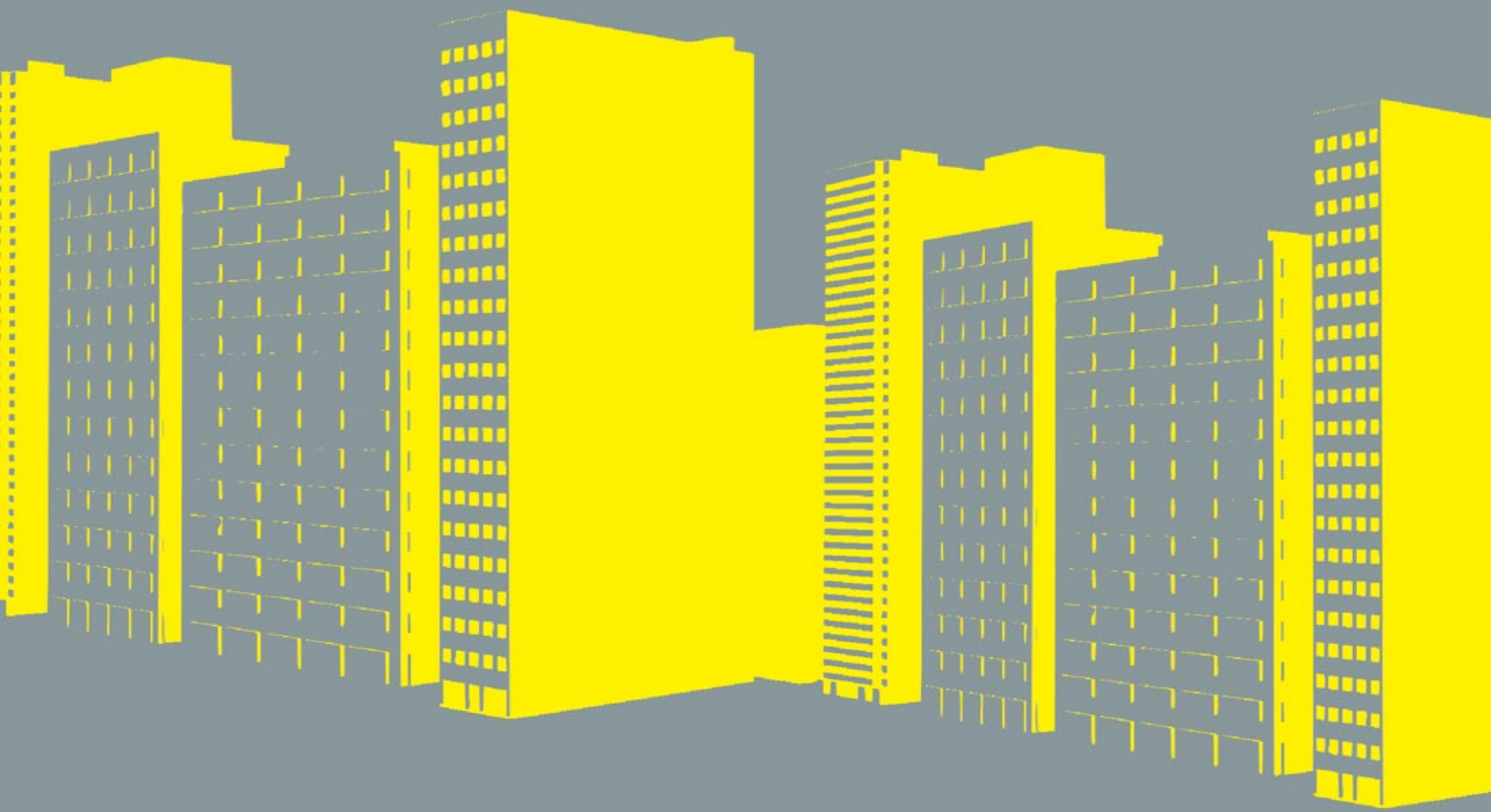


Tim Hall, Phil Hubbard and John Rennie Short



THE SAGE COMPANION TO THE CITY



The SAGE Companion to the City

EDITED BY

Tim Hall, Phil Hubbard and John Rennie Short



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INTRODUCTION

Tim Hall, Phil Hubbard and John Rennie Short

We are in the midst of the Third Urban Revolution. The first began over 6,000 years ago and saw the first cities in Mesopotamia. These new cities were less the result of an agricultural surplus and more the reflections of concentrated social power that organized sophisticated irrigation schemes and vast building projects. The First Urban Revolution, independently experienced in Africa, Asia and the Americas, ushered wrenching social changes, new ways of doing things and new ways of experiencing, seeing and representing the world. The Second Urban Revolution began in the eighteenth century with the linkage between urbanization and industrialization that inaugurated the creation of the industrial city and unleashed unparalleled rates of urban growth. From 1800 to 2000 urban growth has been one of the most significant features of global demographic change.

Like these previous episodes of city-building, the Third Urban Revolution is a complex phenomenon that began in the last quarter of the twentieth century. It is marked by a major redistribution of economic activities following a putative global shift as manufacturing declines in importance in the West and new centres of industrial production emerge elsewhere. This is mirrored in the global growth of services – especially advanced producer services – which have become the cutting-edge of rapid urban economic development. Consequently, urban landscapes have become revalorized and devalorized at an often bewildering pace: central cities have characteristically become sites of new urban spectacle; inner cities are pockmarked by sites of gentrified renaissance as well as rampant poverty and criminality; inner suburbs show the first inklings of decline; ex-urban development continues apace as gated communities and mixed-use developments sprawl into the former countryside. Urban growth seems inexorable around the world, just as urban decline seems unavoidable throughout the globe. Moreover, the city is the setting, context and platform for new forms of identity construction, with cities long-structured around masculine production making way for spaces where new forms of identity can be forged in a kaleidoscope of (re)invented and (re)discovered identities. Cities are thus associated with diasporic and hybrid identities in which ethnicity and race categories become blurred; sexual identities whose coordinates disturb established notions of sex and gender; and urban subcultures

for whom the streets throw up a range of lifestyle possibilities oriented on urban consumption and style. Accordingly, the city remains a furnace of individual creativity and innovation, with music, art and culture, literature, fashion, media, science and technology indelibly associated with the contemporary city.

The city accordingly serves as the eye of a veritable hurricane of economic change and social dislocation. At times, it certainly feels like we are in a hurricane: witness violent riots (such as the riots in Paris's suburbs in the autumn of 2005 or the Sydney beach riots earlier that year), spectacular acts of terrorism (9/11 in New York or 7/7 in London) or the steady drumbeat of civic disobedience (such as the anti-corruption sentiment in urban China and in Budapest, Hungary). Yet, for most of us, most of the time, the city seems a quite banal space, a scene of calm activity as people get on with their everyday lives, working, playing and loving in ways that embody and articulate – as well as resist and silence – dominant narratives and broader socio-economic forces. The fact that cities are so rarely the focus for insurrection, rebellion and disobedience is quite remarkable given the sheer diversity of life which congregates within them, and it is this capacity of the city to function in the face of complexity and contradiction that poses perhaps the key urban question of our (global) times.

Hence, we are in the throes of a revolution that we are only just beginning to see, name and theorize. The new lexicon which has emerged to describe cities – for example, as 'postmodern', 'global', 'intransitive', 'networked', 'hybrid' – offers some purchase on the rich complexity and deep contradictions of the Third Urban Revolution, but much remains to be said and done before we can make any sense of the new forms of urbanism which characterize the twenty-first century. Luckily, urban studies can draw upon a fertile tradition of scholarship that has sought to delineate and describe the city, and there is within this literature a rich legacy of concepts and theories that provide a springboard for exploring the geographies, histories, economies and socialities of the contemporary city. This book thus offers a number of 'cuts' through the contemporary city, considering how different aspects of city life have been conceptualized, quantified and qualified by generations of scholars so as to identify specific themes and languages which appear to offer us the basis for constructing an urban theory fit for contemporary times. Each chapter thus looks back at a body of work, dissecting it to draw out a number of key ideas that hold relevance in the contemporary content. *The Sage Companion to the City* thus represents a forward-looking collection designed to put down some signposts as to where urban studies may be heading – yet in doing so also offers a critical reflection on where it has been.

