

Literary Second Cities

"Urban literary studies has understandably focused attention on certain major, global cities—London, Paris, New York, Tokyo—haut lieux that dominate the spatial imagination. But what of the second cities, smaller, less revered, but perhaps more representative of urban life in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries? The essays in *Literary Second Cities* address this blind spot by analysing the distinctive space and character of these 'secondary' places. This is a vital and necessary collection."

—Robert T. Tally Jr., Professor in the Department of English, Texas State University, USA

"This volume will appeal to those with an interest in writing on city spaces that are off the beaten paths of world literature. Through its focus on 'secondariness' it highlights the importance of social and cultural phenomena that tend to emerge outside of and in tension with centres of power, phenomena that demonstrate the ongoing need for the kinds of representational reconfigurations and interpretive insights that give literary discourse its special power over the real."

—Eric Prieto, Professor of French and Comparative Literature, University of California, Santa Barbara, USA

Jason Finch · Lieven Ameel Markku Salmela Editors

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Editors Jason Finch Åbo Akademi University Turku, Finland

Markku Salmela University of Tampere Tampere, Finland Lieven Ameel Helsinki University University of Tampere Tampere, Finland

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Preface and Acknowledgements

As may be typical of geographically oriented scholarship, this book and its approaches to city literature have been shaped by the environments in which its contributors grew up, and the places where they continue to live and work.

In the process that led to the previous book by the same editors, Literature and the Peripheral City, some autobiographical antecedents for the inquiry were intertwined with the idea of the periphery. With Literary Second Cities, it is fitting to highlight the second cities that have figured importantly in our real-life experiences: cities such as Ghent, Belgium, Birmingham, England, and Tampere, Finland. All three are notable for their industrial heritage. Ghent and Tampere are associated with the textile industry, have left-wing political associations, and are university towns. Cities such as these also illustrate the notion that second cities are not only defined by quantifiable factors such as scale, but also by their functions and networked relationships. In the light of most statistical variables, Ghent and Tampere are clearly second to Brussels and Helsinki in their respective national contexts. However, in other ways they escape any suggestion of provincial status, circumventing the influence of the capitals and projecting to inhabitants and visitors a fully autonomous urban identity that reverberates internationally. Birmingham has its own complex story, explored in one chapter of this volume. As the varied but comparable cases of Birmingham, Ghent and Tampere indicate, second cities may be constitutive of particular kinds of urban experiences—notions that underlie the present book. The particularities

of second cities have also found resonance in the personal lives of us editors. Every time we become acquainted with new second cities, whatever the cause and form of the visit, we are familiarizing ourselves with new meaningful nodes in the global urban network.

This book gained impetus from a conference on literary second cities organized in order to chart out the territory of such urban locations and their relationships with literature's primary cities. The wide-ranging discussions that took place during those two days at Åbo Akademi University in Turku, Finland, in August 2015 confirmed that a sustained scholarly effort in written form was necessary to unleash the full richness of this topic. Some of the dozens of thought-provoking presentations seen in Turku have subsequently evolved into chapters in the present volume. We would like to thank everyone at Åbo Akademi University's English department and the Faculty of Arts, Psychology and Theology for enabling the event and helping organize it. The H.W. Donner Fund and the Federation of Finnish Learned Societies provided additional funding, for which we are grateful.

Soon after the conference, the Association for Literary Urban Studies (ALUS) took its first tentative steps. In institutionalizing the study of literary cities in this way, our main goal was to create a focal point for developing this innovative, global, and multidisciplinary scholarly field. As far as academic substance is concerned, an important objective is to cultivate further the ongoing discussion on the *citiness* of certain texts—indeed, of literary studies itself—and consider the implications of this expanding urban condition in terms of methodology. Regardless of its locational bases in Finnish cities, the Association has been thoroughly international from its very inception. The years 2017 and 2018 are going to see the first ALUS events outside Finland, in Estonia and the UK respectively, and the future promises further scholarly cooperation with the Ghent Urban Studies Team, the Literary London Society, and other academic organizations with similar interests.

As we are writing this, the Association's first full-scale international conference (*Im*) *Possible Cities*, to be held at the University of Tampere in August 2017, is forthcoming. Our conference is to operate in close unison with the urban planning and urban studies conference *Re-City 2017*, a collaboration that itself serves as a reminder of the essentially interdisciplinary nature of research into the literary city.

