

Editorial

The Compact City: European Ideal, Global Fix or Myth?



This guest editorial explores the ideal of the compact city, asks questions about its definition and use, and seeks to provide a context for the papers that follow. These have their origins in an international seminar held at the University of Groningen in October 2002, and build on discussion and evidence in texts such as Gert de Roo and Donald Miller's *Compact Cities and Sustainable Urban Development* (2000), and the three important collections edited (variously) by Williams, Burton and Jenks: *Achieving Sustainable Urban form* (2000), *Compact Cities: sustainable urban forms for developing countries* (2000) and *The Compact City; a sustainable form* (1996), plus numerous journal articles (eg. Hall, 1996; Breheny, 1997; Williams, 1999; Thin, Arlt, Heber, Hennersdorf & Lehmann). Among these, Whitford, Ennos & Handley contrast the UK Urban Task Force derived statement '*The most obvious way of reducing the impact of a city is to make it more compact, since this will reduce the overall areas of the built environment*' with '*Unfortunately, though, locally such a compact city may have a poorer environment ecologically because it will tend to have lower vegetation cover.*' (2001, p102), and Sibley-Behloul discusses the informal transformation, and intensification, of housing in Algiers and Cairo (2002).

How we live determines our impact, but as this literature demonstrates, the relationship is complex. There is a tension between attempts to contain and direct urban life, and the market through which intervention takes place. Cut supply, price rises and demand shifts. Sentiment attaches to familiar places: certainty defines identity. Aesthetic, cultural and ecological assets are damaged or destroyed by development. But in dynamic, individualistic, materialistic and wealthy societies, conservation must still permit 'progress': ensure opportunities for employment, education, travel, consumer goods, services and, in particular, housing. Expectations differ across the Globe and over time, and are subject to fashion, media and marketing influence, plus new imperatives. Politicians, officials, experts, opinion formers and campaigners mediate between a far from certain and fluid mix of concerns, scientific evidence, interests and anxieties. So concern about Global Warming and other environmental threats is expressed in the rhetoric, and to some extent policies, of sustainable development. Should this favour high density mixed land uses in well defined settlements, and restrict suburban, private car based, lifestyles? Can such limits be imposed, or sold, to populations whose aspirations and behaviour reflect the American Dream? And how do such imperatives relate to other urgencies: access to clean water and healthy food, and ensuring that natural disasters do not become human calamities. We need intelligence, education, safeguards, control on where and how buildings are constructed, resilience preparedness and robust communications and means of evacuation or relief. Not petty minded intervention in the minutia of how and where we live, work and travel. Or is this the point: these matter?

In the beginning all cities and towns were compact, and relied on walking and other 'soft' forms of transportation. Hall's paper, below, suggests that the *pedshed*, or area within easy walking distance, is a sound basis for planning modern urban areas in ways that will help minimise environmental impact and create the attractive and easily used places necessary if more sustainable lifestyles are to flourish. His *beads on a string* linked pedestrian friendly settlements are put in a wider context by Pratt, Chapman, Dickens and Larkham's more wideranging discussion of settlement patterns and the changing use of transportation networks. They call for agencies and methodologies that are capable of carrying out *territorial impact assessment*, and of dealing with its implications. Myrdal's concepts of *spread* and *backwash* deserve further attention, and may usefully inform the supra-national decision making processes that are necessary for infrastructure investment. Fraser continues the European focussed, and funded, supra national theme by also reporting the outcomes of INTERREG projects, in his case the London South Bank University led *Living in Towns* project and the Lille based *Urban Regeneration Network*.

Prescriptions that more people should enjoy a 'traditional', compact, urban, maybe *Continental*, way of life reflect emotional attachment to what many perceive as the better parts of our heritage, perhaps reinforced by happy memories and by positive attitudes to places that combine cultural attributes, tourist attraction and high status. Though these locations' geographical reality is likely to be more complex and problematic than it may appear to the casual visitor, especially to a typical, relatively short stay pedestrian who does not stray far from the historic core and retail centre. Oxford, Cambridge, Dublin, Groningen and Alcala de Henares (near Madrid) show that higher education thrives in such places, and suggests influence beyond localised economic importance and former students' and visitors' favourable sentiment. One should not dismiss the power of sentimental attachments, especially when there are shared by many of the ruling elite and reinforced by media portrayals that influence a much wider population. However, colleges situated in attractive sites at the heart of urban areas, and key institutions (law, finance, Government) with similar geographical preferences are exceptions to a trend that favours suburbanisation, commuting and relocation. 'Back office' functions relocate within and away from metropolitan areas. Expansion of higher education favours suburban and edge of town campuses and upgraded technical institutions, often in 'industrial' towns, with some incorporation of agricultural colleges and teacher training facilities into a much enlarged university sector.

