DEMAINLA**VILLE**
DESTAD**VAN**MORGEN
THE**CITY**OF**TOMORROW**

**International colloquium
on the future of cities**

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**Colloque international
sur le devenir des villes**

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**Internationaal colloquium
over de toekomst van steden**

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19 & 20 / 11 / 2007 - Brussels

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1 Introduction

The preparation of the Colloquium "The City of tomorrow" is the fruit of good teamwork.

Among the members of the Cabinet of the Minister-President and the Regional secretariat for urban development (Srdu), the following people contributed particularly to its realisation: Frédéric Raynaud, Thomas de Béthune, Dirk Van de Putte, Luc Maufroy, Céline Mouchart, Caroline Piersotte, Laurence Lewalle, Jean-Claude Van Hoorenbeeck, Sophie Goeminne, Pierre Dejemeppe, Julie Lumen and Matthias Derdeyn.

A heartfelt thank you to them all.

Our thanks also go to those who will speak on November the 19th and 20th and who were kind enough to contribute written introductions addressing the subjects of the Colloquium.

An international colloquium

From the 19th to the 20th of November 2007, Brussels will be concentrating on the future of the city in the twenty-first century.

At the initiative of the Minister-President Charles Picqué, the Regional Secretariat for Urban Development (Srdu) is organising an international colloquium entitled "The City of Tomorrow".

The aim of this colloquium is to survey the challenges which the metropolis of small or medium size (such as Brussels) will have to face. The aim is to go beyond the normal framework of public management, without however abandoning a certain pragmatism.

The organisation of this colloquium is framed within a context which has led experts to declare the twenty-first century to be the century of the city. Currently, more than half of the world's population lives "in the city". In 1900, the urban population was barely 10%. In 1950, it was 30%. According to the United Nations, this figure will rise to more than 60% in 2030. This percentage has already been largely exceeded in Europe, since 75% of European citizens live in urban areas. It is therefore no exaggeration to state that the future of mankind is closely linked to the urban issue.

Urban concentration crystallises tensions while at the same time it is the locus for the expression of democracy. The world is changing and its evolution affects the structure of the city (the development of networks, spread of built-up space, de-industrialisation, cosmopolitanism, etc), which means that cities are both the shop-windows and the engines of social change.

What will be the results of the development framework of tomorrow's city as a consequence of urban and architectural quality, economic activity and employment, mobility, the presence of green spaces and social cohesion? Globalisation, urban mix, territorial discrimination, urban marketing, innovation and sustainable management, structuring urban projects, governance, the role of the State, the regions and private sector stakeholders, etc. are few of the key issues that require fundamental, far-reaching analysis in the context of the city's future.

This colloquium, enhanced by the presence of European participants, highlights the pathways to be followed in positively advancing the frequently contradictory, new social, economic and political challenges.

A colloquium to prepare the future of the city: context analysis

Now that more than 15 years have elapsed since the implementation of a regulatory framework and the launch of an urban revitalisation and planning policy for the Brussels-Capital Region, it is time to produce the balance sheet. Also essential, and perhaps even more pressing, is that future serious challenges facing Brussels be grasped as of now.

Brussels, a "capital city" from various points of view, is also a City-Region made up of 19 local authorities. The institutional framework can be complex: the policies in effect in the city, implemented by local, regional, community and federal players often overlap and are sometimes interlinked.

Additionally, the Brussels-Capital Region faces a degree of duality with regard to its population at the socio-economic level, since the GDP per resident is one of the highest in Europe.

The creation of the Brussels-Capital region is the outcome of a long institutional debate concerning the complexity of its decision-making procedure which is the only drawback of its satisfactory territorial management.

For this reason a future-focused analysis is appropriate regarding the development of the city, including the drafting of a comparative balance sheet at the European level dealing with various policies and experiences involved in the planning and revitalisation of the city.