Thanks are due to the people at Palgrave for continuing to encourage this and allied projects in literary urban studies. They also chose the external reviewer, anonymous to us, whose insightful feedback at the early stages of preparing this book helped us improve its overall conceptualization significantly.

Turku, Finland Tampere, Finland

Jason Finch Lieven Ameel Markku Salmela

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EDITORS AND CONTRIBUTORS

About the Editors

Jason Finch researches and teaches English and other modern urban literatures at Åbo Akademi University in Finland. He is the author of, most recently, *Deep Locational Criticism* (2016), and is a co-founder of the Association for Literary Urban Studies. Current research focuses on the literary history of the London slum, and on presentations of the urbanity of provincial English cities (especially Birmingham, Liverpool and Bradford).

Lieven Ameel is University Lecturer in Comparative Literature at the University of Tampere, Finland. He has written widely on literary cities (Helsinki and New York, in particular), and the rhetorics of urban planning narratives. Recent publications include *Helsinki in Early Twentieth-Century Literature* (2014) and the co-edited volumes *Literature and the Peripheral City* (2015) and *Language, Space and Power: Urban Entanglements* (2012). In his current research, he examines experiences of the urban waterfront in crisis in literary fiction and planning documents.

Markku Salmela is University Lecturer in English Literature at the University of Tampere, Finland. He has published widely in the areas of literary urban studies, American literature, landscape studies, naturalism and postmodernism. He is also co-editor of *The Grotesque and the Unnatural* (2011), *Literature and the Peripheral City* (2015) and *Topographies of Popular Culture* (2016).

Contributors

Adam Borch is a doctoral candidate at Åbo Akademi University in Turku, Finland. His doctoral thesis is on Alexander Pope's *The Dunciad* with a particular focus on the poem's paratextual material. Recent publications include "Women and the Public Sphere: Pope's Addressivity through *The Dunciad*" (2013). He has also co-edited the volume *The Ethics of Literary Communication. Genuineness, Directness and Indirectness* (2013).

Marc Brosseau is Professor in the Department of Geography at the University of Ottawa, Canada. While his research focuses on various aspects of social and cultural geography, his central area of expertise continues to be the relationship between geography and literature. He is the author of several articles, book chapters on literary geography, and a book, *Des romans-géographes* (1996).

Tuomas Juntunen holds a Ph.D. in Finnish literature from the University of Helsinki. In his dissertation, he examined the prose of Juha Seppälä from the perspective of intertextuality. Other research interests include questions of genre, the episode novel in particular. He is also active as a literary critic and author of literary fiction.

Bart Keunen is Professor in Comparative Literature at Ghent University, Belgium. He teaches graduate and postgraduate courses in European Literary History, Sociology of Literature and Comparative Literature. He studied philosophy in Louvain and literary criticism in Ghent, Berlin and Klagenfurt. He has published articles on topics concerning urban studies, genre criticism, literary historiography and literary sociology in international journals and books.

Francesco Marilungo is a Ph.D. student at the Centre for Kurdish Studies at University of Exeter. He has worked as a translator, teacher and researcher in Turkey. His current research focuses on the contested city of Diyarbakır, the largest Kurdish city in Turkey and, in particular, his interest is in the role played in the conflict by artistic and literary representations, as tools of identity production in the urban space.

Giada Peterle is Lecturer in Cultural Geography at the University of Padua. With a Ph.D. in Human Geography and a MA in Literary Theory and Criticism, her research interests lie in the dialectical exchange

between literature and geography. Exploring the connection between narrative representations and spatial practices in contemporary cities, she recently investigated the prolific employment of creative and art-based practices in qualitative geographical research.

Ene-Reet Soovik is Lecturer in English Literature at the Department of English Studies of the University of Tartu, and editor of the semiotics journal Sign Systems Studies. Her research interests include contemporary literature, space and place in literature, ecocriticism and the poetics and politics of literary translation.

Elle-Mari Talivee is Researcher at the Museum Department of the Under and Tuglas Literature Centre of the Estonian Academy of Sciences and project manager at the Estonian Literature Centre. In 2017 she defended her Ph.D. thesis in Cultural Studies at the Institute of Humanities, Tallinn University. The title of the thesis was "Writing the City: The Urban Landscape in Estonian Prose, 1877-1903".

Mart Velsker holds a Ph.D. in Estonian Literature from the University of Tartu. He has been working as Lecturer in Estonian Literature at the University of Helsinki and currently holds the position of Lecturer in Estonian Literature at the Department of Literature and Theatre Studies, University of Tartu. His current research interests include the history of South Estonian literature, Estonian poetry and urban spaces in literature.