Placing urban studies

Though scholars have reflected on the role of cities since the First Urban Revolution, it was not until the rapid urbanization and industrialization of the Second Urban Revolution that the city began to be taken seriously as an object of study. The dramatic growth of cities, propelled by and organized around production,

brought together individuals from disparate backgrounds in ways never experienced before. New building methods, urban technologies and innovations in transport rapidly transformed people's relationships with their surroundings – and one another – to the extent that *urbanism* began to be defined as a distinctive way of life. The sheer pace of change, and the need to develop a mental sensibility that could deal with the experience of being surrounded by strangers led some of the leading sociologists of the day (e.g. Durkheim, Simmel, Weber) to identify new phenomena that were innately urban (such as the adoption of a blasé outlook, indifference to strangers, a preoccupation with appearances and a dissolution of kinship ties). Furthermore, stark social and economic juxtapositions (e.g. overcrowded working-class terraces nestling alongside the spectacular residences of the *nouveau riche* bourgeoisie) raised new questions about the inequalities wrought by urbanization, with some notable commentators (not least Marx and Engels) rallying against the sheer inhumanity and inhospitable nature of city life.

It was from this foment that urban studies began to emerge as a distinctive disciplinary endeavour, albeit one that sat uneasily across the natural and social sciences. Individually and collectively, however, historians, sociologists, economists and political theorists began to note the new social spaces emerging in cities as traditional communities based on blood and kinship began to be replaced by more functional (and *organic*) forms of sociality. They noted the formation of ethnic enclaves, 'skid row' areas, zones in transition as well as elite residential tracts and affluent urban estates. More practically minded writers in the fields of architecture and town planning contributed to understandings of these new urban landscapes, making suggestions as to how cities could be modernized to enhance them aesthetically and socially. Such ideas clearly chimed with debates in geography, where environmental determinism was a popular perspective within a discipline largely preoccupied with regional description. Yet it was the Chicago School of Sociology (under Robert Park and Ernest Burgess) that was to give urban studies its most visible articulation, with a slew of exhaustive urban ethnographies and pioneering studies completed up to the 1940s. Mapping the extraordinary diversity of life within North American cities, the Chicago School identified the city as a unique organism whose life cycles demanded to be studied, noting the human adaptations occurring as the city itself reorganized.

One of the legacies of the Chicago School – the notion of teleological models describing the distinctive social areas and sectors of the city – was subsequently to inspire geographers and sociologists to develop theories of the city predicated on notions that land values decreased with distance from the city's most accessible point (i.e. the centre). Refinements of this notion over time led to increasingly sophisticated attempts to model the city, with innovations in computation and statistics allowing the development of models offering a better approximation of the city's form and function. Geography's new attempt to rebrand itself as a spatial science in the 1950s and 1960s (with the associated borrowing of ideas from mathematics, economics and even physics) witnessed ever more elegant and predicative models of urban land-use. Moreover, at the same time that geographers were

shedding light on the internal dynamics of cities, economic geographers were developing Christaller's central place theory to speculate as to the way inter-city relations bequeathed national urban systems characterized by specific distributions of cities and people across space. Through engagements with economic theories of bid-rent and profit maximization, urban studies thus began to develop sophisticated ideas about the role of cities in organizing production and consumption across different nation-states.

The 1960s, however, also brought new urban phenomena to the fore, with the worsening 'inner-city' problem in US and European cities flagging up the stark racialization of the city. Cities also became the focus of anti-war and anti-nuclear protests, and, in the face of such social unrest, questions began to be raised about the social relevance of urban studies and the contribution of academics to alleviating urban poverty and inner-city decay. In this context, a new generation of scholars sought to develop a radical critique of capitalist urbanism, developing Marxist theories of the city that emphasized the active role of the city in producing and sustaining capitalism by assuaging class conflict and aiding capital accumulation. In turn, it was suggested that the city could become a site from where the oppressed could challenge the banality of everyday urbanism and overthrow existing orders: the idea that the city could be turned against the powerful became a strong motif. Boundaries between activist and academic thus became blurred, and some urbanists became pivotal in encouraging insurrection (the French-based Marxists Henri Lefebvre, Manuel Castells and Guy Debord, for example, were directly implicated in the student riots of 1968).

This attempt to situate urban studies within an explicitly politicized theoretical context thus brought urban scholars into dialogue with political scientists, and generated some powerful critiques of urban governors. The 'new' urban sociology of the period hence injected a political urgency into urban studies, and stimulated varied attempts to theorize the role of the city in mediating capital-labour conflicts at scales from the individual household to the entire urban-region. Yet at the same time, many urban researchers rejected structural or Marxist readings to focus on people's more or less rational decision-making processes, foregrounding questions of perception, choice and behaviour as they impinged on housing choice. People-centred theories of how cities are made through agency rather than structure thus posed a challenge to radical Marxist thinking, while feminist writing on the gendering of cities ultimately suggested class might be just one of many factors which determine the shape and structure of the urban landscape. Questions of identity and difference were thus a preoccupation for many, with issues of race, sexuality and culture becoming more important as a 'cultural turn' became evident across the social sciences in the 1980s and 1990s. Related to this was the notion that modern, industrial cities had been superseded by a post-industrial city, a more flexible, complex and divided city than its predecessor, with the ordered and production-based logic of the industrial era giving way to a more invidious mode of social control based on people's role as consumer-citizens. The result is a 'post-modern' city of different ethnic enclaves, consumer niches and taste communities, spun out across a decentred landscape where the boundaries between city and country are often hard to discern.

The apparent complexity of the contemporary city, and the obvious limitations of existing urban theories to explain its forms, has hence challenged any notion that urban studies has progressed towards a more complete or better understanding of how cities work. New ideas about complexity and contingency thus abound, with some post-structural theorists insisting that we remain sensitive to the particularity of each and every urban event, and avoid simplifying cities. Though difficult to define, post-structuralism's emphasis on questions of language, representation and power points to a different way of understanding the production of space, involving the entwining of immaterial and material forces. Notably, many of the key proponents of post-structural thought – Foucault, Derrida, Deleuze, Irigaray, Baudrillard – sought to offer accounts open to the messiness of life. Foucault, for example, developed a critique which destabilized the authority of the scholar and posed important questions about the power of disciplinary (and disciplined) accounts of the social world. Critical of the totalizing discourse characteristic of social science, Foucault argued for the recovery of *subjugated* urban knowledges (those disqualified or dismissed by the powerful and authoritative).

In the wake of such Foucauldian critique, it has been difficult for urban researchers to argue that they have a privileged gaze, or offer urban models that hold in each and every instance. Anxieties about common academic tropes of urban representation – maps, models, statistics – have hence ushered in experiments in new forms of city writing, with 'views from above' being joined by a diverse range of embodied 'views from below' as urban scholars explore the potential of street poetry, art and performance to speak to the experiences of different urban dwellers. Moreover, the materiality of the city itself is now frequently understood to encompass representations of the city which have a force and life of their own. Metaphors of the city as text abound, with 'readings' of cities based on a range of different sources and sites (including the urban landscape itself, which has been considered ripe for iconographic and semiotic deconstruction). The whole notion of what a city is – a dense, heterogeneous collection of people – has also been revised as notions about the agency of cities are widened to encompass the role of new technologies and media (not least the Internet). For many commentators, virtual cities are now as valid an object for study as 'real cities'.

Urban studies has hence undergone a number of broad 'sea changes' in the last 150 years, with new ideas, theories and approaches emerging at specific moments, shaking scholars out of any complacency that they have answered the 'urban question'. Yet throughout, urban studies appears to have remained fixated on a number of world cities – London, Paris, New York, Berlin, Los Angeles – to the detriment of studies of smaller and more 'ordinary' cities (as well as those beyond the West). Equally, urban studies has tended to be associated with academics working within higher education, the majority of whom are white, middle-class and heterosexual, and consequently locked into specific ways of 'viewing' the world. Though becoming more open to ideas of difference over time, the result is that urban studies has often failed to capture the sheer diversity and

excessive liveliness of cities. It is this that constitutes one of the principal challenges that lies ahead as scholars seek to further their understanding of cities after the Third Urban Revolution.