The way in which the larger cities of Europe are evolving is now apparent: the experts and operators involved in city planning are reinstating the study of the large metropolis and international networks as a priority in the scientific and/or political investigations. The large number of studies analysing urban structures and the range of comparative analyses of large European cities are evidence of this. The European Commission is an example of an institution which, through its skilled regional and environmental policy, is showing increasing interest in the comparative and developmental analysis of European cities, while utilising participatory procedures through the organisation of best practice exchange networks.

This interest in the development of the city is indicative of an important aspect of a society in which urban centres play a crucial role in the organisation of the globalised economy and which is characterised by the strengthening of the decision-making processes in the cities. However, the situation is more complex and even contradictory, since this strengthening aspect fails to reduce the spatial urban area concerned, which seems at the same time diluted outside of the cities into spaces which are sometimes virtual in nature.

Such development means that the advantages and handicaps offered by the metropolis should be understood in a context of mutual cooperation. This context obliges us to reconsider certain basic principles of city management which developed from the 1950s to the 1970s. So that the approach is not merely formalist, aesthetics-based or remedial, analysis should be concentrated on the manner in which space is produced.

This means that it is not just a question of analysing the basic principles which lie behind territory layout and urban revitalisation policies, which may have led to the separation of functions and territorial segregation. We must also re-examine the arguments used to advance the criticisms and alternative proposals voiced at the time.

Nor does this mean that all the opinions and reasoning driving the socio-economic, cultural/spatial control developed in the past must automatically be cast into the dustbin of history. Otherwise critical analyses of the consequences of the spatial production of the Fordist era are possibly still very useful, but the response they offer to the challenges to be faced in a structurally different context are inadequate.

Since they are generally sheeted home to the basic paradigms of Fordism, themselves obtained from methods of managing conflicts connected with industrial production systems, these critical analyses are frequently defending or maintaining social or cultural situations, or a generally remedial approach to social segregation.

Economic globalisation, characterised by a thorough-going and drastic change from industrial capitalism to financial capitalism, is obliging all the components of civil society and political authority to anticipate the quest for new paradigms whereby the phenomena of societal development, in the cities in particular, can be interpreted.

The globalised economy seems to favour spatial production as metropolitan networks leading to the establishment of supra-national cohesion and regulation (some commentators are even speaking of "post national cohesion"). The strategies adopted by large cities are developing, at least to a degree, outside of national frames of reference. Operating as part of a network presupposes that urban development operators are provided with self-regulation systems which are able, up to a point, to avoid the intervention of public structures, in a context in which globalisation (or economic globalisation) has given rise to a considerable acceleration in market productivity which takes a minimal account of an individual's social situation.

This new framework has often threatened the authority of the State. A growing complexity in the process whereby territorial policy management is shaped has been the result of this, both at the various internal levels of State organisation and at the level of transnational and supra-national authorities.

Globalisation affects everyday life and is characterised by a certain amount of non-transparency. The mechanisms for regulating globalisation are emerging from the conventional environment of the State and inter-governmental organisations. In order to reinstate the regulatory importance of the State, and thus rediscover the guiding principle of all public policy, resulting in the defence of the general interest, a better understanding of the authority transfer mechanisms in action must be sought: What are they based on? How do they act? Who benefits from them and on what guarantees are they based?

More than ever, public territorial action experiences problems which lie outside the scope of a single organisation and the breakdown of areas of action. This reality is all the more urgent as it affects the urban centre of the metropolis. Gripped by increasing differentiation between socio-economic contexts and uncertainty about the future, the urban centre is also obliged to adapt to the growing complexity of decision-making processes and the complexity of the problems to be solved[1]. It must also take account of the objectives of territorialisation and the institutionalisation of public management foreshadowed by the supra-national and national authorities.

Rather than being overwhelmed by a feeling of powerlessness in the face of these developments, perhaps analysts might investigate the urban question from the twin perspective of the globalisation of the economy (in parallel with the globalisation of human activity) and of the territorial (local) mobilisation of a metropolis, even a small one such as Brussels.

