

Josef Langer (ed)

# Analysis and Visions for Europe

This book provides reflections on and visions of the European Union and its future. The latter is a central concern that threads through all chapters and contributions, thereby taking a critical stance on conventional theories and in-stream views of European integration. Different developmental scenarios and dimensions of the EU project are discussed. The authors approach the question of "future" from a variety of perspectives and theoretical convictions. Accordingly, the results portray a number of possibilities of how Europe could exist in two or three decades, depending on the underlying assumptions of the present analysis. The European Union as seen through this book is not an entity carved in stone, but a contingent political process with open – although random – outcomes.

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Hans-Peter Meier-Dallach

## The European Union Hitting Europe's Birds: The Future of Landscapes<sup>1</sup>

"The living thing is superior to a non-living one; nothing is better than the cosmos; so the cosmos is a living being."

*Posidonios, Greek philosopher of Stoa*

### Birds and books

On the 4<sup>th</sup> of March 2009 the BBC World Service surprised me by reporting on the living perspectives of birds in Europe in a contribution entitled "Climate hitting Europe's Birds". In the last decades during the rise of European Union 75 per cent of the species has been declining, losers, while a quarter has profited and is winning under the new regime. Bird populations are very old dwellers of Europe; they lived here long before us. A critical sociological lecture of the event was stimulated:

The threatened species loved Europe as a living body of landscapes, niches, villages, towns and diverse cultures: All in all the earth can be seen as a giant maybe, like Rabelais described it at the time of the Renaissance. They remember having been small brothers and sisters of a Europe made from blood, meat, sweat, toils, passion, work, poetry – shortly an organic paradise. What can the imminent loss of diversity contribute to my exploration into the future of the European Union (EU)?

I guess the winners would appreciate being members of the EU and welcome its performance. They can profit from the divorce of the two Europes: the Europe as a living body as opposed to the EU, which is on the road to becoming a system. The surviving species would accept having to live in a system. The loss of three quarters of the ancient species, of diversity, could even be advantageous for the survivors; it facilitates coordination and compliance to norms and history can be rewritten by forgetting that of previous times.

During the past years, I have learned much by walking through landscapes, villages, towns and metropolises. Walking gives space to dissident lecture. What I felt in nature led to a new walking through the libraries; very quickly I passed the displays occupied by the current books about the "Future of EU". My steps slowed down along the gallery of books written by the older species of science. Why did they disappear during the period of progress of the EU and the increasing endangering of birds' diversity? In my spare time, when I am not absorbed

<sup>1</sup> In collaboration with the WORLD\_DRIVES association.

by projects, I read such old books, for instance, Braudel, Elias, Walicki, Gurewitsch, A. Weber, Simmel, Schopenhauer. Later on Paracelsus, Herodot, Latin and Greek writers such as Posidonios attracted me. In fact the benchmarking with birds delivers a huge contrast: the older species of books seem to be already dead while the current books are expanding to nearly 90 to 100 per cent.<sup>2</sup>

### Visiting tour to metropolitan areas

Evidently birds do not study social or human sciences. But they are masters of reading societal changes in space. This may be the reason why birds have played a major role in myths and religions in nearly all cultures. The earth and its territories are their living partners including the air space. I guess that birds are more sensitive to the changes of landscapes than planners using Geographic Information Systems (GIS), maps and plans, because birds have to search for the living beings and elements; the small things and particularity of territories are essential for survival. Simultaneously birds perceive the borders where the body is losing vitality, becomes a green relic at the margins of a system or disappears under roads, platforms for houses or new towns.

We have studied social sciences or are well-certified planners but, nevertheless, we could learn from birds. Changes of landscapes are such of men, of societal mentalities or conducts. Many sites of construction are societal ones raising questions like who will live in this new settlement? Which birds are expelled before and will be abolished in a district? Walking brings an advantage along; instead of looking over all sites of Europe one follows a particular, but typical route. We undertake a visiting tour to the most relevant construction site of the EU's future – the metropolitan areas. Everywhere the first ranked master plans in spatial affairs concentrate on the creation of metropolitan areas. It seems that the period of "cohesion" strategies looking mainly to the peripheries in Member States has passed<sup>3</sup>. Also in Switzerland the metropolitan dream is flourishing; four metropolitan areas have been defined and compete to advance

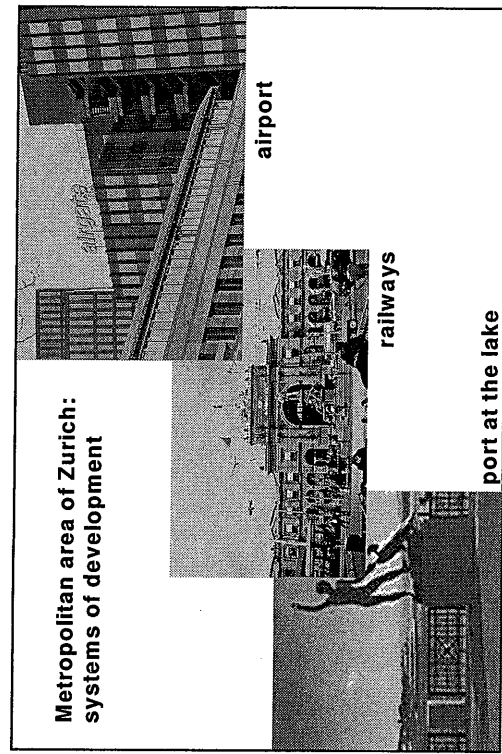
<sup>2</sup> This essay looks forward against the background of previous papers where insights into periods shaping the EU and its images confirm the shifts from Europe as an organic model to a systemic construction (Meier-Dallach 2009 a/b). The periods "new technological and consumer styles", "governance by joint policy", "transformation through norms" pushed the EU as a system. They impacted the EU significantly more than the periods linked to Europe as a personality through "pacification by market" (after World War II), "agora and round tables" (the fall of the Iron Curtain) or "efforts for diversity" (federalist trends). Evidently the expansion of the EU imposes a fatalistic constraint and works as pressure for systemic logics as well as rationality. Europe as personality would need more time and could evoke "romantic" dreams and movements in an era of global competition.