Urban prospects

How are cities to develop? What are the prospects for hope or abjection in the future? Urban studies has long had one eye on the future of cities, typically outlining how conditions and processes of the present might be shaped in the future. A number of commentators in this collection offer their views, hopes and fears for the cities of the future and in doing so often suggest critiques of the present. Predicting the future is difficult and can often go spectacularly awry. Before exploring some brief thoughts on the future of the city it is worth reflecting on the purpose of looking forward in these ways.

Historically, urban studies has been shot through with concerns about the inequalities (social, economic, political or otherwise) within and between cities and the impacts of these on the lives of individuals and communities. As this introduction points out, the 'relevance' or 'applicability' of urban studies has varied through time but there has been a strong tradition of developing knowledges that can be used to make urban life better. There are many examples of scholars from this tradition becoming active in the improvement of cities, whether through activism (as protestors, advocates or squatters) or through professional practice (as planners, architects, advisers). The main reason that we, as urban scholars, might wish to look to the future of cities, then, is to hope that we might be able to make them better places. This raises crucial questions of the various channels through which this might be achieved.

Urban scholars might shape the cities of the future in at least three ways. First, education is not simply a process that students go through to make them more employable (although this is how it is increasingly seen by a number of central governments and, indeed, universities). Rather education is something that can develop citizens and encourage them to become active in the shaping of their lives and the lives of their communities (however the latter might be defined). Education raises awareness and prompts enquiry that can ripple out beyond the classroom walls long after the assignment deadline date. We live on an urban planet, and urban studies should recognize its important role in equipping students to become responsible citizens and life-long learners. Of course, students are not passive recipients of urban knowledge, and develop their own ideas about how they might live in a more sustainable and social responsible manner. Yet the role of urban scholars in opening the eyes of students – and wider society – to the possibilities of the city should never be underestimated.

Second, as we have noted, urban studies has a long tradition of direct engagement, either through activism or practice. This is a tradition that has not died out. A number of scholars have left the classroom and taken to the streets either through

protest or through community activism of various kinds. Despite the many constraints, this activity endures and flourishes. There are many urban studies courses around the world, for example, that seek to take students, and academics, out of the familiar comfort zones of the classroom and the library and to place them at the heart of real cities and real urban problems. Many urban scholars are involved in grassroots activism, mobilization and protest; others have taken roles as councillors, politicians or formed pressure groups, agitating for change through more formal processes.

Finally, urban studies scholars produce knowledge that is not purely 'academic'. Rather, it is knowledge that is 'useful' and might be used by those outside the academy who are involved in developing, managing and running cities. It is here, though, that the prospects for the influence of urban studies scholars seem less encouraging. The dialogues between policy-makers, practitioners and urban studies scholars seem particularly barren at the moment, with the former not recognizing the worth of the latter's work and the latter probably being guilty of not seeking sustained and meaningful engagement with the former. Engaging with policy-makers and practitioners is a challenge that urban studies scholars should be prepared to meet to ensure the vitality of the discipline(s) into the future.

And what of cities themselves? What are their prospects? There are two ways that we might consider this. The first is to look back and ask what are the aspects of the city that have endured and what are the prospects that these might endure or change in the future? Poverty and inequality are two aspects that seem inevitable aspects of cities and city lives. It is difficult to imagine that they will vanish, or reduce significantly, in the future; indeed, most commentators suggest they seem to be getting worse. Environmental catastrophes, such as Hurricane Katrina's impact on New Orleans, brutally expose the inequalities of the city, given that it is the weakest and poorest who suffer most in times of urban crises. Yet perhaps such instances also provide an impetus for reorganizing the goods and bads of urban society between different racial, class and religious communities. No doubt patterns of inequality will shift as cities continue to change and develop. Whether they can ever be wished out of existence is another thing entirely given the capitalist city seems to thrive on inequalities.

Hence, one way of thinking about cities is to provide a dystopian reading of its inequalities and expose its pernicious social divides. Much urban writing – especially from the left – is of this ilk, and is fiercely critical of the city produced by capitalism, especially in its current neo-liberal guise. Yet there is also a tradition of urban writing that is more optimistic, and finds the seeds of change in a variety of everyday spaces and urban rituals of inhabitation. Such writing argues that the best place to think about the future of cities is not perched atop a skyscraper looking down (aping the 'planner's eye view' of the city), but at street level, engaging with the everyday life of cities. The second way we might usefully think about city futures is therefore to look around us at emergent trends in everyday urbanism and imagine how these might be nurtured and blossom into new urban formations.

Even so, such visions of the future of cities need to be tempered with the post-structuralist's wariness of over-arching grand visions or theories. Throughout this book the authors raise this concern and cite examples of the failures of past universal urban theories. Cities are hugely diverse entities, and are always more complex than the theories we develop about them.

The structure of this book

As we have outlined above, *The Sage Companion to the City* is intended to be more than a retrospective wallow in the archives of urban studies. Looking forward, and working through some of the themes outlined above, this volume includes contributions by a selection of those working at the leading-edge of urban scholarship in the disciplines of geography, history, sociology and public policy. Eschewing a chronological or theoretically-structured approach, each chapter instead demonstrates how urban studies has engaged with a particular *theme* (or set of themes) that is at the heart of debates surrounding urbanism and urbanization. Each chapter accordingly showcases enduring concerns and more recent departures in urban studies, and includes extracts from both classic and lesser known texts to demonstrate the variety of theoretical and methodological approaches that have been adopted by scholars in urban studies. As such, each chapter provides a taster of an urban literature that is incredibly rich and varied, and the book is designed to inspire the reader to explore this varied literature.

Inevitably, there are many silences and gaps here, as urban studies is a broad cross-disciplinary endeavour that includes practitioners as well as academics, and our choice of contributors and chapters reflects our own preoccupations as Anglo-American geographers. However, the chapters are arranged into a number of sections, each of which covers particular themes current in urban studies and highlights the range of ways in which leading figures have responded to the challenge of studying these particular facets of urbanization. While there is some overlap and spillage between sections, each hopefully offers coherent reflections on a set of debates within urban studies. The first, *Histories and Ideologies*, explores some of the vexing issues surrounding the changing role of cities over time, not least their role as centres of religious, productive, scientific and cultural life. Questions of historicity are also addressed here through reflections on the role of memory in cities, and a particular focus on the city as a palimpsest on which successive generations have imposed their identities and ideologies.

In Section Two, *Economies and Inequalities*, we consider the work cities perform as well as the work that is carried out in cities. As generations of urban scholars have noted, cities often appear to be organized according to the imperatives of production and consumption, bequeathing spaces of investment and disinvestment which condemn some to a life of poverty or disadvantage. The contrast between the street spaces of informal labour and the corporate citadels of international finance is one clear manifestation of this, but so too is the segregation of consumer

spaces catering for different 'taste communities'. Questions of class and capital remain crucial, of course, but a consideration of how Marxist theories of capital accumulation are played out in globalizing and neo-liberalizing cities is a preoccupation for urban scholars – and a major theme in this section.

Section Three explores *Communities and Contestation*. The dissolution of kinship ties and the erosion of community was a much-noted phenomenon in early urban sociology, with the rise of the individual seen as an integral part of urbanization. Yet converse theories of residential clustering, association and cooperation have been posited, with scholars noting the positive role that neighbourhood formation has in promoting the political claims of marginalized groups such as ethnic minorities or gay and lesbian communities. On the one hand, agglomeration and residential clustering can create cities of segregation typified by mistrust, resentment and fear. Finding oneself in urban space is hence a process fraught with contradiction. In the section, therefore, a prime concern is with how the everyday task of getting by and getting along can reinforce dominant senses of who the city belongs to, where and how. On the other hand, it is by considering such questions of inhabitation that we begin to sense how the city is pregnant with possibility, a melting pot of different subjectivities and identities.

Our final section provides something of a summation. *Order and Disorder* is a section that captures the ambivalence of urban space and the maelstrom of change that typifies post-millennial cities. Attempts to impose an order on this obvious complexity are associated with the state and the law, and often tied into notions of criminality and immorality (that which is considered unfitting or 'out of place'). Yet ordering is not always oppressive, and often intervention is underpinned by a utopian vision or dream of what the city might be. Thinking through the play of forces that ultimately produces the 'urban order' allows us to reflect on both the city that has been and the city that might be. As our final contribution in this section stresses, we need to recognize that the city evokes nightmares of loss and disappearance deep-rooted in our collective psyche. Urban studies is perhaps also haunted by the legacies of previous times: in this section contributions unpick some of these legacies to pose some provocative questions about the types of city we want – as well as the types of urban scholar we wish to be.

