

DIMENSIONS OF SYMBOLIC CAPITAL

MODES OF DISTINCTIVENESS OF EUROPEAN CITY REGIONS UNDER CHANGE

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First Draft

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European cities like Rome, Helsinki and Dublin differ from one another by virtue of regional architectonic peculiarities and individual problems caused by the social and economic changes each city is facing. “What they have in common is that their character is determined by the model of the European City: They have public squares and historic city centres in which private housing, commercial buildings and imposing public buildings stand side by side.” (Diezemann 2007)

But, the European City runs danger to obsolescent. The arguments that make the case for this assumption are not new. Hall (1990) for example refers to the discussion in the 1970ies that focused on decentralisation and suburbanisation, on new growth poles and on de-industrialisation. And, in evidence, during the last two decades the dynamics of the Global City system shifted from Europe and North America to Asia.

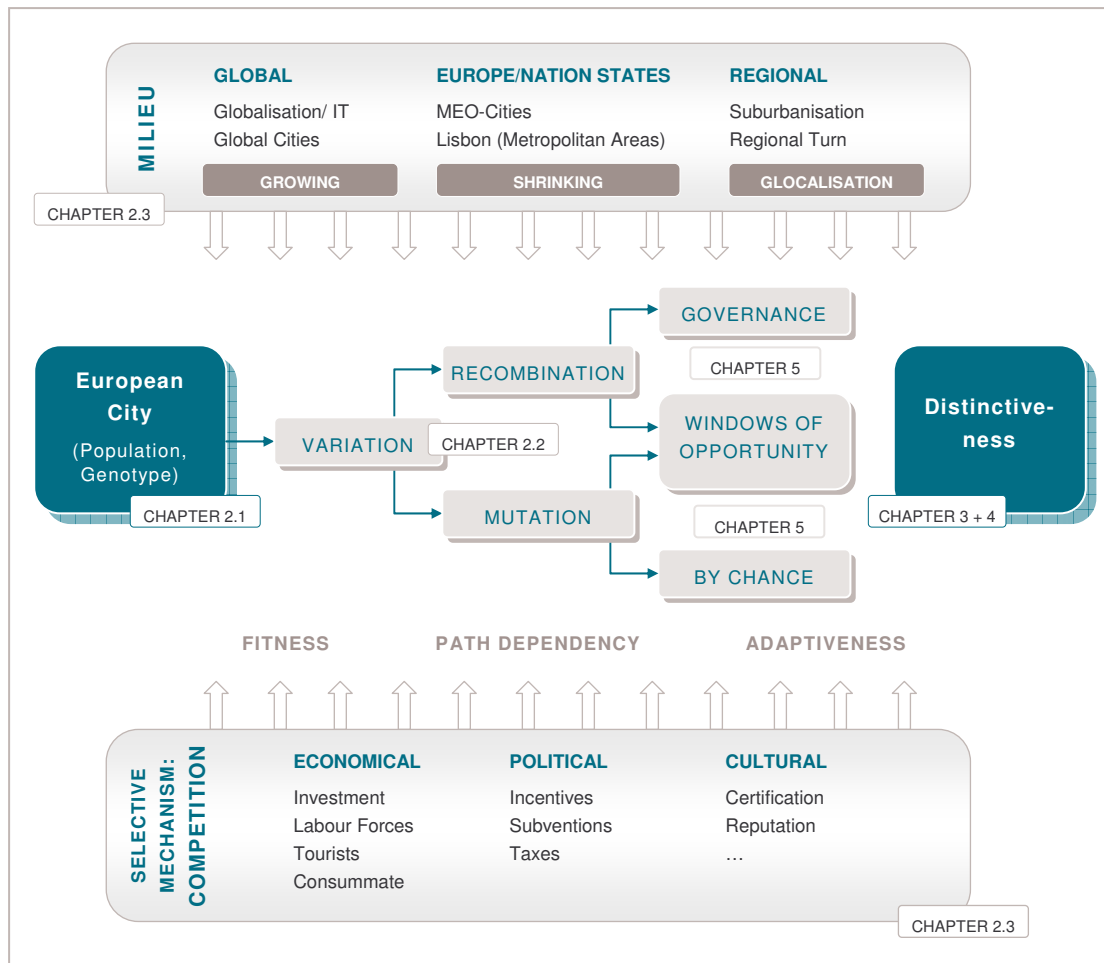
The developments notwithstanding, the European City cannot be written off by simply contrasting the ideal type of the European city with recent changes. Although these changes give rise to controversy, one should preconceive that cities are vital entities in flux. Thus, rather than the transition it are the paths of change which are of interest. Accordingly, a dynamic approach is needed to explain the transition and the future perspectives of the European City. Social and historical process theory might build a reasonable theory framework in this context. Moreover, human science – including social, regional and economic approaches – has discovered evolutionary thinking in the last decades, and it has widely be acknowledged that evolutionary approaches are instrumental in understanding the dynamics of social processes (Boschma/Frenken 2005).

In order to reflect the complexity of transition an evolutionary approach supplemented by various approaches from social theory is used as theoretical framework in this paper. Following such dynamic approach, the European city is considered as a genotype which has dominated the European city system for centuries. To avoid misunderstanding, neither does this imply that each city in the European city system is a European City nor that a European City cannot be located anywhere else in the world.

After this introductory chapter the paper is divided in five chapters (see Figure 1). The model of the European City is introduced in chapter two, as are the paths of change and the mechanism of selection. Facing globalisation most individual European Cities need to adapt global changes to some extent and thus, alter; like most cities in Europe. Concerning the latter, a missing context and limited resources are main causes of alteration. The majority of cities are in search for individual ways of life, are aiming at key position in specific economic areas and are seeking for a unique selling

position. Here the main emphasis is on the different modes of variation (recombination, mutation etc.). Whereas competition can be seen as driving force for selection, governance and learning are more important in context of social processes.

Figure 1: The European City – Context of this paper



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Moreover, the ability to understand specific situations and make use of «windows of opportunity» or «kairos» is gaining in importance. These are dominated by individual factors and short time periods and thus, are difficult to study in a systematic way (modes 2 knowledge). Hence, competencies in collective and reflective actions have to be study instead. Governance structures are crucial to protect cities from being «puppets on the string of a puppeteer named globalisation».

The concept of distinctiveness is introduced in chapter three. Usually used as a marketing concept, distinctiveness relating to the model of the European City refers to differences in social, cultural and economic functions of cities. Distinctiveness regarding a city regions image only contributes to the formation of good reputation respectively «symbolic capital» if it is based on realities and local commitment. This is important in two respects: Firstly, to raise awareness within the city region and second to attract investors, tourists, work forces from the 'outside'. Due to its relevance the bearing of distinctiveness on social capital is outlined in chapter three. Selected

empirical findings concerning the three dimensions history, society and economy will be discussed in chapter four.

With this paper we are not aiming at developing new or modified concepts of the European City but, to highlight and discuss the ongoing changes and their impacts. Undoubtedly, transition takes place and is fastening up; however, one need to be careful in developing new typologies, categories or anything similar concerning the European City (Latour 2007). Therefore, «City region» is considered as explorative concept which highlights one aspect of the future development of cities: Cities can no longer be seen as single urban core because they are inevitable linked with the neighbouring regions. It is assumed that the survival of the European City amongst other factors strongly depends on the ability to regional cooperation. The dilemmas cities are facing in the process of change are outlined in chapter six. The paper concludes with some hypothesis concerning the future of the European City (chapter six).

2.1 The European City – Starting Points

Siebel (2004: 12ff, Löw/Steets/Stötzer 2007: 94ff) characterises the European city by five aspects:

- (1) The European city is *the place where the bourgeois society has its roots*, the history of the European city starts before modernity grew up and this is represented in the build environment.
- (2) Insofar the history of the European city is the story of *societal and political emancipation*.
- (3) The European city is characterised by a *specific way of life*: it is the urban way of live that made the difference between living in the city and living in the countryside and this urban way of live bases on the separation of private and public.
- (4) The European city is the *result of intentional planning*.
- (5) And the European city is regulated by *social policies*, by *social infrastructure*, by providing *social space* for housing and so on.