Despite, or perhaps because of, such relocations, the vitality of the historic core and of new areas of circulation has been helped by large amounts of public sector investment and promotion, and by official encouragement of speculative property development. Waterfronts and associated buildings, in particular, have become home to relatively upmarket retail, entertainment and cultural activities, and associated housing and offices (a process that has been underway for some while; Clark, 1985; Marshall, 2001)). Revitalisation is better than neglect and decay, and continued suburban sprawl, but this *vision* has to be sold (Urban Task Force, 1999). What appears to succeed in the fashionable quarters of large metropolitan centres, such as Paris, London and Vancouver, and is much of the appeal of urban life in southern Europe, at least to this spring or summertime visitor to Cordoba, Barcelona, Vigo, Bandol, Pecs and Thessaloniki, provides a template that exponents would like to apply to the redeveloped docks of Dundee, Maryport and Hull. But it appears necessary to change more than the climate for such vision to succeed, though there are, possibly, signs of success in Swansea and Bristol: two early achievers in the dockland redevelopment process (Clark, 1988).

Transformation for Modern Life

Unfortunately, as with traditional forms of design and building, only parts of the ideals and attributes of historic, high density and pedestrian based urban forms have been transposed into modern life, and then not necessarily well. Architectural relics represent building styles that may be problematic because the society and activities for which they were built no longer exist so they may not be well suited to modern uses. Compact urban areas may have similar faults. The myth of functional efficiency and assumptions about sustainable living miss the lengthening communications and growing energy needs of modern society, whatever its built form. But they may also be a way of countering such trends, of persuading people to opt for lifestyles that are less car-dependent and more efficient in their use of energy and materials.

Such ideas underpin this edition, but are approached critically and realistically. We are aware that a hectoring, rhetorical approach is likely to be counterproductive, that there is a risk of believing and failing to challenge one's own propaganda. Also, plans and policies that seek to impose such solutions risk failure if individual preferences are out of step with their prescriptions. Equity issues arise if 'concentrated dispersal' and car free lifestyles become an official orthodoxy that the better off can escape. And perhaps the biggest failing of post WWII planning, at least in the UK, has been a combination of outdated plans – of interventions that attempt to address yesterday's priorities with reference to populations and lifestyles that have since changed – and unanticipated or unregulated *coping strategies*. These are what many people adopt when faced with unwelcome official intervention or regulation. So, for example, *market mechanisms* that seek to price people out of their cars may have the contrary effect of increasing car use, at least in the short term, as people opt to drive further to destinations that have free parking.

In North West England this is evident in the popularity of the motorway sited edge of town retail complex at Warrington, with IKEA, Marks & Spencer and ToysRus, and the big comparison shopping and entertainment complex at the Trafford Centre on the Manchester ring motorway. Both take trade from town and city centres that continue to increase parking charges. It may be possible to reach such regional centres easily and cheaply by public transport, but this seems to be the exception in the UK. Even in Sheffield (Meadowhall) and Dartford (Bluewater), relatively good public transport only serves a mainly local fraction of the massive regional clientele. Pre Christmas traffic jams these centres' approach roads and motorways: perverse proof of their popularity and 'success', and of the weakness of both regional and local planning and development control when faced with the commercial imperatives behind such schemes. Or perhaps this is no more than an unwelcome but bearable seasonal inconvenience, found everywhere at peak times. Criticism of planning's failure to stop such initiatives misses their commercial viability, and that some activities cannot be provided or demand satisfied by more local stores and town centres. But their effects still contradict rhetorical statements that claim to curb the growth in car use. Is this a pattern repeated globally, and bad news for the compact city?

