

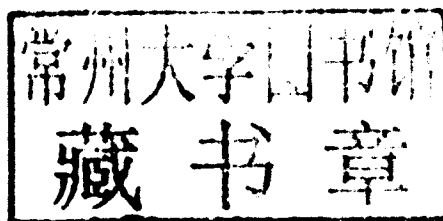
City Life

Adrian Franklin



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Introduction

The bombsites remained for decades. Nature quickly took them over, the split-apart houses, wild willow herb and buddleia creeping over ruined walls ... Stray cats abounded, the ones who ran away when the bombs fell and never saw home again or had no homes or owners to return to. Old ladies fed them their rations, and they bred and became plentiful, but weren't keen on stroking.

Fay Weldon, *Auto Da Fay*, 2002: 157

Most of us live in cities, our lives are city lives. This book investigates the life rather than the structures, buildings, policies, systems, human taxonomies and sociologies that normally comprise investigation of the city. Of course all of the above are part of the life of cities, a very important part, but actually, only a part. These descriptive traditions of urban studies have a tendency to reduce cities to abstractions of systems, whether social or physical (though seldom both together, regrettably), to empirical descriptions of their capabilities or failures (scorecards of progress or scandal), to their putative social and environmental problems (the driver of so much research, knowledge and perception of the city) and, most importantly, to mostly one-dimensional, single-discipline-based approaches (though I note with much pleasure Amin and Thrift's *Cities – Reimagining the Urban*, 2002), which have a tendency, a serious one in my view, to replicate all of the problems associated with the Great Divide between science and the humanities. So, we produce works on the city that emphasise one of its human or non-human features (its cultures, building, architecture, traffic, its risk from natural disaster, its air quality, its standard of housing) and very seldom tackle the city as if it is an assemblage of all of these things; we seldom see it as a totality of human and non-human networks of texts, software, culture, behaviour, architecture and trees and gardens. For this reason, it is very hard, actually, to say anything meaningful about the life of cities. And the life of cities is of course a critical variable in our lifestyle-rich cultures and affects the location of key workers and employers. Their lifestyle considerations span the Great Divide by being as concerned with environmental and ecological conditions as they are with culture, services, architecture and ambiance (and we do hear a lot about buzz, atmosphere, 'aliveness', excitement). We hear that successful cities are *tolerant* cities, but that tolerance is not just cultural and ethnic tolerance: it is a generalised tolerance and a genuine interest in and concern for such

things as nature, the past, hybrids, new (and old) technologies, the hinterlands and neighbouring countries, the producers of our food and our clothes and our impact on their lives. This book suggests that all of these postmaterialist and posthumanist themes constitute the new ecological culture of contemporary Western and other modernising cities.

Even if we don't live in the great city itself (although increasingly the world has become urbanised) all of us live in its shadow, are held in place by its gravity and, actually, most of us long to live under its spell at certain moments of our lives. There is a lot of magic, phantasmagoria, ritual and transcendent content to city life that only occasionally surfaces in urban studies (for an exception see Pile, 2005) but which is crucial to understand if we are to fathom city life properly. Many of us long to leave the safe, predictable, humdrum places we were reared in (suburbs, little towns and rural backwaters) for the city lights; we long to spend time there shopping, where the shops are better and where the things sold are astonishing. Their very possession confers an aesthetic zing unavailable elsewhere. There is also something about their great works of public art and architecture that interpellate us, hail us, irrespective of whether they are nation-building shrines, whether they embody art or style movements or whether they are merely celebrity landmarks. In various ways these things define who we are, where we have come from and often where we are going. And, increasingly, we need to immerse ourselves in its transformative atmospheres because for many of us the city also promises to fulfil our potential, whatever that may be; a place to find oneself outside of those places where tradition and conservative cultures still hold some sway; the city as place of experimentation and self-making. This book is all about how cities, or many of them at any rate, came to be such central elements of our lives and why they take the form they do.

Can anyone doubt the suggestive orientation that Norman Foster's giant Gherkin gives to the London skyline, or Piano's anticipated Shard of Glass? We long for the theatre, music and cultural productions of the city and pay homage to its celebrity and genius. And we long for the potential, multiple possibilities that the city offers us in order to make ourselves in different ways. There has been a great deal of innovation in city life, both human and non-human: I like the idea of city farms, of city forests, of hawks who have learned to patrol its air and nest high in its buildings, and of foxes and badgers raising families under garden sheds.