Referring to the concept of distinctiveness which is discussed in chapter three, the European city as a genotype covers three dimensions of distinctiveness:

- A long standing historical identity (1 und 2),
- A specific consumptive identity defined by an urban way of life (3) and
- A governance tradition that roots in strong urban planning and social responsibility (4 und 5).

Referring to the ongoing discussion about architecture, urbanism and so on the European city is under pressure. Undoubtedly, compared to he roots and features of the Bourgeois society the society of the the 18th and 19th century has changed fundamentally through the emergence of mass media (Habermas 1962). The idea and discussion of public spaces is still viable and currently become manifested in architecture and transparency: By the use of glass as a dominating material borders between public and private become fluid; a trend visible in most European Cities. At the same time the contrary is to be observed: The access to former public is limited and strongly controlled. While public and private are in competition, it is private space which has taken the lead in the European city. Moreover, today modernism is defined by the all over diffusion of way of life. Urbanism as a way of life is no longer tied to urban places and cities (Ipsen 2004). In search for urbanism its future is discussed controversial. From our point of view four aspects are crucial for the coming dynamic

and global position of cities: openness, diversity, connectivity and rupture (cf. Strategic Space 1999) These aspects are strongly related to the very prominent creativity approach that will be discussed in more detail in chapter 4.2.

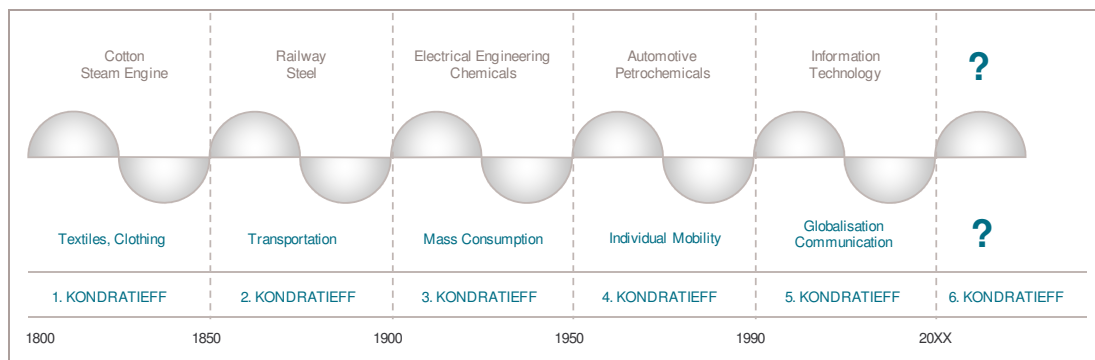
The welfare state was under compulsion until the late 1970ies which affected the European city. Social tensions became more and more evident and one of the most decisive aspects has been the loss of work places, suburbanism, and the changing meaning of city regions. Further on, in the course of liberalism, deregulation and privatisation the city is rather driven by economic performance indicators than by social issues. Intentional planning is contrasting individual interests of private actors and rules of government are re-defined (see chapter 5).

Of course, beside these common features and challenges the single European cities differ from each other in terms of climatic and geographical conditions, by history and political frame as well as by economic function. The main argument of this paper is that the difference between these cities lays the ground and is the future of the European City. The need for change is not new, cities are in permanent change, but today's environment is quite different from what it was in the last centuries. To devise his argument, the paths of change in the European city system in the course of industrial age are discussed. Subsequently the environment of the European city system at the beginning of the 21rst century is outlined.

2.2 Roots of Change – Paths in the Industrial Age

The European city system is driven by long waves of economic change. Depending on certain location factors and the definite economic wave, new cities emerge, existing cities grow respectively are renewed or lately more often, declined. A peek at Kondratieff's theory of long waves is helpful (figure 2). In each long wave, according to the theory, capitalist economies pass naturally through measurable stages of growth, plateau, concentration and renewal, which closely relate to periods of intense technological innovation. These waves affect the socioeconomic development.

Figure 2: Kondratieff's theory of long waves – Basis innovations and effects



Each of the waves to date is associated with the rise of particular industries: cotton in the first; steel, rail and shipbuilding in the second; electrical engineering and chemistry in the third, automobiles, plastics, and pharmaceutical in fourth; and ICT in the fifth. Prosperous cities were those that were positioned to take advantage of the new industries, either because of their existing status as «entrepôts», because a new technology was invented there, because a new generation of entrepreneurs was available, or because a tradition of innovation and enterprise existed (Montgomery 2005). Although the *first long wave* of industrialisation had strong impacts on the city system, it doesn't dominate today's the city system any more. Occupation in textile and clothing industry has left Europe. This shift began in the 1960ies; nowadays textile and clothing industry at a noteworthy scale is only to be found in the European periphery. Except some Italian regions like Milan/Lombardy, Turin/Piemont or Florence/Toscana which survived as leading locations of textile production in the European core. Measured by occupation the leading regions of textile and clothing industry are located in Turkey as well as in East and South Europe (Portugal, Romania, Czech Republic, Poland and Bulgaria). Nevertheless, the traces of textile and clothing industry are still visible in many European cities: Former production facilities are being reused as cultural or business centres, for instance in Manchester, Tampere or Basel. And, the hot spots of fashion are still in the leading European cities like Milan, London or Paris.¹

The *second long wave* of the industrial age led to the rise of new cities and city regions. Mining and steel processing work has been a strong driver in city building. During the last decades these regions faced massive industrial change; among others the most prominent examples are the Ruhr Area, Wales and Lorraine. While mining and industries like metalworking, textiles etc. proved to be outstanding driving forces behind the prosperity of these regions, in the 1980ies they were faced with a strong decline in the traditional areas of employment, and, to some extent a lost of identity (see the study of May (1994) on Lorraine). Conversion and redeployment were undertaken: For instance, city regions like the Ruhr Area try to strengthen their specific historical identity and Bilbao and Newcastle/Gateshead succeeded in a fundamental change to the future. Whereas steel processing is no longer dominating the European city system upstream functions like metalworking or iron mongering are still to be found in the core of the European city system, e.g., in Düsseldorf, Stuttgart, Milan, Venice and further Italian regions as well as in Lyon/Rhone-Alpes in France.

The *third long wave* was driven by chemical industry and electrical engineering. Whereas electrical engineering originally tend to locate in leading European capitals (i.e. Berlin, Paris), chemical sites were mainly founded in the great range of new cities. For example, in Germany, Ludwigshafen in the Rhine-Main region or Marl in the Ruhr Area are noteworthy. In geographical terms, the Rhine River was established as the key axis of chemical industry in Europe and a lot of European core cities (starting in Basel and ending in Rotterdam) are still key locations in chemical industry and promising seed beds for biotechnology companies.

¹ Source of all data referred to in this chapter is the European cluster Observatory.

Similar progression was observed during in the *fourth long wave* of industrial society which was associated to the automotive industry: New cities evolved alongside with the uptake of the sector. This concerned likewise «new» cities like Wolfsburg or Rüsselsheim in Germany or Birmingham in the UK and 'traditional cities' like Turin (Italy) or Munich (Germany). As regards the latter, the industry functioned as a trigger for innovation. However, the spatial impact of automotive industry shifted east and south. Especially regions in Spain and Czech Republic have been able to profit from this shift and were able to consolidate their position as attractive new locations for the automotive industry in Europe.

For the purpose of this article it is not necessary to go into more detail on the theory of long waves. However, some of the before outlined aspects are of interest for the future of the European city system. As has been shown, steel, chemicals and automotive industry led to the foundation of a remarkably number and determined the future development of existing cities. These cities have been the driving forces behind the formation of the European city system in the second half of the 18th century and the first half of the 19th century. For the very reason that cities are not at the research agendas to the same extend than the European City, in evolutionary terms is important to understand them as a «second population» within the European city system: These cities are mono-functional both, in economics as well as in social sense. And, although they cannot defer to a longstanding history, often they show a well-established tradition in cultural centres for the working class. Mass culture and leisure facilities have been important for the development of these cities and their neighbourhood. Besides they are well known for their strong relations between leading companies and local authorities (Herlyn/Tessin 2000).

