Towards Sustainable European Cities: Challenges, Visions and Actions

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The cities of the millenia are first of all European. Europe is first and foremost urban. Aristotle called the city "built politics". He wanted it to be bright and safe, while Vitruvius wanted the city to be solid, beautiful and useful. These visions seem to have a great inertia in time for the European city, or more accurately European cities in the plural (DATAR 1993a). Each city is individual and unique and its future is impacted by the myriad of decisions taken by people and enterprises within it. There is no single model or single reference. They are all endowed by a unique culture. According to the Commission's Green Paper on the Urban Environment (hailed by the cities of Europe as the first sign of interest of the European Union in cities) and the Reports on the Sustainable City, as we move towards the 21st century, cities will continue to be the main centres of economic activity, innovation and culture (EC 1990, 1994a). In the 1990s cities emerge on the European scene stronger, they compete more, but they also collaborate more. They all want to win the battle of sustainable development and to become more attractive to people and capital (Burtenshaw et al. 1991; DATAR 1994; IFHP 1993). There are cities which include but also exclude, that assemble but also divide, that integrate but also disintegrate, enrich but also impoverish, cities of major progress and major problems. European cities, described by Braudel as the "hot greenhouses of civilization", face a lot of opportunities and threats. Dogan and Kasarda describe the development of urban pathology or "ataxia" where an urban place outgrows the boundaries of its niche (Dogan & Kasarda 1988). The urban stress (overwhelmed capacity of urban systems to adapt to and orientate change) has been identified by the recent report "Europe's environment: The Dobris Assessment" (EEA 1995) as one of the twelve long-term pan-European problems which threaten health and quality of life. Expressions like the "Martyr City", symbol of the distressed urbanity, are significant. Hall suggests that the major problem in European cities is the schizophrenia between high-density, public transport...
city centres and low-density, private car urban peripheries. But Attali reminds us that the city is the only living organism which has the capacity to renew itself (Attali 1994) and Bohigas claims the virtues of metastatic planning to create a positive contamination through intervention to public spaces leading to an overall reconversion of the urban fabric (La Ville 1994a).

Homeopathic planning is another definition inspired by medicine and aiming at city care. And as for health, the keywords are Prevention, Proaction, Prediction. Preventing urban disease is a hard job. It has many invisible dimensions and it makes no heroes.

Each European city is unique and defies generalization, but they all crystallize a certain number of common problems and worries and they share a great number of common expectations. Research works of the European Union (EC 1991, 1992a, b, 1993a, 1994a,b) shed light on the state of the urban Euroscape and on the challenges cities have to meet in order to improve their environment and reverse the effects of social exclusion and segregation of certain segments of the population. Within metropolitan areas it is commonplace for social and economic change to be associated with quite different trajectories for different neighbourhoods. Clearly localized growth accentuates the congestion, stress, noise and traffic externalities, while placing new demands on nature as areas expand. Decline, on the other hand, is associated with a drop in land values and emergence of derelict space. More negative attributes such as vandalism and crime in the declining neighbourhoods arise because the poorest households live in the worst urban conditions.

Most of these considerations converge on the expectations about the sustainable city. The concept has been defined in very different ways. According to the European Commission’s First Report on the Sustainable City (EC 1994a), environmental sustainability cannot be perceived without social equity and economic sustainability. It is being defined more and more as a process and not as an end-point, as a trip rather than a destination. It is a trip based on a well-defined consensus and a sense of mission. Many definitions put the emphasis on the socially sustainable outcome and one of the most interesting has been “Sustainability is equity extended into the future”. The sustainable city might be a contradiction in terms, as many experts suggest that the only sustainable pattern for planet Earth would be the equal distribution of its population on its surface. But beyond these remarks, a healthy environment, social cohesion, economic efficiency and a universal concern seem to be the pillars of urban sustainability.