<sup>3</sup> The strategies for the promotion of metropolitan areas could displace the policies of rural developments in peripheral areas also in new Member States of the EU and widen the urban-rural gaps. Such fears are articulated in Poland for instance and seem to be growing.

to the best mega-system of the Confederation, namely Zurich, Geneva, Lausanne, Basle and Berne like Washington as capital region. Let us make a visit to the area around Zurich.

As many others, the first drive of Zurich as a metropolis has the earth as donor. The lake of Zurich favoured the creation of a port in Roman times, which facilitated the founding of a town and settlements on both sides of the Limmat. In the Nineteenth century the railway began to dominate as traffic system and marginalised the port at the lake. The imposing architecture of Zurich's main station attests this change until today. But since the Nineteen Fifties, the airport has become the transnational and intercontinental gate of the metropolitan area (Picture 1). Metropolitan dimensions in Switzerland are small and short, struggling with the hills and mountains of the Alps, which reduce available space for buildings. So one can reach Zurich main station from the port through the Bahnhofstrasse in twenty minutes by foot and from here the airport can be reached in 20 minutes by train.

Picture 1 The generators of Zurich as metropolitan area



Metropolitan area of Zurich:  
systems of development

airport

railways

port at the lake

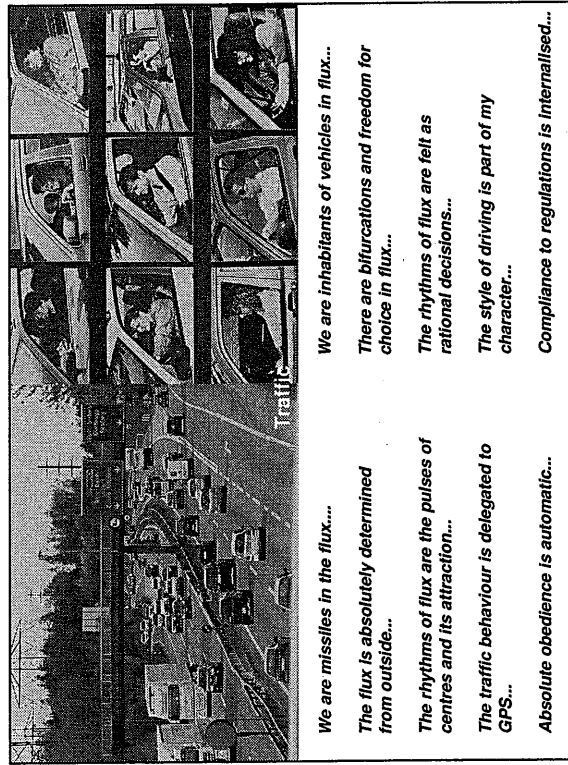
However, our trip does not follow the official tour. According to this, the primordial drives would still be the power and dynamics located in the City of Zurich. Although the City, for instance Paradeplatz, is a very important site for decisions in financial terms, the metropolitan area is driven by the surrounding areas and locations, municipalities, new towns and booming zones, the "coasts" of the City.

We start our tour in these coast regions. We collect impressions from two kinds of pictures, actual ones of the coast, territories surrounding the City, and such of the City, which go back to the Nineties. Behind the coast zones between



airport and the City of Zurich one can see hills and in the distance the skyline of the Alps. The hills are like atolls where rich "birds" have landed, for instance Roger Federer, but one detects there still the nice rural villages typical for Switzerland. The excursion to the dialectics of metropolitan areas compares landscapes of the coast zone around Zurich (2009) with pictures specific for Zurich in the Nineties, 15 years ago, before the new wave of metropolitan strategies started. The new emerging corpus of landscapes in the surrounding area of the metropolitan space will be compared with the old city-body, i.e. "what is?" is challenged by "what was?". Thereby a first level of interpretation looks at the landscape as a physical body. In the pictures of the traffic landscape (Picture 2a) one detects the relics of earth, trees and woods besides the road-systems where surely birds are present.

Picture 2a Traffic landscapes – metropolitan and city type

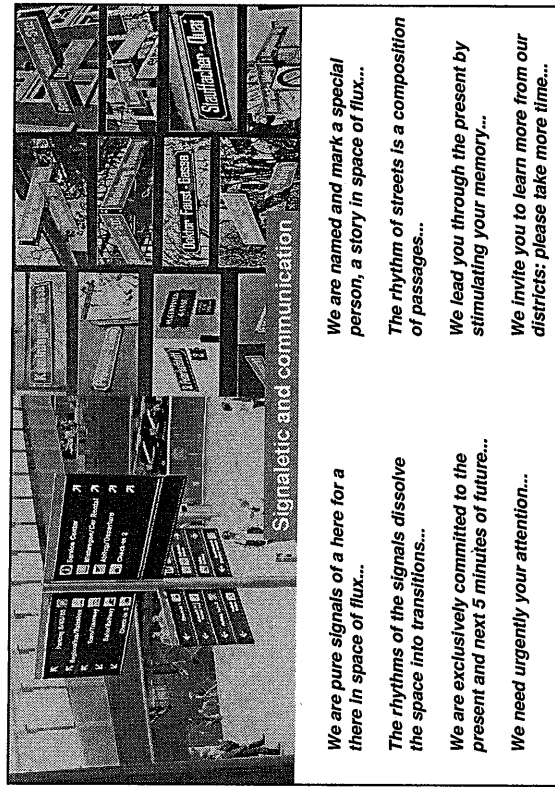


But our concept of landscape is substantially interested in the human birds living in the traffic landscape, here in the vehicles and cars on the roads. This societal and human level of interpretation is key to our comparative analysis. How are they feeling and living in the corpus of traffic landscape? How do they feel and conduct themselves in the coast situation compared with the city? Are the two landscapes, two specific "giants", steering the conducts of people by shaping a metropolitan against a classic urban personality?

The metropolitan and urban traffic landscapes are significantly different. The coast pattern is characterised by flux, determined from the outside and steered top down. In terms of Linton (1945) one could say that two contrasting types of basic "traffic-characters" are created. In the urban type (Zurich in the Nineties) drivers felt that they were inhabitants of the car, capable of deciding, as a pilot with character. And surely the stream of traffic through the cities has been rather like living snakes than a track for missiles. In the coast pattern the basic treats are opposite – persons are determined from the outside, by centres as destinations, GPS and strict obedience is absolutely binding.

