
URBAN RURALITIES OR THE NEW URBAN-RURAL PARADIGM - INTRODUCTION

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Classical theories of urbanisation are based on a strict distinction of 'the urban' and 'the non-urban' and closely linked with concepts of order and organisation. Statistics continuously reflecting the changing relation between people living in cities and outside cities and the extensive celebration of the demographic shift towards the 'urban side' in 2007 as a significant marker of the "Urban Age" clearly reflect this perspective. We do not question the general historic dichotomy of cities and the countryside, but we do oppose models that generally place the city in the centre, or tend to colonise the country conceptually ("urbanised landscapes," "planetary urbanism," etc.). The concept of "Urban Ruralities" assembles research approaches that challenge a supposed hegemony of the "urban order." In this session we rather propose to take into account a complex relationality of the complementary qualities: we are interested in examples that show and help explain that in most urbanising processes, order and disorder, aspects of 'the urban' and 'the rural', are deeply entangled and belong together as the two sides of a coin (the "new urban-rural paradigm"). The four case studies of this session discuss two influential perspectives in this field: the planning and testing of modern infrastructure systems during the late 19th century in Berlin and Hanoi, and the concept of 'urban landscape' (Stadtlandschaft) in the reconstruction master plans of Madrid and Hamburg during the 1940s. Both topics are closely related and demonstrate complementary manifestations of territorial, material, and representational ambivalence in urban-rural and centre-periphery relations.

This article introduces "Urban Ruralities" as a transdisciplinary research field. It provides a historic basis discussing some of the most influential urban theories of the 20th and 21st century: the ones which are focused on 'the urban' and more or less deliberately dominate 'the non-urban' or 'the rural' and the opposing position biased toward decentralisation and dissolution. We wonder whether some spatial and social assemblies may not adequately be addressed using these models: as there were inner and outer urban fringes, zones of spatial, functional and habitual overlap, or simultaneously growing and shrinking areas worldwide. The paper concludes in proposing an alternative, possible "new urban-rural paradigm," aiming at a clearer conception of the complex, uncontrolled and intertwined urban-rural dynamics and associations, which dominantly materialise in these uncertain spaces.

Keywords

urbanisation theory, urban and non-urban, order and disorder, town and country, center and periphery, urban-rural relations, overlaps

How to Cite

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INTRODUCTION

Classical theories of urbanisation are based on a strict distinction of ‘the urban’ and ‘the non-urban’ and closely linked with concepts of order and organisation. Continuous statistics regarding the changing relation between people living in cities and outside cities and the extensive celebration of the demographic shift towards the ‘urban side’ in 2007 as a significant marker of the “Urban Age” clearly reflect this perspective. We do not question the general historic dichotomy of cities and the countryside, but we do oppose models that generally place the city in the centre or tend to colonise the country conceptually (“urbanised landscapes,” “planetary urbanism,” etc.).

During the 19th century, dynamic urbanisation processes were marked by variegated cooperation models, by economic and cultural forms of exchange and mixture, as well as by push-and-pull dynamics between town and country, and were always accompanied by ambivalent valuation (devaluation and revaluation): Urban settlements and infrastructure had not been prepared for the mass migration from the countryside. Town planning developed according to the new and enormous challenges caused by the arrival of the migrants. Zones of arrival at the urban seams were characterised by rapid change of material and structural formation, informal building, social heterogeneity and manifold forms of mutual exchange and bidirectional mobility between the city and the countryside.¹ Some examples will be raised here. (1) Urban-rural multilocality: While migrants supported their families in the country with money and goods from the city, they conversely received regional products and secured emotional backing from their rural relatives. Such forms of urban-rural multilocality faded during the next generation.² (2) Housing types and infrastructure: The rural villa immigrated into the urban area while at the same time – in tandem with the development of efficient transportation systems – a newly arising urban bourgeoisie settled in the easily accessible landscapes as to realise their individual dream of a rural arcadia and integrated it into new urban lifestyles.³ (3) Finally, at the end of the 19th century the garden-city model comprehensively channeled the general longing for qualities of rural life into the urban realm.

How can we explain – in view of the manifold urban-rural permeation of the 19th and the early 20th century urbanisation processes – that classical urbanisation theories of the 20th century strictly defined an urban/non-urban dichotomy? How did such an excessive emphasis of ‘the urban’ develop in theories of space during the last decades? And which territorial, ecological, social and cultural aspects of the human-natural environment escape from such a theoretical approach?