An increasing globalization and an increasing localization and regionalism may be two (perhaps paradoxically) interlinked trends in the European future. Nowadays society is based on networks (networks of everything) and local actors constitute the diversified poles of the global networks. Technology, information, markets are global but people are local. Informational technology provides the infrastructure for the integration of the global system. The space of flows (global) is in interaction with the space of places (local) and the cities gain an increasingly dual (global-local) function. Social movements can always be a source of social change, critical actors in collective consumption and in building up awareness and consciousness, but they may disappear or be transformed into urban tribes if unable to connect with the political system. There may be an increasingly institutional diversity and parallel political institutional networks, not necessarily in a hierarchical system. In this changing world, new principles have to prevail and as such the President of the Irish Republic suggests: connectedness, listening, sharing and participation.

The projects which follow all fall within the wishes and expectations of the Charter on European Sustainable Cities and Towns which has been agreed upon in Aalborg. The place does matter. The city of Aalborg prepared a development project for the integration of ecological principles and techniques in urban renewal. Citizens have been motivated to choose sustainable options in urban redevelopment. Six themes have been formulated, each of these contributing to the plan for a better town: “An active town”, “A beautiful town”, “A green town”, “A town with a better environment”, “Cooperation about a better city”, “A Town Catalogue” have been prepared including ambitions and innovations (EF 1993b).

Improving the Functioning of a City as an Ecosystem

The awareness of environmental quality is being increasingly regarded as a civic value and constitutes the ba-
sis for environmental improvements in cities. "Green City" does not simply mean green spaces, grass roofs, timber frame constructions, improved energy systems and water cycles (Elkin & McLaren 1991). More and more cities recognize the need for proactive policies leading to the conception of new systems of production and consumption. A whole cultural reform and a wide urban consensus are needed to give meaning to all technical achievements. New environment-friendly lifestyles cannot be imposed, they are developed through innovative partnerships rooted in the local culture. Industry is becoming more cooperative. Innovative cooperative schemes between industry, especially SMEs, local authorities and associations are being created to improve the environmental performances of firms and to make them proactive to change. In a conference organized by the Foundation (EF 1992a) the relevant working group was unanimous in suggesting the changing of the well-known "Polluter pays pollution" principle, to "Potential polluter pays the prevention of the pollution". Prevention, awareness, proaction and environmental culture seem essential for the art of building the well-being city.

Cities compete with each other to gain environmental credentials. It is a healthy battle. Leicester was the first British city to be given the status of Environment City and is trying to become a national and international model of excellence. Leicester Environment City is assisted by the "Business Sector Network" to bring together ideas from the city's commercial sector and provide assistance to businesses, while "Environ", a non-profit-making company, has been set up to provide local organizations with access to environmental audits and advice (EF 1993a). Environmental plans and charters are being undertaken by many European cities. In France environmental charters constitute contracts between the State and each city. The Charter of Mulhouse is a clear example of a strong will to improve the environmental and public health. The general objectives of the Charter are the protection of natural resources, the improvement of life for inhabitants, the adoption of a perspective "Health and Environment", the promotion of urban safety, the integration of socio-economic objectives with the preservation of the environment and the participation in the protection of fauna and flora (EF 1993a; Ministère de l'Environnement 1993). The Charter of Naples also has as its intention the overall improvement of a city which is reputed to be undisciplined.

In Germany, environmental awareness has often been linked to socio-economic change, first and foremost in the cities which have been the scene of many socio-political transformation processes. With the challenges of the unification in the city of Berlin, the ecological restructuring concept, introduced as early as 1984, came to prominence. The concept advocates a new sustainable symbiosis between economy and ecology in the urban landscape and puts emphasis on environmental preventive policies to tackle anthropological origins of problems. The concept has many points in common with the UNESCO's MAB research work on the Resourceful, Liveable City.

All over Europe, cities become laboratories of ecological innovation. Schwabach, a small, self-supporting
German city, offers an example of the efforts to implement an urban ecology planning strategy. The city has been selected from the Federal Ministry because of its unified, dynamic local government and its ecological achievements to date, especially in waste management. Basic principles are that nothing is impossible and everybody has to participate. The pilot study aimed at introducing ecological concepts and actions to a normal city, under normal conditions and with normal funds. After the study, the city council issued guidelines for action and translated them into a concrete programme in its 1993–2003 Model Urban Development Strategy, leading to Schwabach Ecological City. Public polls were held and questionnaires completed by one out of every 17 households: nobody is against ecology, but they need quick successes and think that closing the city to cars is only possible with a revolution (even for an historic centre of a diameter of 700 m and 20,000 households). The wishes for quick visible ecological results concluded with the creation of an ecological building for the City Hall (Schmidt-Eichstaedt 1993).