Traffic systems produce specific landscapes of communication (signalistic systems with direction signs). The coast pattern in the airport works without memory while the city pattern tells stories (Picture 2b).

Picture 2b Communication landscapes (signalistic) – metropolitan and city type

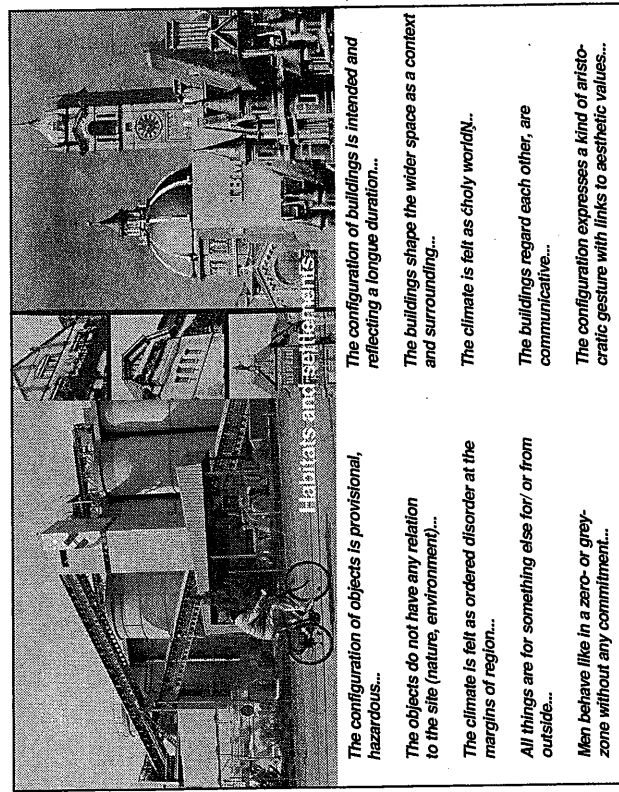


The city signalistic system animates the physical setting of tables while the coast pattern delivers only information. Very different are the time-givers (Zeitgeber) steering the behaviour in space. The coast pattern cuts duration, frees it from past and future, commanding the rational move to destination while the city pattern invites us to use more time in order to move in space.

At a first glance the settlement landscapes are quite different in their surroundings compared to those in the city (Picture 2c). The coast body of settlements shows a lot of isolated, provisional and outside oriented or chaotic objects, which surprise and produce specific sentiments. The city body stresses

rather an integrated pattern, mostly on the level of architectural features. It evokes feelings of admiration, the configuration of built landscapes as a specific corporate identity, a personality revealing the character of the town. Such aristocratic gestures explain why nearly all tourist routes lead first to the holy districts of cities. The "law of nostalgic bias in aesthetic perception"<sup>3</sup> is linked to the strong personality of built landscapes in earlier periods of urban (and rural) development.

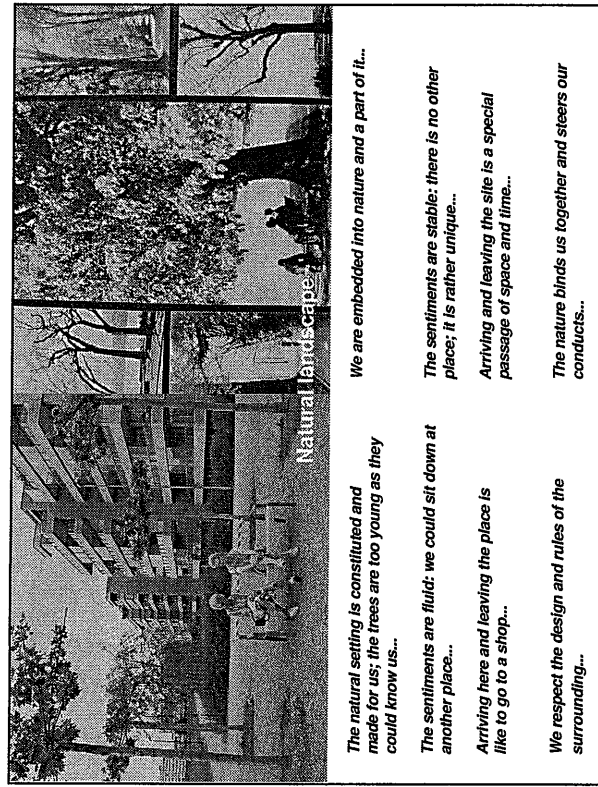
Picture 2c Settlement landscapes – metropolitan and city type



Natural landscapes in the coast area are richer than it seems at first glance – there are remains of natural landscape or even reserves of woods and grazing land for cows. But the situation in Picture 2d selects the natural landscape of an intersection to a new town, for example Glattpark (in picture). The physical characteristics have not yet created intimate sentiments like uniqueness, duration and attachment. The design is too strong to become a sign. And there is one interesting observation – the designed landscape is a person contrasting to wild zones of rests of nature and to the chaotic body of settlements.

<sup>3</sup> Empirical studies illustrate this observation: People assess the traditional patterns of landscapes as much more beautiful than the modern ones even if they are far from its meaning in present life. This symbolic pattern of conduct can be shown including natural, settlement and traffic landscapes (Meier-Dallach et al. 2003, pp. 164-165).