The first and second paragraphs follow two complementary strands of urbanisation theory: the tradition of urban sociology and the tradition of radical reform as intellectual basis of the most influential structural models, and will reveal their little-noticed multifold historic entanglement throughout the 20th century. The third section focusses specific spatial configurations that are significant for, and have been produced by, economic, social and political logics and dynamics since the mid 20th century: located at the inner and outer fringes, spaces less determined, less stable, less carefully designed, and not clearly defined as urban or rural. Regarding these spaces, the fourth and concluding part will discuss some recent structural models. Concepts like the ‘network city’ (Netzstadt) integrate the periphery, landscape, and rural, but still have a strong urban bias. We argue here for an equal notion of urban and rural qualities (“urban ruralities”) and propose to consider the new “urban-rural space.”

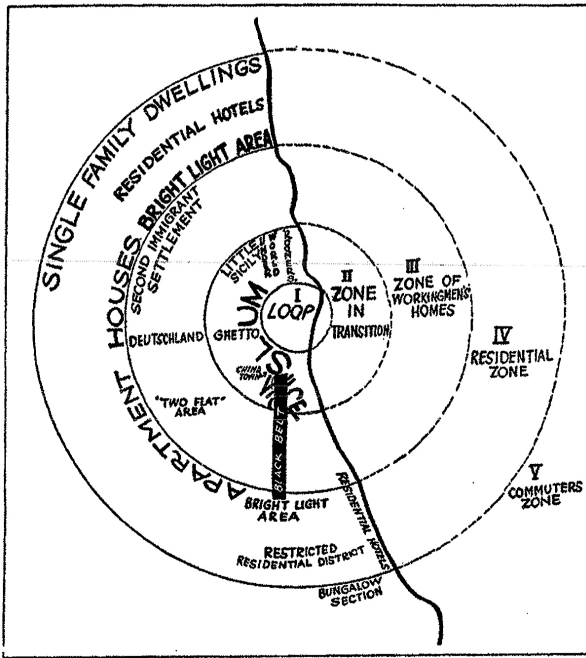


FIGURE 1 Ernest W. Burgess (1925): Structural model of the city as a closed, circular system

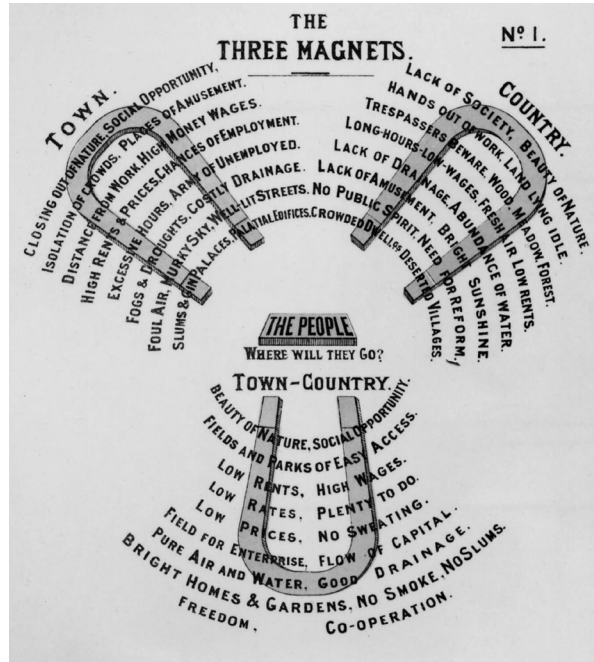


FIGURE 2 Ebenezer Howard (1898): Analysis of the urban and the rural sphere

THE URBAN/NON-URBAN SPACE

“The city is a state of mind, a body of customs and traditions, and of organized attitudes and sentiments that inhere in this tradition. (...) It is involved in vital processes of the people who compose it, it is a product of nature and particularly of human nature.”⁴ Robert E. Park 1915

Starting in 1915, a particularly fertile research environment developed at the Social Department of the University of Chicago under the leadership of Robert Ezra Park. The anthology published ten years later, “The City,”⁵ became the “manifest of the Chicago School of Sociology.”⁶ In his editorial article, Park unfolded the anthropologist perspective and raised the main topics of the project: (1) The metropolis or large city as a configuration of spatially defined social units; (2) the emergence of new “urban types,” which found their expression in new urban professions in line with specific mentalities and behaviors; (3) changes of integrating and regulating systems leading towards new social formation and consumption patterns. With the subsequent article, “The Growth of the City,”⁷ Ernest W. Burgess explained the model and methods of urban analysis: He regarded the city as a closed system in a continuous process of growth. In concentric circles Burgess described the “succession” of defined zones of social milieus. These milieus and their adaption dynamics were examined with journalistic research methods in a number of various projects at the Chicago School.