Sophie Wennerscheid is a professor of Scandinavian literature at Ghent University, Belgium. She is the author of the book Das Begehren nach der Wunde. Religion und Erotik im Schreiben Kierkegaards (2008) and of "Close your Eyes". Phantasma, Kraft und Dunkelheit in der skandinavischen Literatur (2014), and the editor, with Armen Avanessian, of Kierkegaard and Political Theory (2014). Her next book project is a study on cleanliness and dirtiness in Swedish minority literature. Her research areas include studies on sexuality and desire, minority and migrant literature, multilingualism, film studies and critical phenomenology (literature, space and emotion).

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Defining the Second City

The Second City in Literary Urban Studies: Methods, Approaches, Key Thematics

Jason Finch, Lieven Ameel and Markku Salmela

Thinking about the urban has often been overwhelmed by questions of magnitude, including statements of relative size (in terms of population, GDP and area size) or primary importance in quantifiable terms. Cities commonly conceive of themselves as centres, but they may in fact be just as capable of definition in the terms of their varied peripheries (see Ameel, Finch and Salmela), and in terms of their place within a set of complex and mutual relationships with other regions and urban centres. A focus upon perceived centrality and quantifiable primacy may cause cities of all sizes to exaggerate their own importance in a sort of collective myopia, or to make creative use of alternative notions of national or international impact. The flexible uses of the word *capital* in the

J. Finch (⊠)

Åbo Akademi University, Turku, Finland e-mail: jfinch@abo.fi

L. Ameel

University of Tampere, Tampere, Finland e-mail: lieven.ameel@gmail.com

M. Salmela

University of Tampere, Tampere, Finland e-mail: markku.salmela@uta.fi

context of various specializations or subjective impressions are one indication of this tendency. Grapevine, next to Dallas, advertises itself as "the Christmas capital of Texas"; Portsmouth, New Hampshire, faces some competition as "the Christmas capital of America"; and numerous cities and smaller communities around the globe are calling themselves, more or less systematically, "the Christmas capital of the world." Such imaginative rhetoric seems based on the drive for primacy and the assumption that collective mental mappings of different areas of life, both locally and globally, are going to maintain their dependence on the idea of a single geographical centre.

This myopia can also be seen in the disproportionate attention given, in urban policy, urban studies, and indeed in literary urban studies, to a small set of privileged and virtually unchallenged "first" cities. On a global scale, one can find a distinctive group of cities that could be called "alpha" world cities: New York, London, Paris and Tokyo in economic terms (see Taylor). All cities below the "alpha" level tend to be seen in contrast to these first cities. The sense of city hierarchies also applies to a great extent within individual countries and national literatures, so that the importance of Helsinki within Finnish literature and culture, for example, comes to seem magnified beyond the importance it has on average in the daily lives of the majority of Finland's residents, who do not live either in Helsinki or in its surrounding region. The Finnish cities of Turku, Oulu and Tampere are routinely conceptualized as subordinated to Helsinki, which in turn is trumped in a Nordic context by Stockholm, itself existing in a relation of dependency to cities at the top of this mental pyramid. Such a hierarchical scheme, however, does little to explain the complex relationships between actual cities or their counterparts in the literary realm. This is perhaps most evident in nations without clear metropolitan primacy: the relationship of New York City to other cities in the USA is far from clearly hierarchical, and the same could be said of, for example, cities in Germany and Italy, countries which have fairly recently emerged from a patchwork of previously independent states. And what to say of capitals that have been stripped of their status (St. Petersburg), twin cities (for instance Malmö-Copenhagen as a Scandinavian capital), or what urban geographers have long called "specialized-function cities" (see Harris and Ullman 94-95)—places that have had national or global primacy only in a specific life sector (Oxford in England; Las Vegas or Detroit in the USA)? How to account for, and

analyse in their own right, literary representations of cities below the threshold of undisputable "firstness"?