Localised restrictions may lead to relocation to places where these limits do not apply: customers and commercial tenants will only put up with so much. Any combination of market forces and regulatory intervention is likely to have regressive outcomes, as the better off use their greater purchasing power to get round planners' and environmental managers' intentions, or come up with clever, but cumulatively problematic, individual solutions. What level of parking restraint persuades would-be car users to take to motorbikes? When is working from home not the panacea that it is often assumed to be? In environmental terms,

perhaps when the home must also accommodate, and duplicate, all the equipment of the office, and be heated and lit? Or is this committing the fallacy outlined above, while working from home? Peoples' lifestyles move on. For example, my most recent major purchase was over the internet to help me work from home. But a £204, 19" TFT monitor will also support non-work activities. These increasingly replace trips to retail outlets, as the wider range of goods and lower prices for internet purchases out-compete conventional stores. So far this has not included computer ordering and home delivery of my groceries, but the TESCO home delivery van is increasingly evident where I live, and it may only be a matter of time before some of the weekly shop goes electronic. So perhaps an increase in purchasing power will favour lifestyles with fewer trips, at least for those work, retail and leisure activities where telecommunications and home delivery suffice.

Comparative Issues

The argument for more compact urban living is grounded in comparisons with practice in a range of context and cultures, yet comparative planning studies suggest that there may be dangers in basing policy prescriptions on inappropriate analogies (Faludi & Hammett, 1975). While much of the professional and planning literature is truly international, it may fail to recognise local differences and particular circumstances. What works in one place, and at one time, may not transfer easily to another situation. Here the geographical focus of recent editions of GBER contrasts with the Anglo-Dutch, largely Western European, setting of material presented at the Groningen meeting and in this volume. Jenks and Burgess's (2000) edited collection on Compact Cities considers sustainable urban forms for developing countries, so it is too late to suggest that some of the literature's focus on European, North American and Australian examples and practice invites a widening of discussion to include South and South East Asian, African, Latin American, Arab and Caribbean urbanisation. Will the spontaneous, unplanned, chaotic compact cities of developing countries be replaced by lower density settlement as disposable income rises, and as planning takes control (Richardson, Bae and Baxamusa, 2000)? On a day when the News reports disastrous effects of another earthquake in Indonesia, and that atmospheric Carbon Dioxide levels are continuing to rise, the consequences of such trends are of more than academic interest (BBC, ABC). Is it possible to identify and favour less damaging, and less dangerous, urban forms? Are current trends problematic? What, if any, contribution might the compact city concept make?

Our largely Anglo – Dutch perspective may be of limited value here, though it might help identify useful comparisons and contrasts. Information that is specific to one place may have much wider application and implications. For example, later in this edition Bouwman and Voogd's observations on *mobility and the urban-rural continuum* show that urban inhabitants make more short trips. So if urbanisation can be achieved, rather than the continuing shift towards peri-urban or suburban lifestyles, then one benefit is likely to be greater use of bicycles. This has implications for urban design and management. Does *smart growth* depend on attractive, safe, local mobility? Might lack of demand for compact city living be due to preferences, or assumptions, that require car based mobility: something that is difficult to reconcile with higher densities? And how does this process relate to rapidly developing countries in which mass cycle use is being superseded by motorised transport, and where the first generations of mass car owners can choose lifestyles and mobility patterns based on private transport?

Confusions: Compact City, or Global City Compact?

Use of the term “compact cities” by the United Nations Global Compact Cities Programme causes difficulty when exploring recent use of the term “compact city”, which is used in this volume to refer the geographical spread of urban areas, their built form and patterns of movement and interaction, and to concepts such as ‘densening’ the city, urban renewal or revitalisation, and urban containment. The Melbourne led UN *Cities* group’s focus is wider, seeking cities to sign up to a *compact* (or legally binding agreement) that commits them to nine key principles. These stress human rights, especially labour rights, and are not specific in how environmental principles are to be interpreted, other than that businesses should adopt a precautionary approach, initiatives should promote greater environmental responsibility and the development and diffusion of environmentally friendly technologies should be encouraged (Committee for Melbourne, 2004) , Early signatories include Bath (UK), Melbourne (Australia), Nurenburg (Germany), Porto Alegre (Brazil), Jameshedpur (India), Tianjin (PRC), Nairobi (Kenya) and San Francisco and Chicago (USA). Expect some overlap between these very different uses of the *compact city* label, as Bath has some of the best, and most extensive, surviving Georgian housing (see Ashworth below for further discussion of its potential and limitations), and strong planning policies that favour compact city solutions.

Intensification Difficulties

Prescriptions for compact city living frequently mean policies that require continued or intensified use of existing building and neighbourhoods. But structures and places constructed for other purposes than their current or intended uses are unlikely to meet today’s standards. Either we accept that modern standards of access, heating, soundproofing, plumbing, storage, parking etc. cannot be provided, and adjust our expectations, or we invest in changes which give older urban areas an extended life. Later in this edition, Ashworth stresses the importance of finding appropriate uses for Britain and Ireland’s Georgian heritage, and Horner uses the example of Glasgow to argue for a pragmatic approach to urban regeneration.