The model – based on a mixture of behaviorist and biologist thinking – interprets the city as a mosaic of secluded social environments, which together form a whole, encompassing system. It establishes a clear inside and outside, and entails a conceptual ignorance towards the latter.

Rolf Lindner traces the roots of the Chicago School of Urban Sociology to the tradition of early social research and urban analysis in England – such as the work of Henry Mayhew (1812-1887) and Charles Booth (1840-1916).⁸ The motivation for their pioneering work of social survey was fear: fear of the unknown, the strange, the dangerous – manifest in the threats of contagion, disease, delinquency, and revolutionary energy. The Chicago School of Urban

Sociology followed the earlier German tradition of urban sociology and transferred it to the context of the US American city: Simmel and Weber had mainly scrutinised political, social, and cultural configurations as to sound out conditions and opportunities of a new civic urban society. In this sense, they had acted as advocates of the urban bourgeoisie. Their background was the specific German experience of the city as place of civic economic and political autonomy. Consequently, Weber had referred to the Medieval city with its social, political and material boundaries, which also defined a clear inside and outside of the whole system as well as of its singular parts. The short survey of urban/non-urban space approaches in urban sociology of the early 20th century clearly shows that the definition of a distinct inside and outside of the urban system mainly reflects the interest of an urban bourgeoisie to physically, socially and culturally secure their existence in the city as a rapidly transforming environment.

In 1938, Louis Wirth even extended the urban sphere of influence beyond the physical confines of the city. His influential essay, “Urbanism as a Way of Life,” conceptualised the dominance of the city regarding the “virtue of the power of its institutions and personalities operating through the means of communication and transportation.”⁹ Furthermore, Wirth defined the city as being identified by three characteristics: size, density and heterogeneity. He stated that these socio-ecological criteria would produce a certain ‘lifestyle,’ the “urbanism as a way of life.”

Though the text became a classic in urban sociology, some authors raised critique starting in the early 1960s. So, the American sociologist Herbert Gans, who had studied the social formation and interaction in ethnically homogeneous villages centrally positioned in the city, as well as in the suburban neighborhood of Levittown, most radically questioned whether it made sense at all to speak of the city in terms of social behavior: “But if ways of life do not coincide with settlement types, and if these ways are functions of class and life-cycle stage rather than of the ecological attributes of the settlement, a sociological definition of the city cannot be formulated.”¹⁰

FROM “TOWN-COUNTRY” VIA ‘URBAN LANDSCAPES’ (STADTLANDSCHAFTEN) TO “COMPLETE URBANISATION” AND ‘URBANISED LANDSCAPES’

“Each nation – her own agriculturalist and manufacturer; each individual working in the field and in some industrial art; each individual combining scientific knowledge with the knowledge of a handicraft – such is, we affirm, the present tendency of civilised nations.”¹¹ Alexander Kropotkin 1902

“I’ll begin with the following hypothesis: society has been completely urbanized. This hypothesis implies a definition: an urban society is a society that results from a process of complete urbanization. This urbanization is virtual today, but will become real in the future.”¹² Henri Lefebvre 1970

The concept of the garden city marks the other end of the imaginary field of modelling urbanisation dynamics throughout the 20th century. Its moral origins and aims can be regarded as antithetical to the research interests of the Chicago School, to their scientific methods and also to their scholarly networks. If 20th century city planning, as professional movement, essentially represents a reaction to the evils of the 19th century city, the strands of urban sociology aimed at the intellectual understanding of the phenomena, while the driving force of the garden city idea was empathy and compassion for the plight of the poor (urban and rural) and the positive mission to lift and remove the burdens of the nineteenth-century city for all its inhabitants. As Peter Hall particularly stressed, Ebenezer Howard’s model was rooted in anarchist thinking.¹³ And, though none of its ingredients were actually original, it was Howard’s remarkable contribution to assemble ideas that at the time were flourishing in various disciplinary fields, and join them in a coherent master-model, which he then communicated in easily comprehensible ways. His concept was based on a simple analysis of the urban and the rural sphere and it operated with three essential elements.

