

Interview Themes and Results, Part 2

In this chapter we continue our report of the results of our interviews, referring to the two remaining core values which construct the idea of a city of equals: diversity and social mixing; and non-deferential inclusion. We review suggestions by our interviewees that relate to the notion that a city of equals requires consideration for people in their differences rather than offering a ‘standard package’ of resources and facilities for all. Thus we start with suggestions that special arrangements need to be made for different groups in the city.

4.1. Themes That Relate to the Value of Diversity and Social Mixing

4.1.1. Special Arrangements for Elderly People

In 2012 Ole Kassow, a city-zen of Copenhagen and a devoted bike rider, saw an old person sitting on the bench. He noticed that the person was sitting there the next day too, the day after, and so on. A thought crossed his mind: that while bicycles are the most popular means of transportation in Copenhagen, elderly people tend not to use them. Out of empathy, he instinctively took a rickshaw bike and went into a nursing home and offered a ride to one of the elderly women there. What started as a spontaneous ride full of fun developed into an extensive global project of volunteers offering rickshaw bike tours to elderly people in various cities. (See *Cycling Without Age* 2023). It’s about enabling elderly people ‘to feel the wind in their hair again’, as Kassow puts it.

Age inequality in the city is an important issue, not only in respect to the importance of ensuring a mix of available amenities, suitable for people at different life stages, but, critically, in terms of transport, especially at peak times. We’ve already mentioned that in some cities older people prefer busses to the underground, sacrificing speed for comfort and a more pleasant view. Some cities make special arrangements for their older city-zens. For example, some of Japan’s cities have designed their sidewalks to allow elderly people

to walk more easily with their mobility aids. Athens' sidewalks have a special path, yellow grooves, for blind people who navigate with sticks (Graham 2015; Greek Boston n.d.).

Heidi, 65, from Hamburg very much appreciates a bus shuttle arrangement there:

Going back to the question of old people without cars, and without the opportunity to do their own shopping . . . I really have to say, we have a superb community . . . There's this bus shuttle that picks people up wherever they live and takes them to the market, where they can do their shopping, if they like they can do it together, and then they're driven back home. That's fantastic for the older ones who aren't that mobile anymore on their feet, nor by car.

Focusing again on relational equality, the elderly people we interviewed on the whole mentioned special arrangements less than the attitudes of others they meet in the street. Erika, 75 from Hamburg, said she experienced a lot of disrespect:

That is really one of the worst things about this city these days. I cycle and there are people just standing or walking on the cycle path, and then I use my bike bell and the people just act like 'who is this old woman that she rings her bell at us', and I hear them calling me stupid words.

Petra (60) from Berlin said she found it more difficult, now that she was not young any more, to 'find activities and social contacts' in Berlin, and so she moved to a suburb north-east of the city where she can meet people she knows more frequently. Sabine (49) is still younger, but she agrees that elderly people, especially pensioners, are the most disadvantaged in Berlin, particularly those from the former East Berlin.

Tina (74) has lived in Oxford for twenty years. When asked why she likes Oxford so much she answers it's the fact that people of different ages can live together, which makes her feel comfortable:

Well, it's the mixture of ages in Oxford, there's students, there's families, there's old people. And it's very lively. And I've been living in another town for a few years, and just came back here . . . it's much more lively in Oxford.

Carl, 68, is a pensioner in Amsterdam. He believes that older people should be able to enjoy the city's pleasures, either by special arrangements or because their pension is sufficient.

Personally, I think that there are huge inequalities among the elderly here. . . . People who can't afford this coffee are missing out on all the fun! What's great about this city is the chance to have a good coffee and look at the rain through the window, to read the newspaper, to talk to strangers like we are doing now.

But Carl adds an interesting observation:

There are two kinds of people in this world, the creative ones, and the passive ones. The city wants to encourage the creative ones, the entrepreneurs, because that is what brings in the money, and what makes a city special, with character. But it is much harder to save money when you are self-employed or when you are an artist. And so as the same people the city once encouraged grow old, they can't afford to live in the city they help create. I see some of my friends struggling, and it's very frustrating.

Obviously, a city which respects its elderly should not make it harder for them to continue enjoying the city's pleasures.

4.1.2. Special Arrangements in Respect of Young Children and their Parents

When we ask Sulaika (female, 36) who lives in Acton, London, to name three issues that bother her with regard to inequality in the city, she points to homeless people, the high unemployment rate, and that 'children's centres have been shut down, so families that would have been supported through these facilities are now facing problems'. Indeed, special arrangements are also needed at the other end of the age scale, and especially, for very young children in prams and pushchairs, which implies, of course, that the special arrangements are for parents with young children as well; primarily, though not exclusively, younger parents. Making provision for younger parents can be important in terms of equality. Young parents often find it difficult to cope: with making ends meet, with the change in their lifestyle when they become parents, especially coping with far less sleep than they may have become accustomed to, with the responsibility of taking care of infants, and, for many, with the challenge of building their own relationships with one another while meeting the various other challenges of parenthood, at work, and so on. But life is likely to be even more difficult for single-parent families, and in such situations the parent—almost always the mother—is likely to be faced with financial pressures as well. The city can either ignore, or make minimal extra provisions, for young parents, whether in couples or alone,

or make a special effort to ensure that young parents feel that the city has understood and embraced their needs. A city that does embrace young parents' needs indicates that it understands that a thriving city should take care of the reproduction of its own population and make itself welcoming and more comfortable for families with young children, rich or poor.

What can a city of equals do in that respect? In an illuminating interview Erika (75, Hamburg) said that had she been a mayor for a day she would provide not only free day care for working parents, but also night care, for parents who work night shifts or who wish to have an evening off to meet friends, go to the pub, or whatever.¹ The city can also offer subsidized places in kindergartens and by designing and building new playgrounds, free libraries, working with, for example, churches, to allow the parents and toddlers to use the place in the mornings for meetings, especially on rainy days, and so on. But from the interviews we learnt that the city can do much more, in paying attention to small details. Here we have in mind designing features such as the width of corridors and doorways in public spaces, as well as lifts, and safe places to cross the street, as well as, once more, adequate supply of well-maintained public toilets. Sometimes the difficulty of navigating a pushchair can lead to considerable delays and frustration, and often a feeling that one does not belong in a particular place. Klaus from Hamburg says:

Fifteen years ago, I had to take care of a child in a pushchair. And I couldn't have imagined how badly the city was equipped to accommodate for people using pushchairs . . . not even the central station. The city was not at all accessible. But now this is all much better, now they have provided accessibility everywhere. (. . .) I visit Berlin quite often and I am shocked (. . .) the sidewalks are in a terrible condition, that's something we don't have here in Hamburg at all as a problem.