Today many of the abovementioned cities are so-called shrinking cities or city regions and their base to manage managing structural change is not as good as it is in more diversified European cities. But in the early 1990ies the situation changed in certain terms: The automotive companies were very active in strengthening the image of the sector and the home locations. One of the most ambitious and prominent example is Volkswagen (VW) with it's the efforts to present Wolfsburg as an automotive city ready for the knowledge society. Nowadays, other examples of «carchitectur» can be found all over Europe (Hosch 2006) as well as in Asia. The engagement of steel and chemical companies is not as common. However, some examples exist. Like the city Basel which is facing fundamental change triggered by the activities of the two leading pharmaceutical companies or the city of Essen which will benefit from the relocation of the last remaining steel producer to the place of its foundation in the 19th century.

Perhaps the most interesting aspect is that these cities do not try to imitate the European City, but to explore new ways of existence and survival. Relating to this, one can study an ongoing discourse in the Ruhr Area which results in being proud of the own industrial culture which is quite different from the European city and seeking for the 'new'. Wolfsburg claims to look forward and to prepare the city coming knowledge society. Whereas cities like Valencia, Bilbao and New Castle/Gateshead have a

strong focus on culture and creativity. Insofar, the European city system becomes more and more differentiated and cities are highly interested in strengthening and communicating their distinctiveness.

The information and communication sector – *the fifth long wave* – can be seen as the sector in transition from the industrial to the knowledge age. And so far, it seems like the diversified European City has better starting conditions to make use of the potentials of information technology, knowledge business and creative industry than the industrial city. This is because ICT industry requires specific factors conditions and, compared to other industries, rely significantly on “week” factors like openness, way of life, quality of life. In order to fulfil these prerequisites urbanity is crucial. Regarding well established knowledge industries like business services or financing, the leading European capitals are always ranked top. Concerning the emerging knowledge intensive business the traditional core of Europe is strongly dominating. This aspect will be discussed in chapter four in more detail.

2.3 Changing Environment

In the course of 1990ies the environment for the European City changed dramatically. Following globalisation the dynamic of the Global City system went east. Ideas from the European City have been adapted all over the world. Nevertheless, the Asian cities and city regions followed a dynamic path that could which was impossible to follow by most cities in Europe. Due to its poor economic power and missing dynamics to face globalisation, Europe and the European cities run danger to become marginalised in global competition.

The Global City concept (cf. Sassen 1996) is very selective and does not reflect the specific situation of the European cities for three reasons: Firstly, as pointed out above, the European City has long standing roots that create specific cultural and political paths as well as ways of urban planning. Secondly, the Global City concentrates economic power and functions that are not found in such denseness in a single city. But, assumed that the allocation of functions across cities is the result of division of functions, European city system as a whole comprises all functions of a Global City. This is especially true for cities in strong federalist nation states like Germany, Switzerland or the Netherlands. Thirdly, the Global City approach is a hierarchical concept, viz. concentration of global economic power in the places where finance and consulting is agglomerated. Such hierarchical view underestimates the rising impact of networks and the power of rules in and standards of networks (see Castells 1996).

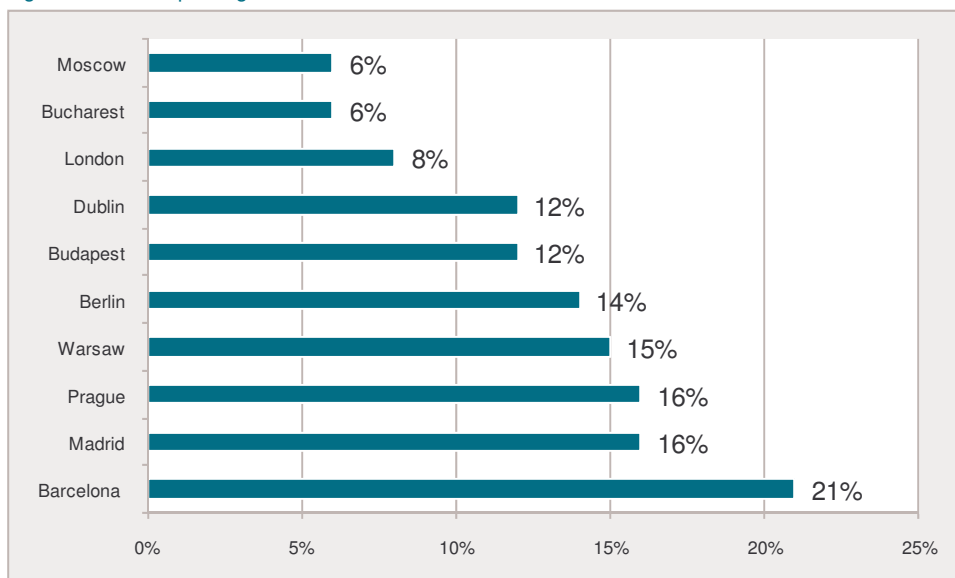
Nevertheless, global cities are driving forces in the Global City system. Their strength lies in their function as growth poles of growing societies. One of the major problems in Europe are shrinking cities respectively cities in shrinking societies (see Sanders 2006 for a detailed analyses and Oswalt 2004 for the trends and strategies). Moreover, cities are negatively affected by the fact that the suburbs and the

neighbourhood of the big cities and even the less urbanised regions are growing faster than the core cities. At first sight it seems like shrinking is a chance for cities to become more innovative, but many of problems – especially the distribution of economic growth and financial resources – easier to handle in a growing than in a shrinking context.

In consequence, the European Union has worked out the Lisbon process that aims at becoming the fastest growing and most innovative world region on the way into the knowledge society. These targets have a direct impact on the cities in Europe: Structural and regional funds have been directed towards the most innovative places, and thus, the cities benefit most from such policies.

All these aspects are well studied and documented so there is no need to discuss them in detail. Concerning the European city we have to add that there is a rising competition between European Cities as a result of the enlargement of the European Union. Many cities in East and Middle Europe are European Cities. This is not only true for capitals like Warsaw or Prague but also for cities like Petersburg, Krakow or Győr (cf. Schlögel 2007). What these cities have in common is a strong and distinctive tradition did come to bear in times of the Soviet Republic. Today, these cities are back on the agenda of the European city system. And, as it concerns tourism, European funding, foreign investment etc. they are strong competitors. Figure 3 and 4 give an impression of the rising position of East and Middle European cities.

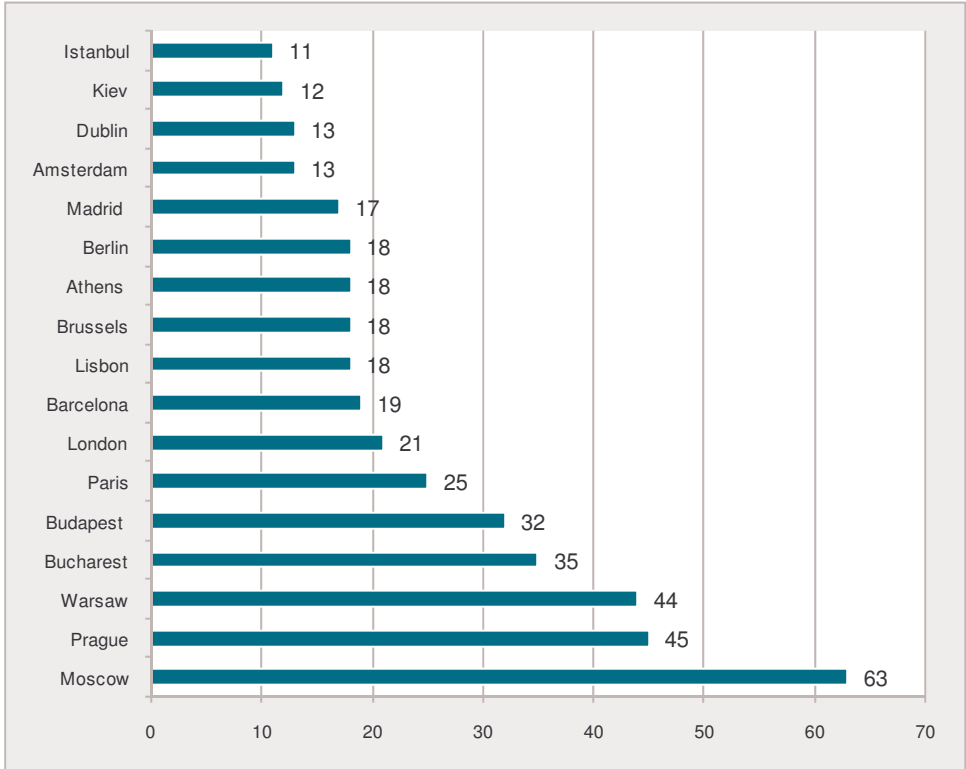
Figure 3: Cities improving themselves



Source *European Cities monitor 2007*: 13

Based on interviews with 500 European companies, the results show that the interviewees see the East and Middle European cities very strong in improving their government capacity (figure 3). Asked for the future plans concerning the choice of location, five locations in East and Middle Europe were ranked top (including Moscow which is by far at the top).