These papers explore the question of what is problematic, and of how we wish to reuse places and buildings from the past. Renewal / urban renaissance favours re-use of higher status areas, as in another example, the King William Yard, Plymouth eventually brought back onto a reluctant market by *Urban Splash* (perhaps the UK’s most successful redevelopers of difficult heritage sites). Extravagant new ‘heritagized’ public spaces are intended to influence consumers and investors. In UK, these are often inadequately supported after heavily hyped and expensive initiatives that fail to grasp the wider context of historically important sites. Realising the potential of heritage is more to do with sociology and the containment, policing, removal or, rarely, incorporation of lower status neighbours than a simple matter of building conservation and restoration, or of awakening a market in relicts from a bygone age.



Figure 1: King William Yard, Plymouth, 2001: costly hard landscaping and extravagant bus shelter near *Urban Splash* renewal / market restoration project. See their excellent website and video of regeneration projects, including the 16 acre mixed use King William Yard, now on the market, at <http://www.urbansplash.co.uk/us.php>.

Hazards

As the events of September 11th, 2001, Burby, Nelson, Parker and Handmer's paper on possible connections between Urban Containment Policy and Exposure to Natural Hazards (written before 9/11), and the PERG international symposium in Thessaloniki all remind us, planning policies have a bearing on, and to some extent are a response to, hazard exposure (Dimitriadis, Kousidonis, Lagopoulos & Constantnidou, 2002). Marker's paper contributes to this discussion in this edition with a focus on urban geology. Smith explores the terminology used to describe reuse of degraded ground. *Brownfield sites* are shown to have changing, politically loaded, interpretations, and official use of specific language has an important role in the framing and justification of policy. While there are good environmental and other reasons to favour pedestrian friendly, space efficient and energy saving lifestyles and urban forms, the anti-urban preferences that fear promotes, whether fear of crime, nuclear attack or the perceived unhealthiness of city living, are boosted by current anxieties. Terrorist targets seem more likely to be in crowded places, and even natural hazards seem more dire when they threaten urban concentrations. Or at least that is the message from the disaster movie industry. A poster seen at last year's Glastonbury Festival nicely takes the city threatening message of catastrophic, instant climatic change, in *The Day after Tomorrow*, and lays the blame for environmental harm and global injustice on city based globalising institutions:



Figure 2: Poster, Green Fields area, Glastonbury Festival 2004.

Scale

It is possible that the ideal of the compact city has been confused with the attractiveness and domination of major urban centres. In which case the reaction to 9/11, especially in the United States, has been to massively reinforce sentimental attachment to such places. This is constrained by their continuing problems, high insurance costs, and by our fear of crime and of terrorist attack. Big cities have continuing environmental, health and transportation problems. While demanding massive investment in infrastructure and favouring inner urban renewal, most large city core / CBD users live, and pay most of their taxes, elsewhere. So this is perhaps the antithesis of a compact city, even if its vitality matches and is sought by compact city proponents.



Figure 3: Boston, 2000: the ideal big compact city?

An alternative, perhaps, is a *periodic marketplace* or *gathering* such as a pop festival, race meeting or county fair. Neither periodic gatherings nor CBDs are the easiest or least damaging way to live. But some of the attractions of civilisation are found in both extremes, and this suggests that the compact city ideal is bound up with complex notions of function and form: of coming together in a clearly identifiable place. Here the **Language of compact cities** implies that coherent, identifiable, spatially bounded settlements operate either as self-contained functional units, with relatively limited ‘spill-overs’ such as the mixing of labour market areas, retail catchments or administrative and service functions (hierarchical / Christaller model). Or that these places operate on the basis of ‘*complementarities or synergies between different locations*’: *Polycentric Urban Regions...* (Bailey & Turok, 2001)

This begs questions about the emergence of less spatially constrained patterns of behaviour. Are notions of *urban*, *suburban*, *rural* or *remote* now outdated, and is there a risk that our expectations, media and interventions make too much of high status 'executive' lifestyles, and the need to curtail their profligacy for the sake of planetary survival? Most lives are still very 'ordinary', though the cumulative effect of small changes may be significant. Individuals identify with specific locations, often either a named city / urban place, or with part or all of a wider agglomeration, conurbation or (today) 'polycentric urban unit' *'The PUR concept is alleged to offer a sound basis for strategies to promote regional economic competitiveness while safeguarding environmental objectives'* (Bailey & Turok (2001))