The objective of this volume is to counteract this lack or blind spot, in which a small set of alpha cities with the strongest magnetic effect over whole countries and global areas are often taken to be the types for all cities. Most cities are far smaller than these, and exist in some sort of relationship of secondariness. While such secondariness can also be defined in quantifiable terms, this volume emphasizes the importance of relationships, functionalities, and experiences in a way comparable with the so-called "mobilities turn" in human geography. This, characteristically, "links science and social science to the humanities" (Cresswell 551) by introducing individuals' stories to disciplines formerly more quantitative in outlook. Coming from the opposite direction is work produced under the heading of "digital humanities." Here, disciplines such as literary studies and history have opened up to approaches requiring the coordination of sizeable teams to handle "big data" sets—and in the process opened up controversy about the nature and role of the humanities in the twenty-first century (Kaplan; Allington, Brouillette and Golumbia). This volume, taking a holistic view of cities which draws on developments in both urban studies (including urban history, geography, sociology and planning) and literary studies, situates itself among these developing negotiations and rapprochements.

Ongoing investigations shaped by the Association for Literary Urban Studies (ALUS) have given rise to this book, which develops from a related impetus to that which stood behind its predecessor from the same editorial team, Literature and the Peripheral City (Ameel, Finch and Salmela). In that volume, urban peripheries were defined variously as the geographical outer limits or stigmatized and off-limits areas of cities. Compared to peripherality, secondariness is perhaps at once more ordinary and more visible, a condition that is hidden in the open. Most urban dwellers experience their cities as somehow secondary to other, bigger or more famous, cities. Changing fashions or technological innovations are typically experienced as arriving from elsewhere, be this the "capital of the nineteenth century" that was Walter Benjamin's Paris, the skyscraper Manhattan of the twentieth century or the global financial capitals of the twenty-first. And yet literary urban studies (e.g., Lehan) have tended to follow classics in sociology (e.g., Sennett) and urban planning theory (e.g., P. Hall) by viewing first (or "alpha") city experience as the canonical, representative source of information about "the" city. Continuing the work set out in *Literature and the Peripheral City*, this present book provides, in its examination of the literary secondary city, another relation of otherness to the metropolis in literature. Both volumes are explorations of neglected areas in literary urban studies. The study of the second city is a distinct activity and merits not only the attention of specialists in a particular region. Readings such as those of Diyarbakır and Narva offered in this volume lead to new views of urbanity and of modernity and modernisation.

SECONDARINESS IN URBAN STUDIES

The city has long been connected to ideas of regional and national primacy. Such associations can already be found in the Greek geographer Pausanias's travel description of the cities of Roman Greece in the second century AD, and appear in more recent times in Lewis Mumford's studies of the ancient Greek polis, which may have been village-like in terms of size but was the only ruler of its immediate surroundings and therefore, in political terms at least, a first rather than a second city (Mumford 119–57). The second city thus grows in some way stealthily, in the relationship of a satellite of sorts of the first. This statement applies particularly to cities such as Birmingham or Detroit which, while they grew to immense size in the industrial era of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries (like many cities in China in the twenty-first), remained vulnerable in comparison with national capitals because of their specialized and dependent nature.

In urban studies, the notion of the "secondary city" has gradually come to prominence during the last decades of the twentieth century, especially in the study of cities in the developing world. Quantifiable factors have featured prominently in their definition and, following Kingsley Davis's classification of Class II cities, some researchers have focused on population, in particular (typically 100,000 to 500,000), to define secondary cities (see Tan 13). While Davis's classification from the 1960s is still applied, it is useful to note that more recent quantifying definitions label secondary cities as having populations between 500,000 and three million inhabitants (Brillembourg and Klumpner). Quantifiable factors, then, would seem to become fast outdated, offering only the crudest of methodological frameworks. In more recent studies, secondary cities have become increasingly defined in terms of their function, their relationships with metropolitan and other urban centres, as well as in terms of the specific kinds of urban experiences they enable. Still, when defined

in relation to other cities, secondary cities tend to be understood, first of all, for what they are not—in relation to a "first" city (such as a capital or other clearly economically/culturally dominant city in a national or international context), that is.

As more recent qualifications in urban studies testify, secondary cities are not only to be defined by their size or dependent relationship to a metropolis, but by their specific functions. Thus Brian Roberts and Rene Peter Hohmann, in a study supported by the United Nations Human Settlements Project UN-Habitat, define what they call "secondary cities" as "urban jurisdictions performing vital governance, logistical, and production functions at a sub-national or sub-metropolitan region level within a system of cities in a country" (3). Secondary cities may be specialized-function cities or draw their specific characteristics "on the basis of their urban function as focal centers of cultural, political, and ritual networking" (K. Hall 12). The function of a single city within a network of cities is understood not only as dependency vis-à-vis the metropolis. Even more important is a network of other secondary cities and urban centres, which "distinguishes secondary cities from the metropolitan centres" (K. Hall 3). In globalizing times, second cities are sometimes able to bypass "first" cities in the way they come to form networks of cities (as argued in Bart Keunen's contribution to this volume). Ultimately, secondary cities are also set apart from the metropolis and smaller urban settlements by the kinds of experiences they evoke.