Nicole (36), a Berliner, argued that not having enough activities for children is a clear sign of inequality—not only between children and adults but also between childless families and people with children.

Sabine, 49, also from Berlin told us how she had to move outside of the city because she felt her child was not secure in the city. She thought that in Berlin single parents are disadvantaged, as well as children:

I was a single mum, back then I moved to the almost-countryside in order to raise my child. Here in Berlin, I think this would be much harder. I think it's more

¹ This, in fact, is similar to proposals presented by the British feminist movement in the 1970s, with regard to their demand for twenty-four-hour nurseries. See Phillips (1985).

dangerous here, there are more risks and threats. So, you can offer fewer freedoms to your child.

On the other hand, Seyneb (34) from Hamburg, believes that one of the parameters which make her city egalitarian is that

Hamburg is very child and family friendly. There are many offers for children, especially in Finkenwerder [a small quarter in Hamburg] . . . and child care is for free.

When thinking of what makes (part of) a city child friendly we include urban design, public policies, and social norms, allowing children to move through the city and play. Critical factors include safety,² not only in terms of reducing the dangers of traffic, but also architectural proportions, such as making sure that street furniture is usable by children in non-hazardous ways (Brando and Pitasse-Fragoso 2022). A city of equals invests in services for all its children and, especially, those who are more disadvantaged and lack access to private facilities.

Now, when it comes to education, there are many children with various needs and preferences, although of course it is the preferences of their parents that typically carry weight in these areas. Therefore, providing a varied and flexible range of educational opportunities for children with different social and academic needs, and from families with different preferences, seems a key feature of a city of equals. Jenny, 28, praises Tel Aviv:

Here there are many possibilities, many types of schools, alternative schools as well. There are all sorts of schools, like a democratic school or an anthroposophical school that you won't find in other cities.

However, Ma'ayan (40) remarks, cynically, that when it comes to kindergarten and the first classes, the city fails to provide adequate education for 'children whose preference is not to engage in bullying'. Recently, the city of Tel Aviv found itself in a crisis. Because rent prices rose rapidly, by more than 10 per cent annually, and because the salaries of teachers are typically low, many teachers left Tel Aviv and moved to other cities where rents are much lower. Some schools, especially those with constrained budgets, have to employ less-experienced or less-qualified teachers; to the extent, that Ram

² Hood (2004) reviewed methods of evaluating children's rights in a city. It is argued that there is a correlation between children's well-being and their safe access to public space. Fear of traffic and lack of access to appropriate play spaces might have adverse impacts on children's general health and emotional well-being.

Cohen, headmaster of a well-known high school in the city declared that ‘we simply betray our children’ (Shany 2022). One natural response to a crisis in state education is to encourage the growth of fee-paying private schools, but of course a division between state and expensive private education is a typical mark of a city (or indeed country) of inequality. The private school system in the United Kingdom, for example, is very often criticized for cementing class division and reproducing privilege.

One common pattern in many cities, owing to high housing costs and limited space—both inside and outside space—in constrained apartments, is for families to leave the city when they have their first child. Under such circumstances the city will have many younger residents, in their twenties, and many retired people, or those still working but whose children have left home, in their fifties and sixties, but a smaller number of families with young children, especially those on a medium income. Such is the situation in Tel Aviv, for example, one of the most expensive cities in the world, or in New York City. In New York a young woman told us she had a perfect job, working for the *New York Times* and earning a good enough salary. However, her plan was to continue working in New York until she marries and has a child. Then, she said, she would leave the city—her plan was to move to Princeton, New Jersey, where schools and raising a child are more affordable and where renting was cheaper than in NYC. In order to keep families with young children in the city, some cities have introduced rent control, or even made buildings available for public rent, especially for young parents, but many cities need to do much more in this respect.

4.1.3. Women-friendly City Design and Planning, and Gender Equality

Raising related concerns to attitudes to the elderly and the young is gender equality, by which we mean here equality between men and women, or, more precisely, men and women as socially constructed in the city. We discuss other aspects of gender and inclusion of LGBTQ+ communities and individuals later. In the literature, equality between men and women in general, not necessarily in the city, often focuses on income discrimination in salaries, and in opportunities for jobs or for administrative positions, which without doubt are of critical importance especially at the level of national law and regulation. But in the city, creating more equality between women and men is a good example of how cities can cater for equality without transferring money from one person to the other, but rather by creating the right atmosphere,

investing in infrastructure, and also by paying attention to details, such as by asking questions such as why don't women make use of the public park around the corner?

Naturally, because this theme, gender equality, importantly includes how women feel, extra attention should be given to how women experience the city: to subjective measures. But objective measures of gender equality in the city matter too, such as the participation rate of women in the labour force, and especially in better-paid professional and executive positions, or whether women run for offices in the city. In recent years there has been a rapid growth of women who have been elected as mayors, in Tokyo (Yoriku Koike), Sydney (Clover Moore), Surat, India (Ashmita Shiroya), Bucharest (Gabriela Firea), Madrid (Manuela Carmena), Barcelona (Ada Colau), Paris (Anne Hidalgo), Amsterdam (Femke Halsema), Copenhagen (Sophie Hæstorp Andersen), Oslo (Marianne Borgen), Stockholm (Karin Wanngard), Rome (Virginia Raggi), Berlin (Franziska Giffey), Zurich (Corine Mauch) Geneva (Frédérique Perler), Sofia (Yordanka Fandakova), eThekweni, SA, (Zandile Gumede), Montreal (Valerie Plante), Chicago (Lorie Lightfoot), San Francisco (London Breed), Seattle (Jenny Durcan), Washington, DC (Muriel Bowser), Boston (Kim Janey), Atlanta (Keisha Lance Bottoms), and many more cities, though we are still very far from numerical equality. Steps to go further are being taken in various ways. For example, in 2012 a national law was passed in Nicaragua, according to which parties were subjected to gender parity in the submission of the candidates' list for municipal elections. This had impressive results. If in 2008 only 8.6 per cent of the mayors were women, following the implementation of the 2012 law, the figure had risen to 40.1 per cent (Gender Equality Observatory n.d.; National Democratic Institute n.d.). Similar regulations adopted globally could be part of a process to improve equality between men and women in political positions in the city, although this movement is still in its early stages.