The core message of the model – following anarchist Alexander Kropotkin's ideas – was the 'integration' of the urban and rural sphere – spatially, socially, economically, and culturally – in a conceptual space ('town-country'), which would be based on FREEDOM and CO-OPERATION.

Howard's model consists of three essential elements which refer to urban and rural practices.

- co-operating commonwealths: communities of manageable size (rural context)
- regional production cycles (rural context)
- three-pillar model of generating land ownership (urban capitalist economy)¹⁴

The model became exceptionally successful, which means that it was incorporated into official town planning on manifold levels and in different ways, as most important strands there were:

- 1 Municipal and national planning institutions ('urban landscape' (Germany), new towns (Anglo-Saxon realm), regionalism (US))
- 2 private sector of land use (advertising garden-city)
- 3 bottom-up collective movements (still of little importance, future potential)

Exactly herein lay the particular problem of the concept: While operationally adopted by municipal planning institutions and state bureaucracy, absorbed by NS-ideology as well as by the Charta-of-Athens-based functionalist planning doctrines of the post-war era (1), it was misinterpreted in manifold ways¹⁵. Private developers picked up the catchy name and banalised the idea in commercial settlement projects (2). My thesis is, that the third scope of action – bottom-up collective, which Howard actually had intended – was, during the 20th century, too weak and still lacked decisive tools of communication.

The doubtful heritage of the new towns and the grand settlements at the city peripheries discredited the idea of the garden city. It became a main target of the critique of post-war modernist urban planning, which actually aimed at dissolving the cities within the 'urban landscape' (*Stadtlandschaft*). The garden-city model was made responsible for what it never had intended: for the joint ignorance and aggressive approach toward the compact historic city and for the baracking of the people into socially structured super blocks.

In order to replace the prevailing functionalist planning paradigm, the growing critique had to create a strong counter-model. The choice was made for an uncompromising united campaigning for the revaluation of the city and the urban. This categorical, theoretical, and practical reorientation went in line with the thesis of "the complete subordination of the rural to the urban."¹⁶

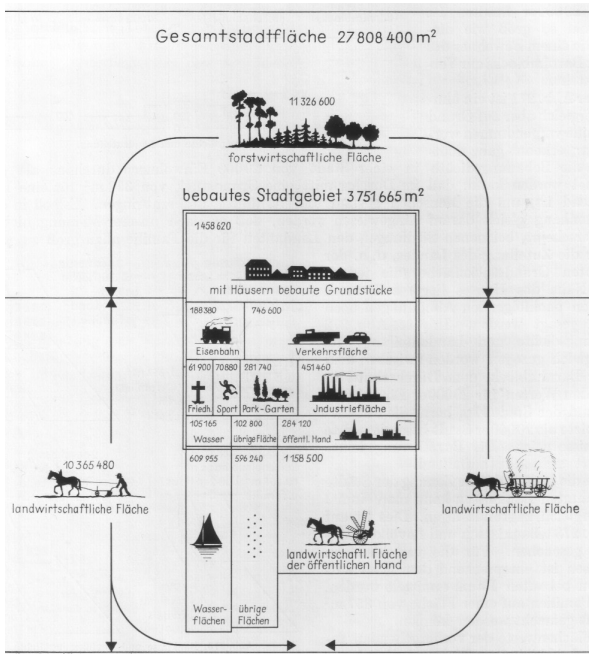


FIGURE 3 Gottfried Feder (1939): Die neue Stadt. Cybernetic cycles of the 'urban landscape' (Stadtlandschaft).

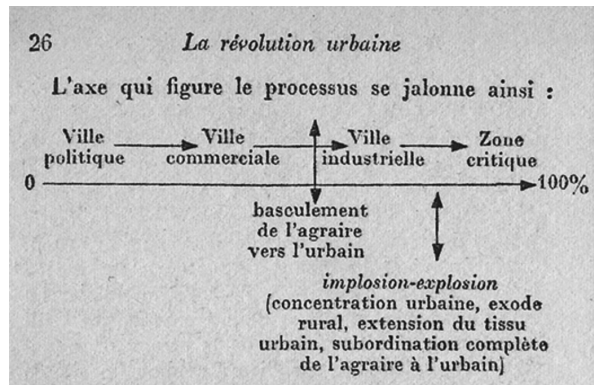


FIGURE 4 Henri Lefebvre (1970): Exodus of the rural. Complete subordination of the rural to the urban.