Figure 4: European Expansion: Number of companies expecting to locate in selected European cities



Source *European Cities monitor 2007: 13*

Summing up, competition within the European city system is growing and one option cope with this is to strengthen the distinctiveness of the cities.

The concept of distinctiveness was developed by Bourdieu (1974, 1979, 1982, 1985) in the field of social studies. Following Bourdieu, the position within a social space (or field) is expressed by distinction. Demonstrating to be different bases on human history as well as on the recent position within the social field and it is the key concept to express this position in the social field by a specific habit. Distinction is strongly related to difference and difference is one of the key concepts in many discussions on the future of spaces (in social as well as in geographical terms) and the meaning of spatiality.

In this context it is fruitful to look at the discussion on global homogenisation and identity building (the global and the local) in search of the «distinctive city» (Manville/Storper 2006, Schrock/Marcusen 2006). There are several approaches to analyse the distinctive city or region. For instance, Turok (2004) uses the category «specialised city». This includes specialised industry, occupations, built environment and image. Manville/Storper (2006) focus on qualification or human capital, and point out that being distinctive means not to have a positive image in any case: for instance Motor City (Detroit) has a long standing image, but nevertheless it suffers from workless and social problems.

Further on, Manville/Storper (2006) highlight the change of images: “Over the time, the enticements offered to educated people have changed: first there were symphonies and opera houses, then festival markets and sports stadiums, and now cafes, galleries and a generally tolerant, bohemian atmosphere. [...] On the other hand changes that initially make places more alike can over time make them more diverse, as cultures merge to create new and unique combinations.” (35, 37)

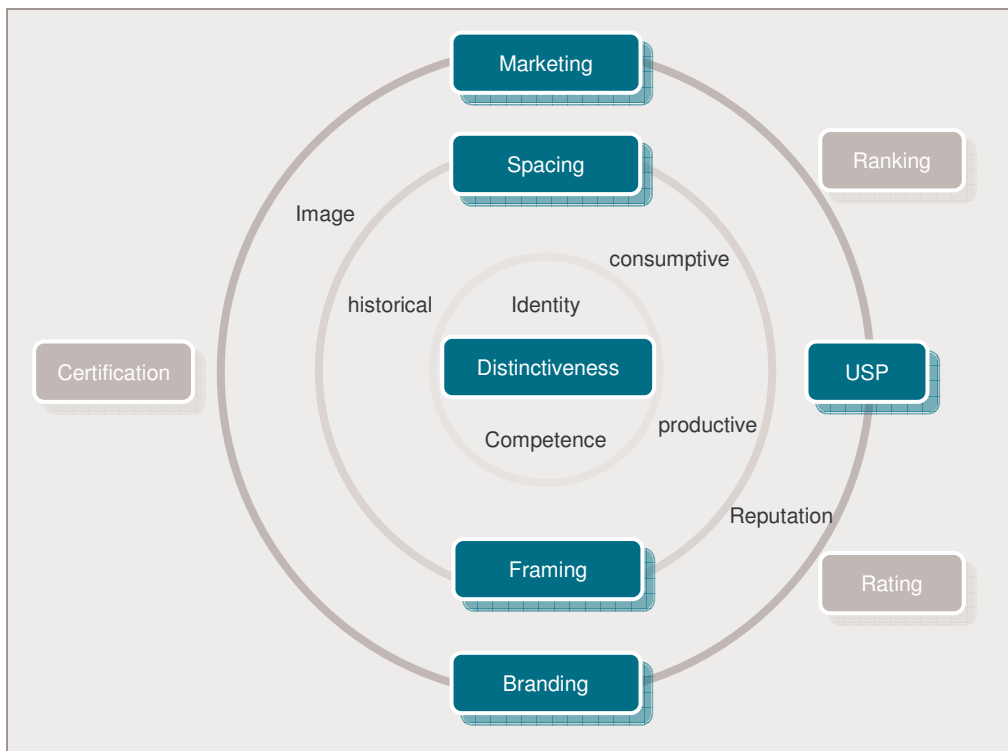
While the approach of Turok as well as Manville/Storper is associative and illustrative the approach of Schrock/Markusen is more systematic. Schrock/Markusen (2006) analyse cities as distinctive along three dimensions:

1. “Productive distinctiveness relates to the unique nature of the production factors that embody the regional economy – land, labour, capital, and technology. [...]”
2. “Consumptive distinctiveness relates to the unique patterns of consumption on the part of residents within the city. Households and their workers are key actors here, through their choices regarding what to buy at what price, and whether non-pecuniary factors such as environment, culture and networks trump purely economic considerations. [...]”
3. “Finally, identity distinctiveness relates to an extension by which a city is recognized by residents and non-residents as being culturally unique. A city’s historical economic base can often shape its cultural identity [...]. But, urban

identities can also relate to other aspects that affect a distinctive «sense of place», such as local architecture, historical context, or natural environment.”

In this paper distinctiveness is studied as a real difference. And, one needs to distinguish between distinctiveness and further understanding or attempts in search of the specific position of a city region in a global context. Figure 5 systematises the most prominent approaches dealing with the specific position. The core integrates distinctiveness with the aforementioned dimensions. Distinctiveness needs a socio-cultural base, embedded in shared tradition, culture, attitudes, or views about the future. It depends on identity. Identity in this context can be located on an axis that fixes historical identity at the one end and a shared vision about the future on the other end. It can be supposed that European city regions identity bases on tradition first of all, while Asian city region bases on a shared view of the future.

Figure 5: Dimensions of local/regional distinctiveness



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Referring to the understanding of Manville/Storper (2006), distinctiveness in economic terms is based on competencies. It is a quite common view that competencies and not power or capital provide the future base of European society and European cities. Although identity and competencies are important elements to accent distinctiveness, it requires that the actors in the city region make use of it to unfold the full potential. Following Appadurai (1990), distinctiveness is a rather a potential than a fact.

There are three approaches that can be used to bridge the gap between identity and competencies on the one hand, and distinctiveness on the other hand.

The concept of *regional governance* focuses on the modes of collective action to rule the common affairs in a societal entity. In contrast to traditional concepts like regulation or political steering, the concept of regional governance assumes that a lot of collective action is driven by informal and evolutionary activities and is not the result of planned activities. In the case of city regions the question is in which way the physical place – and if so, what dimension of this place, the city, the city region or the quarter – is focal point of social action manifested in an arrangement that is defined by images, building environment, symbols and histories.

Another question concerns the value added by distinctiveness and the investment in the visibility of distinctiveness. The answer is quite clear, for city regions distinctiveness is valuable when it can be used as *symbolic capital*. Following Bourdieu (1985: 10f) symbolic capital can be seen as the perceived and legitimated form of economical, social and cultural capital. The social position of an actor is defined by his position within the individual fields and expressed by symbolic capital. In this analytic focus the social world can be interpreted as a symbolic system, which is organised analogue to the system of phenomena according the logic of differences, of differential intervals, which by them become significant differences and distinctions (Bourdieu 1985: 20f).