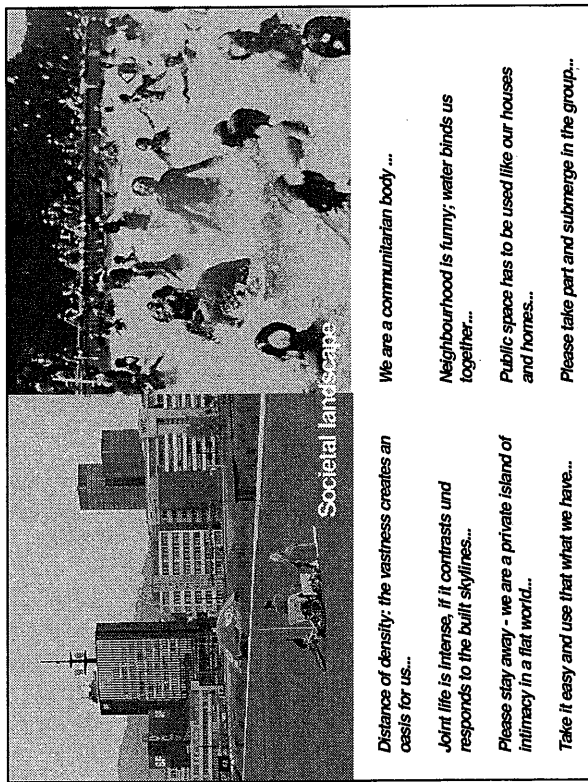
Picture 2d Natural landscapes – metropolitan and city type



In Swiss cities natural landscapes play a significant role. Nearly all settlements are embedded into valleys or hills, i.e. they form an inverted panorama where one looks like from the scene to the elevated arenas for spectators, the pre-Alps, peaks of the Alps or the hills of Jura. This specific city pattern contrasts with situations in the surrounding zones of Zurich, where a quite large area is going to be built on, the new settlement of Glattpark.

Landscapes of men and societies are differently shaped in agglomeration and city zones. In agglomerations the societal body is dispersed; one detects singular individuals, who during commuting time are concentrated around stations. The bodies of traffic, settlements, landscapes and electronic communication absorb individuals and groups, i.e. their spatial availability as societal aggregations. Physical proximity has to struggle in vast areas (Picture 2e). But such contrasts could shape intensive sentiments of belonging together within small perimeters or oases of intimacy. The personality of societal landscapes is different from that observed in city areas. As in the example of leisure activity the pattern relies on density, concentration and public motivation and feelings.

Picture 2e Societal landscapes – metropolitan and city type



### Landscapes – from person to system

The observations collected from our tour in a metropolitan area can be summarised. Landscapes around the city, traffic, settlements, societal and communication patterns and natural settings form a mega-body. But it takes another quality than that put forward by Rabelais. The giant becomes de-personalised. It seems like a mega-system without qualities of living beings. Its components and drives result from planimetric logics – business plans following the most efficient routes, channels and means. The human beings and social groups disappear from the bodies, infrastructures and spaces, maybe they remain visible but they are steered by a new time rhythm and new spatial conditions.

In most metropolitan areas the city-body is encircled by mega-systems of the surrounding territories; they look very similar, the road- and traffic-systems, big settlements or luxury houses and districts, communication infrastructure, parks and rests of natural landscapes. But it is not only a kind of enclosing of the city body. Its outlook and design assimilates specific features of the surrounding system; it is mostly visible in districts and buildings where the historical architecture and forms have disappeared. The de-personalisation of the city districts is experienced by those inhabitants who have been dislodged to the agglomerations. The new grant from outside devours the same groups that are expelled

from the city and have to seek a new living place within his corpus. Indeed the loss of basic groups of population – of its societal landscape – is the dramatic turn of the mutation from a city as a person to a part of a system. Often this process is accompanied by a face lifting of the districts concerned by new forms of architecture and design or restorations of traditional buildings and artefacts. So the new city body looks nice but vast and freed of human beings, the species of birds living there before.

I have walked through different metropolitan areas of Europe and since the EU concentrates the efforts to transform its members by metropolitan strategies it is not only legitimate but necessary to raise radical questions. Europe looks back at a past (and present) as a rich body of landscapes shaping significant characters. One could say that Europe's essential feature is its personality rooted in diversity between the Mediterranean and Northern Sea, between Oceans at the Atlantic and Ural, the Alpine formations and the endless plains. The EU is a very young partner of Europe – but it does not behave as a partner. The observations overwhelmingly suggest an opposite picture, even around Zurich as a metropolitan example of a country that is not a member of the EU. The EU mutates more and more into a mega-system encircling Europe as a personality. Far from the main issues prioritised by the EU, like financial, policy and juridical affairs, this mutation is mostly visible in the landscapes.

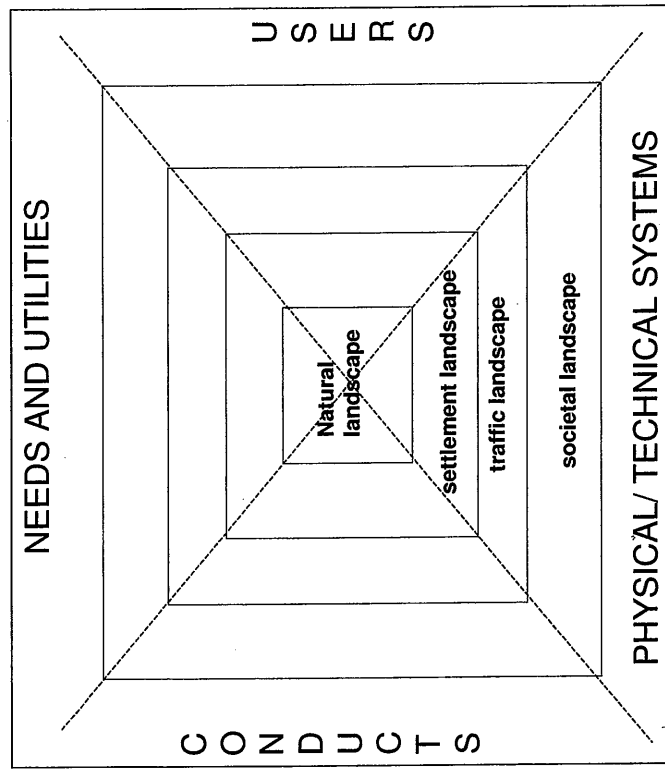
### Theory of landscape revisited

I am aware that such walks through metropolitan regions triggered a change of my lectures in spatial sociology. Further my love for the personality theory of landscapes goes back to impressions from my childhood. I was born in a valley surrounded by an Alpine skyline of high mountains mirrored in a deep lake; so the conception of landscapes as a living body was convincing and survived all my positivist training in empirical and quantitative methods, cybernetics and system theory at the university. The most recent observations refer to the relevance of this view. How to revise the theory of landscape while taking them into account?