Taken together, we hope the contributions to this volume provide a useful roadmap for those embarking on their first foray into urban studies. We also hope more veteran urbanists will take sustenance from what we have to offer. Of course, some will go away disappointed, and note the absence of commentary on Third World cities, or those in the post-socialist world. Others will lament the lack of space devoted to issues of urban design, planning and architecture, which also contribute to the rich tapestry of urban theory. Notwithstanding such predictable critiques, we offer this volume as a resource that will hopefully stimulate and provoke readers to develop their own take on the nature of cities.

SECTION ONE

HISTORIES AND IDEOLOGIES

One of the key debates in urban studies revolves around questions of city formation. Ultimately, the question of where the first cities emerged may never be resolved – despite a growing mountain of archaeological evidence. Yet even if our intellectual curiosity about where urbanism began will never be sated, exploring processes of urban formation will remain an important theme in urban studies because it allows us to explore vital questions of what cities are for. For example, contrasting ideas that cities emerged for defensive reasons, for the purposes of trade or as centres of cultural significance encourage us to reflect on the multiple roles that cities serve, and to consider the changing role of cities in pre-industrial, industrial and post-industrial societies. Moreover, the wide array of research completed by urban historians on changing urban forms has shed light on the way city space is produced through particular combinations of charisma and context – that is to say, it has demonstrated that architects, planners and politicians may shape the city, but not in circumstances of their own choosing. Considering how particular imperatives – religious, economic, political – have shaped the urban landscape in different times and places is thus a major theme in urban studies.

Within the literature about urban transformation, much energy has been expended exploring how the city has been modelled and remodelled so as to reflect dominant ideas and ideologies. In specific contexts, the rich and powerful have sought to impose their identity on city space, constructing spectacular and iconographic buildings that symbolize their authority.

In our first chapter, Lily Kong therefore focuses on the ways in which cities can be read as betraying the locus of power in society. Noting specific ways in which urban landscapes may impose the will of the powerful on the less affluent or advantaged, Lily Kong dwells on the social production of urban space. The idea of dominant or *hegemonic* values are made to appear natural is crucial here, as is the idea that capitalism produces landscapes which legitimate and celebrate particular forms of production and consumption.

Often, however, the city has been shaped so as to reflect dominant religious ideas and values, with the layout of streets, plots and buildings reflecting certain ideas about religious and moral order. In Chapter 2, Keith Lilley explores the influence of religious

values on the urban landscape, stressing that the city has often been constructed so as to mirror 'god-given' cosmological orders. In other senses, too, the city has become a key site in the celebration (and occasionally, contestation) of religious values, with highly-charged sacred landscapes often providing a focus to urban life. Current debates around the place of religion and faith in multicultural societies are thus intimately bound into discussions of city space, given that sacred sites frequently serve some faith groups but not others. In this sense, while many landscapes reflect the dominant religious and moral values in society, there are also some associated with marginalized, residual and emerging religious groups.

What is clearly evident, therefore, is that the urban landscape is constantly evolving so as to reflect different imperatives and social mores. While in some contexts these continue to reflect religious values, faith in religion has often been superseded by a faith in science and technology to deliver certainty, order and 'the good life'. As Colin Chant describes, science and technology have become increasingly important influences on urban form, with new transport technologies allowing the expansion of cities both outwards and upwards. Often embedded in the urban fabric – to the extent that their importance is forgotten – infrastructures of wires, pipes and cables also create intricate networks that which have allowed for the production of more 'modern' and commodious cities. Far from determining the shape of cities, however, Chant shows that technology needs to be considered as entwined in complex processes of city-making, and requires to be theorized as caught up in networks whose agency is never easily discerned.

New technologies have also been examined for their role in allowing architects and planners to envisage new ways of organizing city life. In particular, the possibilities of constructing using new materials (glass, steel, concrete) was to inspire a generation of architects and planners in the early twentieth century to explore a new modern style which was fit to the 'machine age'. The ideas of this international 'Modern' movement are examined by John Gold, who excavates the way these imaginaries resonated with wider anxieties about the deleterious nature of industrial cities. As he shows, Modernism was to have little influence on the form of cities until the political will to rebuild cities in a modern idiom emerged after the Second World War. Noting the compromises often made in the process of modern city design, Gold's chapter underlines that modernization is always highly ambivalent: every attempt to order the city bequeaths contrary disorders, with city 'improvement' having highly iniquitous effects.

In the final chapter in this section, the focus is on another dimension of the history of cities: the way that past city orders are never obliterated, but remain apparent in sites and spaces of memorialization. Whose history and memories are celebrated and whose are repressed is always a matter of considerable contention, and nowhere is this more true than in the urban landscape, where statuary and memorials are an obvious testament to particular histories, but not others. Lisa Benton-Short's chapter provides a neat synopsis of such contested geographies of memorialization. In the final analysis, such readings of place, memory and conflict are of interest not just in and of themselves, but because they remind us that the city is a site that is always in high tension.

1 POWER AND PRESTIGE

Lily Kong

This chapter

- Considers the idea that power is inscribed in the urban landscape in a variety of ways
- Shows how the design, use and symbolism of urban space works to reproduce certain social, economic and political values
- Concludes that while the city is infused with power, it is also a site of resistance and opposition

Cities and power

Cities are the medium and outcome of power: that is to say, they are the means by which power is expressed, and at the same time, the result of power and influence. This is evident in many senses. For example, cities express the power of the state and capital, but also of various social and civic groups, and indeed, individuals. States have the capacity to determine the shape of cities through government planning departments and planning legislatures, while capital has the capacity to shape cities through ownership of land and resources. Social and civic groups can express their power and ideologies as well, most commonly through influencing the use and occupation of urban space. Sometimes, particularly powerful individuals, including megalomaniac ones, express their power and control over cities through monuments and shrines.

Power most commonly extends to the shaping of urban form, through urban design and layout, as well as the form of buildings, but it is also the case that the use of urban spaces constitutes an expression of power in itself. For example, not only are urban segregation and the architecture of buildings illustrations of the exercise of power, so too are the appropriation of public spaces by human groups for

their own use. Such appropriation is evident in events such as the open demonstrations of June 1989 in Tiananmen Square, China, where students called for democratic reforms, and the peaceful demonstrations in the streets of Taipei on 26 March 2005 to protest against the passing of the anti-secession law in China. Both represent a takeover of public space by ordinary citizens to express the power of 'the people'. Sometimes, such expressions achieve the desired goal – at other times, not.

The expression of power is also evident in a range of cityscapes at a variety of geographical scales. At one end, witness the plan and layout of entire cities, such as the design and construction of capital cities Canberra and Brasilia from scratch. At the other end of the scale, the body in the city may also be an inscription of power, such as through the patriarchal denial of access rights to Thai temples for menstruating women. In between, power may be expressed through specific streetscapes, landmarks, buildings, and monuments through their construction, demolition, redesign and use.

Power, therefore, takes many forms, ranging from open command (e.g. the openly racist planning frameworks of apartheid South Africa) to hegemonic control through the use of persuasive ideological strategies (e.g. the (re)naming of streets, often in post-colonial cities, to purvey certain ideologies of the powerful). Generally, the latter tends to be more effective as those subject to control do not recognize it and, indeed, may embrace the ideologies of the powerful as their own. This hegemonic role relies on the naturalization of ideological systems, made possible in cities through built environments which make the socially-constructed appear to be the natural order of things.

Having briefly introduced various aspects of power in the city, including who exercises power, how and where, I will now turn to elaborate on key conceptual ideas that help explicate power and prestige in the city. These are 'power', 'ideology', 'hegemony' and 'landscape'. Following this, I will illustrate how state, capital and individuals can influence, shape and, indeed, define cities. This is not to suggest that they act in mutually exclusive ways. Rather, there are instances when they intersect and reinforce one another. For example, a particularly strong (and sometimes megalomaniac) personality who is also a powerful political leader may stamp his/her imprint on the cityscape so that it is not always easy to tease apart when the influence is personal and when it is official. The same may be said of a particularly powerful capitalist. Hence, 'state' and 'capital' will be used as the key organizing frameworks for discussion below, with evidence of individual power and influence integrated with the exercise of state and capital power. I will begin with the power of the state, followed by the power of capital, giving due cognisance to the role of the individual in each section. I will end with a discussion of the intersections of state and capital.