FIGURE 5 Marseille nord, GR_2013: Walking through uncertain spaces

The ‘reconquest of the historic city’ was the visible manifestation of its gradual success. It resulted in a number of protective measures (e.g. Venice Charter 1964, and European Architectural Heritage Year 1975) and the perceivable change from the radical urban renewal to new ways of gentle urban regeneration in the European and the US city centres during the following decades.

However, the then nicely historically reconstructed, well-ordered and embellished inner cities found themselves surrounded by suburbia that its own characteristics: segregated single-family houses, DYS mentality of home owners, inherent car dependency, driveways, parking lots, mega stores etc. Since the 1980s these dynamically growing areas between the urban and the rural space became more and more interesting objects of scholarly research mainly in Europe and in the USA.

UNCERTAIN SPACES AND UNCERTAIN DYNAMICS¹⁷

“Venice Charter 1964, Amsterdam declaration 1975, Noto Charter 1987; It was referred to as the ‘recapture of the city.’ Very good! Except the fact that we started to care for the city centers only when the essential dynamics already happened elsewhere, that is at the periphery.”¹⁸ André Corboz 1997

Publications such as “La città diffusa” (1990, F. Indovina)¹⁹, “Zwischenstadt” (1997, T. Sieverts)²⁰, and “La ciudad dispersa” (1998, F. J. Monclús)²¹ directed the analytical conception towards the intermediate and peripheral zones of and between the urban cores. These publications spurred major research cluster throughout Europe as the ‘Ladenburger Kolleg zur Zwischenstadt’²² (Germany), various projects in the context of ‘Stadtland Schweiz’²³ (Switzerland), and the most encompassing multinational European project ‘Outskirts of European Cities.’²⁴ In the United States scholars of the Los Angeles School conceptualised the complex urbanisation patterns and dynamics of the expanding, functionally increasingly divers metropolitan regions and harshly criticised the urban centre-focussed approach of the Chicago school.²⁵ Since the 1990s a variety of concepts and new terms were proposed such as “Generic City,”²⁶ “Edge City,”²⁷ or the “Endless City”²⁸ More recently the IBA Hamburg started working on the ‘inner peripheries’²⁹ as similarly did the Pre-IBA team in Berlin looking for ‘voids’ in the urban tissue. These research contexts have produced an enormous stock of information on (semi-)urban structures, which are to be found beyond the compact, historic city cores. Reviewing the rich literature, however, reveals that these spaces - though namely the ‘living spaces of the majority of the people,’ remained somehow ‘different’ and ‘strange.’³⁰

Another demographic phenomenon is still less recognised: rural areas globally are depleting. These dynamics are object of extensive research too – but the prevailing urban perspective still has hardly produced effective antidotes.

So, actually there are several types of spaces, which on the one hand are considered to be ‘problematic,’ or ‘special,’ and at the same time seem to offer ‘high potentials.’ As ‘remainder spaces of the urban’ – similar to the entire rural space – they frequently are addressed as ‘zones of special intervention.’³¹ However, it can be suspected that in this perspective they might remain – practically and theoretically – offside, at the periphery. As for quite some time such ‘uncertain spaces’ are the subject of scholarly research already as ‘urbanised landscape’ (see above), it seems not too effective simply incorporating them into an enlarged urban paradigm. Thus we propose here to rather strengthen their speciality as to offer a complementary arsenal for a productive cooperation with the urban. Therefore, a theoretical approach is needed as to systematically examine the positive potentials of these zones, and in doing so to make them available for further urban and regional development.

We argue that the prioritisation of the urban since the second half of the 20th century is essentially based on the late-Fordist political-economic formation of the planning sector. The significant construction volume after WWII was realised world-wide, following the then prevailing anti-urban ideal of the functionalistic city – a mixture of the principles of the Athens Charter and the ‘urban landscape’ (*Stadtlandschaft*). When it finally became obvious that this practice threatened the entire heritage of the European inner cities enormous intellectual and physical power had to be raised in order to stop the vast urban destruction. In the struggle for the ‘reconquest of the inner cities’ the concept of urbanism/urbanity (*Urbanität*) became a central lever, based on critical Marxist thinking which always had been urban-biased. Against this background developed - driven by multifold regional and economic-political dynamics, which have to be scrutinised carefully - the asymmetrical relation between the urban and the rural.³² And so, it was specific historic constellations since the post-war decades that hindered theorising the rural equally to the urban. What is still lacking is a theoretical concept that activates the positive power and potential of the rural aiming at equally cooperating with the urban: aiming at a co-production of the “urban-rural space.”