I illustrate the different approaches, landscape as person versus landscape as system, by using two Figures (3a/b). One can read the two approaches like frames of reference for discerning the differences in the observations made during the walk through a metropolitan area. The quintessence of the system approach is defined as “*divide et impera*”. The four landscapes, natural, settlement, traffic, communication, are separated as systems<sup>4</sup> and treated as distinct objectives.

<sup>4</sup> In a system-model, the parts are discrete but linked, while in an organism all parts are interconnected among each other. The division of labour in an organism is more “organic” – the borders are not well defined and diffuse. The organism creates an interplay of all actors (organs) within its territory according to a time rhythm. In an organism the elements and

Figure 3a Landscapes – the system paradigm as basics for the planimetric approach

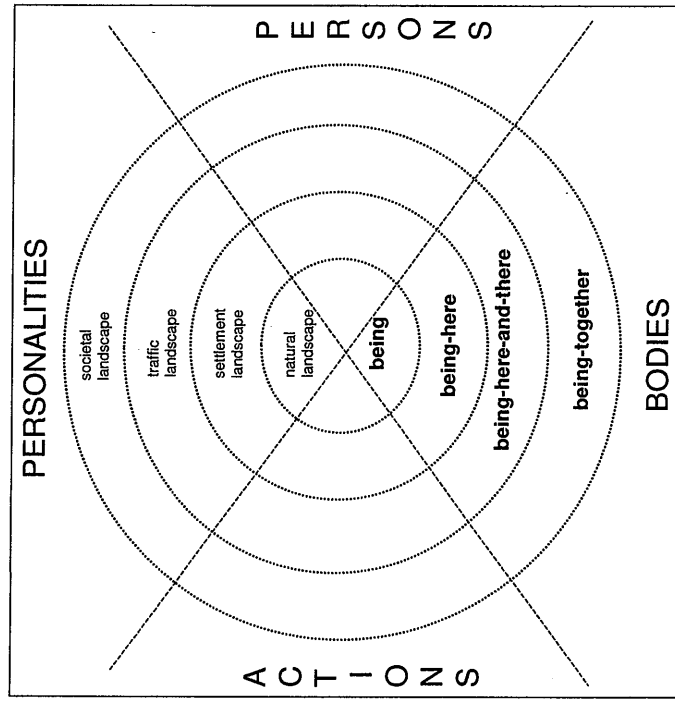


A further level of separation is relevant: the corpus of the landscapes is a physical system independent and freed from cultural, socio-psychic and mental spheres, i.e. the essential features of a human being. This divide frees science and planning from human, cultural and mental disturbance. Landscapes are cleaned from other aspects and disciplines like sociology, cultural and human science. There is a kind of economic advantage evident in this position: the landscapes are reduced to pure facts of natural or technical sciences facilitating the use of quantitative codes. The mind of planimetric methods becomes the all-inclusive-way for dealing with landscapes. Often this philosophy is inherent to the planning language; one speaks about "hard" factors (planimetric features)

functional units are neighbours with a trend to act by a synergetic mode. In border regions of the EU contrasts between the EU as a system and Europe as an organism, the logic of system borders and system time against the rhythms of organic boundaries and time are visible. Often the resistance against systemic models, anti-EU sentiments are transported by religious symbols and practices or cultural patterns rooted in tradition. Europe as an organism or as a personality reveals a multitude of treats and faces sharing them with non-European ones.

against "soft" factors in which some remnants of a bad conscience remain, showing that they are present but excluded from the planning business.

Figure 3b Landscapes – the person paradigm as basis for the human (poetic) approach



The system-model does not exclude sociology from the field and many planning strategies include societal, cultural and socio-psychic aspects. But a body without cultural meanings is a false approach at the beginning. The landscapes are biased by misplaced abstractions, by pure physical and technical facts missing the human factors. The human beings are reversed to "users" with some "needs or utilities" and actors of more or less determined conducts. According to my experiences as sociologist in planning processes these abstractions lead notoriously to the term of the "hard" factors. Landscapes are treated as abstract issues free from human factors, which are assigned later on to the category of "soft" factors. But soft means often fall out of decisions. The humanisation of planning is, if not excluded, postponed and displaced into secondary or last rankings. The planimetric approach defines time and space of landscapes as physical, technical and quantitative systems.

The opposite principle "*coniunge et redintegra*" guides the person-paradigm. Landscapes are taken as existential bodies and not reduced to their

physical or technical elements. Planning is used as a means to integrate and not as the end to which beings are the means. Beings, human as well as animal ones, are integrated actors in the different landscape bodies. A car is not a physical object or vehicle but a casing of living beings. Landscapes exist as cultures, as-signing meanings, emotions and defining spaces of conduct. Landscapes reveal specific characters and permit to be perceived and read like a person or personality. The ontological notion stimulated spaces of imagery and imagination through history. This "poetic" approach has been described and used, for instance, by Bachelard (2003, pp. 7 - 29). The planimetric mainstream tries to overcome it, but at the latest in a museum, for instance of traffic vehicles, one feels that the exhibited objects are correlated with specific human and cultural modes of being "here-and-there".

The concepts of the person-paradigm speak of "being-here-and-there" (Da-und-Dort-Sein) instead of traffic landscape, of "being-here" (Da-Sein) instead of settlement landscape, of "being-together" (Mit-Sein) instead of societal landscape. The natural landscape is conceived as "being" (Sein), i.e. the primordial setting embracing and shaping the human and animal existence. — One could define natural landscapes as shimmer of being, the most fundamental experience of living beings of the "en kai pan" (the unity in the whole). The change of notions is an ontological interpretation of landscapes as existential bodies with characteristics, persons or personalities shaping specific action spaces.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>5</sup> The organic or person paradigm has its roots in the European history of ideas and theories of society. The antique tradition of Stoa was very relevant in recovering the cosmos as living entity in the time of Renaissance for instance, by Spinoza, Giordano Bruno, Paracelsus and others, who were influenced by the idea of the organic character of the cosmos. Social theory was divided later into rationalist or positivist streams against organic theories, which tended to be promoted by romantic (also conservative) groups. In general the positivists often occupied the description of the present reality while the romantics tried to recover the past or the forward oriented searched romantic models for the future (regeneration of social reality as specific body of history (Szacki 1981, 151pp.). Very crucial was Schopenhauer's turn from the concept of world as a divine whole (*pan theos*) to that of "macranthropos", i.e. instead of god the human energy (the will) of human beings becomes the creator of the cosmos and of its landscapes. It is evident that the empirical, descriptive as well as speculative social theories have always used anthropomorphic metaphors and terms for interpreting social and cultural phenomena, like for instance Frobenius looking for explanations of ancient African culture or Alfred Weber who outlines a Sociology of culture. After the experiences of World War II he compared the history of Europe using terms like "historical body" (A. Weber 1950, pp. 17 - 26 and pp. 475 - 494), "organism" or "personality". In general the German sociology of culture has taken the cleavages between cultural mind, social religions, and technical rationalisation as an essential condition for the future. Alfred Weber predicted an overwhelming role of the "fourth man", the system-trained vehicle of a totalitarian future in the Fifties of the last century. It erodes the model of the "third man" characterised by the cultural mind of social religions promoting an overall responsibility for members of societies as well as for society *vis-à-vis* itself.