Power, ideology, hegemony and landscape

Power is manifested through its 'transformative capacity'. This means the ability to 'intervene in a given set of events so as in some ways to alter them' (Giddens,

1987: 7). Power may be allocative, extending to control over material facilities, or authoritative, extending to control over human activities. While power may be applied via overt force, it is the 'institutional mediation of power' (Giddens, 1987: 9) or the silent 'repetition of institutionalized practices' which occurs more frequently on an everyday basis. In this respect, the concepts of 'ideology' and 'hegemony' are central to understanding how power is expressed and exercised in real everyday ways in cities.

By 'ideology', I refer to 'a system of signification which facilitates the pursuit of particular interests' and sustains specific 'relations of domination' within society (Thompson, 1981: 147). This is to be understood alongside Gramsci's (1973) notion of 'hegemony' as the means by which domination and rule are achieved. Hegemony does not involve controls which are clearly recognizable as constraints in the traditional coercive sense. Instead, hegemonic control involves a set of values which the majority is persuaded to adopt. So as to persuade the majority, these values are portrayed as 'natural' and 'common-sense'. This is 'ideological hegemony'. The most successful ruling group is that which attains power through ideological hegemony rather than coercion. When hegemonic control is successful, the social order endorsed by the elite is, at the same time, the social order the masses desire.

One of the key ways in which power and prestige can be expressed, maintained and, indeed, enhanced, is through the control and manipulation of landscapes, and there is no better exemplification of a cultural landscape than the city, which bears the imprint of human vision, desire and struggle, while shaping human behaviour and action. The city as landscape is 'imprecise and ambiguous', according to Cosgrove (1984: 13) (see Extract 1.1). It embodies and reflects the negotiation of power between the dominant and subordinated in society (Anderson, 1992: 28). On the one hand, cities as landscapes are social constructions of the powerful – planners, architects, administrators, politicians, property owners, developers – intent on advancing state ideology or consumer capitalism. On the other, cities as landscapes are also 'multicoded spaces' which, through everyday use, are constantly reinterpreted through everyday practices of 'reading' and 'writing' different languages in the built environment (Goss, 1988: 398).

Extract 1.1: From Cosgrove, D. (1984) *Social Formation and Symbolic Landscape*, London: Croom Helm, pp. 15–16.

...It is in the origins of landscape as a way of seeing the world that we discover its links to broader historical structures and processes and are able to locate landscape study within a progressive debate about society and culture. ... [L]andscape represents an historically specific way of experiencing the world developed by, and meaningful to, certain social groups. Landscape ... is an ideological concept. It represents a way in which certain classes of people have signified themselves and their world through their imagined relationship with nature, and

(Continued)

through which they have underlined and communicated their own social role and that of others with respect to external nature. Geography until very recently has adopted the landscape idea in an unexamined way, implicitly accepting many of its ideological assumptions. Consequently, it has not placed the landscape concept within an adequate form of historical or social explanation (Relph, 1981). To do so requires not so much a redefinition of landscape as an examination of geography's own purposes in studying landscape, a critical recognition of the contexts in which the landscape idea has intellectually evolved and a sensitivity to the range and subtlety of human creativity in making and experiencing the environment.

In this chapter, the focus is primarily on cities as impositions of the predilections and prejudices of a powerful state, of capital, and individuals. Indeed, cities exemplify how ideologies are produced and reproduced, through the design and use of its built landscapes, as well as the symbolism of these landscapes.

Power and prestige in the city: the role of the state

The city offers clear evidence of state control over landscapes. Planning laws and other legal and fiscal devices are the most common ways in which the state shapes the city's built and natural environments. Such authoritative authorship of cityscapes is sometimes the outcome of collective vision and ideology, such as through the work of state planning departments or shared official racial ideology, but at other times may be the outcome of more individual visions, whether through the megalomaniac tendencies of political leaders or the artistry and vision of influential architects.

Colonial cities exemplify the power of the colonial state, and this is evident in diverse contexts. Anthony King's work on the impact of Western industrial colonialism on non-Western cities is undoubtedly the seminal work in this respect. King offered insights into how the power structure of colonialism was reinforced by the creation of a segregated city with a colonial sector and an indigenous sector (See Extract 1.2).

Extract 1.2: From King, A.D. (1976) *Colonial Urban Development: Culture, Social Power and Environment*, Boston: Routledge and Kegan Paul, pp. 39–40.

...The dominance-dependent relationship [in the colonial city] can be seen at the city level. Here, for a variety of reasons other than those already discussed, the indigenous and colonial parts of the city were kept apart. ... This was either explicit and legally enforced through the

creation of distinct areas (or 'reserves') for different racial groups with separate (and unequal) facilities, or it was implicit (as in twentieth-century 'imperial' India), with residential areas so characterized by cultural characteristics or economic deterrents (for example, the cost of land and housing) as to effectively prevent residential infiltration except by those willing and able to adopt the attributes and life-style of the colonial inhabitants. ...

The segregation of areas performed numerous functions, the first of which was to minimize contact between colonial and colonized populations (Balandier, 1951: 47). For the colonial community they acted as instruments of control, both of those outside as well as those within their boundaries. They helped the group to maintain its own self-identity, essential in the performance of its role within the colonial social and political system. They provided a culturally familiar and easily recognizable environment which – like dressing for dinner – was a formal, visible symbol providing psychological and emotional security in a world of uncertain events.

Segregation of the indigenous population provided ease of control in the supervision of 'native affairs'. It was economically useful in cutting down the total area subject to maintenance and development. The colonial environment offered a model for emulation by members of the indigenous society. Segregation was also an essential element in preserving the existing social structure, where residential separation in environments, differing widely in levels of amenity and environmental quality, simply reflected existing social relationships. ...

The colonial city was a 'container' of cultural pluralism but one where one particular cultural section had the monopoly of political power. ... The extensive spatial provision within the colonial settlement area, as well as the spatial division between it and the indigenous settlement, are to be accounted for not simply in terms of cultural differences but in terms of the distribution of power. Only this can explain why labour and urban amenities were available in the spacious, cultivated areas in the colonial settlement, but not in the indigenous town.

King's colonial cities reflect a broadly shared ideology among many colonial rulers that translated into control over the city and its people, so that the patterns King and others observed were evident in a number of cities. At the same time, it is not difficult to identify cityscapes which bear the imprint of more individual power, facilitated either by the individual's powerful position in government, or by state support and development of the individual's vision. I discuss two cases below. The first illustrates the establishment of monuments as a conscious and unmediated projection of power by Indonesian Old Order leader Sukarno. The second illustrates how the greening of the Singapore city is a direct expression of the power of Singapore's longest-serving Prime Minister (now Minister Mentor) Lee Kuan Yew.

Gerald Macdonald (1995: 273) draws attention to how '[s]cholars have characterized the Guided Democracy as a period of frenetic symbolic activity on the part of the President. Sukarno manipulated symbols as an expression of his personal power ...'. Sukarno was the nationalist leader who declared Indonesian

independence on 17 August 1945, and who became President in the newly formed Republic of Indonesia in 1950. The period dubbed 'Guided Democracy' was one when Sukarno abolished the system of parliamentary democracy and 'ruled through a process of consultation with the major political forces in the country – the Communist, Islamic, and Nationalist political parties, and the army' (Macdonald, 1995: 273). Sukarno's political philosophy extended into his treatment of the cityscape.

One example of the interplay of personal and state expression of power is in the construction and symbolic meaning of *Monas* [*Monumen Nasional*] or the National Monument. This is located in the middle of a central square in downtown Jakarta known as Medan Merdeka. The monument is dedicated to Indonesia's war of independence. Modelled after the Washington Monument (ironically, given the anti-West rhetoric that Sukarno led), the monument is over 100 metres high, made of marble and topped by 32 kilogrammes of gold. Its richness of material in a city sharply divided by social class is a clear expression of the strong desire to display a nationalistic sentiment, richly. This emphasis on the power of the national state to make its own landscapes to express the break of the Indonesian Republic from its pre-colonial past is also matched by a more personal symbolism of power. Sukarno is known to have referred to the monument's phallic symbolism as representing his and Indonesia's virility (Macdonald, 1995: 278–84). Indeed, Macdonald (1995: 278) writes that 'even today, cab drivers delight in informing tourists that the monument is "Sukarno's last erection"'.