TOWARDS A NEW URBAN-RURAL SPACE

“I will undertake, then, to show how in “Town-country” equal, may better, opportunities of social intercourse may be enjoyed (...); how higher wages are compatible with reduced rents and rates; how abundant opportunities for employment and bright prospects of advancement may be secured for all; (...) how the bounds of freedom may be widened, and yet all the best results of concert and co-operation gathered in by a happy people.”³³ Ebenezer Howard 1898

For the planning disciplines, visual models are and always were an important communication tool. Accordingly, the above mentioned discussions and scientific networks were accompanied by the development and draft of new conceptual and visual models. Probably the network-city concept corresponds best with the phenomena of ‘Zwischenstadt’, ‘citta diffusa’ or ‘Stadtland Schweiz’. The net metaphor was neatly linked with the concept of the “Space of Flows,” which Manuel Castells conceived as a high-level cultural abstraction of space and time, based on an analysis of the dynamic interactions of the digital age society, its economy and politics.³⁴ At the same time social sciences discussed a shift from the relatively stable configuration of milieus towards momentary experience and ephemeral scenarios.³⁵ Franz Oswald und Peter Baccini have introduced the concept of “network city” (Netzstadt) into the urban design and planning sciences. It should figure as a structural model of the urban space based on relations and exchange processes between various types and formations of actors, as a planning method and and as a strategy within participatory planning processes.³⁶

This is where Oliver Frey sets his model of the Amalgaman City.³⁷ This model attempts to display the simultaneity of the dissolution and the reinforcing of urban development patterns by means of new processes of identity-building. It clearly includes specific spatial-historical facts and emphasises multifold entanglements and interaction of the built spaces, identity-creating forces, and social networks, as for example urban ‘scenes.’ Both models – Netzstadt and Amalgame Stadt - are actors orientated, relational, and they describe cities as open structures. However, both models reclaim potentials of innovation and originality more or less obviously for the cities, respectively for the urbane. In this regard, both models still tend towards a sort of ‘planetary urban usurpation.’ During the 1960s and 70s “complete urbanisation”³⁸ expressed protest and revolutionary thinking against totalitarian modernist planning – and the architecture of new towns and the concept of the ‘urban landscape’ (*Stadtlandschaft*) as its material representations. At the same time Herbert Gans complementary claimed that it made no sense at all to use the term ‘city’ in a broader sense, especially as to describe social qualities. The driving force his provoking idea was Gans’ awareness and respect of the ‘other:’ something new, uncertain, that was mixing and hybridising well-known categories of the urban and the rural. This otherness was to be found in suburbia, or in main street - as later Venturi-Scott Brown have raised. We argue that it is the ‘otherness’ of the ‘urban(ised) landscapes, which calls for a revaluation of the rural as equally creative reservoir. Associating both qualities equally may lead to fresh concepts of a new “urban-rural space.”

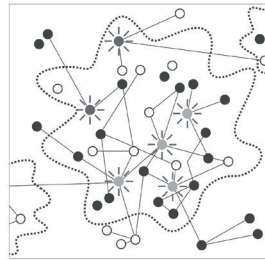
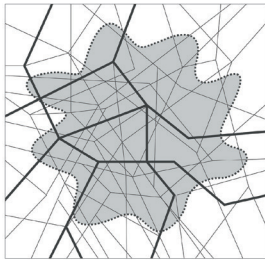


FIGURE 6 Network City (Baccini and Oswald 1998) Amalgam City (Frey 2006)

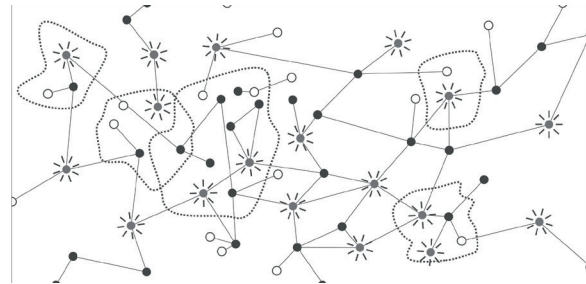


FIGURE 7 The New Urban-Rural Space produced by social-material interaction (co-operation)