### Chthonic time in metropolitan areas

Evidently the traffic systems have expanded enormously in the last decades on the surface, in the air space and underground. The traffic corpus of metropolitan areas is three-dimensional. Thanks to this fact unexpected meetings are probable. In Zurich near the opera, bordering the lake, a big underground parking complex is under construction. But some time ago the relicts of a very old landscape of Europe stopped the construction monsters — those of crannog settlements going back to the Stone and Bronze Ages. The most dynamic vector of system change detected one of the oldest "being-here" and "being-together" of early history. It is the *chthonic* face of European personality, the archaic form of being. Its body was a part of nature, of being; its person was a being-here, settlements in cottages on platforms over the sea, some places and routes for being-here-and-there, traffic landscapes. Being-together was embedded and characterised by cosmic myths and cults. This pre-historical face looks to us like a shadow from the past. It re-members the chthonic patterns as described by Frobenius (1933, pp. 10 - 43) in regard to ancient Africa. The trope evoked a stop of construction engines for some months. Zurich will preserve all these witnesses covered by the lake, re-claiming to become part of an UNESCO heritage area. The mega-system seems to fall in love with the chthonic personality of the old Europe.

Rembrandt was an ingenious painter of portraits; as models he preferred older people. But shaping the traits he succeeded to insert the faces of earlier life periods, of childhood, of the middle of life, into the present aging face. The whole biography of a person is present in his portraits; Simmel (1916, pp. 130 - 140) has taken Rembrandt as prototype for this organic shaping of reality, in our terms of interpreting societal bodies complying with the person paradigm.

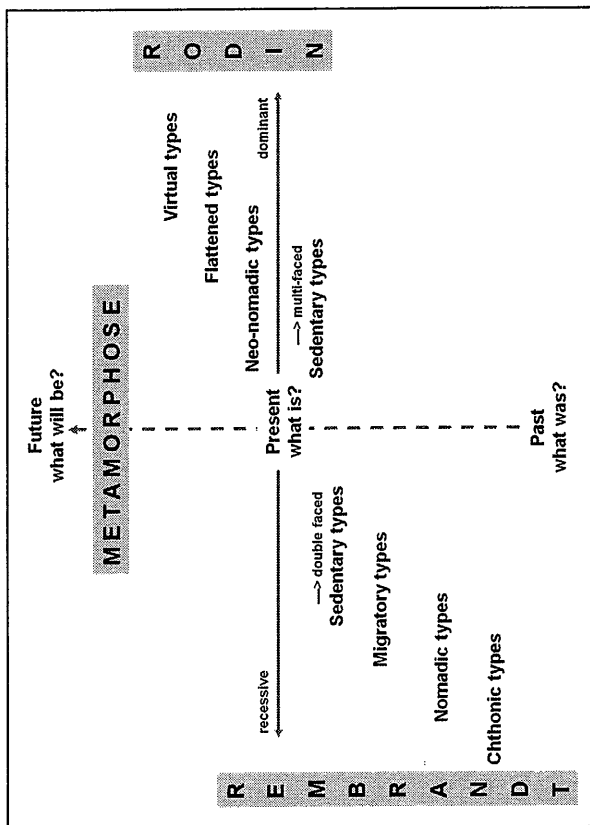
Are there still traces of the chthonic time in modern Europe's personality? Outside of museums we will not find many hints, but increasing trends for buildings made from local materials provided by nature can be stated, also the estimation for the embedding of settlements into natural bodies, for instance valleys, terraces, highlands, islands, as a kind of cosmic feeling and strengthening local attachment and identity is growing. Examples of tracks of chthonic patterns can often be found in architecture, which tries to recover cosmic figures and sentiments. Traces are evident also in popular culture<sup>6</sup>. The designation of surrounding nature, for instance hills, mountains or peaks with ancient field names articulates a chthonic identity and a kind of being-together, a societal landscape. Evidently

<sup>6</sup> In empirical studies including preferences and sentiments of inhabitants, strong trends are found that the local attachment to communities is first ranked (Meier-Dallach et al. 2009c, p. 164). The attachment to family and to natural settings as well as tradition dominates the identification with national or transnational bodies; it is quite interesting that these local roots are predominant in the so called transformation countries in Middle-East and Eastern countries, mainly on rural sites and in peripheries. These local anchors maybe linked to chthonic patterns still persisting in modern societies.



even in modern times the focus on "being" in nature as guideline for housing, travelling or communication is visible in many trends of movements, sentiments and turns of lifestyles; authors even speak of a neo-chthonic trend.

Figure 4 Europe's faces between past and future, recession and dominance



Which are the faces of Europe's personality in its different parts? In Figure 4 (above) the cardinal ones are assigned to a diachronic axis of diversity between past and future and to a horizontal axis mapping whether they are rather recessive or dominant in present time.