To illustrate how second cities produce specific kinds of urban experience, one can look at what Simon Parker calls the "the Four Cs' of the urban experience—culture, consumption, conflict and community" (4). All these express themselves continuously in urban dwellers' everyday lives. For example, the fact that second cities rarely have architecture associated with political leadership on the national level—parliamentary buildings, ministries, residences of heads of state—frees central areas for other functions and can be a fundamental factor shaping these cities' public space in comparison with the capital cities of the countries in question. Furthermore, the same industries and resources that have often historically shaped second cities also facilitate specific ideological currents, consumption patterns, and ways of communicating, all discernible as particular "structures of feeling." For Raymond Williams (Marxism 130-34) this concept was to be defined temporally, as characteristic of a given period or generation, but a spatial application based on contrasts between places seems equally useful. Although such city-specific

structures may resist precise empirical description, they create, in relation to other cities, experiential worlds not reducible to stereotypical representation.

Recent urban studies have highlighted the importance of research into secondary cities, drawing, again, on both quantifiable and experiential arguments. More than 40 per cent of the world's population is expected to live in secondary cities by the middle of the twenty-first century (Roberts 40), and various studies have argued that secondary cities may well be more competitive in economic terms and more desirable as living environments than the megacities which remain dominant in the literature on cities (see, e.g., Kresl and Ietri, Notteboom et al.). If secondary cities, mid-size cities and "second tier cities" have become increasingly foregrounded in urban studies as warranting a distinctive treatment (see, e.g., K. Hall; Markusen et al.), this also has relevance for literary urban studies, long preoccupied with narratives of the metropolitan urban condition (see Simmel; Wirth; Williams, Politics). From local urban service centres or specialized cities to networks of smaller cities, the notion of the secondary in relation to literary urban studies is a rich field demanding more attention from scholars.

From Second Cities as Sites of Contestation to the Post-Urban Cittá Diffusa

While they may seem merely subordinate, second cities also have a capacity to contest power relationships that is frequently denied to the primary cities in whose sphere they operate. As Francesco Marilungo shows in his contribution to this volume, the city of Diyarbakır in eastern Turkey has moved from being a national military outpost for the Turkish state within a region chiefly peopled by non-Turkish inhabitants, to becoming the key site for the expression of Kurdish identity within the boundaries of Turkey, while taking on imaginative characteristics that oppose it to those of Istanbul in writing, for example in terms of tradition as against modernity. Many of the discussions of literary second cities contained in this book bring out contests between rival cities and rival interpretations of the same cities. The English port city of Bristol, vital in the slave trade and in the Atlantic-focused phase of the British Empire, attracted both panegyric and vicious satire during its eighteenth-century heyday. Narva in Estonia during the twentieth century underwent a series of sudden and violent

transformations, from chocolate-box survival of the baroque to completely Sovietized and remade town, its population nearly all transplanted from elsewhere, to an eastern border post of the European Union, looking across a river at its Russian partner town mere metres away.

However, to express things in terms of binaries in which primary and secondary can easily be distinguished may in a networked age of technology be oversimplistic. In the present collection, this position emerges most clearly in the studies of networked and broadly urbanized regions in industrialized portions of Western Europe offered by Bart Keunen and Giada Peterle. Such regions do not appear uniformly urban, and indeed the appearance of the rural represented by features such as woods and fields has not been eliminated within them. But the lives of their tens of millions of inhabitants are networked with one another via practices such as road and rail commuting and home-working, and represent a twentyfirst century urbanity rather than any sort of rural existence. This sort of networked environment is, in one interpretation, post-urban. In the twenty-first century, the era of "networked" information flows heralded by Manuel Castells (453-59), several other phenomena call into question the traditional dichotomies evoked by the city. These include the "third landscape" theorized by Gilles Clément, in which plant growth and forms of pre-urban human life recolonize formerly built-up areas such as blocks in US inner cities, and the identification of urban villages (Keunen, below) or "nebulous" settlements created by networks of roads (Castiglione and Ferrario 67–68; Peterle, below).