The neighbourhood level is often highlighted as the level of action in many European cities. In The Netherlands, local authorities are experimenting with new types of neighbourhood management with specific focus on the quality of the local everyday environment. The Romolenpolder neighborhood management in the community of Haarlem gives a good example of ecological neighbourhood management, with people participating in the planning and realization of the neighbourhood and the construction of the houses (timber frame constructions, grass roofs, improved energy systems) (EF 1993a).

At the scale of the block, Berlin, the “recycled city”, offers various examples. In Kreuzberg, “Block 103” is an interesting example, highlighting links between social well-being and environmental upgrading. Former squatters of the block have been given the opportunity to own the space they occupied and, at the same time, they have been trained in converting the houses into ecological modern buildings. Special emphasis has been given to energy, water, green spaces and new material and techniques. Another complex, Block 6, has been the field of innovation for alternative water systems. The system is based on a combination of cleaning techniques for the water depending on its origin, previous use and destination use. The project emphasizes the learning and communication process. Residents have been trained in “feeling” the process. The system allows 50% savings in water, while the society of inhabitants participates in the technological monitoring (IFS 1990–1991).

Reconsideration of the urban metabolism puts a lot of emphasis on waste prevention, action before the waste is being generated, even if investments still concentrate on the recycling end. Once generated, it has to be considered as a resource and many innovative actions are being taken for the prevention of industrial waste and the avoidance, re-use and recycling of domestic waste. In Parma plastic waste is being transformed into building material and in Rimini...
organic waste from hotels into agricultural compost. Each citizen contributing to the latter highly environmental process is rewarded with a plant. An ecosation has been created and its management has been entrusted to former drug addicts (EF 1993a).

Environmental problems in European metropolitan areas do not mainly come from production; they come from consumption and mainly from traffic. Transport systems are being accused everywhere as no longer able to deliver the expected levels of service. Traffic congestion represents a loss of 2–3% of GDP in the countries of the EU and traffic infrastructure covers 10–13% of the urban space (EC 1994a). In cities like Athens more than 80% of the air pollution is owing to traffic. Many of the signs of failure are clearly visible. The great irony is that this conclusion is virtually the direct result of urban system policies in the last decades (Jacob 1961, 1992). System saturation is certainly not an accident. Needs for urgent limitations of the private car and transport system controls have to be the cornerstones of the future urban policies. Traffic provisions are like arteries, they should subordinate and not dominate the body of the city (ALFOZ 1995; Ambiente Italia 1993; Friends of the Earth 1992).

The dialectic interaction and synergy between cities, enterprises and citizens are essential for favouring public transport and the bicycle over the private car and giving priority to the pedestrian (OECD-ECMT 1994; UITP 1991). Historic cities, most affected by the pressure of the car traffic on their cultural heritage, have been pioneers in restricting private car. In a referendum organized in 1984 by the city of Bologna, the population opted in favour of the pedestrianization of the historic centre and a global project has been carried out, comprising the rehabilitation of the historic fabric, improvements in public transport and parking spaces.

Many Italian cities followed (Indovina 1993). Recent experiments include the eco-ticket for public transport. Zurich is one of the few cities that has developed a coherent solution to a problem of traffic build-up at intersections. Preserving and upgrading the tram system and rearranging the bus lines were the key elements of the improvement of the public at work. The particularity of the system is its ability to deal with each Public Transport Vehicle individually, allowing it to cross intersections without stopping. There are many pessimists about the achievement of the accessible city and many remarks that we are coming to the same conclusions over the last 20 years. The experience of Bologna is very significant in highlighting difficulties linked to the restriction of the private car. Despite the huge efforts to limit the private car in the last ten years the use of motorized car passed from 28.3% in 1981 to 39.8% in 1991 in the city and from 48.7 to 57.8% in the periphery (Municipality of Amsterdam 1994).