For a second example, I draw from the experience of Singapore. One dimension of Singapore's contemporary cityscape that is clearly and definitely attributable to the personal vision of Minister Mentor Lee Kuan Yew is the greening of Singapore. In the 1950s, Singapore was characterized by overcrowding in the central area, a proliferation of slums and squatter settlements, poor sanitary conditions and infrastructure. In the 1960s, major efforts were expended to provide affordable public housing, to redevelop the central area, and to provide adequate infrastructure. Simultaneously, in anticipation of a harsher built-up urban environment, a greening programme was introduced to turn Singapore into a 'Garden City'. This was to be achieved through the large-scale planting of trees and shrubs all over the island, which was given greatest impetus in 1963 with the then Prime Minister Lee Kuan Yew's introduction of Tree-Planting Day. Suitable trees and shrubs were planted along highways and roads, in public gardens, open spaces, parks, recreational grounds and approaches to public buildings. Subsequently, plants were also introduced to camouflage concrete structures in order to soften the harshness, and in particular creepers and climbers were trained on to retaining walls, lampposts, flyovers and bridges. As the programme progressed and Singapore attained a reputation as a 'green' city, the aim of 'colouring' the island to create an aesthetically pleasant environment received further attention. Specifically, the Parks and Recreation Department increasingly introduced a variety of ornamental trees and shrubs brought from other countries and more kaleidoscopic colours in the choice

of vegetation. Simultaneously, the neighbourhood parks created in different parts of the city capitalized on the aesthetic quality of nature (Kong and Yeoh, 1996).

These wide-ranging efforts were introduced for three main reasons. First, it was recognized that nature can contribute to a salubrious environment which ensures people's health. Second, nature forms part of an aesthetic landscape, beautifying the ugliness of slum settlements of the past and softening the harsh built-up landscape of the new Singapore. Third, nature would provide a setting for recreation, with the construction of facilities like parks for leisurely activities and the harnessing of various waterscapes for sports (Kong and Yeoh, 1996).

While the greening efforts in Singapore are quite singular in their own right from a global perspective, what is also significant about this initiative is the personal impetus and attention given to it by the then Prime Minister Lee Kuan Yew. It stems from a personal vision, coupled with the power and will of a forceful leader who himself recognized the need for a sustained effort to transform an unhygienic, slum-ridden city into one with enviable public hygiene, affordable housing, and verdant tropical environs. Thus, Lee (2000: 201) writes in his memoirs: 'To achieve First World standards in a Third World region, we set out to transform Singapore into a tropical garden city.' He purposefully went about setting up a department 'dedicated to the care of trees after they had been planted' and 'met all senior officers of the government and statutory boards to involve them in the "clean and green" movement' (Lee, 2000: 201). His ideology was evident as follows:

We planted millions of trees, palms and shrubs. Greening raised the morale of people and gave them pride in their surroundings. We taught them to care for and not vandalise the trees. We did not differentiate between middle-class and working-class areas. The British had superior white enclaves in Tanglin and around Government House that were neater, cleaner and greener than the 'native' areas. That would have been politically disastrous for an elected government. (Lee, 2000: 202)

The will translated into a conquering of nature, in one sense. While 'nature did not favour us with luscious green grass as it has New Zealand and Ireland', the then Prime Minister invited an Australian plant expert and a New Zealand soil expert to study Singapore's soil conditions. They advised that in Singapore, regular fertilizer application (preferably compost which would not wash away too easily, and lime to counter Singapore's acidic soil) would be necessary. After a successful trial, schools, sports fields and stadiums were thus treated, and 'gradually, the whole city greened up' (Lee, 2000: 202–3). He did not stop there, as he further records:

Because our own suitable varieties of trees, shrubs and creepers were limited, I sent research teams to visit botanical gardens, public parks and arboreta in the tropical and subtropical zones to select new varieties from countries with a similar climate in Asia, Africa, the Caribbean and Central America. ... Our botanists

brought back 8,000 different varieties and got some 2,000 to grow in Singapore. They propagated the successful sturdy ones and added variety to our greenery. (Lee, 2000: 204)

Colonial cities, city monuments and garden cities – these three examples illustrate the power of the state or individuals within the state machinery, who subscribe to particular ideologies and/or have a particular vision (of grandeur and personal symbolism), and who translate them into urban form. In the context of colonial cities, the defining ideologies were colonial and racist in essence. In the context of garden cities, a green ideology prevailed, though it was one rooted mainly in the belief that a green environment contributed to good health (and hence productive workers), an aesthetic environment and recreational opportunities (for human consumption), rather than one anchored in environmental ethics. In the example of Indonesian monuments in Jakarta, the impetus was the desire to express a president's personal power, managed through state apparatus. These three examples are distinct enough to illustrate variations in the ways in which power transforms cityscapes, but sufficiently similar to illustrate the important role of the state in such transformations.

Power and prestige in the city: the role of capital

Having addressed the role of the state, I turn now to the role of capital. For Karl Marx, capital and power are inseparable, and power is defined in terms of control over the means of production. Capital rewrites landscapes in conspicuous ways, for example, through towering skyscrapers that dominate skylines. The power of capital to influence and shape the city must, however, be understood alongside the influence of the design professions, and the conflicts between the two must be acknowledged and analyzed. Three examples are discussed below to illustrate the power of capital to shape the city, namely, capital's role in commissioning towering skyscrapers that changed New York's nineteenth-century skyline; the commodification of urban public spaces in late twentieth-century Hong Kong; and the power of shopping malls to change landscapes and shape human behaviour. These examples are chosen to illustrate the different levels at which capital may exert its power – first, at the level of the skyline, viewed from the horizon; second, at the level of public ground space, in terms of use access; and third, in terms of interior space and its influence on human behaviour.

New York's commercial landscape in the latter half of the nineteenth century provides excellent examples of capital's power to effect change, and how this sometimes runs against the aesthetic judgement of the design profession. Domosh (1989) detailed how the city's emerging mercantile and entrepreneurial class commissioned many of New York's skyscrapers at that time, seeking to communicate prestige to potential customers. Prominent structures were preferred, as they symbolically expressed their new wealth while serving as a form of advertising.

Further, they were to bestow cultural legitimacy on those who commissioned them. Citing the historian Frederic Cople Jaher, Domosh (1989: 34) argues that New Yorkers, more than Bostonians, commissioned buildings that were ornate and towering. The New Yorkers were 'more inventive, their firms had shorter lives, and they were greater credit risks. Because they lacked stability and cohesiveness, New York's commercial elites wanted physical expression of their power' (Domosh, 1989: 34). This was particularly true in the case of the highly competitive, relatively new industries of newspaper publishing and life insurance, which relied on reaching out widely to an urban audience. Many of these were also owned and run by magnates who were keen not only to advertise, but to assert their corporate egos, and to affirm their cultural legitimacy as arbiters of art and good taste. They therefore commissioned tall, imposing structures and sought to insert their own visions of aesthetics and cultural value, such as the Woolworths building, completed in 1913 (see Figure 1.1).

Yet, the power of capital did not always confer cultural legitimacy, for the kind of conspicuous building merchants desired compromised the architectural beauty in the eyes of designers. They argued that buildings constructed mainly for profit (usually in haste) did not result in a work of art. Further, the ornamentation that clients desired in order to achieve prominence ran against the grain of contemporary aesthetic evaluations (Domosh, 1989: 36–7). Thus, instead of conferring cultural legitimacy, these magnates lost cultural respect among the designer class, so that commercial power and cultural power did not always coincide.