Some examples: For the city tourist manager symbolic capital is of interest for being different. For a company it brings high reputation to be located in city region that is well known for its competence in this specific economic field. And for a regional development manager it is the unique selling point that gives hope that companies from outside are interested in investing in this region.

So again, symbolic capital is often driven by informal communication, by pictures and stories. But since it is fluid and competition between city regions is high, local managers are more and more interested in improving and communicating this symbolic capital. City or regional marketing and branding are the most prominent ways to do so. These attempts correspond with the labelling and ranking of city regions from outside. Especially for city regions which aim at changing the image or do not have a well established history it is necessary something that goes beyond marketing, to have an impartial certification from outside.

Bourdieu (1982) noted, that if symbolic capital is missing actors try to receive certification from outside. In order to appear in the rankings this is of particular importance for industrial cities which cannot refer to a long tradition, as well as for European cities. Certification means to obtain qualifications from formalised institutions. Examples for such certifications are for example conferred the status as world cultural heritage, to acquire one of the leading global sport events like Olympic Games or world soccer champion chip, or to become location of other events like world exhibition or faire. Certification in this sense means to be present in the rankings in a prominent place or to be cited in the most spread global newspapers with the cultural events.

As has been outlined earlier Bourdieu's categories can neither be applied to the regional level nor the organisational level one by one. Therefore, an associative proceeding is necessary: Studying city regions symbolic capital in-depth requires analysing cultural traditions, heritages, and entrepreneurs standing for successful entrepreneurship (for instance family companies or successful start-ups), well-known places, stories of success and disasters, high level architecture, global events and the like.

In general further studies on distinctiveness should keep in mind three aspects:

- Distinctiveness is not a static concept, but a dynamic concept which is subject of constant change;
- Distinctiveness is the result of action and positioning (spacing), not of planned activities and thus, develops evolutionary way;
- Distinctiveness is a result of the combination of the aforementioned three dimensions consumption, history and identity. Nevertheless, in best case, one symbol can communicate the elements of distinctiveness and work as a brand like the Eiffel Tower in Paris or the Guggenheim museum in Bilbao.

4.1 Historical Distinctiveness (Identity)

Due to its long standing roots that reach back to the Medial or the Antic age the European City is very strong in terms of historical distinctiveness. Contrary to most cities in Asia, these roots did survive through the built environment, especially in historical places and buildings. And until today, this built environment dominates the core of the European Cities. Nevertheless, some interesting distinctions come to the fore, if one takes a closer look at selected indicators of historical distinctiveness. Indicators used here are the number of hosted «World Exhibitions» and «Olympic Games», times of being «European City of Culture», «Internationality», «Governmental Climate» and «Quality of Life».

Table 1: Selected Indicators for historical distinctiveness

City region	World Exhibition ¹	ECC ²	OIG ³	Internationality	Gov. Climate	Quality of Life
Paris	1867, 1889, 1900, 1937	1989	1900, 1924	1	0,27	0,59
Berlin		1988	1936	3	0,36	0,36
Munich			1972	3	0,15	0,50
Frankfurt				4	0,16	0,12
Ruhr Area		2010		5	n/a	n/a
Hanover	2000			5	n/a	n/a
Hamburg				4	0,09	0,29
Rom			1960	3	0,03	0,35
Milan				2	0,13	0,28
Madrid		1992		2	0,38	0,62
Barcelona	1929		1992	3	0,47	1,16
Vienna	1873			3	0,20	0,34
Athens		1985	1896, 1906, 2004	4	0,11	0,15
Brussels	1958	2000		3	0,36	0,32
Lisbon	1998	1994		3	0,24	0,33
London	1851, 1862		1908, 1948, 2012	1	0,60	0,40
Birmingham				5	0,20	0,006
Manchester				5	0,18	0,23
Glasgow				5	0,36	0,21
Prague		2006		n/a	0,53	0,11
Warsaw				n/a	0,53	0,04
Budapest				n/a	0,44	0,12

¹ Source: Wikipedia

² ECC: European Cities /European Capital of Culture; Source: <http://ec.europa.eu/culture>

³ OIG = Olympic Games ; Source: <http://www.olympiastatistik.de>

⁴ Internationality: 1 = highest rank, 7 = lowest rank; Source: European cities monitor 2007.

⁵ Governmental climates: Ranked as one of the first three; Source: European Cities monitor 2007.

⁶ Quality of Life: Ranked as one of the first three; source: European cities monitor 2007.

The first three indicators are standing for great events, and thus for certification, the fourth Internationality and the last two indicators stand for the perception of the 500 companies that are the base of the European city monitoring. Of course, the indicators and the qualitative data are selective and limited, and therefore, need to be interpreted carefully. Nevertheless, used as indicators for historical distinctiveness they bring interesting differences to the fore (see table 1).

Taking into account *all* indicators, Paris and London are, by far, ranked top. They have been the leading cities in the wave of globalisation with the most impressive world exhibitions in the 19th century. This applies likewise to global sport like Olympic Games. And not surprisingly, they are also heading in «Internationality».

Referring to the indicators «Quality of Life» and «Governmental Climate» it is Spanish cities which take the lead followed by Paris and London. While the East and middle European cities have fallen behind most Western European cities as it concerns «Certification» and «Quality of Life», they rank high with respect to «Government Climate». And, industrial city regions like the Ruhr area or Birmingham (West Midlands) they are lagging behind in almost any respect.

Following Bourdieu (see chapter 3), distinctiveness has strong roots in history and this is true for the European City, too. Cities lacking historical identity strongly rely on the acceptance and certification of their specific history. Since many cities are aware of it, they tend to work out their own specific history for example by being certified as World Cultural Heritage.

In the UK this is true for industrial landscapes or valleys: Ironbridge Valley (1986), Industry landscape Blaenoven (2000), Derwent Valley (2001), Industry Valley Saltaire (2001), New Lanark (2001), Harbour of Liverpool (2004). In other European regions mining and steel facilities became World Cultural Heritage. : Røros/Norway 1980, Engelberg/Sweden 1993, Banska Stiavnica/Slovakia 1993, Völklingen/Germany 1994, Zollverein/Essen/Germany 2004.

4.2 Social Distinctiveness – Way of Live & Creativity

Measuring social distinctiveness impartial is difficult, too. Of course, the Toscana way of life with good food and wine in ancient or medieval landscape are well known all over the world. So is Paris with its vital cultural climate especially at the beginning of the 20th century. The distinctive way of life is reflected in stories, places, and people, and is communicated by literature, movies, or biographies. Quality of life is a matter of perception and thus, reliable indicators for proper comparison are seldom available.

In search for the future way of life, it is creativity that is being talked of, both in the cities and among scientists. According to Florida (2005) creativity in combination with

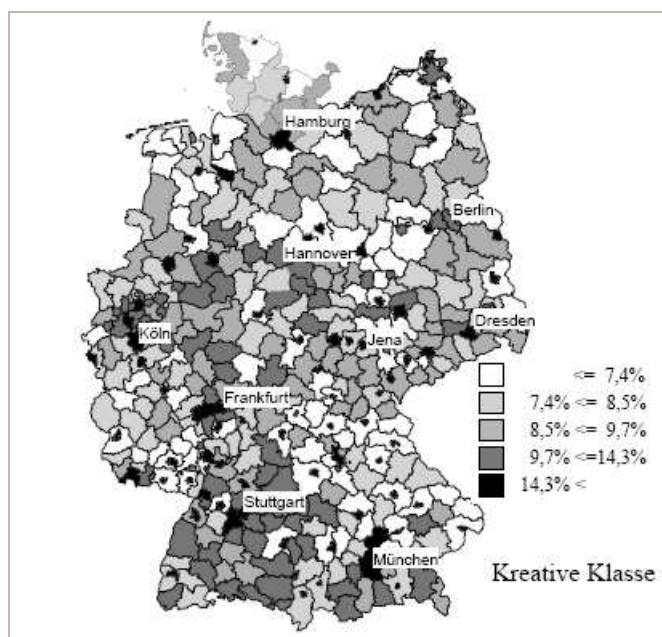
tolerance and diversity can be seen as the key factor to shape cities the future. Therefore, in following we concentrate on the aspect of creativity.