Arranging matters so that exogenous factors (globalisation) and endogenous ones (local mobilisation) are in step with each other allows for ways of foreshadowing the by-passing of contradictions (which may arise from competition between the various levels of action), or at least of understanding them, which may lead to risk limitation. It is therefore not city-planning models for changing situations which are needed, but the definition of strategies which factor in the events and the risks (setting-up of prospective strategies).

Understanding and assessing urban complexity are possibilities only if a "classical" perspective of the urban question is set aside. A method which integrates all aspects must be sought, one which will diagnose the new challenges which the city must face.

The fact remains, however, that the majority of experts appear incapable of complex thought[2]. To date no scientific paradigm exists matching the definition arrived at by Robert Delorme, that is, there exists no "*system articulating foundations, methods, theoretical frameworks and typical empirical implementation comprising the exemplary support points for the membership of the scientific community and peer recognition*"[3].

City management is impossible without an overall diagnostic of current decision-making processes based on a systemic frame of reference of globalisation, but it must however be one which incorporates a repositioning of the relationships between nation states, Regions and urban centres, to be redefined with varying degrees of success within large-scale networks.

The variety of perceptions and points of view and the quest for concomitant or overlapping trends will clarify the emergence of a new "significance" for a wide range of practices.

This approach will lead to mobilisation if it helps reduce social breakdown and foreshadows the prospect of genuine societal cohesion in large cities, both within in their centres and peripherals.

If this analysis of the complexity of the urban question requires further fine-tuning, it must develop in such a way as to avoid becoming ossified as positions which are exclusively academic, administrative and technical, or even corporate.

The intention of this form of analysis is to place the action undertaken by territory groupings in the context of public action, thus tackling a series of challenges in the definition of the future of urban development. These challenges revolve principally on managing the complexity of local action systems arising from the number of players, their relationships and the regulations implemented to correct malfunctions[4].

The principle of egalitarianism in democracy means that territorial mobilisation and social cohesion must be positioned as two mutually complimentary principles.

While creating conditions whereby the importance of the relationship between territorial mobilisation and social cohesion is established, the colloquium must also envisage the relaunch of the social inclusion scheme to facilitate correction of the inequalities inherent in the "*resurgence of the capitalism of the fittest*"[5], with a view to finding solutions for the essential social investments in the "working social city".

Now that the Region is preparing the Brussels International Development Plan (IDP), it is the opportune moment to consider and understand the complexity of the issues so that all parties involved can read the situation at an appropriate level.. Along with the city districts revitalisation policies, the IDP is the framework for the future urban and social development of Brussels. Apart from the creation of an infrastructure worthy of a European capital, the emergence of a fact- and image-based dynamic covering the whole of the territory, the aim will be to develop in a cohesive manner those zones which are strategically important to the future of the city in all its social and economic components.

In conclusion, the colloquium will tackle a subject often under discussion: the question of effective governance in the service of the city, its residents and its environment. It is for this reason that the colloquium will only be a first step in the analysis, as focus groups will tackle the areas of "governance" and "territoriality" in order to present a new future for the development of Brussels as a city.

[1] P. Duran, *Penser l'action publique*, LGDJ, Coll. Droit et société, Paris, 1999.

[2] Pascal Roggero, *De la complexité des politiques Locales*, L'Harmatan, Pratiques de la systémique, Paris, 2005, p. 220.

[3] R. Delorme, "*Vers une modélisation intégrative de la complexité*", contribution to the Cerisy colloquium, June 2006, http://www.mcxaporg/docs/cerisy/a9-3.htm.

[4] See Pascal Roggero, *De la complexité des politiques Locales*, L'Harmatan, Pratiques de la systémique, Paris, 2005.

[5] Lester Thurow, *The Future of Capitalism*, 1996.

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Territoriality
and governance

Territoriality and governance

Territorial dynamics are undergoing important developments. no validated scientific policy exists that is capable of explaining the development of metropolitan territorial development or the development of conurbations, unified into urban frameworks (like the North Pas-de-Calais / Holland/Ruhr Randstaad[1]). It suffices to see the number of definitions, the disparity and even the confusion in the interpretations of urban phenomena connected with territory.