But if this is taken as the most appropriate level for promoting places, and for intervention that seeks to contain urban expansion, it may:

- Make arbitrary assumptions about territory and identity
- 'Problematised' current trends and preferences ... favouring limits over accommodation or redesign
- Have unintended / undesirable outcomes
- Favour those able to pay to avoid its effects
- Inflate the market and encourage competition for public goods (environment, education, health, etc) through the domestic property market
- Hinder necessary or useful forms of development: favour non use over use, travel to more remote places to local provision
- Be repeated despite earlier failure and unwanted / unanticipated effects

North West England illustrates the suspect performance of a long history of regional strategies and strategic intervention, its latest form couched in the language of *Action for Sustainability* and following national planning guidance. It is arguable that such interventions are always wrong. 'Overspill' schemes have been stymied by falling birth rate, changing residential and locational preferences, a property market geared to 'executive homes' marketed at a regional scale, and continuing economic dispersal so that activity is more widely spread throughout the region, in part due to the *localisation / exploit local advantage* aspect of *globalisation* (or *glocalisation*) (Brenner,1999; Yeoh, 1999).

The case for Compact Cities

Cities are both problematic and part of the solution, but geographies change as intervention is underway and this makes any form of planning difficult. It faces:

- A moving target
- Worse, one that acts tactically and sensibly to avoid problems / achieve individual goals
- Coping strategies may accentuate problems or disable policies
- Perhaps, may be part of the solution
- But a brave planner or manager who favours informal, individualistic, selfish actions over systematic, integrated solutions.

A contrary argument is that half a Century of relatively unsuccessful attempts at regional planning, whether the promotion of ‘development’ areas or containment of urban sprawl, should be replaced by a more pragmatic arguments in favour of Compact Cities. These deserve positive encouragement on grounds of:

- Efficiency
- Equity
- Reduced environmental impact
- Quality of life
- Heritage / respect for the past.

Though they also need to reduce their environmental impacts, and ensure they offer as good or better quality of life as their rivals. For example, some way must be found to provide and promote local outdoor pursuits, including gardening, or compact city dwellers will lose the of benefits of fresh air, healthy food etc., and may have to travel some distance for second homes, holidays etc., The same argument applies to local provision for sport and other forms of outdoor recreation, though whether zealous opposition to second homes and holidays, air travel and day trips is realistic or necessary is a matter of opinion. If the days of cheap flights are numbered, then local provision is essential. Even if Easyjet and other affordable escape routes survive and become the norm, alongside Continental or North American attitudes to second homes, there remain good practical and equity reasons to provide local opportunities for recreation, fresh air and sport near where people live. Compact cities may also have to be designed so that energy saving types of design and construction are feasible, otherwise high density may prove to be counterproductive in terms of sustainability or environmental objectives.

Use of space varies quickly over time, at various spatial and temporal scales, with implications that planning often fails to grasp. So intervention, whether planning (zoning / plans & development control), market instruments, regulation & prohibition, or exhortation & ‘education’, will only be effective if it is compatible with people’s existing aspirations, behaviour and ranges of expectations, enforceable and adequately resourced.

Conclusions

The compact city concept is in harmony with a number of contemporary trends:

- Selective preference for specific lifestyles
- Intervention to enhance central areas
- Anti-car policies / integrated transport solutions

But compact cities risk being confused with CBD / conurbation focussed strategies, and so may be part of the problem: transportation concentrated at too few nodes, and restricted dispersal of employment and government functions. The concept implies a spatiality that may not exist: lifestyles are not necessarily grounded in one, pedestrian and bicycle friendly, place. We need local interdependencies to forge genuine local economic strengths. But we also need to view the individual place within a wider orbit of social and economic relationships. So the concept city is not a return to some mythical ideal medieval city state, however attractive such places may appear to be. We need realistic comparisons and more careful use of language. Geographies change faster than the largely reactive policies they excite, and it is easy to become obsessed with built form and named places when what deserves attention is the multitude of individual lives and interactions that places permit, and the possibility that these may be disadvantaged by accidents of history, careless intervention or arbitrary and self serving institutions and interests. Hopefully the papers which follow will

advance our understanding, and use, of the compact city concept.