Returning to subjective measures, women and men often report their experience of the city in general, and public spaces in particular, in different ways. To examine this, we conducted an experiment. Students in Jerusalem were asked to walk in couples, a man and a woman, in various areas of the city, in different times of the day and night. For example, they observed the main food market very early in the morning, at 5 a.m., and the bars and pubs area around midnight, in several different parts of the city. They were then asked to report in class about their experiences and how they felt during these walks. The reports were markedly different. The male and female student watched the same urban activities together—trucks bringing fresh fruits to the market, drunkards leaving the pub, parents with their children

in the playground, people shopping in the mall—and the same people—homeless people, merchants, undocumented (migrant) workers, groups of friends socializing in pubs, passengers rushing through the main train station, and so on—and yet their subjective experiences differed radically. Often male students described the experience as a series of adventures, as fascinating and eye opening, pointing out moments of beauty (sunrise over the roofs, a truck full of colourful apples arriving to the market, a merchant movingly singing a traditional prayer, fathers and mothers pushing the swings in the playground, and so on) whereas the female students often described a sense of anxiety, fear, or uneasiness when unexpected or boisterous events took place very early in the morning or very late at night, or often pointed to the misery they saw—the undocumented worker hiding from the police patrol, people shouting at each other, or the experience of being the only woman in an area.

This experiment with the students suggests differences in the way women experience the city and how they perceive it; but some might contend that it does not necessarily imply inequality. And yet, connection with equality seems obvious and compelling. Out of concern for their safety and peace of mind, women often have to restrict their freedom to stroll after dark because even though laws in theory protect them, the local social norms that should accompany such laws are too thin to be relied on. Iniko and Kiki are two young women in Rotterdam. Kiki says:

It's not like we can walk to whatever neighbourhood we want. I try not to walk alone at night, and when I do, I'm always on the phone or pretending to be on the phone.

Iniko adds:

I have all kind of tricks. To pretend you're on the phone, to be ready to dial the police. (. . .) There is a really big difference between Rotterdam by day or by night. I would tell you to wait and see, but don't. (. . .) They'll follow you, shout at you, chase you.

The inequality described by Iniko and Kiki is that, unlike men, or at least to a far higher degree, they experience fear and are subjected to harassment. Maaïke (60) is from Amsterdam. She has been living in the city for forty years and enthuses about it:

I adore Amsterdam. I love everything about Amsterdam. I'm an artist, so most of all I love how aesthetic and beautiful the city is, and that means a lot to me. I like the culture and the biking.

She seems like an open minded and egalitarian person:

I really enjoy the way immigrants changed Amsterdam. There are now so many interesting food shops to try, such unique art and new fashion. I love it.

But when she thinks about inequality between the various neighbourhoods in the city, she says that there are neighbourhoods where ‘it will be dangerous to bike alone after dark, as a woman.’ She tells us that ‘I probably wouldn’t bike alone in a big park out of the central area.’

Rivka (47) from Jerusalem is a Jewish religious woman who was born and raised in the city and has only spent a few years of her life elsewhere. She claims that the experience of fear and uneasiness in the city varies according to age. Now, she claims, she has reached the age when she feels more secure, and, on the contrary, is looking for opportunities to meet people who are different to her, from other ethnic and social groups. She says:

The city is the ‘real thing’, it exposes me to different people. Heterogeneity is positive, it enables you to get out of your bubble. Here is an example: I go to the clinic and the entire staff is Arabic.³

But, she adds, it all depends on your age and status. Accessibility is important, but much more important is feeling secure and safe wherever you go in the city. Younger women, she emphasizes, do not feel safe as she does. They suffer from harassment. Shira (25), from Jerusalem, who has just been to London for six months, reflects about the two cities. ‘What do we mean when we say that a neighbourhood is not a good one?’ Her reply is interesting. She claims that women’s feeling of insecurity in a neighbourhood is correlated with their perception of the streets as dirty and not tended with care.

Equality between men and women in the city goes beyond a sense of gender security, however important that is. Vienna is often pointed out as a pioneering city in ‘mainstreaming’ gender equality. One evocative example is the response by the Vienna’s authorities to a problem that must be replicated in cities throughout the world. Typically, women between twenty-five and forty years of age find themselves with primary responsibility for driving their children to the kindergarten and school. Alas, heavy and unpredictable traffic makes it very hard to ensure a regular, prompt, arrival at work. This has many consequences, including, it is thought, delayed promotion at work

³ The medical professions are very popular among Israeli Arabs. According to the Ministry of Health, in 2021 46 per cent of the new registered doctors were Arabs (who are 21 per cent of the general population in the country (Doctors Only 2021)). We do not have figures about Jerusalem, but the figures are probably higher.

because bosses tend to regard women as less reliable, on the basis that occasionally women fail to arrive at work on time. Now, there can be numerous ways of trying to tackle this, for example, by trying to educate men, and their employers, so this burden is shared between spouses. But Vienna's approach is very interesting and shows how municipalities can think out of the box and help to mitigate such issues pending broader social change. Their idea is to place more kindergartens close to areas occupied by families with young children, so that parents, and especially mothers, can walk their children there and not get stuck in the traffic, or to build educational campuses near centres of employment, so that parents can combine the journey to work and to school, and also can visit their children often during work (Damyanovic 2013, 60, 92). They call this approach 'a city of short distances' (Damyanovic 2013, 25), which is not only about reducing travel, but also about changing the life tempo, slowing down the way we live in the city, not having to rush from place to place. It is very close to the idea of the 'fifteen-minute city' which is now being widely discussed in urban planning. The idea of slowing things down was reflected in one of the interviews. Linn (25) is a Londoner who works in the film industry. When asked about inequality in the city she mentions both race and gender. What would you do to change this? Her answer is interesting: it is about fostering a sense of community by slowing down things, including, she claims, the very fast rate in which people now move home from flat to flat, which means communities never really form:

So, yeah, in this sense . . . what I would like to see more is, you know, more community feel, and have people, you know, sharing cars and even gardening tools and having more incentives to have like a community. But then again, that would be quite difficult because people are moving so quickly around in London. So, it's difficult to establish this kind of community.

Tamir (40) from Tel Aviv confirms this sense of slowing down as an advantage which should be shared by everybody. 'Since arriving to Tel Aviv, I have been using my feet again, I walk everywhere'. He describes this as a liberating experience.