While the example of New York illustrates the power of capital to shape skylines in obvious and very material ways, closer to ground level, the power of capital may also be effected through the commodification of public urban space, and sometimes in less prominent but nevertheless real ways. Cuthbert (1995; Cuthbert and McKinnell, 1997) discussed the commodification of public urban space using his concept of 'ambiguous spaces', those seemingly public spaces which are nevertheless owned and subject to control and surveillance by corporate powers. Increasingly, he argued, control of social space has been transferred from the public to the private sector in three ways. First, large new building complexes belonging to banks, insurance and property companies, multinational corporations and the like, are encouraged to create and donate 'public space' at ground or podium level, and in turn, are rewarded with plot ratio benefits. Ironically, however, once constructed, these spaces are given back to private ownership, in that use of the space is controlled privately. Second, pedestrian movement is channelled through corporate space. Third, large shopping centres are encouraged to provide open space, such as internal atriums and courtyards, which 'replace civic space with the commodity space of the market' (Cuthbert and McKinnell, 1997: 296). These spaces 'masquerade' as social space but are actually commodified and controlled space.

Because of the continued private ownership of such urban spaces, they are open to surveillance by corporate powers, and this occurs through physical policing and technological surveillance (e.g. video cameras). The case of Jardine House



Figure 1.1 Woolworth Building, New York

in Hong Kong illustrates this. Jardine House appears to be surrounded by public space in the form of landscaped gardens, fountains and open space. Yet, this space is under Jardine's control, which was evident when it decided to stop Filipina domestic workers from using these spaces as a meeting place on their one day off work per week. The area was taped up and employees were tasked to police the area and remove 'offenders'. Video cameras were also installed for surveillance purposes (Cuthbert and McKinnell, 1997: 300-1). The right to occupy certain open spaces in the city is thus whittled away by the power of capital to control its use, which is made possible in the first place by the state which granted the domination of such space to corporate power.

Finally, as a third example, I move indoors into commercial spaces created by capital which seek to create and shape sensory experiences and coax particular behaviours, particularly consumption. The best illustration of this is the contemporary shopping mall, which is an unmistakable manifestation of the power of capital to reshape landscapes. Shopping malls developed as consumer spaces in association with the rise of the suburbs and the private car. Some of the world's major malls are fantastic places, in size and significance. For example, Hopkins (1990: 5) described the breathtaking size and scale of Canada's West Edmonton Mall, which alone takes 1 per cent of Canada's retail sales, employs the equivalent of a small town's entire population (18,000 people), and extends over a landscape of 110 acres, including an 18-hole golf course, a seven-acre water park and a replica of Miami Beach.

Drawing on the work of Jon Goss (1999), we can suggest that commercial space appropriates images and landscapes, so that malls are regarded not only as spaces for selling, though that is the primary goal. In Goss's analysis of the Mall of America, the commercial space is also an expression of the exploitation and commodification of nature. The appropriation of nature – that which is most separate(d) from humans – exemplifies the power of capital over nature. Such exploitation and commodification is undertaken to achieve various ends: to 'soothe tired shoppers, enhance the sense of a natural outdoor setting, create exotic contexts for the commodity, imply freshness and cleanliness, and promote a sense of establishment' (Goss, 1993: 36). In this presence of nature, consumption is naturalized in the hope of mitigating 'the alienation inherent in commodity production and consumption' (Goss, 1993: 36).

Several strategies of commodification are apparent at the Mall of America. For example, nature is commodified in Rainforest Café ('an enchanted place for fun far away, that's just beyond your doorstep' (Goss, 1999: 54), Camp Snoopy and the Underwater World. There are also animals for petting in shops such as Nature's Wonders, Wilderness Station and Wilderness Theater, while names of stores also evoke 'pristine and mysterious nature', such as Forever Green, Natural Wonders and Rhythms of the Earth (Goss, 1999: 60). An 'essentialist Minnesota sense of place' is recreated through a stretch of northwoods stream, 30,000 plants and trees (the largest in indoor planting in the world), and an artificial 70 foot waterfall and plaster cliffs cast from the originals along the St Croix River, complete

with animatronic moose and bird noises (Goss, 1999: 50). By naturalizing consumption, particularly of goods and services that are not essential, the effect of capital is to legitimize the acts of shopping, purchasing and consuming, and to reinforce the ideology of consumerism.

New York skylines, Hong Kong's public urban spaces, and American mall interior spaces all reveal the power of capital to shape urban landscapes. Whether it is the manifestly visible skyline, a meaningful reality when viewed from a distance, or whether the gaze is turned to ground level in the access to public urban spaces, or whether it is the manufacture of interior environments, capital has the power to carve the contours of a city's physical profile, enable and limit the use of city spaces, and shape human behaviour in these spaces. Like the state, capital plays an important role in the transformation of cities.

Power and prestige in the city: intersecting powers

While I have discussed the power of the state and capital separately in the preceding sections, the intersection of state and capital in the creation of city space equally bears discussion. In this section, I will discuss the example of the Disneyfication of landscapes, a process by which the principles of the Disney theme parks are taken into urban planning and landscaping, as well as into social and economic relations. Such Disneyfication is perpetuated by the Disney Company itself, which pursues planning and design commissions, and thus intersects with the state in its planning and design functions. This example is chosen so that I might illustrate how the combined power of state and capital to transform landscapes may nevertheless invite resistance from the community.

The process labelled 'Disneyfication' demonstrates that the logic of the theme park has extended outwards beyond its confines and recast many urban landscapes as 'variations on a theme park' (Sorkin, 1992). This has been possible because state planners and designers have called on corporate experience, seeking to replicate both the look and underlying structure of Disney theme parks in cities (Blake, 1972; Boles, 1989). Thus, the 'imagineered logic' of the theme park (Relph, 1991: 104) is being extended into urban areas, with 'perceptual control, centralized provision of goods [and] services, and conglomerate organization and ownership of attractions' (Davis, 1996: 417). This has entailed planners 'seeing with "imperial eyes", that is, with little recognition of the existing human population or social history, except as potential labour and potential attraction, respectively' (Davis, 1996: 417). Principles and practices of Disney theme parks have pervaded not only the planning and design of whole cities. Specific elements of urbanscapes in the form of shopping malls, festival markets, small town main streets and residential neighbourhoods have also been 'co-opted by the mouse' (Warren, 1994: 89).

The Disney model is attractive to city planners because it appears to offer attractive solutions to urban problems, and is a 'powerful and comprehensive

urban vision' (Warren, 1994: 96). This is aided by the Disney Development Company, a subsidiary dedicated to applying the lessons Disney had learnt in Disneyland to urban development in all its various forms, encouraged by its CEO of the 1980s who exhorted cities to apply Disney's principles of design, crowd management, transportation and efficient entertainment to urban spaces. However, from another perspective, Disneyfication has been described as 'sinister' (Sorkin, 1992: xiv).

Seattle Center was an ageing civic centre area originally constructed for the 1962 World Fair. Disney was engaged as urban planning consultant in order to inject the principles championed by Disney and, hopefully, to introduce its people-friendly and efficient designs. As part of its arrogance (and perceived power), Disney indicated that they wished to develop and possibly finance and operate the entire site, offering input in architecture, design, site layout, landscaping, crowd and traffic management, and security. It would 'reshape the centre, organize the chaos, and harmonize the currently inefficient use of space' (Warren, 1994: 100). For sure, it did not wish to simply finetune the amusement zones. It nevertheless assured Seattle that something unique was to be created for the area, and there would not be mere replication of Disneyland or EPCOT. Unfortunately, despite its claims, Disney seemed unable to create designs that took into account the needs and desires of Seattle residents, and would neither seek nor take advice from locals. All three plans it submitted appeared dysfunctional and unappealing, did not consider Seattle's unique character and recycled the same ideas. Indeed, Disney proposed to demolish several cherished structures, replacing them with buildings and activities deemed inappropriate for Seattle's needs. The media, citizens' groups and council chambers alike grew increasingly dissatisfied, and despite a renewed effort at a fourth plan, the damage had been done. The final straw was when Disney projected it would cost US\$335 million, a far cry from the original US\$60 million estimation. Disney was sacked, underscoring the fundamental contradiction that the charming fantasy and efficient infrastructure of Disney World could only be achieved with unacceptably authoritarian planning practices in real life. Local architects, planners, designers and other citizens were called in to do the job, and the newly renovated Seattle Center became symbolic of the rejection of 'an autocratic, outside force in order to retain control over their space' (Warren, 1994: 104). In this instance, the imposition of an external vision and the attempt at direct control of the cityscape, reflecting a lack of effort at persuasion and hegemony, resulted in a rejection of the imposed vision and cityscape.