If village, community and suburb offer us norms to comply with and follow, then the city offers us alternatives, multiple paths and becomings. If small places of community and belonging offer you judgement and certainty, cities offer, as Simmel (1997b) suggested, the freedom to explore and the giddiness of adventures into the unknown.



Image 0.1 An exciting city: Sydney, Australia (photo Adrian Franklin)

Paradoxically, what I have just written is both widely acknowledged and controversial, but mainly controversial. In recent years as in most times of modernity, the city has come in for some pretty harsh criticism. It has been made responsible for a whole host of bad things, from the destruction of tradition, community and the family to the emergence of anomie, individualism, blasé cosmopolitanism, consumerism and marketisation, and the denial and destruction of the natural world in favour of a world of humans among themselves. Cities are seen to swallow up their hinterlands and regions. Their commuters become a destructive curse to greenfield sites and traditional rural villages; their paradoxical enthusiasm for nature combined with their mobility continues to threaten wild borderlands. There is a widespread feeling of impending doom: that the world may one day become a *totalopolis*.

As with all such fears, however, the city is merely a new scapegoat, a new repository for our fears of change and our sense of insecurity. If we look closer at cities what we see is also exciting potential, pure potentiality, unfoldings, not all doom.

Cities then are magnificent and exciting places, and in my view are becoming more, not less so. All around the world cities are growing in human and cultural diversity and it is cities more than any other spaces that are benefiting in these ways from globalisation. Migrants to the city often keep their diverse cultural and ethnic forms intact, much as they were before they

arrived. Parents keep up the old ways, the practices and principles of the old country. Why on earth not? But then eventually their children or grandchildren get fed up with being *other*, even when the city is just a mix of others. Often they want to hitch a ride on the modern zeitgeist, be a part of new eras of modernity and the unfolding modernity is rarely orientated to the preservation of tradition and ethnicity as an invariant form. Typically it is the opposite: the creation of hybrid worlds, fusion tastes and the liquefaction of difference, but at the same time the upholding of generalised tolerance to do so. This is understandable because cities are too complex and dynamic to hold still; they have to be in permanent flux, always becoming something else; something better (hopefully). After all, insisting on freezing time and culture goes against the spirit of city life. So diversity then becomes an endless future of fusions. Cultures don't disappear in cities, they bleed into one another. And as they do so, and I am thinking of the history of the mixing of black culture through the form of jazz for example, they do not disappear but transform, they challenge and create fusions and assemblages – often in the most surprising and hard-to-predict manner.

For example, we are all using, playing with and changing the use of English; we all dance to beats and tempos with origins far from our own shores and borders; but we all benefit from 'what the Romans did for us', from the socio-technical exploration of Victorian England, from Indian cuisine (now Britain's favourite take-away food for example), from American literature and French notions of *égalité* and we respect John Mortimer's reminders to look after trial by jury, the presumption of innocence and the upholding of civil liberties after he has gone (see his *Where There's a Will*, 2003). Authenticity is always an illusive quality, often born in periods of anxiety about change, but history teaches that city life is about the creation of hybrid cultural forms.

However, the speed at which different cultures have been thrown together in cities and the circumstances that have led to their cohabitation are not always conducive to the interpenetration of city cultures. Indeed, Zygmunt Bauman suggests in his *Globalisation* (1998) that insufficient time now elapses to allow the process of cultural familiarisation and accommodation to take place. In a 2003 interview (Franklin, 2003), he argued that 'the city environment continually generates a curious blend of mixophilia and mixophobia'. In Bauman's view, in the past there was more time for familiarisation, through a slow mutual accommodation with otherness, but today only those young people and young adults thrown together in mutual poverty, often in city centres or university campuses, are in a position to gaze at, explore and learn – to engage and develop their mixophilia.

Residential segregation and suburbanisation, on the other hand, make sure that we inhabit only a limited space of the city while others remain mysterious, inaccessible – other worlds kept apart through mixophobia. In time, there will be the slow churning of human cultural hybridisation; more immediately there

will be turf wars, racisms, ghettoism, 'gated' living. It is therefore life affirming to notice how often some (though not all) of the buzzy, atmospheric places in cities are quarters with an 'edge', those with a little transgressive excitement, where multiple cultures find a way of cohabitation, which excite students and artists and which get woven into the more dream-like tales of an age. These places have often been the epicentre of the re-emergence and spread of a more tolerant, carnivalesque, culture-driven city life. In many ways these places are the inspiration of this book and the hope of cities. They can teach us a lot about where we might try to change things. This book is not a policy utopia but a means of commencing a new dialogue about city life; it tries to diagnose what that life is composed of and created by.