References

- ABC Online News in Science *Carbon dioxide levels blow sky high*
<http://www.abc.net.au/science/news/stories/s1076856.htm> Accessed 31.3.05.
- Bailey, N. & Turok, I. (2001) *Central Scotland as a Polycentric Urban Region: Useful Planning Concept or Chimera?*, *Urban Studies*, 38: 4, pp697-715.
- BBC News UK Edition *Aid struggles to reach Indonesia*
<http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/asia-pacific/4392875.stm> Accessed: 31.3.05.
- Brehehy, M. (1997), Urban Compaction: feasible and acceptable?, *Cities*, 14:4, 209-217.
- Brenner, N. (1999) 'Globalisation as reterritorialisation: the re-scaling of urban governance in the European Union', *Urban Studies*, 36:3, 431-451
- Burby, R.J., Nelson, A.C., Parker, D. and Handmer, J. (2001) 'Urban Containment Policy and Exposure to Natural Hazards: Is There a Connection?', *Journal of Environmental Planning and Management* 44(4), pp475-490
- Clark, M (1985) 'Fallow Land in Old Docks: Why Such a Slow Take up of Britain's Waterside Redevelopment Opportunities', *Maritime Policy & Management*, 12 (2)
- Clark, M. (1988), 'The Need for a More Critical Approach to Dockland Renewal', Ch. 13 in Hoyle, B.S., Pinder, D.A. & Hussain, M.S. (Eds.), *Revitalising the Waterfront: International Dimensions of Dockland Redevelopment*, Belhaven Press
- Committee for Melbourne (2004), *The Global Compact Cities Program*. Issue 1, International Secretariat for the Cities Program
http://www.melbourne.org.au/fileadmin/user_upload/file_upoad/UN_GC_Newsletter.pdf
 Accessed: 28.3.05.
- Dimitriadis, E.P., Kousidonis, Ch.Th., Lagopoulos, A.Ph. & Constantnidou, D.A. (2002) *Reconstruction of Declining and Destroyed Areas of Europe*, Thessaloniki, University Studio Press.
- Faludi, A. & Hammet, S. (1975), *The Study of Comparative Planning*, Centre for Environmental Studies, London, conference paper 13.
- Hall, P. (1996) 'The Future of the Metropolis and its Form', *Regional Studies*, 31:3, 211-220.
- Jenks, M., Burton, E. & Williams, K. (Eds., 1996), *The Compact City: A Sustainable Form?* London, Spon Press.
- Jenks M and Burgess R (2000) *Compact Cities: Sustainable Urban Forms for Developing countries*, London, Spon Press.
- Marshall, R. (Ed. 2001), *Waterfronts in Post-Industrial Cities*, London, Spon Press.
- Richardson, H.W., Bae, C-H, C. and Baxamusa, M.H. (2000), 'Compact Cities in Developing Countries: Assessment and Implications', in Jenks, M & Burgess, R. (eds), *Compact Cities: sustainable urban forms for developing countries*, London, Spon Press, pp25-36.
- Sibley-Behloul, M. (2002), Informal Transformations of Formal Housing Estates in Algiers and Cairo, *Global Built Environment Review*, 2:3, pp32-41.
- Thin, N.X., Arlt, G., Heber, B., Hennesdorf, J. & Lehmann, I. (2002), 'Evaluation of Urban Land use Structures with a View to Sustainable Development', *Environmental Impact Assessment Review*, 22, pp475-492.
- Urban Task Force (1999a) *Urban Renaissance: Sharing the Vision*, Department of the Environment, Transport and the Regions, London, January.
- Urban Task Force (1999b) *But would you live there? Shaping attitudes to urban living*, Department of the Environment, Transport and the Regions, London February.
- Williams, K. (2000), *Achieving Sustainable Urban Form*, London, Spon Press.
- Whitford, V., Ennos, A.R. & Handley, J.F. (2001), 'City form and Natural Process – Indicators for the Ecological Performance of Urban Areas and their Application to Merseyside, UK',

Landscape and Urban Planning, 57, pp91-103.

Williams, K., Burton, E. and Jenks, M. (2000), *Achieving Sustainable Urban Form*, London, Spon Press.

Williams, K. (1999), Urban intensification policies in England: problems and contradictions, *Land Use Policy*, 16, pp167-178.

Yeoh, B. (1999), 'Global/globalizing cities', *Progress in Human Geography*, 23:4, pp607-616.

Michael Clark

April 2005

Department of Environmental Management

School of Natural Resources

University of Central Lancashire

Preston

PR1 2HE

UK.

Email: mclark@uclan.ac.uk

Websites: http://www.uclan.ac.uk/facs/science/envman/staff_mc.htm