The urban/rural opposition is not the only dichotomy that needs to be challenged in a book about literary second cities. In examining complex spatial relationships, the contributions in this volume build upon but go beyond the postmodern critique of binary oppositions exemplified by Jacques Derrida's early view in essays such as "Plato's Pharmacy" (1972). Derrida's case is that anything defined as secondary always works to unpick or expose the abnormality and oppressive nature of the pairing within which it is subordinated, unveiling the injustice of the dominant partner's claim to define norms. Many of the secondary city positions analysed in this book do indeed function as sorts of critique of the geographies of primacy in which they are positioned. Equally, they often point towards a much more networked, multi-nodal and scaled model of the relationship between geographies, power and cultural forms. An examination of the characteristics of secondary cities can focus on a synchronic

assessment of various cities and what sets them apart, but it could also be carried out in more diachronic terms, examining the changing nature of cities in history.

Drawing on current research within multidisciplinary urban studies, Keunen (Chap. 2) sets out to present a novel taxonomy of cities against the background of centuries of urban history. He classifies them not according to absolute size or prominence, as happens in the familiar differentiation of alpha, beta and gamma world cities, as well as in notions such as the metropolis, the provincial capital, and the colonized periphery, but rather in terms of their "states of matter" or "states of aggregation." Keunen's view of density builds on but radically modifies the classical "growth model" of urban studies set out in the 1930s by Louis Wirth, for whom quantifiable scales of density, size and heterogeneity constituted the key qualities of modern urbanism: being bigger, denser and more heterogeneous meant being closer to an urban ideal of sorts. For Keunen, examining Europe in the period after the 1960s, the city can of course be, but need no longer be, dense. An old sort of solidity dating back to the mercantile cities of the fifteenth-century Low Countries and Germany now exists alongside the "liquid state" of industrial-era cities, some growing rapidly while others, potentially as in the Rust Belt USA of the twenty-first century, are also dramatically contracting. The third category is "the gas-like state in which we find late-modern 'post-industrial' urbanity" exemplified by the networked cities and suburbs of large urbanized areas. A last urban "state of matter" perceived by Bart Keunen describes the virtualization of urban life—what could be called the ionization phase.

Within the perspective of the present collection, Keunen's model enables the argument that the secondary is no longer secondary. Has everywhere in an urbanized region, then, become on the one hand secondary, on the other just as important as everywhere else? Do Piccadilly Circus and Times Square risk becoming obsolete monuments to an era in which primary cities really did exist and had identifiable centres? Perhaps not. Hierarchies of size and function hardly evaporate fully as cities take new shapes or move towards more fluid "states of matter." However, the precise contexts in which these statuses are defined or suggested matter more than ever.

The inclusion of more fluid, diffuse urban environments under the typology of the second city also has resonance in urban studies research. In Roberts and Hohmann's classification, three categories of secondary cities are identified:

- 1. Subnational cities that are centres of local government, industry, agriculture, tourism or mining;
- 2. City clusters associated with expanded, satellite and new town cities which surround large urban metropolitan regions; and
- 3. Economic trade corridors that are urban growth centres or poles planned or developing along major transport corridors. (Roberts and Hohmann 3)

The second category, in particular, would seem to be a close relative of Bart Keunen's typology of the "gas-like" urban state—an urban environment that became increasingly dominant in the second half of the twentieth century. While it is, by definition, more diffuse, more protean than more traditional forms of secondary cities, which can at least be situated on a geographical map with somewhat more precision, we argue that the diffuse city region has a distinctly secondary character. The third section of this volume will be devoted to an exploration of this form of secondary city in literature.

OVERVIEW OF CONTRIBUTIONS TO THIS BOOK

Bart Keunen's essay "World Cities and Second Cities: Imagining Growth and Hybridity in Modern Literature", which follows this chapter, touches on several methodological and thematic issues that will recur later in the volume, contextualizing subsequent chapters within a broader theoretical framework. Incorporating the findings of the Ghent Urban Studies Team (GUST), which he co-directs, Keunen has carried out a series of research projects since the beginning of the current century to seek alternatives to the "growth model." He argues that the fetishization of magnitude has dominated urban studies since the work of Louis Wirth and the Chicago School of sociology in the 1920s and 1930s. The chief conclusion drawn by Keunen, that the dominant urban condition need not be that of the metropolis or "alpha" city but can equally be that of the mid-sized city or even of extended semi-urban sprawl, has resonances which are heard throughout the book.