But these fusions are no longer merely human, cultural hybrids because another dynamic that makes cities even more exciting are the endless possible relationships we can have, make and remake with machines. Last night on my TV, Jeremy Clarkson told us (on his *Great Inventions* series) that the average English home now has twenty computers in it. They are in our cars, our washing machines, our food mixers and breadmakers, our televisions and DVDs, our cameras, mobile phones, heating systems, and of course we have increased the number of personal computers in family homes. Just how these interweave with our lives, what they enable us to do and become, and what *becomes* as a result of our interaction with them and those of other people (and their machines) in our lives would take up the space of many books. One member of my family has recently taken an interest in his family tree. It turns out that unknown to him, others sharing the same unusual surname were also putting together genealogies in their parts of the world, but over the past year or so, the Internet, seemingly with a life of its own, made connections between them without this ever being part of their individual projects. Now this relative has been connected to, writes to and intends to visit a perfect stranger in the USA on the basis of their recently discovered kinship. He is excited about this visit, in part because the trip enables him to see for the first time another exciting city, Chicago.

In this way cities are all connected in routine and unexpected ways, but because they are all also the result of very specific becomings, have come together from very diverse and different contexts, histories, cultures and opportunities, they are not all the same. To be a Londoner is not the same as being a Chicagoan; to live in one is not the same as living in the other and they are not becoming more similar. They have their own lines of flight. Those who see only standardised global retail chains reproduced in every world city see only a very small part of city life. Cities do not have to become drab, repetitive clones of each other, something that was feared by the first generation of urban theorists to consider the new global industrial cities, but rather they can venture out into new extensions, they can change course and they can copy and add things they like from elsewhere. We have

to understand that city life is created by the peoples, natures and objects of specific cities; it is not something that can be planted in from elsewhere. We can nurture those conditions that enable people to create their own city culture but we cannot dictate its content or style.

But the diversity and excitement of cities is not restricted to the human, machine or cyborg. Cities teem with other non-humans from microbes to plants and animal species and these too are not a residuum; they are not merely the decorative additions we make in our gardens and the bits and scraps of non-human organisms that we have somehow missed in our attempt to sanitise a purely human space. In a way they have always been there, not always seen, not always appreciated. It is only in recent times that we have come to appreciate how much 'natural' life there is in cities and this is partly because we have begun to look with new posthumanist eyes.

Humans have pursued rather contradictory ambitions for city life. A group that we might call city builders, those responding to the threat of risk from non-humans of all kinds, have dreamed the dream of a human citadel, where all others were banished by rules and regulations, by barriers and membranes, by chemical toxicity and chemical regimes and by removal of niches and habitat. This group has triumphed rather less than they imagine, but their rhetoric has produced the widespread view that cities belong, properly, to humans, or its variant, that cities exclude non-human life. Both are wrong and lead to serious consequences that limit the possible richness and diversity of city life. Another group, who seldom act as a group, have been responsible, wittingly and unwittingly, for undoing the work of the city builders.

First there are those, and they are legion, from London to Hong Kong, who have wanted to share their lives with non-human others. They have acclimatised a wide range of non-humans into life in the city. Plants brought in from exotic climes to decorate city gardens in lavish, expensive but controlled ways have escaped all over the world – even in the exotic places of origin themselves. Australia, for example, has imported thousands of plants and hundreds of animals. Often, in league with gardeners, new strains/hybrids of plant that manage better in new climates emerged as a result of trials, experimentation, competition among gardeners and chance crossings in the unique and largely unplanned heterotopias of the Victorian garden. It was then possible for them to make their escape attempts, to wait their opportunity to spread and thrive. Buddleia (*Buddleia davidii*), named after the early eighteenth century English botanist the Reverend Adam Buddle, was introduced into the UK in 1890 from China. It was noted for its astonishing capacity to attract many butterflies otherwise not seen in the English city garden, and became therefore a significant reason why so many butterflies like the Red Admiral, the Peacock and the Comma were able to lead city lives subsequently. In Australia and New Zealand it enrolled the Australian Admiral (*Vanessa itea*) to the antipodean suburb, collaborating with the

accidentally imported English nettle, which supplied food for its caterpillars. In the USA it brought in hummingbirds.