**Well-Being and Social Harmony in Cities**

Achieving social justice and environmental improvement are two well-related objectives. Even in the most prosperous European cities there are urban islands where environmental degradation and social exclusion go hand in hand. They are more or less extended zones in run-down city centres or chaotic peripheral zones, where the socially deprived spatially concentrate. They are places of functional impoverishment, with poor housing and insufficient equipment and facilities. Is it a coincidence that the social features of these areas are: poverty, delinquency and crime, high unemployment, low mobility, little access to information, education and training? (EF 1992b; Jacquier 1991).

Social problems in cities may inhibit innovation, but may also create a sharper need for innovation. Innovative actions on job creation included in the overview of innovative projects come from the countries with the highest unemployment in the EU. The Dublin inner city partnership represents a local area-based response to long-term unemployment. The “Argilan” employment, guidance and training project in Vitoria-Gasteiz, Spain, has three specific objectives: regeneration of the economic web of the city through new professions; qualification and requalification of the labour force, adapting it to the
requirements of demand; prevention of social exclusion. “The Big Issue” in London gave new opportunities to the homeless and unemployed (EF 1993a). It has been followed by MACADAM in Paris and Montpellier and other experiments.

Unemployment is the most serious problem of the urban horizon of Europe. New forms of poverty challenge the urban quality of life. The EC’s recent report on “Local Development and Employment Initiatives” identified 17 urban fields as potential sources for job creation (EC 1995b). Services improving everyday life and the quality of the environment, as well as services of leisure and tourism might have an important potential for employment and enterprise creation. Most schemes favouring job creation in improving the urban quality of life include training, enhancing the ability for reconversion, professional guidance and orientation (EF 1993a).

The improvement of living environments, cells of a city, is essential for all cities caring about harmony and well-being. Innovations in social housing proved to be an essential factor of social integration (Mega 1992b). Mass housing often created social tensions on the urban fringe. It has often been paternalistic, large, remote, uniform, collective, reactive, anonymous, devoid of management and it failed. In many European cities it is now beginning to be self-regulated, local, personal, individualized, proactive, with corporate neighbourhood space and responsive local management. It has to make proof of vitality of work and enterprise and to allow personal identification. Vibrant local communities are replacing void neighbourhoods. The present energetic and environmental requirements create new needs for landscaping and energy efficiency. Many disadvantaged poor estates are going through a radical rethink of the space and its social significance. The renewal of the Holly Street Estate in the UK provides an interesting case. The estate was constructed during the 1960s and 1970s as a series of slab and tower blocks. Replacing the traditional two-storey East London row houses, the estate, comprising 1,187 dwellings, became notorious for its state of deprivation, crime and delinquency. The Borough Council recognized that the only means of dealing with the problems of Holly Street was through its demolition and reconstruction. A new lively traditional quarter replaces a rigid structure (EF 1993a).

An analogous project in Alicante, the renewal of the “Quarter of 1,000 housing units”, is transforming a degraded social environment into a functional, friendly space. All inhabitants gave their views for the design of the new quarter and the unemployed were engaged in the reconstruction of the area now comprising 600 housing units, shops and many open spaces (EF 1994b). The renewal of the Mascagni area in Reggio Emilia is also a good example. It created a multi-functional urban space out of a rigid series of anonymous buildings, a functional combination of old and new with integrated public services and access to a healthy environment.
There is everywhere a need for intelligent buildings and home environments. The Social Housing Association in Greece created an innovative residential village for low income households, called the Solar Village. The design and planning of the area constitute an environmental experiment, as it exploits sunlight to the maximum and provides many environmental benefits (EF 1993a).

Urban safety is another major challenge for the harmonious city. Car accidents and delinquency make cities at risk. Crime is, in some cases, in linear relationship with unemployment. Transport enterprises are the ones most concerned with crime prevention, as transportation spaces and mobile elements are main targets for juvenile delinquency. Graffiti attacks, not related to any form of artistic expression, seem to be the post-modern way of attacking public spaces and property. An innovative integrated approach to fighting graffiti in public spaces has been developed in Maastricht. The project includes extra means to trace the offenders, education programmes to improve the skills of the graffiti "artists" and an anti-graffiti bus with formerly unemployed people specialized in removing graffiti. The city made a wall available to every citizen wishing to express himself through the means of graffiti. Within two years the damage caused by graffiti pollution decreased considerably (80–90% at the railway station).