Another example from Vienna was to put volleyball nets in public gardens which before only men had used, playing football. Once the volleyball nets were installed women started to play there too (Förster et al. 2021, 38). Indeed, some of the female interviewees mentioned equal use of parks for sport and recreation as a matter of gender justice.

Another obvious measure of 'gender mainstreaming' is gender-neutral road signage, in which icons representing an abstract person are not by

default male, but, for example, show a woman, or a woman and a child (Wander Women Project, n.d.). Such strategies are often used now by urban planners, to actively counteract gender bias in policies and regulations, and to promote more equitable relations between women and men (Verloo 1999; 2000, 13). But of course, as we have already seen, the issue is not only road signs, but also street, public space, and traffic planning, so that it appeals to, and is comfortable for, the use of both men and women. Planners in Vienna measured the average speed of walking adults and the time needed to travel 1 km (9–13 minutes) and compared it with the time when accompanied by toddlers and children (24 minutes) (City of Vienna n.d.), as well the time for people with severe mobility problems (McManus 2020). They then thought how such information should influence and modify planning public space, for example, where benches should be located for people to rest. Interestingly, in the TED talk we referred to in Chapter 1, Janette Sadik-Kahn, transportation commissioner of NYC between 2007 and 2013 tells how when she entered the job she noticed many people perching on fire hydrants because NYC was a ‘city without seats’ (Sadik-Khan n.d., minute 2:58), which inspired her to spread more benches and even hundreds of lawn chairs around the city (5:30).

Returning to Vienna, the city also found that women walk and use public transport more than men, whereas men use cars, motorcycles, and importantly, bicycles, more than women. For example, 24.8 per cent of men report walking every day in the city, whereas 31.5 per cent of women do, while 33.3 per cent of men report using cars or motorcycles every day whereas only 24.1 per cent of the women do. So the city concluded that a move away from cars to public transport and investing in sidewalks will have a positive gender equality effect. Of course, this is only one of many good reasons to encourage people to use their cars less, but not all initiatives will improve gender equality. For example, if men are encouraged to ride bikes rather than drive their cars, and sidewalk space is consequently used to create more cycle lanes, then Vienna’s own research suggests that it could harm gender equality by taking space from women walking to give to men cycling. Which complicates things, but who says life is simple? The city of Vienna suggested five principles for gender mainstreaming (Förster et al. 2021): gender-sensitive language; gender-specific data collection and analysis; equal access to and use of services; equal participation of women and men; and integration of equality into steering instruments.

It is interesting that even though the data from Vienna, if generalizable, suggests that women walk in public space more than men, several female interviewees in different cities see public space as dominated by men. Kiki

from Rotterdam expressed this straightforwardly, when she said: 'I sometimes feel that there are so many more men than women in this city'. And Annette (33) and Revital (36), two women from Tel Aviv, complain that the city does not invest in public toilets because:

Men can pee anywhere, on a tree, for example, it's not illegal (...) even taxi drivers, stop and pee in the public garden and women, who tend not to do so, cannot find a place to urinate.

Michal (40) a woman from Tel Aviv, in response to a question about what is unequal in the city, replies that the authorities cut down trees and therefore there is not enough shade.

You [meaning a woman, she uses the female verb in Hebrew] walk in the street, you need [again, she uses the female verb] shade, you need shade. And they trim the trees, they cut the trees. I know they have to trim them, but you walk in the street, you need shade.

So again, Michal refers to decisions and policies that are taken by the city authorities which unintentionally and perhaps unconsciously do not consider the perspective of women. It is, perhaps, unusual to see a gender difference for the need for shade in the street, but this is certainly the perspective that Michal takes.

The Vienna document concludes that the city's services and products can only be designed to meet everyone's needs in terms of the five principles of gender mainstreaming if the city has data on both women and men and how they use these services. But perhaps more is needed to ensure that the services are equally accessible to both men and women. Not only should planners double check whether the frequently different circumstances of women and men and the different living conditions of women and men are considered in planning and designing services, they should also try to involve women and men equally in committees and decision-making. And yet, having said all that, we need to keep in mind that gender equality is only one component of a city of equals. Lisa, (43) says that she is worried how she will survive economically speaking. Reflecting about her city, Oxford, she argues that we must not think that gender issues make up the full picture:

I definitely think that many people here, young people, are very aware of the gender and sexuality issue—but it seems to me that there are many other problematic things that they are not so much aware of. It's very difficult to formulate this. I think

Oxford as a city and as a university is trying to be very inclusive . . . and promoting equality . . . and people are aware, but there is awareness of certain types or directions in particular. Social and especially financial inequalities, I think that's what I am mostly concerned with.

This is a useful corrective for our emphasis on relational equality; it has long been a concern that the rhetoric of relational equality—‘we are all equals here’—can be used to screen highly damaging material inequalities. While we do not think attention to financial inequality diminishes the importance of relational equality, it reminds us that material factors cannot be swept aside. However, material inequality will typically exert its effects through people's differential life experience.

4.2. Themes that Relate to the Value of Non-deferential Inclusion

To recall, our somewhat unusual notion of ‘non-deferential inclusion’ is to be granted access to the facilities and privileges of a city as a matter of right or entitlement, on the same terms as others. Failures of non-deferential inclusion can come in many forms. At its most crude, it can be a simple matter of exclusion, such as lack or denial of rights. A more subtle failure of non-deferential inclusion, and what we will focus on more here, is what can be called ‘deferential inclusion’, where access to facilities and privileges of the city are granted, but on more onerous terms than for other city-zens. This could mean having to throw oneself on the mercy or discretion of officials or other gatekeepers, or always having to wait longer than others, or to go through bureaucratic hurdles, or being made to feel that others are somehow doing you a special favour in giving you what you are entitled to. To suffer deferential inclusion is to be made to feel a second-class city-zen, even though you do eventually and with difficulty receive everything to which you are entitled. In what follows we will point to features of the interviews that show how people felt that the city can sometimes fail to achieve non-deferential inclusion for all, but will reserve fuller analysis for Chapter 5.