Initially, it was a prized shrub seen only in the most elegant British city gardens, but it took advantage of any lapse in the otherwise orderly sealed, sanitised and managed modern urban landscape. Buddleia was naturally adapted to poor, almost soil-less rocky mountainsides. Urban industrial ruins, when they occurred, were very much to its taste. Buddleia was first noticed (as a runaway city vagrant) in the crumbling ruins of abandoned country houses and slum districts in the 1930s. Then, as Fay Weldon makes clear, it took up residence in the thousands of urban bomb sites created by the Second World War. These were less concentrated than slums and as a result they spread over a wider range. As a denizen of human decline, buddleia was next noticeable in the waste grounds and embankments created by the decommissioned railway lines of the 1960s. In this way buddleia now transected Britain in the systematic manner of a railway network and as a result of this it very quickly established itself in the ruins of Thatcher's deindustrialisation programme of the 1980s. And, as local city councils lost income and the ability to maintain urban infrastructure in the 1980s to 1990s, buddleia cropped up wherever the hand of human urban maintenance hesitated. Buddleia, railway networks and deindustrialisation created a network, became intertwined and created a new nature and a new urban look. Buddleia's own network of insects were thus enrolled into new urban spaces.

So, in a buddleia-like manner, nature is interleaved into city life and is always potentially waiting to become more so. There are shy, previously much-hunted birds in Australia that the first settlers hardly ever saw, so they had to confine them in aviaries in zoological gardens. Once there and confined they began to learn the ropes of city life. How doors work for example; how humans *like* birds generally speaking and like to offer them food, or where humans will often dump unwanted food, seemingly without a further care. They learned that most of their carnivorous enemies gave cities a wide birth and how, despite everything, cities made pretty good nesting sites. But all this takes time and shows that cities are always likely to be 'becoming something else'.

Just as Brisbane and Sydney gained exotic city birds, London lost others that had been familiar Londoners for a very long time. First to go were the storks that were common in the seventeenth century, as John Philips records in his Georgic poem *Cyder*:

Twill profit, when the Stork, sworn Foe of Snakes,
Returns, to shew Compassion to thy Plants,
Fatigued with Breeding. ...

[*Cyder* (1708), Book 1, ll. 375–7]

Their annual migrations from Africa terminated as building changed and as more marshes close to cities were drained for agriculture and building. More recently, as gentrification and new building techniques closed most entrances to roof and gutter spaces, the English sparrow, long a symbol of Londoners, went into a steep and much-lamented decline. As we will see in Chapter 8, however, nature and humanity are not closed off to each other ecologically and there are aesthetic, sentimental, moral, ethical and symbolic relationships that mediate many relationships and outcomes. The sparrow, for example, has made a comeback because people have provided nest boxes on the sides of their homes, in quite staggering numbers. The stork has not nested in London again, but right in the heart of the West End there is a noisy and vibrant heron colony and they have entered the city to take advantage of cleaner water and more nutritious urban wetland ecologies. Key workers stop on their way into the city to admire and check progress of the new season's chicks. Workers and heron chicks both comprise city life but their combined trajectories, their intertwining and their becoming together, need to be part of what we count as the city.

In this way cities still have a cultural and performative coherence and have not been dissolved by liquid modernity, globalisation, the 'spaces of flows', electronic media and communications. On the other hand, all of these *have* had an impact on city life, but mainly by increasing the net in- and outflows of peoples, information and things that were always the defining features of cities: we still experience city life much as Virginia Woolf did in the 1920s using natural metaphors of flows, currents, growth, expansion and death. As then, city life always overwhelms us; there is always far more of it than we can ever possibly cope with and, as Bauman (2002) argues, there are now many movements of new peoples (and things) whom it is impossible to fix in any order of things.

We have moved quietly, but certainly not undramatically, into what Steve Crook (1999) called 'neoliberal regimes of risk management'. City and national states can no longer manage risk on our behalf and the number of risks and insecurities proliferates as the world becomes more mobile, liberal and flexible. Cities that were once bastions and havens of safety and hygiene are now as wide open to disease as they are to terrorist attack, racism, crime and (other) disorders and this too will have implications for city life, a point Touraine (2000) makes in his *Can We Live Together?* Despite that, more of us are more connected and more widely a part of and informed of this life. This book will argue that while this changes what it is to live in a city, it tends to add more life to, rather than move more life away from metropolitan centres. In sum, as both cities and their troubles grow in significance, the city has never been more relevant to global society.