Given the importance of the territorialisation of policy issue, it is surprising that this phenomenon has rarely been the subject of a scientific analysis. This is apparent in the lack of literature on territorialized policy and a fortiori on the comparison of applied practices in the various countries of Europe. In addition, such a comparison becomes opaque because of the differences between the national and infranational administrative and regulatory frameworks. The deficiency in scientific reference points, directly suitable to produce an analysis of the territorialisation of policy maintains the idea of placing it in a globalised context and constructing a methodological outline while taking cognisance of the complexity of territorial governance.

Economic globalisation implies a thorough change in spatial production and places the concept of territoriality at the centre of the debate regarding the urban question. There is no need to seek a description of territoriality. At the risk of being accused of reductionism - which in itself would not help in explaining the concept any more than a definition of the territory would provide - a description or that the portrayal of the physical development of the city could explain urban phenomena.

In order to advance the simple observation of the change in the perception of the territory, it is essential to place territoriality in relation to the development of the spatial production mode which is generated by the globalised economy (without, however, lapsing into some form of economism). An analysis connected to human activity, and more specifically to structural societal phenomena (cultural, social and economic), is the one which facilitates a comprehension of spatial production and provides an understanding of the human use of space.

Globalisation has revealed the processes of "de-linking / linking" in territorial socio-economic relationships. The analysis of these phenomena are not unequivocal. It is, however, possible,with the the benefit of hindsight regarding everyday practices, to identify a consensus regarding the issues while using a degree of spin and to be aware that the solutions to the problems are not the subject of unanimous agreement. Placing this kind of globalisation into the territorial context should reveal reference points which should facilitate the identification of the balance to be found among the various decision levels.

These indications mean that it is possible to posit the framework of the analysis in order to tackle the new social and economic relationships existing within the territories in a context of globalisation, that is, to gain a better understanding of the interaction of the global economy with the local socio-economic development (expressed in a simplified form by the term "Global Location" or "Globalisation"), particularly in the case of European Cities - especially Brussels.

The recent perceptions of territoriality also regards shifts in the conception of the relationships between the institutional structures. The point referring to "*globalisation and the relationships between the institutional structures*" reveals the major consequences of globalisation for the coherence and quality of territorial governance. The most important factor is to achieve an analysis in which policy coherence can be guaranteed to allow for better "(inter-)sector governance" which will also ensure the coherence of "territorial governance". The involvement of various levels of authority in this territorial governance also requires regular checking to ensure that the definition of the territory as achieved by the local authority matches the new concepts of territoriality.

Local action is included in the terms laid down for the programme of horizontal actions of Agenda 21 from the Rio Declaration on the environment and development[2]. It concerned territorial bodies of different scale. These bodies act according to their skills (subject areas), to the local context, their means and their ambitions (political will).

Territorial policy and the territorialisation of policy simultaneously raise the problem of "*the coherence of player mobilisation and territorial governance*"**.** Diagnosing the advantages and challenges to be found in metropolitan areas, or stressing the ability of urban players to intensify actions concerned with the increase in relationship complexity in areas of urban concentration are not enough to guarantee good governance. The success of the territorial project also depends on the capacity of the parties concerned to ensure subsidiarity between the levels of power and the overall coherence of the policies they are implementing. The coherence of the policies, tools and players is then validated by shared strategic objectives which transcend the various levels of power and by the commitment of each of them to the means to be implemented. We intend to show that territorialisation and the institutionalisation of public territorial management are changing the terms and conditions of public action. These new modalities are increasing the complexity of rendering machinery operations and leading to an increase in differentiation and uncertainty[3] about the future. Following the argument set out by Pascal ROGGERO, in this colloquium we propose to deal with public territorial action, action which *"is faced with the existence of problems which demand treatment which goes beyond the framework of a single organisation, leading to the breakdown of areas of action, decision making and the complexity of the problems seeking solution"*[4]