There are a lot of various types and examples of *nomadic* faces of Europe's landscape. Rembrandt's art of portraying are readable in many variations. But essential is its difference to the present. The "being-here-and-there" contrasts with modern concepts of traffic. In the early periods spatial mobility was not a transport from point A to point B, but rather a staying here at the residential location and there at the temporary place. Further, the movement was linked strongly to the "being-together"; nomadic societies strengthened the societal ties in order to fill deficits of cohesion due to seasonal separation of sites. To confirm the societal body it was necessary to hold together, here as well as being a member of there. Let us consider an example from Alpine transhumance. The Alpine cottages are dispersed in the highlands above the villages in the valleys. The paths to and from have the meaning of "here-and-there", i.e. a kind of difference within the same, like a Russian puppet. In summer time the dispersed

pattern of cottages was the embracing puppet of the inner one which was the village in winter time, in the most intimate period of Christmas.

Europe's faces are shaped by *migration* periods, very dramatic ones during "barbarian migrations". They changed the faces of Europe many times and it is evident that these periods have had the character of convulsions. The traces of these periods and events are not strongly engraved into settlement, traffic or communicative landscapes. They were forgotten or displaced by the stakeholders of *sedentary* types. The sedentary patterns of landscapes are the most characteristic features of Europe. In fact the "being-here" developed the impressive diversity of Europe's personality shaping the outlooks and quality of life in nature, villages and towns as well as traffic structures during the Antiquity, Middle Ages and more recent periods – maybe enduring until the time after World War II. It is no exaggeration to say that the landscape of settlements and habitation has been the existential as well as cultural capital of the old continent<sup>7</sup>. But this (positively assessed) diversity contrasts to strong cleavages between urban and rural sites, Western and Eastern European, Southern and Northern patterns. Significant styles differentiated the settlement landscapes in towns and capitals from the countryside, where poor or chthonic and nomadic forms still survived – mainly in peripheries.

What does the sedentary pattern distinguish in comparison to the other ones? Here-being meant that the built body was a map of societal and cultural differentiations articulated by the character of houses and its grouping to a whole. It is noteworthy to add that these sedentary patterns have been constructed in "stone", i.e. in durable spatial structures, which have functioned as parts of durable collective memory until the current time. But dramatic changes impacted the sedentary pattern. Towns and villages became double faced. Migration from the latter to the towns produced rural zones and districts of rural immigrants. Two faces of "being-together" emerged in villages of those who remained against those who emigrated and failed. In towns and cities the corresponding divide was that between immigrant urban villagers and the citizens. "Being-together" was impacted in both, rural as well as urban contexts. Europe's landscape was double faced. Rural villages have been down-graded, and lost vitality; in extreme cases villages died, a trend still observable today. On the urban side settlements exploded continuously, hosting the emigrating villagers.

<sup>7</sup> Braudel (1990a, pp. 122 - 266) describes the creation of France as a long process of building cohesion between '*les villages, bourgs et villes*'; local and regional market places have been of eminent significance in supporting this process and it was very relevant that the sedentary patterns have been generated and supported simultaneously by mutual exchange of goods and offers completing each other, i.e. logics typical for organic beings. Braudel's capacity to describe history empirically as well as to interpret it by synthetic methods is generalised in the concept of *longue durée* (Braudel 1990b, pp. 476 - 487).

The development of spatial faces of Europe can be summarised as a change from chthonic, nomadic and sedentary patterns, single and double faced. But they are currently recessive, i.e. they lose power in shaping Europe's diversity since the Fifties; four faces are emerging and are becoming dominant. The innovation in traffic infrastructure radically changed the "being-here-and-there". The *neo-nomadic* pattern began to dominate and changed the other bodies of Europe's personality: "being-here" became less significant and as a consequence the "being-together" is impacted by a loss of proximity and by an increased range of possible contacts in space. New towns and agglomerations surrounded the cities and villages. Commuting became more relevant than staying and the situation comes close to ghost settlements during the day when the majority is working outside, i.e. a situation extremely visible during our visiting tour through the metropolitan encasement around Zurich.

Here we observed a further trend: neo-nomadic trends are accompanied by long distance, transnational migration attracting groups from other continents. So the old double faced patterns transform into multi faced bodies with very different ethnic and social groups bringing along distinct frames for "being-together". They remain rooted in the cultural bodies of their countries of origin even more than the rural immigrants in former times. Europe's faces are becoming more complex.

Paradoxically in metropolitan areas and in the most rural contexts the landscape bodies are looking more and more similar. The pattern of *flattened* settlements and landscapes with a similar and ubiquitous outlook has become dominant while the societal body is multi faced and heterogeneous. A further change is relevant – the electronic "being-together", the *virtual* patterns of Europe's face, have emerge and have become stronger than was expected some years ago.

The organic portrait of Rembrandt changes to the vibrating one of Rodin (Simmel, op. cit.). The basics of Europe's personality visible in landscapes, spaces of "being", its chthonic, nomadic and sedentary faces are overwritten by the multi ethnic, flattened and virtual faces. Under the stress of limited space resources Europe seems to lose features of its basic personality as "being" (natural landscape), "being-here" (settlements), "being-here-and-there" (traffic). But the most relevant consequence is that all these changes strongly impact the "being-together" – the societal landscape. The new paradigm of Rodin transforms the classical one of Rembrandt into a moving without anchors in the past.

### What will be?

There are many signs that the dissipative trends, the nomadic and virtual developments of landscapes continue to dominate the outlooks also in European countries. Nearly all efforts of EU and national planning are concentrated on the mainstream directed to upgraded cities and expansion as metropolitan empires. Maybe there are national or regional differences of these trends and programs claiming for slow-down-strategies in order to comply with the climate agenda in

the next decades, but they are not considered as realistic changes or alternatives<sup>8</sup> by elites and decision makers.

Let's give a voice to the current giants who have to decide on their action space in future. They generate answers about their state and preferences for the next 50 years. The first group of answers supports *Rodin's road*. These giants accept and approve the dissipative trends, the vibrations and convulsions of their bodies, its fluidity, flattening and virtualisation and the impacts on their personalities. The planning in terms of system and planimetric methods is welcomed and fostered. They are fascinated looking at the new mega-cities in the emerging economies of China (Shanghai), India (Mumbai), Brazil (Sao Paulo), Turkey (Istanbul), Russia (Moscow) or city states like Dubai or Singapore. The path to the future, symbolically represented by Rodin, attracts as mainstream, and drives for a global format of EU metropolitan centres.