This means that the manifold ways of the social formation of the urban space (discussed as ‘urbanism’/ urbanity) would have to face equal manifestations of the rural which we want to define as ‘ruralities’ (the plural form signalling its fluidity and multidimensional possible expressions) Yet hitherto the rural studies were hardly struggling with an encompassing concept of urbanism.³⁹

However, during the early 1990s the German sociologist Detlev Ipsen tried to introduce a new historically based perspective regarding the rural. Ipsen raised three examples for the meaningful creative force of the rural⁴⁰: He described (1) the urban-rural co-existences as “structural dualism” of urbanisation in the 19th century, (2) the rural space as important target of the Fordistic market, and (3) envisioned that specific rural expertises, such as economic multitasking or traditional rural-manufactural skills, might raise anew attention to facing the challenges of global transformation and new regulation systems.

This is the point of departure for our concept of ‘urban ruralities’ or the new ‘urban-rural space’⁴¹ which may help to newly conceive a space of equal encounter, exchange and co-operation of the urban and the rural.

The scheme relocates the image section towards the countryside. Connecting lines represent multidimensional actor networks following Bruno Latour’s definition of the term: “Thus, the network does not designate a thing out there that would have roughly the shape of interconnected points, much like a telephone, a freeway, or a sewage ‘network.’ It is nothing more than an indicator of the quality of a text about the topics at hand. It qualifies its objectivity, that is, the ability of each actor to make other actors do unexpected things.”⁴¹

Finally, we get back at the point of departure. The idea of the garden city presented the goal – as simple as it is radical: after carefully analysing the good and the evil in town (urban) and country (rural): combine all the best in a town-country. To get things done, this model aimed at civic engagement and participation: ... for and “by a happy people.”⁴²

As shown above, the well-known model not only derived, but also gained much of its intellectual punch from anarchist thought – in this tradition the French anthropologist Claude Lévi Strauss described the ‘wild thinking’⁴³ from other parts of the world and introduced myth and magic into modern western thought. Neither anarchist nor ‘wild thinking’ were exclusively focused on the urban sphere – but both inspired urban action in a highly fertile way. ‘Wild thinking’ stimulated the critical movements of the 1960s and spurred their protest against the authoritarian implications of moderist city planning most obvious in urban renewal projects transforming the historic urban tissue into dispersed urban landscapes: Artists, architects, and writers, such as Guy Debord, Alison and Peter Smithson or Cedric Price, Reyner Banham, Peter Hall, and Paul Barker in London operated intellectually as well as in practice, mixing urban and rural elements, respecting their nature and freely integrating both qualities within their critical projects.⁴⁴



FIGURE 8 Street Farmer Issue No 2, 1972,



FIGURE 9 Cover Archigram 9, 1970

An unbiased view drew their attention also towards the ‘uncertain’ spaces and it allowed one to “think the unthinkable.”⁴⁵ 1960s/70s activists already identified run-down or underdeveloped parts of the city as high potential for new ideas, provoking demands (for example the ‘enterprise zones’), and self-empowering projects and, last but not least, to accept suburbia as it was⁴⁶ – as the choice of the people.

CONCLUSION AND AIMS

Anarchist imagination – similar to ‘wild thinking’ – always referred to the planetary territory while incorporating urban and rural phenomena and treating them relationally. We propose to adopt this thinking as to establish a model which helps in describing and explaining the multifold entangled social, cultural, and territorial dynamics of the urban-rural spaces of the 20th and 21st centuries: ‘Urban ruralities’ will discuss both ends at eye-level. Moreover the new ‘urban-rural paradigm’ aims at (1) providing an adequate analytical framework (2) procuring visions or ideas for the ‘good city’ and (3) combines it with action. And once again – despite its slightly shopworn image – for this approach the garden-city model offers some compelling suggestions.

The concept of ‘urban ruralities’ or the ‘new urban-rural space’ is an invitation to theory and practice: it could open up new research perspectives and the potential scope for new questions guiding towards fresh interpretations in planning history.⁴⁷ It wants to encourage urban and rural studies to use it as a consequent strategic co-working space. Finally, for architects and planners, it will be the main task to re-translate complex participatory processes – which constitute the new urban-rural space – into visual scenarios and beautiful conceptual and material configurations.

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No potential conflict of interest was reported by the author.