4.2.1. Communication beyond Transportation: Words and Vision

How often have you found yourself looking for Wi-Fi in public spaces, and feeling the frustration of a service that claims to be functioning but doesn't

actually allow you to send an email or reach a website? Obviously, access to the Internet while on the move in today's world is a must, and for many people who cannot afford a comprehensive data package Wi-Fi has become essential. In many cities where cash and notes are not used any more, one might find it very difficult to pay one's bills or pay in shops that lack access to the Internet, for which one often needs access to a good Wi-Fi service. It is a most basic need in contemporary economy and society. This was clearly noted during the Covid19 pandemic, when people relied on Zoom and similar communication systems in order to communicate with their relatives and friends, and on Internet services to buy food and other supplies, and those without a laptop or smartphone were especially isolated. But even in everyday life we have become dependent on access to the Internet and Wi-Fi services. Some pioneering cities in that respect, including Buenos Aires, Boston, Baltimore, Montreal, Quebec City, Taipei, Beijing, Kuala Lumpur, Vienna, Helsinki, Malmo, and Geneva, have introduced free and reliable municipal wireless networks across the city. But in other cities the services are much more variable, often offering free service in airports and, sometimes, downtown and to those living in more prosperous neighbourhoods whereas those living in poor neighbourhoods, not to mention semi-legal buildings, favelas, and the like, lack such free services.

In Chapter 3 we paid a great deal of attention to transport. But communication in the city should be perceived as more than just the ability to move from A to B. Rather, communication should be perceived as the basis for any sense of place, of belonging and community in the city. Communication with others around us is about bonding, about grabbing the opportunities that cities offer for mingling, socializing, making friends, having a sense of community, and, through all these, giving meaning to what we see and sense. Urban communication is therefore both exchange—of information, ideas, views, opinions—and the infrastructure which enables such exchange. Urban communication is therefore a form of connecting people, through dialogue, which takes place in various forms: speech (among city-zens and between the city-zens and the authorities), advertisements, through the new media but also by hanging posters at the entrance to the local grocery or convenience store, and through public means of transportation: trains, trams, buses, bicycles, and the like. It also includes, and we will return to this, how people look at each other.

City dwellers we interviewed seemed very concerned about communication in the city, and expressed a sense of frustration and disappointment when it did not work as they wished or did not offer opportunities to engage with others. When Nicky (36) describes her city, Oxford, she complains:

People always seem busy, running from one place to the other, never looking up and around them, they don't talk to each other or mind the people around them that much.

It is for this reason that the city of Copenhagen developed an attitude to communication which goes beyond transportation, and which we find appealing and egalitarian. They believe that equal access to communication creates a sense of community and equality between all city dwellers. It all begins, they argue, with *eye contact* (Saaby 2015; McLaren and Agyeman 2015, 137–8). So, for example, a regulation forbids new businesses and new public buildings from using black or mirror glass in public-facing walls above the height of 120 cm. The idea is to create eye contact between those inside the building and those walking by, and the regulation removes a possible (literal) barrier. When people sit (inside the cafe or the building) their eyes are around 120 cm above the sidewalk's surface, rising to 160 cm when they stand. The result, these planners argue, is that those walking by do not feel unwanted or unwelcome, and they also give greater respect to those sitting inside. (In the words of Tina Saaby, they do not pee on the building's walls.) As UN-Habitat's executive director Joan Clos writes in a preface to UN-Habitat's book *The City at Eye Level* (Karssen et al. 2016):

UN-Habitat emphasizes the role of streets and public spaces as a connective matrix on which healthy and prosperous cities must grow, embracing the essential requirements of being inclusive, connected, safe, accessible, multi-functional, and liveable. Therefore, the quality of the ground-floor façades we pass close by at eye level is particularly important to enhance environmental sustainability, enrich the quality of life and promote equity and social inclusion. Tools and regulations to strengthen the relationship between the ground floor and the street will improve the interact.

Like others have done, most notably, perhaps, Philip Pettit in his work on Republicanism (Pettit 2014) which incorporates what he calls 'the eyeball test', we therefore adopt the concept of 'eye contact' to express a notion of equality, although for us it is a particularly important aspect of the egalitarian city, both literally and as a metaphor, for the proper relationships between city-zens. Being able to look each other in the eye is a precondition for people to feel that they are equally respected and that they equally belong to the public space of the city.

In 2016 we both taught a summer course in Dubrovnik. We asked our students to talk to people in the street, asking them what would characterize an

egalitarian city, and return to the classroom and report their findings. Interestingly, one of the common answers was ‘a city where we look at each other’s eyes’, meaning that we are sincere, honest, and open to others. This eye contact points to the intimate relationships between inclusion, feeling included and at home, and equality in the city. In a city where hierarchy rules as a social norm, those on the lower levels don’t dare to look at the other’s eyes, and those on the upper levels don’t care to do so. Indeed, in our interviews sight and physical metaphors were often used in this context: Can you look others in the eye? Do others look down on you? Do you stand shoulder to shoulder with others? Moti (61) from Tel Aviv complains about how alienated the city has become and how this affects inequality. He says:

We are all capitalist pigs, who don’t care, we don’t look people in their eyes, just run over them. (. . .) we lost solidarity; we lost the ability to watch each other and see each other.

This is a subtle issue of course, and context matters. One important domain of contact is when city-zens need to interact with those in a particular role, whether with a public servant in an interview for eligibility for a welfare benefit, or a private shop assistant when making a simple purchase. Here, typically, looking someone in the eye is a type of physical metaphor for honesty and respect, though we acknowledge that cultural practices differ, and looking someone in the eye, such as a police officer, can be taking as a sign of defiance or disrespect. Indeed, people often raised the issue of whether eye contact can have different meanings in different cultures, or within different groups in the same culture, when we presented our research at conferences or when teaching our seminars. For example in heavily religious cultures different practices can be expected, and, men might take care to avoid looking at women’s eyes, as in Jerusalem.⁴ In terms of chance interactions in the street, in some cities, such as London our observation is that unless people have children or dogs with them, giving an innocent reason for interest, few people will catch each other’s eyes when they pass, whereas, for example, in Oxford, especially among the academic community, people are more likely to take deliberate notice of those around them, as the chances are much higher that people will know each other, and it is rude for a student not to acknowledge a professor and inconsiderate and arrogant for the professor not to acknowledge the student. But more than everything else, we adopt the idea of a city with eye contact as a metaphor for communication and honesty between city

⁴ This is a different aspect of inequality. We thank Tal Eldar for this important comment about religious men in Jerusalem.

dwellers, just as ‘standing shoulder to shoulder’ is rarely called for in practice but expresses an idea of solidarity.