The medium-sized cities have new challenges of development.
Urban Renaissance and Integrated Strategies for Disrupted Parts of the Urban Fabric

Many urban schemes and concepts advocate the renaissance, revitalization, regeneration and the refounding of European cities like “CIVITAS”. All challenges converge in making the city a multi-cultural place, with mix and diversity, reflecting its pluricultural past and offering choices and options for the future. The urban village, introduced by Krier, includes many of these concepts. Urban functions and services necessary for daily life and ensuring the art of living in cities should be found within every urban quarter, where every resident should also be able to find work. According to Krier, zoning led to an anti-urban labyrinth, which broke traditional structures, centrality and urbanity. Megalopoles should grow by multiplication and not by over-expansion and consist of a number of urban villages of optimum dimensions. Large cities should rediscover the small scale and short distance (EF 1994a). Diversity is being increasingly considered as a precondition for urban development and the articulation and composition of urban functions and uses are generating new forms of planning (Etudes Foncières 1991; EF 1995b,d).

The urban periphery is at the very heart of these concerns. It is where there is the most urgent need for multifunctional lively urban spaces where people can live, work and dream. According to Touraine: “We are living, at this moment, the passage from a vertical society we used to call class society (with people above and below) to a horizontal society, where it is important to know who is at the centre and who at the periphery. The periphery is a zone of great uncertainty and tensions, where people do not know if they are “in” or “out”. “To face this problem, the principal demand is the creation of a local democracy. This seems often impossible because good things are always supposed to come from the centre and bad things from the periphery, the centre often represents the reason, the Universe (school, the state, ...) while the periphery (people, firms, interests, professions) expresses uniquely the interest ...” (Touraine 1991).

Run-down urban centres are the other major focus of integrated strategies for revitalization. Various urban renewal and regeneration projects have been identified with corporate approaches to the economic and physical restructuring of vulnerable areas. In Dublin, the designation of underused and derelict areas and the introduction of incentives for attracting private development into these areas has already produced some interesting results. Dublin Corporation also set up a “Living Over the Shop” project team to encourage and assist property owners to convert their upper floors into residential areas. On a smaller “site” scale, in Galway, residential developments above the main shopping centre and other shopping and office sites led to the creation of complete housing estates on the second or third floor (EF 1993a).

Public spaces, the noble connective tissue of the cities, start to be given special attention (Council of Europe
1990, 1993). What Koolhaas describes as fortresses of freedom (La Ville 1994b) have great potential as islands of urbanity in the archipelago of the city. The Brussels Region launched a programme on the quality of public spaces. For almost 40 years, huge investments in road building led to the excessive standardization of Brussels' public spaces. Brussels-Capital region prepared the “Manual of Brussels Public Spaces” aimed at setting up qualitative recommendations for the functional, environmental, cultural and aesthetic character of the spaces (EF 1993a). Roads and pavements, roadside plantations and public lighting are being given considerable importance in forging identity of the public spaces. Art in the city is always an objective to achieve (Charbonneau 1994) and imagination in power a never old-fashioned slogan. And it is not simply a question of a visual picture. It has to do with the everyday quality of life and work.

Towards the City of Solidarity and Citizenship

Many urban policies have failed, but failure has to be seen as the birth of a new world. Throughout history cities have always been the source of innovation, the places where human creativity flourished. Innovative projects of today are witnesses of the strategic visions that cities try to develop, in order to meet the increasing social, economic and environmental challenges and of the synergy with enterprises and citizens. The projects included in the overview may differ in many respects, but they tend collectively to attempt to tackle the range of urban problems evident throughout Europe: environmental degradation, congestion, social exclusion and marginalization. There are hardly any innovative projects that are neither the products of partnerships nor of strategic holistic approaches. The very vast majority of projects call for decentralization, empowerment and devolution. The longer term view and the investment of the emerging creative conflicts on this horizon provide a lesson identified in many projects. Innovations may be the first step towards a new urban era of well-being.