In Europe's territories, however, some giants suffer under the loss of their traits as stationary, original and authentic beings. Evidently *Rembrandt's model* is endangered everywhere. The nostalgic sentiments of people express such fears. Indeed sedentary patterns shaped by the long history of earlier patterns still survived in many features of European landscapes, of nature, villages and towns or cities. Even in metropolitan areas movements of resistance are observable, expressing their wish to stay "*hic et nunc*", on the ground, defending it against economic pressures, which they try to evade. The villages encircled by the new settlements contend for their autonomy in order to preserve their faces. Several studies describe how in new settlements or districts people try to find and generate anchors motivating sedentary patterns by creating neighbourhood, associations and feelings of local attachment<sup>9</sup>.

<sup>8</sup> While scenarios of future development are led by economic fitness and performance, mega-projects are embedded into architectural imagery. Star architects and designers play the leading role in shaping visions for future development. Sociology and human sciences are often not present in these "interdisciplinary" enterprises and have failed to bring its capacities and/or complied with modern concepts close to systemic logics. The sociology of culture is overlooked or de-evaluated as conservative frame without power of describing or explaining modern societies. But sociology bears blame; it has notoriously neglected the search for personality features of societies within its body (corpus), that is its physical forms. The debate about Europe's future suffers from missing the *society* as focus of development. It is not astonishing that sociology is replaced by architects; the latter became masters to interpret the future shapes of societies on the basis of architectural design and imagination.

<sup>9</sup> In metropolitan areas a struggle of four scenarios is evident, for instance in the case of Switzerland. The vector pushing the metropolitan mainstream is countered by the efforts to remain a village with a stable population proud of its traditional character as community; simultaneously one meets the rather defensive position to stay at place (*hic et nunc*) even under poor conditions (strengthened in groups of losers). But visible are also innovative

But these European giants seem to be marginalised Rembrandts in a gallery where the modern global trends dominate and evoke melancholic sentiments. It is not probable that they can be preserved or restored. A third category of responses, the *metamorphosis*, looks like an alternative; it does neither continue or adopt the dissipative trends (Rodin) nor reconstruct the past (Rembrandt) but reinvents the chthonic "being-together", the societal landscapes. Europe's personality is decisive for a turning period. More and more people, human beings, have to live together in natural landscapes, settlements or traffic areas. Because these are becoming scarce the common chthonic principles are the new challenge playing a major role since ancient history. The earth comes back as cosmic order of the actual life situations; it is the "*en kai pan*", the unity and the whole of future landscapes. This metamorphosis may trigger many forms of resistance but it also offers fascinating facilities, for example

- (i) the collection and embracing of all dissipated and nomadic beings of the world body
- (ii) the sustaining and reinvention of the faces of Europe's personality preserved and still vital in its sedentary patterns and
- (iii) the learning from the past for the future.

The giants convinced by this change could be named "*macranthropos*", a term used by Schopenhauer (1924, pp. 605 - 611) expressing that the cosmos is more than the sum of its elements. It is a mega-giant of human and animal beings creating its body of landscapes according to the human-paradigm of *Weltanschauung* and planning. Europe's personality provides a very rich thesaurus of experiences, diversity and facilities in order to promote this radical change. How could this change be sustained?

### Measures

Recently I admired a common buzzard circling over the construction engines and monsters over a field foreseen for a new settlement. I am not sure whether this species will be a temporary winner or a loser of metropolitan strategies. But it is helpful to take its perspective as well as that of the birds that will be abolished in the next decades. The visit through the metropolitan system emerging around our cities and villages is a passage through the EU not forgetting the fact that the EU is part of Europe's future. Evidently the EU is suffering at this time under the stress of financial problems, the instability of the currency, the gap between the feelings of citizens and Brussel's management following the Lisbon agenda. I know that my walking through landscapes or a metropolitan area is far from these debates but it is very palpable. Therefore the strategies of metropoli-

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groups trying to create new forms of sedentary communities, movements which are opposing to the metropolitan mainstream.

tan areas pushed by the EU in every member state are prominent issues for anticipating the future. Human beings are living in spaces and landscapes and like birds not interested in system management, global governance and scenarios for the future in a bottomless vacuum<sup>10</sup>. We have noted that the EU is on the tracks of a planimetric flush. Just like in a metropolitan area it encircles Europe as a person, its diverse landscapes, and its diversity potentials in the future. The master plans of the EU seem to be drowning the basic personality of Europe.

Europe's landscapes have been the source for the best expression of its personality in poetry – according to Burckhardt (1969, pp. 69 - 70) the privileged field expressing historical eras. It is the best resource to struggle against the dominance of the planners' planimetric dreams. I guess that science is rather not able to break its overwhelming dominance. Therefore let us summarise a manifesto for Europe's future body as an excellent personality in global society:

- 1) Avoid any equation of EU system and Europe's personality visible in its diverse spatial faces and landscapes.
- 2) Break down those EU decisions formed in non-spatial and abstract terms into the scope of birds and human beings living in Europe's space, i.e. metropolitan areas, towns and villages.
- 3) Create a dialogue between the "what-was" and "what-remained" of Europe's landscapes, of its characteristics and personality and raise the question of "what will be" instead of bottomless speculations on scenarios and models.
- 4) Confront the planners' mental (and real) maps, their system-paradigm, with the poetry of spaces and undertake efforts to reinvent the sciences dealing with space, i.e. the person-paradigm of landscapes<sup>11</sup>.
- 5) Humanise the landscapes; populate the natural, settlement, traffic and communication ones not with users but with human beings under the condition that they have to "be-together" in the future.

<sup>10</sup> This kind of encircling is observed also on the level of institutions. Norms or institutions implanted by the EU evoke a corona of values, interpretations and practices rooted in the local context as the Hungarian scholar Kendermay-Nagydjaj analysed at our symposium. On the one hand people are mixed figures overwhelmingly living in their regional variants of European values. On the other hand they perceive and adopt some of these norms mostly in a rather diffuse way. But their own values can remain more relevant than EU rules, even if they are formally accepted or institutionalised. An actual exchange is the case of Greece.

<sup>11</sup> An international project started to initiate new kinds of exchange between arts and planning "Dream of Space – Poetic Explorations of Urban Areas". See Newsletter at [http://www.swo.de/tvstart.htm].

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## Chapter II

### Institutional Aspects