4.2.2. Inclusivity

The discussion of community has already introduced the next set of issues, namely how inclusive the city is, which we will now focus on more directly. Broadly, we could say that inclusivity was raised in two often-related contexts: one about minorities in general—religious, ethnic, sexual orientation, and so on—and the other concerning immigrants, especially in cities where immigration from other countries is particularly common. Some cities, most notably huge cities in China such as Beijing and Shanghai, are struggling to cope with massive numbers of migrants from the countryside or other smaller cities and attempt to restrict numbers by regulation, turning many millions of people into illegal residents. But in most cases, when locals talked about inclusivity and immigration, they had in mind people moving to the city from foreign countries, often not knowing the local language or customs, and bringing different values with them.

The arrival of immigrants can be a social challenge—they speak other languages, dress differently, and look different from those already in the city, or they have values and beliefs which differ from those already common in the city. Indeed, in several interviews people were not so keen on having immigrants in their cities; but such sentiments were raised less often than we expected. A cynic might say that people hid their real views in the interviews, and we cannot rule this out, but we believe that there is another explanation: that the discussion was usually set in the context of the city, and, as we argued above, people can change their attitude to immigrants when they switch from thinking like a state (or as citizens) to thinking like a city (as city-zens), and become much more tolerant, hospitable, and inclusive. This can even be true for people who express chauvinistic attitudes when they think of immigration on the state level, and are much more opposed to the ‘abstract’ immigrant than they are to the actual people from other countries whom they know and work with, sit next to at church or the football, or their children delight in playing with (de-Shalit 2018). We certainly would not claim that there are no voices against immigrants but in our interviews they were exceptional.

According to the Knight Foundation survey (n.d.) about what matters most in the city, the city’s openness—how welcoming the community is to different types of people, including families with young children, minorities, and talented college graduates—came second only to social opportunities. This

was reflected also in the interviews. Jason is 18 from Hamburg. He tells us this story:

Do you know what happened on my first day at work? I work for a construction company. On my very first day, my colleagues met me and the first thing they ask me is ‘You’re not a Muslim, are you?’ Can you believe that? What did they think I would do? Blow them up with a bomb? And now, well, now they know me . . . and they say ‘Hey, Jason, cool guy!’ but he’s the exception. . . all other black people are still bad.

Inclusivity and exclusion can be a function of formal regulations, which can make it uncomfortable for some people to live in the city, as they have to choose between their own norms and values and obeying the city’s regulations. It may seem strange now to think that there are regulations specifically designed to exclude or make people feel uncomfortable, but whether by design or accident some regulations can certainly have that effect. For example, Raze (24) compares London favourably with Geneva. To our question whether people in these cities meet each other on eye level, he replies:

Yes, in London people with religious clothes, for example, can work in shops and in government—in their religious clothes. That’s great, I think. In Switzerland that’s not possible. Religious people can’t wear anything like that for government jobs. So I think it’s a strong sign of equality [in London].

This echoes a debate in French cities. In 2016, for example, Nice’s municipality banned the use of the burkini swimsuit because—so it was alleged—it represents Islamic extremism, and yet a month later the court overturned the ban (Agence France-Presse 2016). More recently, in 2022, the issue was discussed in Grenoble, and the municipality authorized all swimwear, including burkinis. This, of course, is a consequence of the particularly French concept of ‘*laïcité*’ which calls for a sharp divide between religion and the state, including aspects of public life, and has often been interpreted as requiring a ban on religious symbols in public. The suspicion, however, is that it is implemented unevenly, and has been used as a tool to disproportionately target Islamic culture, while being much more tolerant of Christian and even Jewish styles of dress and presentation. In egalitarian terms it raises the fraught question of whether equality means ‘sameness’ or ‘tolerating people in their differences’. It should be clear from what we have already said that our sympathies are with the latter, while recognizing that for both principled and

pragmatic reasons there often have to be some limits to toleration. At the same time, we appreciate the value of shared civic experience but believe conditions should be put in place so it can develop its own forms organically, rather than be forced by law and regulation about such things as regulating personal appearance.

The example of dress codes concerns ways in which formal rules can exclude. However, as J. S. Mill taught us, social exclusion can also take place by informal means. Social pressure, even norms themselves, he argued, are no less exclusive than regulations. In fact, they are often less noticed and less concrete and therefore more difficult to oppose. Alba (38, male, who came to Berlin from Africa) tells us his story:

I was refused entrance to a club. Everyone got in. The bouncer didn't allow me in. I had no drugs, nothing. This is denial of freedom of association. I told that to the police around there, but they just told me to go home. I felt bitter and humiliated. I've lived in many places. And I think these things are a question of conscience and good will.

Alba's testimony is that this is not a single case, but his continuous experience: 'It's so appalling—the situation here.' Nicole (36), another Berliner, described a somewhat different situation, also referring to social rather than formal exclusion. When asked about what aspects of inequality in the city come to mind, she argued that there were no particular groups who were excluded, but people who do not fit 'because they are not eccentric enough' feel awkward and not wanted in places. The quality of life in the city is when it is open, she argued. It means everyone can do what he or she wants

even when you don't fit into the norm, or the cliché. (. . .) I think that's an important aspect of quality of life. (. . .) If you don't fit in, into the scene, e.g. fashion style-wise—when you're not hip enough or not sufficiently eccentric, for example, people won't consider you as equal.

This reminds us that even those who prize difference and eccentricity can have negative attitudes to those who are very conventional, and therefore challenges to relational equality can occur in unexpected places. Moreover, while in Alba's situation, the exclusion is based on social norms or prejudice, in Nicole's case, not only is the exclusion based on norms, but the excluding group is not even aware of the act of exclusion. Nicole does not feel welcome in certain neighbourhoods or shops even though those who cause this

feeling are not aware of it and in fact, believe that they are open-minded and inclusive.

Such exclusion, often informal, is closely related to not feeling at ease in public or being unable to be oneself in public. It could be due to your accent which immediately reveals that ‘you don’t really belong’, unless the city takes variety of accents for granted or even celebrates it. Ruben (26) from Amsterdam is originally from East Holland, which is often considered inferior in Amsterdam. He says:

I think that the thing that most bothers me about the city is probably the way people judge me according to my eastern accent. It’s impossible to hide my eastern accent when I speak Dutch. (. . .) [It is difficult because] language is the first hurdle you must jump over if you want to build trust.⁵

Sabine from Berlin tells us that the east-west divide is still very strong, and people from the west (*Wessies*) don’t mix with people from the east (*Ossies*) and vice versa:

People still have surprisingly little contact to each other. My colleague, who is from the East, tells me that she has never been to the Wannsee [a famous bathing resort and a beautiful lake within the city of Berlin]. I can’t understand her . . . only because it’s in the West??

