 11.00 to 12.30 Accommodating growth or conflict?

#### THE OLYMPICS AND URBAN LEGACY

Chair: Richard Simmons, *Chief Executive, CABE*

#### Presentations

**The Olympic Park in the Lower Lea Valley** 15 min  
Alejandro Zaera-Polo, *Joint Director, Foreign Office Architects*

**Integrating communities in East London** 15 min  
Jason Prior, *Regional Vice President, EDAW, London*

**Responses** 5 minutes each  
David Adjaye, *Principal, Adjaye Associates, London*  
David Lunts, *Executive Director of Policy and Partnerships, Greater London Authority*  
Will Alsop, *Chairman, Alsop Design Ltd.*  
Yung Ho Chang, *Professor of Architecture and Head of the Department of Architecture, Massachusetts Institute of Technology*  
Joanna Averley, *Interim Director of Design at the Interim Olympic Delivery Authority*  
Lawrence Vale, *Head of the Department of Urban Studies and Planning, Massachusetts Institute of Technology*  
David Rudlin, *Director, URBED*

**Open discussion** 30 min

### 12.30 to 14.00 Lunch

### 14.00 to 15.30 Planning in an unplanned city

#### HAS PLANNING FORGOTTEN ABOUT DESIGN?

Chair: Frank Duffy, *Principal, DEGW, London*

#### Opening Statement

Andy Altman, *CEO, Anacostia Waterfront Corporation, Washington D.C. and Planning Director Washington D.C. 2000 to 2005*

#### Panel

Ricky Burdett, *Advisor on Architecture and Urbanism to the Mayor of London*  
Yung Ho Chang, *Professor of Architecture and Head of the Department of Architecture, Massachusetts Institute of Technology*  
Geetam Tiwari, *TRIPP Chair and Associate Professor, Transportation Research and Injury Prevention Programme, Indian Institute of Technology*  
Gerald Frug, *Louis D. Brandeis Professor of Law, Harvard Law School*  
Deyan Sudjic, *Dean of the Faculty of Art Design and Architecture, Kingston University*  
Ed Soja, *Distinguished Professor of Urban and Regional Planning, University of California, Los Angeles, and Visiting Centennial Professor, London School of Economics and Political Science*

### 15.30 to 16.00 Coffee Break

### 16.00 to 17.30 London in the Urban Age

#### AN INTERNATIONAL REFLECTION

Chair: Richard Sennett, *London School of Economics and Political Science*

#### Statements from Urban Age experts

Sophie Body-Gendrot, *Professor of Political Science and American Studies and Director, Centre for Urban Studies, Sorbonne*  
Hermann Knoflacher, *Professor of Transportation Planning and Traffic Engineering, Vienna University of Technology*  
Dieter Läßle, *Professor of Regional and Urban Economics, Hamburg University of Technology*  
Xiangming Chen, *Professor of Sociology and Urban Planning and Policy, University of Illinois at Chicago*  
Saskia Sassen, *Ralph Lewis Professor of Sociology, University of Chicago and Centennial Visiting Professor, London School of Economics and Political Science*

#### Closing Remarks

Wolfgang Nowak, *Spokesman of the Executive Board, Alfred Herrhausen Society, Deutsche Bank*





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Ute Weiland, *Coordinator AHS-LSE, AHS*

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a worldwide series of conferences investigating the future of cities

organised by the Cities Programme at the London School of Economics and Political Science and the Alfred Herrhausen Society, the International Forum of Deutsche Bank

## ORGANISED BY

### LSE Cities Programme

The Cities Programme at the London School of Economics and Political Science is an interdisciplinary centre that links urban design to urban society through teaching, research and public activities. The Cities Programme is responsible for running the Urban Age project at the LSE, the annual European Mayors conferences and carries out consultancy projects for public and private sector clients.

### Alfred Herrhausen Society, the International Forum of Deutsche Bank

The Alfred Herrhausen Society is a centre of independent thinking that seeks to identify traces of the future in the present, and thereby raise public awareness of the directions in which society is moving. As Deutsche Bank's socio-political think tank, the Herrhausen Society brings together people who are committed to working for the future of civil society. Founded in 1992, the Society is dedicated to maintaining and building on the legacy of Alfred Herrhausen.

## URBAN AGE LONDON PARTNERS

### Mayor's office at the Greater London Authority

The Greater London Authority is the strategic citywide government for London. It is made up of a directly elected Mayor and a separately elected Assembly, which scrutinises the Mayor's activities. The Mayor is London's spokesman and leads the preparation of statutory strategies on transport, spatial development, economic development and the environment. He sets budgets for the Greater London Authority, Transport for London, the London Development Agency, the Metropolitan Police and London's fire services. As Mayor, Ken Livingstone chairs Transport for London. The Assembly questions the Mayor about his decisions. The Assembly is also able to investigate other issues of importance to Londoners, publish its findings and recommendations, and make proposals to the Mayor.

### Minerva LSE Research Group

The Minerva LSE Research Group is a ground-breaking joint venture between Minerva and the LSE Cities Programme, which undertakes original research initiatives into key factors impacting on urban development with the intention of influencing public policy. In 2004 the group published – Density and Urban Neighbourhoods in London. Minerva is one of the UK's largest property investment and development companies with gross assets of over £1 billion. It is listed on the London Stock Exchange and is a constituent of the FTSE 250.

### The London Development Workshops

The London Development Workshops are an HEIF2-funded project of the LSE London research centre. The project consists of a series of conferences, workshops and seminars designed to bring together stakeholders in key debates on London's economic, political and social development. Using the LSE's research strengths, extensive networks and reputation for contributing to robust public policy, London Development Workshops will operate to transfer knowledge and expertise from universities across the UK, at the point where policy formation, economic development and business activity converge around particular issues. HEIF 2 is a partnership between the Department of Trade and Industry/Office of Science and Technology (DTI/OST), HEFCE, and the Department for Education and Skills (DfES).

### The Corporation of London

The Corporation of London provides local government services for the financial and commercial heart of the UK, the City of London. It is committed to maintaining and enhancing the status of the Business City as the world's leading international financial and business centre through the policies it pursues and the high quality of services it provides. Among local authorities the Corporation is unique; not only is it the oldest in the country, combining its ancient traditions and ceremonial functions with the role of a modern and efficient authority, but it operates on a non-party political basis, providing a host of services and facilities for the benefit of the nation.

### Aula Barcelona

Aula Barcelona was founded in 1997 to develop a data bank and organise research and training in the field of urban management. It is a common space for reflection on the city, its past, present and future among university, private business and administration. The project is aimed at formalising the Barcelona model of government and urban transformation of the last 20 years and at analysing the future of Barcelona and of cities in the information society. The project is funded by private companies participating in the quest for a common language for cities of the future.

### London Borough of Tower Hamlets Idea Store

The Idea Store strategy, developed and managed by Tower Hamlets Council, is a unique, highly innovative initiative designed to radically increase participation in libraries and learning. Through Idea Stores, the Council is relocating library and adult education services to high street venues, using high-quality design. This significant programme of investment delivers increased opening hours, seven days a week. The results have attracted worldwide attention, as library visitor numbers have more than trebled and course enrolments doubled. Services are delivered in partnership with a range of other organisations, including Tower Hamlets College.

### CABE

CABE offers expert advice on architecture and urban design to authorities across England. We encourage policy makers to create places for people; help local planners apply national design policy; and advise developers and architects, persuading them to put people's needs first. We show public sector clients how to commission buildings that meet the needs of their users. And, crucially, we inspire the public to demand more from their buildings and spaces. Advising, influencing and inspiring, we work to create well-designed, welcoming places.

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