This book investigates city life in its two main aspects. First, as we have just seen, in respect of the *ecological* relationships established in cities, between

humans, machines and buildings (which were once called ‘machines for living’) and ‘natures’. And second, in terms of its social and cultural composition, particularly the often noted (and sometimes lamented) sense of vibrant and fulfilling city life. Increasingly, competing global cities seek to instil or revive a sense of city life as ‘buzz’ or ‘aliveness’ and they often follow formulaic developmental methodologies in order to do so without knowing quite what this city life is in ontological terms or how it is generated as a social and cultural artefact. This book aims to analyse this special quality of successful cities and to describe its peculiar social and cultural content. In doing so it is necessary to trace the development of the city historically and so the early part of the book traces, briefly, the transition from the early, so-called traditional cities to the planned modern cities of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries and then, in rather more detail, their biographies from the mid-twentieth century until the present. The chapters thus fall into two sections, Part One: Becoming Cities and Part Two: Making City Life.

Part One: Becoming Cities

Chapter 1 commences with the birth of the city of Canterbury, England, when the centre of the tribal life of the Cantiaci became focused into a fully fledged Roman city. We can learn a lot from this brief exercise if only because it tells us a lot about the focal points and content of city life for most of their history. In this respect I beg to differ from Max Weber’s (1958) view that the city’s historic function was primarily one of defence. Unlike the modern city, which placed emphasis on the city as a place of work and residence, the Roman city and later medieval and early modern iterations placed great emphasis on cities as places of religious, ritual, trade, leisure and political life. Trade, meeting and rituals had been combined at special places prior to their elevation to cities from at least the Iron Age in the UK and Europe. In many respects, as we will see, the successful contemporary city has found ways to restore this transactional and ritual convergence in new contexts, whereas many people living in less successful cities still languish between the boredom of suburban residency and the indifference of the modern industrial estate. These ‘non-places’ are often compounded by city centres reduced to a nine-to-five retail and office function.

Chapter 2 considers the transformation of the traditional city into the machinic, spontaneous, and often unplanned city of the early nineteenth century. Again, an attempt is made to try to understand a newly urbanised working and industrial class alongside (and interpellated by) the strange and powerful new machines that dominated their landscape and created yet more possible ways of life in cities. This was by necessity an experimental period in

modern planning, new urban technologies, politics and social transformation, in which microbes and an increasingly diverse amount of global natural resources were pulled into these cities for manufacture and consumption. Whereas Canterbury formed the focus for the traditional city, it was the large and affluent port cities like Bristol that were poised to become what Lewis Mumford (1961) characterised as 'Coketown'.

In Chapters 3 and 4 the transformation of Coketowns into planned, rationalised modern cities, epitomising what Zygmunt Bauman calls 'solid modernity', will be analysed in relation to processes made world-famous in Paris and London. The Paris of Haussmann is essential to analyse for its effects, a lot of them completely unintended, on the nature of social and cultural life in the city. Here the important elements are the new spaces that were created and the momentum and content of the cultural practices. Paris became a model place not only because of its beautiful architecture and shops but because of the city life it made possible. It could be the city of love because it contained new and aestheticised places of assignation and lingering; places for meeting, slowing down, eating and drinking, promenading, dancing and play. From a very early example of a square in the Place des Vosges to the heroic boulevards and their socially sophisticated consideration of residential life in the city, Paris provides a good laboratory for the understanding of vibrant cities. However, it was only one model and beautiful though it was its birth and history has been tempered by accusations of exclusivity and intolerance, particularly of the urban poor who were displaced in vast numbers to make way for its new centre. Chapter 4 therefore considers the other possible 'solid modern' urban solution, one that has become more widely followed around the globe. For this, I turn my attention to London, to the USA and other British colonial cities, particularly in Australia, for this is where the garden city and suburban city life developed and grew to dominate entire cultures.