Sabine points to another component of exclusion: for a city to be egalitarian people from different neighbourhoods should not think twice about whether to visit another neighbourhood and how they would be treated there.⁶ R from London describes her own experience as an example of social exclusion:

I work in Chelsea. People there talk down on you a little. Not everyone, but some. And this really depends on the area. (. . .) But, you know, it’s just these things . . . like when you’re walking into an area or a shop and don’t feel welcome.

⁵ At the same time, some Amsterdammers make it a principle to learn the language of the immigrants, because integration, they claim, is not a one-way process, whereby the newcomer is integrated in the dominant culture, but rather a process whereby each community, those originally from the city and the newcomers, learn each other’s cultures and adopt parts of it. For this reason, some interviewees in Amsterdam called their city ‘the milkshake city’. See de-Shalit (2018).

⁶ While we endorse the idea that city dwellers should be able to go anywhere in the city without feeling they are unwelcome, we do acknowledge that occasionally cities can allocate spaces or buildings for the use of specific groups such as for women. In several cities, including Rio de Janeiro, Tokyo (on some suburban and train lines), Delhi, Mumbai, and elsewhere, there are special carriages on trains for women only. Such acts are done because of egalitarian reasons and are conducted with the blessing and agreement of the entire community, but at the same time are in a sense regrettable, as they are a response to the fact that many men behave in ways in which women find threatening, and therefore is itself a response to injustice.

Distance too can be a barrier. Sulaika (36) also from London describes a situation whereby

London's community is quite subtle. (. . .) Poorer people are located away from a large part of things, from experiencing different things. So, they're at a major disadvantage.

Tid (30), a Londoner now, who we mentioned before in connection with 'working-class pride' in Liverpool where he grew up, describes how the disadvantaged were segregated spatially and neglected to the extent that

the cliché vision is well either you join the army or you're on welfare from the government or you are in prison. The slightly ambitious outside option was to play football.

A city of equals should be inclusive in most if not all its neighbourhoods. Oded, 40, from Tel Aviv, works in the south of Tel Aviv where many asylum seekers and foreign workers reside. He loves it, especially the diversity and enjoys every minute of the meetings of cultures. However, when asked about equality in the city he is very clear:

[it will happen only when] the diversity occurs across the whole city, and not just in the south. I want to see what happens in the north, where the houses are worth 5, maybe 10 million Shekels (\$1.5–3m), when a group of Eritreans will stand in a doorway. It will take less than a minute for a city patrol to get rid of them.

He might be exaggerating, but nevertheless there is truth in his claim that people who live in north Tel Aviv can be very proud of how inclusive the city is but stop short of actually living with asylum seekers.

The extent to which asylum seekers and refugees are integrated is obviously a matter that affects inequality in the city. Claudia (58) from Berlin says:

And what about refugees, what kind of inequality do you think of here? Well, that they cannot work here, although they are well educated. Germany laments a shortage of skilled labourers. And, nevertheless, people aren't allowed to work. Their degrees and professional qualifications are not being recognised here.

As we described in Chapter 1, with respect to immigrants, refugees, and asylum seekers, cities often promote more egalitarian policies than the states where they are located. For example, in October 2020, when the government

of Italy announced that it would not allow a migrant-rescue ship approaching Italy to enter any Italian harbour, the mayor of Naples, Luigi de Magistris, challenged this decision, announcing his support of the organization ResQ Onlus in its plan to launch a migrant-rescue ship in the central Mediterranean. However, much remains to be done, and often refugees and asylum seekers who do enter the city are treated with disdain both by the authorities and other residents, and have access only to a limited range of the city's facilities.

4.2.3. Political Standing

Many of the elements of the city of equals we have discussed so far concern informal social structures—who feels welcome and who doesn't—or the general consequences of laws and policies as they affect different groups, such as the effects of encouraging cycling in the city. These policies can affect people in very individual ways that are not necessarily determined by their particular group membership. But there are also questions where very sharp decisions need to be made, as they need to be embodied in law, such as whether immigrants prior to naturalization have the right to vote in local elections or stand for office. Of course, there is also a less-formal aspect to these political questions, such as who will have the confidence to stand up and speak at, say, a planning meeting about urban renewal, and who will be taken seriously. In Chapter 2 we mentioned Cassiers and Kesteloot (2012) who argue that spatial segregation has three implications: diminished opportunities for income, for those who live far away from the economic centre of the city; lack of social network and social capital, which in turn make social mobility even harder; and stigmatization and lack of political representation, as those residing far from the centre and in more deprived neighbourhoods often receive less political attention. So it seems that the informal is linked to the formal, and results in lack of representation. As we also explained in Chapter 2, two theorists have shown this in detail. Loren King (2011) claims that a city's regulations and policies do not always take into account the values and norms of all groups in the city, or, as he defines it, whether it gives equal political standing to all who will be affected by the policy. And Patti Tamara Lenard (2013; 2015) describes representation in councils in cities where immigrants form a very large group, such as Toronto. Because immigrants tend to reside in the same neighbourhoods, and because many of them haven't yet naturalized, and because in Canada, those not yet naturalized lack voting rights in local elections, let alone national ones, the situation is quite bizarre. It is not

only that the residents are not represented, but that the entire neighbourhood is not represented, especially when the elections to the councils are based on constituencies, which yields a situation whereby the neighbourhood, as a constituency, lacks representation.

Lack of representation matters in many ways. In terms of equality, one stark issue is renewal of infrastructure such as sewerage and drains, water supply, road and sidewalk surfacing, and tree-planting, where provision can be very uneven between neighbourhoods. The newer a neighbourhood is, the easier it is for the municipality to provide efficient infrastructure. As Omri (28) from Jerusalem says:

It all comes down to the infrastructures. The good neighbourhoods are either the new ones or the renovated ones. Since the municipality doesn't really have the money to invest in renovation, the new neighbourhoods are always better than the older ones.

We would add that wealthier neighbourhoods, and those with better political representation, are also more likely to speak up loudly, and make it uncomfortable for city officials until their voices are heard and acted upon.