In their study about creativity and regional development in Europe Florida/Mellander/Stolarick (2007) analysed the relationship between tolerance, universities and consumer services on the one hand, and regional development on the other hand. They conclude that

- “[...] human capital and the creative class play different but complementary roles in regional development”
- “[...] certain occupation effect regional development to a much greater degree than others”; for instance education and health care have little effect on regional development, while computer science, engineering, management and business services as well as financial operations have a larger effects.
- “[...] tolerance is significantly associated with human capital and the creative class [...]. Tolerance plays a key role in the regional development system [...]”.

Fritsch and Stützer’s study on the regional distribution of the creative class in Germany gives detailed information about the situation within city regions (2006). They show that more than 50 percent of creative class lives in the agglomeration whereas less than ten percent live in rural areas. Concerning the former, core cities are above average. The cities with the highest share of the creative class in Germany are Düsseldorf, Frankfurt, Munich and Stuttgart. Besides, one finds a high share of the creative class in medium-sized cities outside the largest agglomerations (e.g. in Coburg, Ulm, Regensburg or Schweinfurt). Concerning freelance artists as part of the creative class, the large cities rank first again.

Figure 6: Regional distribution of the creative class in Germany 2004 (share of population)



Source: Fritsch/Stützer 2006.

Although the picture seems to be quite clear, one has to interpret these statistical results carefully. It is not only the core agglomerations which are strong in creativity, but also medium-sized cities. Thus, it can be supposed that middle ranged European Cities with a strong university, a vital and dynamic base in new economies, and a long standing historical tradition prove to be very strong in economic terms. This leads to the question whether the path of the European City is more successful in these cities than in the leading agglomerations.

4.3 Economic Distinctiveness – Clusters & Competencies

Following industrial change – as outlined in chapter 2.2 of this paper – European cities are different in terms of their economic competencies. Rosenblatt/Cicille (2004) identified five types of specialisation in their comparative study about cities in Europe:

- Cities with a diversified economic structure; to be found more often in Germany and Spain, and seldom in the Netherlands.
- Cities with an industrial base represent one third of all cities in Europe; in UK, the Netherlands and Spain their share is above average. Birmingham and Turin are the largest of these cities.
- Cities focused on trade; most of which are harbour cities. While some city are specialised (e.g. agriculture), others cover a broad range of activities (e.g. Göteborg, Tarragona, Saloniki, Bari).
- Cities focused on tourism; first of all to be found in the UK, Spain, France, Italy and Austria.
- Cities with a strong focus on services; cities of this category comprise the national and federal capitals which are located in the European core.

Of course, this typology only gives only a first impression. Taking a glance at the leading sectors in selected European national capitals – measured by occupation – gives a further insight.

As is shown in table 2, only a limited number of sectors are forming the economic base of European capitals. Transportation, finance, business services, education are very strong in all capitals. In general, this is not only true for the Western European capitals but for the most East European capitals, too. In contrast federal states like Switzerland show a stronger inter-city division of labour.

Table 2: Leading sectors (by occupation) in selected European capitals (NUTS2)

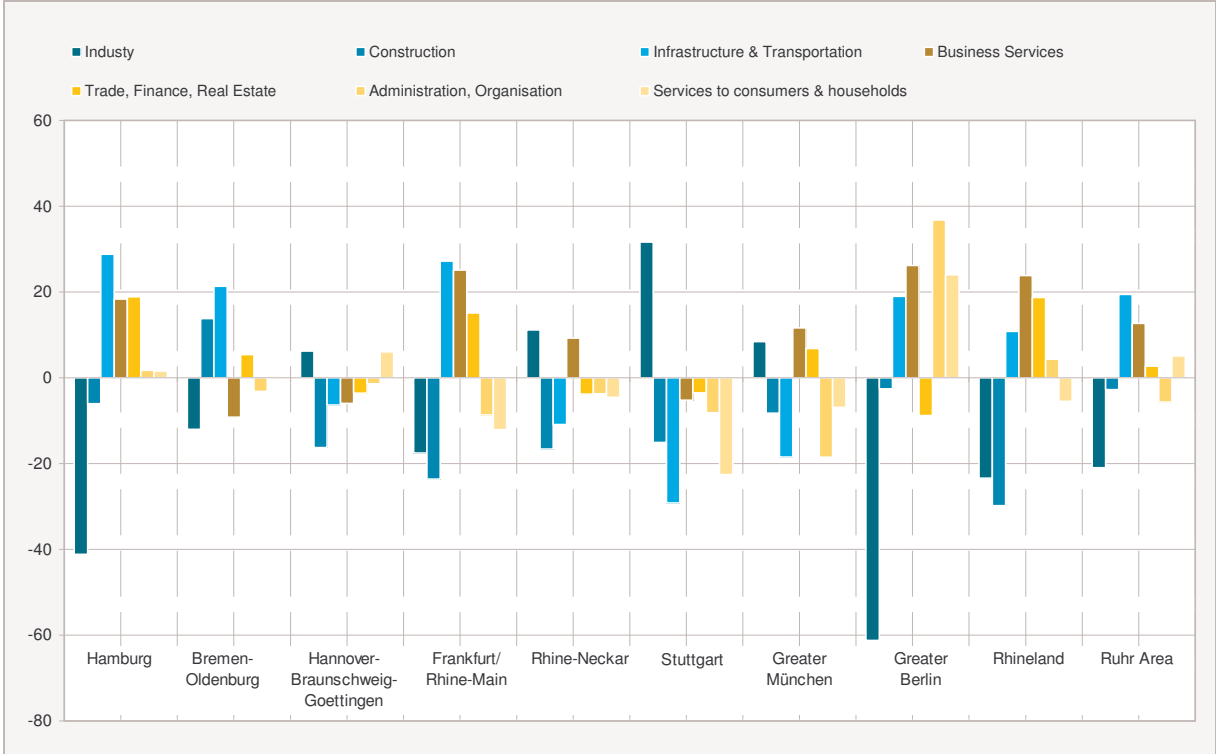
City / Region	Ranked first	Ranked second	Ranked third
Vienna	Transportation	Finance	Business Services
Brussels	Finance	Business Services	Transportation
Helsinki	Transportation	Construction	Education
Paris	Finance	Transportation	Business Services
Athens	Transportation	Finance	Construction
Rome	Finance	Transportation	Construction
Oslo	Transportation	Business Services	Education
Lisbon	Construction	Business Services	Finance
Madrid	Construction	Finance	Transportation
Inner London	Finance	Business Services	Education
Berne	Transportation	Metal	Construction
Basel	Biopharma	Finance	Construction
Zurich	Finance	Transportation	IT
Geneva	Finance	Hospitality	Construction
Bucharest	Education	Construction	Finance
Budapest	Transportation	Education	Finance
Prague	Finance	Transportation	Hospitality
Sofia	Construction	Transportation	Apparels
Warszawa	Food	Education	Transportation

Source: European Cluster Observatory

To go into more detail Germany with its strong federal tradition has been chosen as an example. The figures below show the difference between the regional share of an economic sector and the German average: The Stuttgart region is clearly dominated by industrial sectors (automotive, electronics, mechanical engineering); cities or city regions with an above average in industrial sectors are Rhine-Neckar (Chemicals), Hannover (Automotive) and the Munich region (Electrical Engineering). In all other city regions the sector is strong but below average.

- Infrastructure and Transportation is higher-than-average in the harbour city regions (Hamburg, Bremen), in the German capital Berlin (Railway) and the largest airport regions Rhine-Main (Frankfurt), Rhineland (Düsseldorf, Cologne), and in the Ruhr Area (Electricity).
- In Hamburg, Rhine-Main (Frankfurt), Berlin and in the Rhineland (Düsseldorf, Cologne) business services are represented above-average.