Notes on contributor

Celina Kress, Dr.-Ing., is a lecturer and research fellow at the Center for Metropolitan Studies at the Technische Universität Berlin. The architect and historian was visiting professor for History of Urban Design and Planning Theory at the University of Applied Sciences in Erfurt 2014-2015 and visiting professor for History and Culture of the Metropolis at the HafenCity Universität Hamburg in 2013. She is co-founder and member of the urban planning and design team “[BEST] projects for building culture and the city” and acts as a curator at the interface of spatial communication, architecture, and urban development. Kress is a board member of the GSU (Society of Urban History and Urbanisation Research) and spokesperson for the Planning History Section.

Endnotes

- 1 See William Cronon, *Nature's Metropolis. Chicago and the Great West* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1991). The comprehensive survey of Chicago's urbanisation dynamics during the 19th and early 20th century is focused on urban-regional interrelations and commodity flows. See also most recently: Franz-Werner Kersting and Clemens Zimmermann (eds.), *Stadt-Land-Beziehungen im 20. Jahrhundert. Geschichts- und kulturwissenschaftliche Perspektiven* (Paderborn: Schöningh, 2015).
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- 15 See Hall, *Cities*, 87.
- 16 Henri Lefebvre, *La révolution urbaine* (Paris: Gallimard, 1970), 26.
- 17 Referring to Bruno Latour's concept of “uncertainty.” Bruno Latour, *Reassembling the Social. An Introduction to Actor-Network-Theory*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005).
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- 31 See Michael Koch, “Randständig? Metrozonen als neues Stadt-Land,” in *An den Rändern der Städte*, ed. Förderverein der BTU Cottbus (Cottbus: Druckzone, 2015), 33.
- 32 Ilse Helbrecht, “Urbanität und Ruralität,” in *Schlüsselbegriffe der Kultur- und Sozialgeographie*, ed. Tim Freytag, Roland Lippuner, and Julia Lossau (Stuttgart: Ulmer, 2014) 167-181.

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- 38 Lefebvre, *Révolution*.
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- 40 Ipsen, "Stadt und Land," 119-120. See also Ipsen, Detlev, "Das Schöne und das Häßliche in der Stadt. Zur Ästhetik der Agglomeration," *Die Alte Stadt* 1 (1993): 25-34. Klaus Brake, *Zum Verhältnis von Stadt und Land* (Köln: Pahl-Rugenstein, 1981).
- 41 The term was firstly used for a new participation-oriented spatial communication format "Stadt-Land gestalten" (*Shaping the Urban-Rural Space*) of the Brandenburg Chamber of Architects in 2015. See Bröcker, Nicola, Celina Kress, and Simone Oelker. *Stadt-Land gestalten 01: Garten | Stadt Plaue*. Potsdam: bud 2015.
- 42 Bruno Latour, *Reassembling the Social. An Introduction to Actor-Network-Theory* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 129.
- 43 Claude Lévi-Strauss, *La Pensée sauvage* (Paris: Librairie Plon, 1962).
- 44 In this context also see the early French urban analysis: Gérard Bauer, and Jean Michel Roux. *La rurbanisation, ou la ville éparpillée* (Paris: Édition du Seuil, 1976).
- 45 Paul Barker, "Thinking the Unthinkable," in *Non-Plan. Essays on Freedom Participation and Change in Modern Architecture and Urbanism*, ed. Jonathan Hughes and Simon Sadler (New York: Routledge, 2000) 2-21.
- 46 See Barker's comment: "Earlyer in 1967, I had gratefully seized a book by the American sociologist, Herbert Gans. *The Levittowners: ways of life and politics in a new suburban community* showed how a spirit of community evolved within the most despised form of American suburban speculative housing. I ran long extracts from it in *New Society*, as a corrective tot he usual we-know-best snobberies about suburbia." Barker, "Thinking," 4.
- 47 The four case studies of the panel "Urban Ruralities since the 19th Century," organised by Celina Kress and Sylvia Necker, at the IPHS Conference 2016, are a first step in this direction: Björn Blass: "Garbage in the City: Waste in and around Berlin," Sophie Schramm: "Hanoi's Septic Tanks – Technology of a City in Flow; Piero Sassi: "A New Master Plan for the Madrid Urban Region During Early Francoism (1941-46)," Sylvia Necker: "Gutschow's Stadtlandschaft Hamburg in the 1940s." This paper is the conceptual introduction to the panel.

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- Figure 01: Burgess, "Growth," 55.
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