Hence although we agree, of course, with Patti Lenard that having a vote matters,⁷ and is perhaps the most important factor, political participation includes other spheres of life, and having a vote is one parameter among many. Even representation itself is important not only in the municipality but also in the city's civil society, NGOs, and, of course, the media. In a city of equals a multiplicity of groups are represented in local media and radio, and the local TV broadcasting showcases the variety of local cultures and languages, thereby catering to the needs of all groups but also enabling people to enrich themselves by becoming familiar with the other in the city. Moreover, in a city of equals, people will not see such representation and participation as something special. They will, actually, be eager and open to listen to others. A good example for this was an interview with Yap (67) from Amsterdam. He says he does not have any problem with immigrants; actually, he adds, it's the other way around. Then he explains:

Some people, mainly white males, think they are somehow entitled to be the guardians of the world's wealth. They are not. The fact that I was lucky to be born here [as a white Amsterdamer] does not mean that the ones who are less fortunate

⁷ Lenard's thesis is supported by Frug (2011) who challenges US voting laws because they enable some city-zens, for example, long-standing residents, to vote and decide for others who lack political power and voice.

are not entitled to the same opportunities. I would hate it if the city would not accept immigrants.

He adds, 'What's mine is theirs.'

For this reason, many interviewees mentioned that representation on all levels and in many spheres should be open to everybody. While it is true that in many cities there are discernible xenophobic sentiments, it is also true that in many cases a large proportion of residents believe that a healthy and egalitarian city includes representation and participation in as many spheres as possible. As Sherry Arnstein argued, there are different levels of participation, some of which are no more than lip service, or, as she puts it, a token. These are informing, consultation, and placation. The municipality sends warm messages of inclusion which in practice amount to little and act as a cover for inaction. But the main point for us, here, is that participation not only comes in different levels, but also in different forms (Arnstein 1969).

In the interviews people talked less about their voting and more about accessibility to decision-makers and bureaucrats and about being listened to. Moti (61) from Tel Aviv complained that not all residents of the city have equal access to the decision-makers at the municipality, and so did Mano (70) in Jerusalem, who thought that this is not necessarily a matter of inequality, but rather something that affects everyone, whatever their situation—people are not being listened to, so it creates a different kind of political inequality, between those in power and all the rest. On the other hand, Tina (49) from Hamburg suggests that the problem is especially acute for homeless people who really lack access to the bureaucrats. It seems clear that there are various levels of not being listened to and being listened to. A person might lack the appropriate skills and knowledge and simply have no idea how to approach the municipality. Or they might have the skills, but despair about the prospect of ever being listened to, so refrain from even trying. Or they might try but fail to reach the right audience. Or they might be listened to but ignored, and the authorities still do whatever they want, as their listening is not more than a token. Or they might be listened to, and taken seriously, but their views ultimately have no influence as, for example, local politics is all about the old boys' network, and only some voices have impact. These are all issues that affect whether one's city is a city of equals.

Political standing is not only about having your concern being assessed by a legitimate, fair, and open (transparent) process. Rather city-zens also want to win from time to time. A city of equals pays attention to the interests of a variety of groups according to whatever criteria the group is formed, and does what it can to ensure that those interests are met; not that they are always met,

and not that they are never met. Even the language used to refer to people can make a huge difference. In Canada it is common to avoid the term ‘refugees’ and use ‘newcomers’ instead, sending a powerful message of inclusion.

The general idea of political standing is worth further reflection. It relates first and foremost to how decisions are taken by the city’s authorities. If those in power wish to be egalitarian in their attitude to the city’s population, they should see that no particular group regularly finds itself constantly on the losing side unless their demands are unacceptable because, for example, they are utterly fanciful or harmful to others. The principle should also apply to the city’s civil-society institutions: school boards, local NGOs, local boards that run citizens’ initiatives such as communal gardens, and similar. Nobody should feel alienated because they repeatedly find themselves in the minority. We acknowledge that there is a price to pay here because, to achieve this, sometimes the majority will have to sacrifice its own idea of the good or decide against its interest. But the benefit of what might be termed political inclusion and refraining from alienating city members is of great value.

When things go well in a city, people express great civil pride. Heidi (Hamburg) says: ‘There is little that I dislike or could complain about. I am a Hamburger in heart and soul.’ But there can also be estrangement. Christian (40) is in Berlin but used to live in Hamburg. He says: ‘Making contact in Berlin is very difficult. (...) It would be nice to have a social climate (...) In Hamburg, for example, people are much more approachable than here, I feel.’ Claudia (57) regrets that Berlin’s homeless people do not feel at home enough to participate politically, and as a result they, so to speak, do not co-own the city.

Renata, a psychologist in Rio de Janeiro who lives in one of the affluent neighbourhoods, frankly says: ‘I think I got used to seeing this inequality, and I try to protect myself.’ So yes, many city dwellers can live side by side with inequality as long as they are not harmed. If due to inequality there is a high crime rate, as in Rio, and many other cities, they try to ‘protect themselves’. If they succeed, they have little direct motivation to contribute towards reducing the inequality they see around themselves. Therefore, an egalitarian city should see that people do not retreat entirely to their comfort zone, by which we do not mean that people should voluntarily expose themselves to crime, but should be aware of their privilege and consider how the lives of others can be brought to the same level. Lucia (42, New York) mentions this when she says that people believe that state and city services for poorer people are ‘favours rather than rights’, which is a very important observation, as, we will show in Chapter 5.

4.3. Conclusion

In this, and the previous, chapter we have drawn out a number of themes from the interviews, and although we have organized them under our key values, there is more work to do to put them into a firm theoretical framework. Drawing on the interviews, the literature review, and our own reflections, articulating such a framework is the task of Chapter 5. At this stage, our preliminary conclusion is that the interviewees have shown that they are greatly concerned not only about their own fate in the city, but its overall character. Few gave any indication that they thought their cities had done too much for other groups, except for the rich and privileged. There was a concern that the people who are the lifeblood of the city—service workers both in the public and private sector—as well as members of minoritized groups and newcomers, were not always treated fairly in terms of access to facilities and resources. Areas of particular concern were, naturally, housing, transport, and access to leisure facilities. But equally there were enormous concerns expressed about how people treat and relate to each other, especially in street-level interactions. Constructing a city of equals is a highly complex task, which might not be reducible to an easily applied formula. We will give our account of what it means more specifically in Chapter 5.

Before we continue, we should address a possible challenge. We have described many themes; but when cities design their policies, they might face the problem that catering for one of them could make another less available. How do we recommend such tensions should be handled? We ask the reader to bear with us. In Chapter 5 we will first give a fuller picture of how these themes can be grouped into four core values, and then discuss how to approach potential tensions.