The lesson to be learnt from this is that the state and capital can act as intersecting forces, each reinforcing the power of the other to effect landscape change in the city. However, as this example illustrates, where the vision and ideology that state (in this case, represented by city authorities) and capital subscribe to do not adequately dovetail, city transformation cannot proceed. Thus, the coincidence of powers is sometimes a necessary condition for urban change to occur.

Summary

Cities are the medium by which the powerful express their influence. They simultaneously represent the outcome of the impress of power. This chapter has illustrated how states, capital and individuals all have the capacity to impact urban form and the use of urban space. Where ideologies and goals converge, the power to impact urban form and use is enhanced, as in the case of Jakarta and Singapore. Where there is divergence, urban change may not occur as originally intended, as in the case of Seattle.

What this chapter has illustrated are just some of the different ways in which power is impressed on the city – through shaping its skyline, influencing its architecture, segregating its people, constructing its monuments, greening its public spaces, controlling access to urban space, and influencing urbanites' behaviour. These reflect the extensive reach states, capital and individuals can have on the landscape and its use, through direct control or ideological hegemony. What is only intimated briefly in this chapter is that power is often fractured. In the Seattle case, it is apparent that conflicting views can result in different outcomes from those originally intended, but in other situations, it is possible that resistances can emerge in everyday ways. Thus, a monument erected as an expression of the power of an individual, or a skyscraper inserted in the midst of a city because of the power of capital, may find resistance from other groups, for example through graffiti and vandalism, or through the appropriation of these spaces for unintended activities. Power – be it direct control or hegemony – is never total.

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2 FAITH AND DEVOTION

Keith Lilley

This chapter

- Provides an overview of the ways the city works as a site of religion and religiosity
- Shows that the design of cities has been informed by particular ideas about divine order
- Demonstrates how cities take on religious significance through particular rituals and performances
- Suggests that in multicultural societies, the city can often become a site of conflict where different faiths struggle to chisel out spaces of religious belonging

Introduction

Geographers, sociologists and anthropologists have long shared an interest in the relationships between religion and the city (see Kong, 1990, 2001). Some have taken a social or demographic view, looking at where particular faith groups live, especially in cases where contemporary cities are 'divided' by religion and faith, as in modern-day Belfast and Glasgow, or Jerusalem and Beirut (e.g. Pacione, 1990; Boal, 1996; Broshi, 1996; Emmett, 1997). Others have examined the practices of the faithful and their places of worship, noting that certain groups make spaces in which their religious values are expressed (e.g. Duncan, 1991; Naylor and Ryan, 2002; Brace et al., 2006). Some, too, have used their own faith and religious experience as a starting point to reflect on issues of spirituality in certain urban settings (e.g. Graham and Murray, 1997; Slater, 2004). Then there are those whose work has examined how in the past religion shaped urban lives and

landscapes (e.g. Slater, 1998; Baker and Holt, 2004), and likewise for more recent times (e.g. Scott and Simpson-Housley, 1991; Kedar and Werblowsky, 1998).

One aspect of urban geography and religion that has not been developed so much in recent years is how the city *itself* reflects and reinforces patterns and practices of faith and devotion. One notable exception to this is Wheatley's (1969, 1971, 2001) work (see Extract 2.1). He has shown how urban landscapes in some 'traditional' societies (e.g. imperial China and Japan) were sometimes physically shaped to imitate a map of the heavens and ensure that their earthly world was as ordered as the cosmos, the city being seen and understood by its inhabitants as a small version of the wider world, a *microcosm*. Nitz (1992) took a similar approach in exploring the links between the city and the cosmos in his study of Hindu 'temple cities' of southern India. However, this type of work on religion and the city is, as Kong (2001: 220) points out, rather neglected in urban geography. Instead, it is stronger in other humanities disciplines, such as anthropology, politics, archaeology and architecture (e.g. see Rykwert, 1988; Levy, 1990; Carl, 2000). Indeed, it is within these disciplines that this aspect of research on religion and the city has gained most momentum in recent years, and it is this cross-disciplinary research that forms the focus of this chapter.

Extract 2.1: From Wheatley, P. (1969) *City as Symbol*, London: H.K. Lewis, pp. 9–10.

I would like to now consider certain aspects of the pre-industrial city which have been even more than usually neglected. First, from the innumerable topics which offer themselves for discussion, I have selected one which has been ignored by virtually all students of urbanism, yet which is of fundamental importance because it pervades the whole range of activities focused in the traditional city. I am referring to the cosmo-magical symbolism which informed the ideal-type traditional city in both the Old and the New Worlds, which brought it into being, sustained it, and was imprinted on its physiognomy. This is not the place to embark on an extended discussion of the origins and nature of this symbolism, which in any case have been the subject of elaborate expositions by, among others, Mircea Eliade and René Berthelot. Suffice it to say that for the ancients the 'real' world transcended the pragmatic realm of textures and geometrical space, and was perceived schematically in terms of an extra-mundane, sacred experience. Only the 'sacred' was real, and the purely secular – if it could be said to exist at all – could never be more than trivial. For those faiths which derived the meaning of human existence from revelation no site was, apart from a possible incidental soteriological sanctity, intrinsically more holy than another; but in those religions which held that human order was brought into being at the creation of the world there was a pervasive tendency to dramatize the cosmogony by constructing on earth a reduced version of the cosmos, usually in the form of a state capital. In other words, Reality was achieved through the imitation of a celestial archetype, by giving material expression to that parallelism between macrocosmos and microcosmos without which there could be no prosperity in the world of men [*sic*].

This chapter is divided into three main parts, each taking a different perspective on how the city is formed through faith and devotion – formed that is, as an *imagined space*; materially as a *built space*; and habitually as a *performed space*. Of course it is artificial to divide up the city this way, for really it is a product of perpetual interaction between the conceived, the built and the lived. Henri Lefebvre (1991) conceptualized the ‘production of space’ in this way, and I have taken my lead from him, though mindful of the criticisms levelled against his triadic model (Merrifield, 1993). My aim is not to restrict myself to any one individual religion or to any single cultural context, but rather to range across time–space to show that different belief systems make similar uses of the city to connect with the divine.

The city imagined: urban mappings of the sacred

As was discussed in the Introduction, urban scholars began to take a more critical interest in texts and images in the 1980s and 1990s. Rather than simply using them to tell us about a particular place, the emphasis was more on how representations construct reality. Issues of authorship, production and circulation of ‘texts’ were thus scrutinized, and ‘imagined geographies’ examined (e.g. Duncan and Ley, 1993; Driver, 1995). In anglophone human geography, this interest in representation was particularly fostered through a collection of essays under the title *The Iconography of Landscape*, edited by Cosgrove and Daniels (1988). ‘Iconography’ is the study of religious imagery, and Cosgrove and Daniels were extending this approach to the study of landscape, particularly representations of landscapes in art and literature. Since then numerous studies have appeared in this genre, though curiously little work by geographers has dealt with landscapes in religious representations. Yet art historians have long been concerned with how imagery, including landscape imagery, is imbued with religious meaning and symbolism, and it is clear the same can be said for images of the city (see Frugoni, 1991).

A case in point is Jerusalem, a city important in Islamic, Jewish and Christian faith. The symbolic centrality of Jerusalem in Christianity is most obviously reflected in stylized ‘world maps’ (*mappaemundi*) of the middle ages, drawn showing the holy city located at the spatial centre of the world (see Woodward, 1985; Kühnel, 1998). Jerusalem itself was frequently depicted in medieval images as both a real and imagined city, as an ‘earthly city’ and a ‘heavenly city’, for not only was it a place of pilgrimage for Europeans in the middle ages, and venerated for its place in Christian doctrine, it was also significant as a symbol of salvation after the end of the world, as told in the New Testament in the Book of Revelation (Frugoni, 1991). Here Jerusalem is described as a city descending from heaven, ‘four square’ in shape with gates on all four sides. This powerful image was depicted in manuscript copies of the Bible, sometimes the city being shown as a circle of walls, sometimes as a square (Lilley, 2004a). Jerusalem thus became the archetypal, ideal