Figure 7: The economic base of German city regions in comparison 2006



Source: Federal Employment Office; Own calculations

Studying economic distinctiveness the combination of the different sectors is a matter of particular interest. For instance, in the Ruhr Area traditional industrial roots are reflected in distinctive infrastructures and, to some degree, in related business services. In the Rhineland (Düsseldorf, Cologne) infrastructure, business services, finance and administration are interlinked with media industry. And, in Frankfurt (Rhine-Main) a similar structure is to be found, but here finance dominates. Berlin in contrast, is driven by administrative functions and trade. At the other end you find city regions that are very weak in terms of distinctiveness. This is especially true for Hanover, Braunschweig and Göttingen.

To reflect the dynamic perspective a more detailed analysis of the share of the driving sectors of the service or knowledge industry is necessary (see figure 8). While the positions of Bremen and Hannover region as well as of the Ruhr Area are weak, knowledge intensive services are very strong in the Rhineland (Düsseldorf, Cologne), the Rhine-Main area (Frankfurt) and in Hamburg region. Health care and medical device is not very selective due to their economic basis function. So is ICT in general. As far as sub-sectors are concerned Munich, in the Rhine-Neckar Area (for instance SAP is located in this area) and in the Rhineland (Düsseldorf, Cologne) take a lead position. Creative economies are very selective again. Whereas the Ruhr Area, Hanover and Bremen region are below average, all other city regions are above average.

Figure 8: Share of growth sectors in German city regions compared



Source: Federal Employment Office; own calculations

To summarise, one needs to keep in mind that economic distinctiveness is still ongoing, especially when one looks at the sectors seen as driving forces of the economic future. It is not the share of a single sector, but the combination of these sectors, that makes the difference. Taking the case Germany one can draw the conclusion that the economic base of the city system is more differentiated in states with a strong federal tradition. And again, one finds that the traditional European city is better prepared for coming structural change than city regions with strong industrial cities (Ruhr Area, Hanover region including Wolfsburg and the Bremen region despite of Bremen's character as a longstanding European city).

Key challenge for all city regions in Europe is to find new solutions for effective governance. The discussion about the Great London Council in the early 1980ies (Einemann/Lübbing 1984) was the start of an ongoing experience on new ways of governance in cities as well as in city regions. The problem is that the need for change concerns very different levels within city regions:

- Strengthening the effectiveness of administration,
- Building up new ways of cooperation or new institutions to strengthen the cooperation between the autonomous local entities within the city regions,
- Developing new ways of cooperation between private and public actors,
- Implementing new institutions especially in the field of local or regional economic development,
- Facing the challenge to become a sustainable actor in the European city system to not at least receive national and European funding.

In the context of this paper it is not possible to discuss the entire range of challenges. Nevertheless, to get an idea of the problems of governance in city regions a brief outline is given on the most important trends and results.

To start with, the majority of European cities experimented with new ways to make administration more effective. The new public management movement started in Tilburg in the Netherlands in the course of the 1990ies and spread all over Europe since then. The transfer of organisational and management concepts from the private sector to public administration included new steering and cost models, strategic project management. In addition, a strong trend in outsourcing of local functions (privatisation) became apparent. The results achieved so far are beyond expectations. Reasons for this are that the implementation of the new concepts often ignored the participative context of local government and the practice of local elections on the one hand and were driven by strong cost cutting strategies (Naschold 1997) on the other hand. Today, different cities take a step back to traditional administrative rules and in-sourcing (for instance in local waste management, cf. Süddeutsche Zeitung 30.04.08).

In the context of this paper two aspects are of interest: Local governance became more differentiated in institutional terms. And, due to a lack of effective management strategies this differentiation resulted in a fragmentation of public institutions in many cities. Further on, improvement of internal governance capacity required a huge amount of resources and thus, only little resources remained for activities aiming at cooperation between cities resp. between cities and their neighbourhood.

A further aspect is decentralisation and regionalisation which could be observed across Europe. Here, it has been the rules of European structural policies which gave impetus for change: At the end of the 1990ies a new mode of governance, the so-called 'Regionalisation', found its way to the political agenda (Benz/Fürst/Kilper/Rehfeld 2000). Regionalisation was more ambitious than decentralisation. This is because regionalisation aimed at an integrated development policy which was oriented towards functional (and not at administrative) spaces driven by cooperation between cities within a region and between private actors. In practice regionalisation resulted in very different modes of institutionalisation and in administrative reforms. And again, it is Germany which serves as a good example to illustrate the controversy this caused: In consequence of its strong tradition in local autonomy and local self-administration of cities – which is more pronounced than in most other European countries – new modes of governance run danger are seized as threat to local autonomy.

The most far reaching achievement in the field was a new administrative framework for the cities region comprising the core city and the neighbouring cities. While cities like Stuttgart and Hannover already implement the framework, other cities (i.e. Aachen, Braunschweig) are on the way to follow. But the most ambitious plan, the integration of the federal states Berlin and Brandenburg failed as a result of peoples vote against the plan. Most common was the formation of administrative or public private institutions for regional development policies. The most far reaching and prominent are the British Regional Development Agencies and the Austrian Cluster Initiative.

The situation in Germany is not as homogenous: As experiences brought to the fore that regional development agencies in cities and on sector level in general are more effective than integrated approaches in city regions. Moreover, new regional development institutions which have been founded outside the given administrative framework have proven to be more effective and successful than comparable organisation within existing administrative bodies (Rehfeld/Weibler 1997, Rehfeld/Terstriep 2007). Notwithstanding the fact that cooperation is crucial, most city regions are not really strong in cooperation hitherto. With the exception of few cross-city agreements and different kinds of networks, the single cities remain the key players; and thus, the implementation of effective cooperation is time consuming.

Finally, despite all problems in implementing the new strategy there is a strong feeling that city regions are too small to compete at European or even global level. To address this problem the European spatial development policies followed by national policies worked out the concept of metropolitan areas, which have a larger spatial scale than city regions (see IzR 2005). Until now eleven metropolitan areas that claimed to cooperate in different fields and on different levels exist across Germany. Looking back to the experiences made within concept of city regions we doubt cooperation takes place to the scale announced.

Table 3: Ways of cooperation in selected German city regions

Intensity of cooperation	Framework	City / Region
Strong	Administrative framework	Stuttgart, Hannover
Medium I	Selective institutional frame and/or strong regional development agency	Braunschweig, Aachen
Medium II	High level regional networks	East Westphalia, Mitteldeutschland
Selective	Regional planning conferences	Hamburg, Middle Neckar, Rhine-Main, Munich
Weak	No clear or weak administrative frame, sub-regional networks	Ruhr Area, Rhineland

To sum up, it needs to be stressed that although new ways of governance in European cities are still in their infantile phase some promising examples exist. And taking the idea of learning regions in the coming knowledge society serious (Helmstädter 2003, Matthiesen 2004), building up adequate governance structures and capacities are key challenges for city regions competitiveness both, at European and global level. It is to be expected that no homogenous picture will emerge and on single best solutions will appear; this is because of the manifold national frameworks, regional paths and private engagement. Governance in city regions tends towards multilevel and multi-actor governance. And thus, the strong tradition of intentional planning dominated by local administration is under considerable strain. In addition, many cities and city regions content to strengthen their networks at the European level (Bauer/Berger/Höferl/Huber 2006) and/or to establish transnational co-operations (e.g. Oeresund Region in Scandinavia).

Insofar, governance of city regions is more likely result of initiatives and actions of different regional actors and institutions with often very specific interest. Complex integrated planning systems are very difficult to implement and in practice new less restrictive modes of coordination and framing seem more promising. Future development of city regions' governance needs a common framework based on shared visions and mutual ways to face the up-coming dilemmas. Furthermore, 'open' strategies of coordination in combination with strong project management capacities, and - not at least - a strong commitment of all actors involved – is crucial.

Irrespective all before mentioned differentiation there are topics and strategies that are common in almost any European city: Urbanity and sustainability, gender mainstreaming, promoting intellectual mobility, sustaining the quality of cities as a location for housing and industry, strengthening integration, ideas to bring intercultural competence to work, improving education, European engagement and networking, ecological issues like noise reduction, waste management, protection of ecological sites including agenda 21 activities and programs to face the challenges of the information or knowledge society (Bauer/Berger/Höferl/Huber 2006).