The problem with both forms of solid modern city was their basis in the belief that a good city could be planned much like a good water supply, drainage and sewerage system. It encouraged the granting of extensive powers and authority to experts, Bauman's (1992) 'legislators', who were given unparalleled control to lay down what was considered to be the true *scientific* path of human development. Life was not to be a matter of taste, tradition or culture (all of which are relative and ethnocentred) but the appliance of science; to find the most perfectible way, delivered in the most rational of schemes. It led to the generalisation of the mantra 'form follows function' and human city life tended to lose all semblance of its aesthetic, ludic, ritual and spiritual traditions in favour of the identification of core functions (housing, work, communications, health and so on). Periods of austerity and the ubiquitous spectre of poverty encouraged this attention to

the *basics* of life (Inglehart, 1997 identifies this as a politics of materialism) at best banishing the aesthetic and pleasurable as foppish luxuries but at worst creating uncharted sociological spaces of rejection and despair (de Botton, 2006; Raban, 1974). Such critical thoughts gathered apace in the 1970s and were joined by others focused on an emerging environmental/ecological critique of the modern city. Together they formed what might be called the 'dysfunctional city' discourse and this provided the critical material and catalyst for urban regeneration and efflorescence over the past thirty years. This is the subject of Chapter 5: The Dysfunctional City. It marked a turning point of a kind and provides the basis for the second part of the book in which cities become less dominated by all-powerful legislators, less concerned with producing a narrow range of functionality for the industrial 'workerist' city, and less focused around the city as a humanist citadel. Instead, new city cultures emerged that would be more reflexive (more interested in their cultural and environmental impacts, for example); they became more democratised through urban social movements and a good deal more performative as new city spaces were created for a range of new *cultural* innovations and institutions. In many ways cities came to reflect the shift from modern societies dominated by work, industry and workerism to those in which consumption, leisure and consumerism were to play a leading part. It dawned on people across the world that the city was no longer just a means to an end but an end in itself. That end was city life itself, but it had to be *made*.

Part Two: Making City Life

The dysfunctional modern city created significant cultural, political and policy-focused critiques and these paved the way for an emerging reflexivity that was to change the entire nature of the city. In searching for an apt metaphor for this transformation one has to combine a greater willingness to reflect on the wider impacts of cities as well as on the fact that this also involved creating far more relationships between people and between people, machines and other non-humans. It also alludes to the growing *complexity* of the city and a retreat from the one-dimensionality of solid modernity (see Urry, 2003a). For this reason Chapter 6 has been given the title 'The Ecological City', and it is significant that a common mentality informed both the greater emphasis given to ethnic and cultural understanding and tolerance (including a greater empathy for history and past cultures as is evident in gentrification and heritage-type activities) as well as to recognising more complex intertwinings with machinic and natural systems (Haraway, 2008; Law and Mol, 2002).

Chapter 7, 'City Lifestyle', looks more closely at how consumption, both as new forms of social movement and as consumerism itself, came to restructure the contemporary city as a cultural and a performative space. The performance of 'lifestyle' was new and took place through new consumer movements, through creating new ways of restoring and inhabiting older properties and neighbourhoods, through creating new urban markets and other exchange and performance spaces.

In these ways the distinction between residency and work in the city was blurred and broken down, both in spatial and performative terms. However, these new activities also transformed the public spaces of cities and created new forms of 'Spectacle and Carnival', which is the title of the next chapter.

Chapter 8 reconnects with earlier historical chapters to identify long-established traditions of spectacle and carnival in the city. The chapter traces how such activities were suppressed and discouraged by puritanical and Victorian cultures and how they resurfaced, often in underground ways, in the early twentieth century. Jazz is highlighted as an early role model for others to follow and the efflorescence of new spectacles and the carnivalesque (through street carnivals and festivals) are documented and analysed in some detail as a means of understanding what it is that constitutes the new buzz and atmosphere that contemporary city dwellers, employees and developers are so keen to find/create.

Chapter 9, 'City Natures', takes a look at another efflorescence in the contemporary city: a new enthusiasm to share it with non-humans. Relationships with wildlife, birds, companion animals and plants in addition to the relationship cities have with larger natural forces such as extreme weather, volcanic activity and bushfires, form the basis of this chapter. Again, the emphasis is on the city as a post-human entity, which is both encouraged by people who have developed and wish to exercise strong ecological sentiments and is a result of the agency of non-humans. While some may argue that the city still represents an ecological threat to the planet, such anxieties need to be tempered by the fact that cities also seem to produce strong cultures of environmentalism and a keen sense of ethical responsibility to non-humans.