Citizens' participation is a common denominator for projects initiating the new era and a non-participatory community is being considered increasingly unsustainable. Efforts for creating citizen-friendly and environment-friendly cities expand. The passage from ego-citizens to eco-citizens will certainly need a lot of mobilization, of education and culture. But no more major decisions concerning the future of cities are taken without a well-defined civil consensus. In Barcelona hundreds of citizens' associations have participated in the preparation of the economic and social strategic plan, basic instrument for urban change, elaborated in parallel with the preparation of the Olympic Games, which have been characterized as "school of citizenship". In Brussels, the consultation procedures for planning introduce new participation concepts. In Reggio Emilia, citizens participate in the compiling of the city budget, with the use of new technologies. In Valencia, citizens participate in the tracing of the new metro lines (EF 1993a). Cities like Evora or Siena already have hundreds of citizens' associations (EF 1994b).
Urban diversity and participation are considered to be part of the richness of a city and monofunctional overimposed schemes are the most unsustainable in a Europe changing dramatically after the fall of the Berlin Wall (DATAR 1993b; Masser et al. 1992). Europe is increasingly a dynamic pluricultural space of variable geometry. It tends to be a network of urban regions or regional cities, which articulates the economic and sociocultural system, such as the Dutch Randstad. New visions and challenges emerge together with the awareness that the abolition of national frontiers does not automatically give birth to an integrated Europe. Cities are in the lead of competing territories. They join a new marathon, with new values to share. They try to become more intelligent (DIV, OECD, URBA 2000 1990; EC 1992a), more flexible (EF 1993b), more efficient (Sassen 1994), more sustainable (EC 1994a), more urban (OECD 1994), more aesthetic and functional (EF 1993d): they all want to be the cities of tomorrow (Hall 1988; IFHP 1993).

Notes
1. In "Politics" around 340 BC (translation into English by H. Rackham 1932).
4. Expression used by Professor Max Van Den Berg, general rapporteur of the XXX ISOCARP International Congress (Prague 1994).
5. At the conference "European Cities: Sustaining Urban Quality of Life" (Copenhagen, April 1995).
6. Expression used by the Berlinine architect Joaquim Eble. Eble won the competition for creating a new suburban area in Mannheim, improving the climatic conditions.
7. Relevant remark by B. Kouchner in "Ce que je crois" (Grasset 1994).
8. An amazing number of conferences, books, articles and summer schools are devoted to the subject (Girardet 1992; Nijkamp & Perrels 1994: Prince of Wales's Institute of Architecture 1993; Sustainable City Fora, Brighton 1992, Manchester 1994).
9. Definition suggested at the opening of the Aalborg Conference on "European Sustainable Cities and Towns" (May 1994).
10. Reference for Dr Susan Owens from Cambridge University in the meeting of the Ecological City Expert Group (OECD, April 1993).
11. Manuel Castells highlighted brilliantly these issues in the international conference "European Cities: Growth and Decline" (The Hague, April 1992).
12. The President's speech on the future of the UN in the Irish Times/University/ Harvard colloquium at Harvard University (March 1994).
14. The draft Charter has been prepared by students with the help of European and international experts and the final text was discussed with citizens and environmental organizations in December 1994. The Charter has been voted for by 1,200 citizens. Presentation by J. Celesia in the fourth summer school of the European University of Environment (Ile-de-Ber- der, September 1993) under the provocative title "La Ville débrouillarde".
15. "The Accessible City" Conference (Toledo, October 1994) highlighted all these issues.
16. The EC programme "Quartiers en crise" highlights the links between the degraded environment and the disrupted social fabric.
18. Alicante is one of the cities of the European Foundation research network on medium-sized cities. All social actors of the city consider the "Barrio de mil viviendas", as a model of social intervention.
21. A class of schoolchildren is killed every month in car accidents in Greece (announcement at the "Health and Environment Conference" (Athens, January 1995)).
22. Galway has been one of the case studies of the Foundation, in the frame-
work of its project on medium-sized cities. The study was carried out by Ms Paula Russell and Prof. Frank Convery, Environment Institute, UCD.

23. See also the working papers of the workshop on Public Participation organized by the Council of Europe (Bath, April 1993).


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