The rest of the volume is structured so as to reflect the variety in literary secondary cities, while being aware of the ground that remains to be covered. A wide range of literary authors comes in for attention, most of them from the twentieth and twenty-first centuries but with comparative consideration of early modern urban secondariness. A first group

of essays, "In the Shadow of the Alpha City," problematizes the image of cities that are limited in functions and size when compared to the metropolis, by bringing out the contradictions and contestations inherent in cultural productions which for various purposes mediate and represent these cities, including Birmingham and Bristol in the UK, Las Vegas in the USA, and Tartu in Estonia. While the inclusion of these cities can be argued by the fact that they are situated in quantifiable terms below the threshold of alpha cities, the exploration of their literary image in these chapters belies the notion that such second cities are merely lesser versions of their metropolitan counterparts, or that their literary representation can be collapsed with the literary tradition of alpha cities.

The first two of these chapters concern different centuries in England. There, ever since the sixteenth century, London has loomed grotesquely large in comparison to other cities. Eighteenth-century Bristol and twentieth-century Birmingham, in fact, both seem potentially overwhelmed by the capital. Yet literature concerned with these two secondary cities indicates varied responses to this sort of subordination which can amount to acts of contestation. Jason Finch writes on Birmingham, in terms of population clearly the second city of the United Kingdom. Indeed, those associated with it continue to insist on the status and title of "the second city" (see Kirby). But while numerically very large, Birmingham occupies a far more recessive cultural position. Major cities in the North of England such as Manchester and Liverpool, and the two main cities of Scotland, Glasgow and Edinburgh, all have higher cultural profiles. Indeed, Birmingham's image is connected to the absurd and even the embarrassing. This is the starting point of Finch's chapter "Comic Novel, City Novel: David Lodge and Jonathan Coe Reinterpreted by Birmingham", which investigates links between two broadly postmodernist Birmingham comic novels and the image of this particular city in Britain. Birmingham's heritage as former manufacturing powerhouse of the British Empire lends itself to the contradictions of the comic novel, and casts light on a Britain in which such a city needs to be hidden and mocked.

Poetry had a public role in eighteenth-century England. It was written and read in an environment which assumed readers' knowledge of its conventions and specific sub-genres. Among these were the formal descriptive poem of praise and the satire, which itself had various types. Adam Borch's chapter ("A Sort of Second London in Every Thing but Vitiousness': Bristol in Eighteenth-Century Poetry, 1700–50") on the

port city of Bristol in western England explores the relationship between praise and dispraise of an individual second city on the one hand and, on the other, several other fields of contest and competition: the relation of individual cities to the national polity; the varied rates of growth of provincial cities over the century; the view of the capital (just another city albeit larger? Or something entirely apart from all other towns in the kingdom?), both implicit and explicit, taken in poems written ostensibly about somewhere smaller and less prominent.

These two chapters on English cities are followed by a chapter on Estonia, focusing on that small European country's undisputed second city, Tartu. In "Cities within a Second City: The Case of Literary Tartu", Mart Velsker and Ene-Reet Soovik examine this riverside university city in southern Estonia which forms several contrasting pairings with Tallinn, the commercial, industrial and maritime capital in the north of the country. This chapter attempts to transcend a stereotyped view of Tartu as a nationalistic "city of good ideas" or place of the intellect by concentrating on recent literature that deliberately defamiliarizes (thereby creating contests and debates within the national cultural sphere of Estonia). Such writing focuses on evidence of disturbing and violent pasts in the city, from the plague of the early eighteenth century which nearly wiped out the city to the legacy of the Soviet occupation in the twentieth century.

The specialized heterotopic role of Las Vegas within the USA, filled with symbolism about the nation, is the topic of the next chapter. In "Still Learning from Las Vegas: Imagining America's Urban Other," Markku Salmela investigates the status of this almost entirely manufactured city of leisure, which itself became an archetype used by the most influential theorists of postmodernist architecture as a place, almost perversely, to be "learned from" rather than ignored or despised. Since the Second World War a body of narratives has grown around Las Vegas which interpret its position of otherness yet homely familiarity in relation to the canonical US cities and to the daytime or work-day life of the nation. An important fact about such specialized cities is that—especially in the post-industrial age—their peculiar and fully acknowledged dominant features do not constitute a comprehensive descriptive framework for their inhabitants' urban experience. Las Vegas has remained a "city of exception", as Salmela puts it, but like other urban places it also exists as part of bigger networks of community and communication, and is nowadays mostly governed by the same patterns of agglomeration that manifest themselves in other settings.