Most of these ideas root in the tradition of the European City and much effort is spent to adjust this path to future challenges. Therefore, the future of the European city system which is discussed in the last chapter consists of both, common strategies as well as different ways to cope with future defiance.

The European city system is under change and the European City has to renew its distinctive base. As has been shown the European city is no longer the leading edge of the Global City system and most cities in Europe have not the resources to compete with global cities. Nevertheless, the European City is far from becoming outdated but the need for change is strong. It is too early to say, if in the course of change a renewed type of the European City will arise. So far, the impression is that the European city system will be more differentiated if not fragmented.

On the way to change the cities in Europe face various challenges that can be seen as dilemmas. Dilemma in this context means that there is no one best solution but there are many options along an axis that is limited by opposite poles. These dilemmas are for city regions much more difficult to handle than for cities that have clear functional and administrative borders.

Four dilemmas are of highest importance:

1. Enlargement vs. Density

Due to the fact that the functional space of agglomerations was broadened in spatial terms during the last decade, city regions became necessary. Governance only works when the scale of administrative and functional spaces fits or at least overlaps. But urbanity as the core function of the city requires density. Therefore city regions have to broaden the space of governance and to strengthen the density in the core city at the same time. Without any doubt, this dilemma is easier to handle in mono-centric city regions with a clear core than in polycentric city regions with more (and often competing) cores.

2. Historical Identity vs. Visions of the Future

The European City is very strong in historical identity; but it is in doubt whether this is enough to manage future challenges successful. Many European Cities forge to strengthen their historical base by upgrading old quarters for tourism or rebuilding castles and other historical places. A vision of the future is often missing and maybe the new hype on creativity and diversity is one way to become more forward-looking.

3. Distinctiveness vs. Differentiation

The main strength of the European City is its functional differentiation. Therefore, they seem to be prepared better to make use of the potentials of economic change than the mono-functional industrial cities of the 19th and 20th century. However, distinctiveness includes a certain degree of specialisation. And thus, the European City must combine specialisation and differentiation. Referring to this well-functioning city regions might

have a better starting point when they succeed in strengthening the regional division of labour.

4. Shrinking vs. Innovation

The three first dilemmas have to be managed facing a situation of shrinking. Shrinking affects in Europe first of all the core cities and the question is whether these core cities will be able to function as the innovative core of the European city system in the long run.

Taking into account these four dilemmas and the need for new modes of governance we can conclude in formulating some hypothesis about the future position of the European City respective of the European city system. Figure 9 summarises different types of cities and city regions along the axes distinctiveness and spatial frame.

At the top (not to be understood in hierarchical term) one finds London and Paris as the only cities in Europe with the ability to successfully compete as a Global City. Both cities have a tradition, a way of live and an economic profile that can be seen as distinctive. Governance on the level of the city region would be helpful, but both cities have a strong base of resources that result from their position as capital of a traditionally centralised nation state. In the middle run two further cities at the fringe of the European city systems might have a chance to position themselves as global cities: Moscow and Istanbul with their position as hubs in a rising Europe-Asian network.

In the middle row we find the city regions, for which the situation is more complex: Firstly, the *mono-centric regions* with a strong European City in the centre (e.g. Madrid, Barcelona, Prague, Berlin and Stockholm) need to strengthen their distinctiveness. Their future position strongly depends on their capabilities to implement of new ways of governance. While, secondly, in the *polycentric city regions* with two or three strong European Cities distinctiveness has strong roots, governance capacities are in need of improvement. Examples for such city regions are Randstad in the Netherlands, the Saxion city triangle, the Oeresund region in Scandinavia or the Swiss Metropolitan Area. Thirdly, the *polycentric city regions* which are rooted in a strong industrial tradition face the problem of developing distinctiveness and establishing successful governance. The German Ruhr Area is the most prominent case, the West Midlands in the UK is a further example. All three types of city regions compete first of all at European scale and only in selected functions globally.

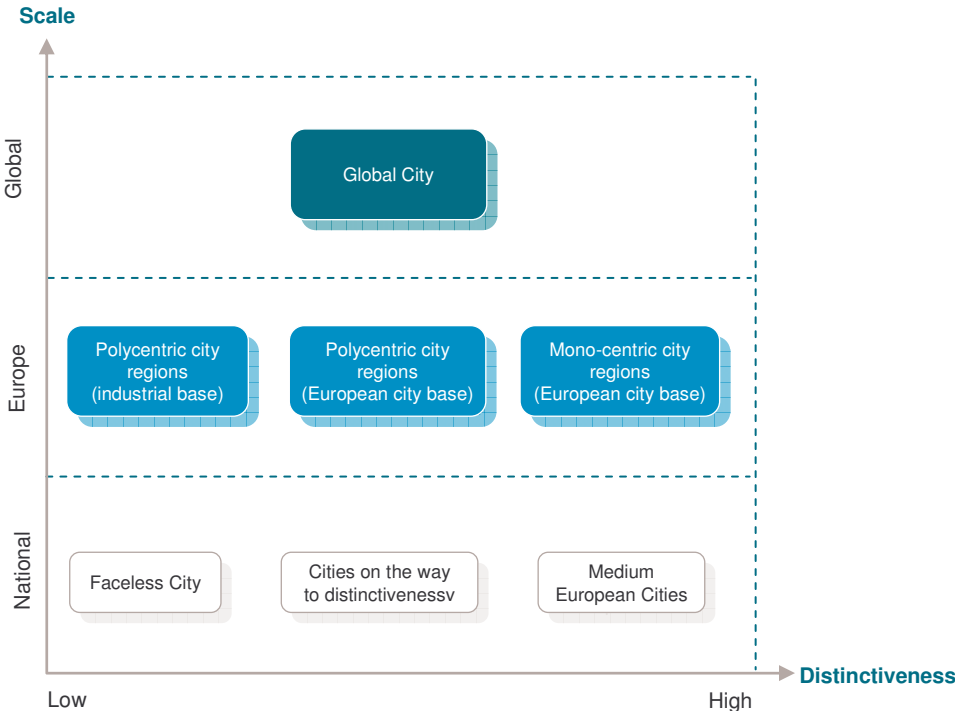
The third row shows different types of cities competing at the national and in certain functions at European level. To some extent they are part of city regions, but their path is strongly independent from their neighbourhood. The medium European cities with a long tradition, a university with high reputation and a high dynamic in modern industry take the lead here. Pisa and Florence, Cambridge and Oxford, Győr and Krakow, or Heidelberg and Aachen are examples. Regional governance would be helpful but the dynamics is driven by the core city without any discussion.

In terms of structural change the most interesting cities are the cities in search of new distinctiveness. These cities are specialised or on the way to become specialised. They often have a strong industrial past and a high interest in shaping the future. Maybe Technopole Antipolis in France is the first example for a completely new city. Some industrial cities succeeded in creating an image as a cultural or creative city: Bilbao, Newcastle/Gateshead as a city region and in certain term Valencia. A further example is Wolfsburg with its approach to become the city for the knowledge society. Maybe the sustainable city (in ecological terms) is a further version of this type (see for instance Freiburg). To date, the distinctiveness of these cities is driven by economic distinctiveness and the biggest challenge is to improve identity and social distinctiveness.

Finally you find cities that never had or lost their distinctiveness. We can call them «faceless» cities. They undergo a process of «banalisation» (May 1994). Some of these cities had an identity in former times but suffered from industrial decline. Some cities in the Ruhr Area (Gelsenkirchen, Oberhausen, Recklinghausen), the Lorraine (Metz) and in East and Central Europe (Kattowice, Ostrava) are examples. If these cities fail to improve their governance capacity and their distinctiveness they will be the loser.

To conclude, the picture of the European city system will become more differentiated (some may say fragmented). It might be necessary for each city to find its specific way to face the future. If this the case the question of learning from each other has to be reformulated: It might not be specific traditions, divisions of labour or planning systems which need to be studied but, the way how the cities proceed in handling the dilemmas. And despite differences, those dilemmas are of greatest interest in Asian cities, too.

Figure 9: Types of the coming European city system



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