The two chapters in the second part of the book, entitled "Frontier Second Cities," complement one another and build on the material gathered in the first section, by paying attention to the multiple and transnational pasts of second cities which occupy border zones. It is not only in writings on major and world-famous cities such as London, for instance in a tradition of writers inspired by Iain Sinclair, particularly his *Lud Heat* (see Groes 94–119), that urban street-plans and toponyms of one period encode the conflicts of others. The notion of contested memory is vitally important to this section, as it brings together the dense textures of dormant memories and politically inspired visions of the future. The complexity of the urban palimpsest offered by Diyarbakır (Turkey) and Narva (Estonia) is not lessened by any dependence upon a metropolis but, rather, enlivened by their place in a transnational network of cities, in which they perform specific cultural roles.

Francesco Marilungo, in "The Capital of Otherness: A Geocritical Exploration of Diyarbakır, Turkey," examines an ancient city which today is simultaneously primary—as the symbolic and political focal point for the Turkey's Kurdish population, and as the biggest city of southeastern Turkey—and secondary, as geographically distant from Turkey's twin urban foci of Istanbul and Ankara. Marilungo's study of Diyarbakır teases out this simultaneous primacy and secondariness by juxtaposing the modern cultural history of the city (in particular the impact upon it of twentieth-century Turkey's foundational policy of secularization) with literary artistic representations. These frequently dramatize conflicting sexual and emotional desires which allegorize and reinterpret relations between Turk and Kurd, or between Diyarbakır and Turkey's metropolitan north-west. The geographical relationship also becomes a temporal one in which the east of Turkey as the "past" of the region retains the power to question or undo the top-down force of modernity.

Like Marilungo, Elle-Mari Talivee in "Narva: A Literary Border Town," explores a city that is liminal and which has over time moved between the orbits of different primary cities but without, as in the case of Diyarbakır, ever asserting itself as a primary city. Narva's literary history in Estonian associates it with fragility. Indeed, this is a border town that was almost completely destroyed during the Second World War and, arguably, replaced with another city occupying the same geographical coordinates and bearing the same name but with an entirely different population, architecture and even street layout: a second Narva, perhaps.

In Juri Lotman's theory of semiospheric cultural and linguistic translation operating via dynamic peripheral points of interchange, as deployed by Talivee in the chapter, Narva stands as an eccentric rather than a concentric city, its existence and signification formed by its position on the edge of a cultural sphere, be this that of the German-speaking provinces of imperial Russia, or of an independent Estonia, a status denied by the intense Sovietization of the town which occurred in the forty years after the Second World War.

The third main part, "The Diffuse Second City," develops the challenge to an account of the urban fundamentally built around magnitude which was proposed by Keunen earlier in the book. This group of essays focuses on an ever more prevalent form of urban secondariness: the diffuse secondary city made up of interlinked small cities, suburban sprawl and urban overspill. The literary case studies from Italy, Sweden and Finland assess the nature of such growing clusters of urbanism, all of them driven by what the sociologist John Urry has labelled "auto-mobility." Each of these sectors can act as both the "other" city to the urban core of the city centre and as a counselling or critical model of a whole society. Each chapter here is concerned with a specific portion of contemporary Europe outside the most famous metropolises, and with the writing such zones have occasioned.

Lieven Ameel and Tuomas Juntunen, in "Riku Korhonen's Kahden ja yhden yön tarinoita as Satirical Reflection on the Suburban Fragmentation of Community," focus on how the suburb and its representation can act as a secondary and repressed city-within-a-city. The suburb in question, moreover, is itself part of a secondary city, in the terms of Roberts and Hohmann: Turku in south-west Finland. The chapter examines the close correlation between the fragmented, diffuse urban experience and the narrative structure of the novel, which presents a kaleidoscopic perspective on a large set of characters. This complex structure invites a reading that emphasizes how the narrative mirrors, questions and re-enacts the fragmentation of the urban fabric and the social cohesion in the post-industrial city.

The next chapter, by Sophie Wennerscheid, "'Away from here to Tjottahejti': Spatial and Sexual (Re-)Orientation in Places of Secondariness in Contemporary Swedish Fiction," is concerned with the same era in small-town Sweden and thus makes detailed comparison possible with the Finnish environment explored by Ameel and Juntunen.