Unequal territorial distribution of development also leads to spatial segregation. This kind of spatial segregation appeared during the 1960s in regions and zones which had undergone development during the Fordist period. It was also in these territories that the first endogenous development projects (by developing projects in pockets of activity or based on a local peculiarity) were successfully undertaken. Globalised economy is bringing about shifts in spatial organisation and the metropolitan centres are regaining a crucial importance in this. Developments at world level strengthen the spatial segregation phenomenon allowing for important consequences in societal cohesion. It is therefore important to verify which pathways might lead to a remedy for the inequalities inherent in a return to the capitalism of the fittest, particularly by verifying how the new conceptions of territoriality are or might become a fair lever of urban dynamics.

One colloquium will not be enough to analyse the complexity of the phenomena which govern territorial policy and the territorialisation of policy. Even so, a debate must be opened on this complex problem scenario, one which is led by a systemic approach rather than a factual analysis.

To avoid the factual approach the development of territories should be placed in a global context. This context involves not only an observation of the phenomena, but also of the values and criteria used to analyse them. Adaptations must be suggested which may make it possible to build the most rational urban management model possible on the basis of societal realities and dynamics.

Territorial policy and the territorialisation of policy will therefore be tackled from three viewpoints:

> **That of the issue of territoriality in the contemporary development of socioeconomic and political relationships.**
This demands an analysis of the causes of developments and changes operating in society (the conditions of the actual existence of men and women and their social relationships) and which define the development of territorial processes in the urban environment. This analysis should make it possible to evolve with more assurance in the - often contradictory - context of the new social, economic and political issues, and above all to have a better grasp of urban structures (frameworks) and their relative positions between cities in contemporary society.

> **That of the consequences of the complexity of territorial policy for institutional and participatory governance, in a context of the fading of hierarchy between the levels of authority.**
By establishing a link between the issue of territoriality in societal development and the systemic approach to territorial complexity, this colloquium is striving to show that the processes of territorial linking mean that it is possible to expect a more successful construction of new bases for cohesion.

> **That of the system of complex action applied to a territory as a basis for analysing urban dynamics.**
The colloquium will be an occasion for pointing out the systematism of the processes which develop shared projects within the same territory and to reveal the types of informal and formal "layouts", and how they are interdependent. Territorialised policy must be analysed in the framework of the analysis of complex thought, as developed by Edgar Morin : observing the social systems and social situations which arise from it

from a dialogic[5], recursive[6] and hologrammatic[7] perspective. As Professor Daniel Filâtre points out, "*distinguishing the choices made, the alliances, the forms of deciding on the project, the weight of the local identities and their ownership systems, plus the affirmation procedures (...) lead to an alternative city action planning : governing the city is a joint political action*"[8]. The actions and policies which operate on a territory must be studied on a basis of the way they are implemented, with the players identified together with an analysis of the actions which render them real and the action systems operating over time.

The issue of territoriality in the contemporary development of socioeconomic and political relationships.

After a long ideological battle which began in the 1930s, neo-liberal thought became hegemonic in the 1980s. This view of the world was taken up again in 1999 in the "Washington consensus"[9]. In ten programmatic[10] commandments John Williamson includes everything he deemed to the current consensus between the US Congress, the IMF, the World Bank and important think-tanks[11]. The acceptance of this viewpoint is generally attributed to US President Ronald Reagan and UK Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher when they imposed the political acceptance of ultra-liberal-based principles in their countries, following the collapse of the Soviet-bloc economies.

Socio-economic interests versus financial interests

The movement of capital between nations means it can accumulate in institutions operating at world level (large international finance banks, pension funds, hedge funds, etc). But it has certainly been the real development of the organisation of multinational enterprises which has been responsible for the rise of the globalised economy. The liberalisation of capital, the elimination of exchange controls and the floating of cash rates were organised in an era when data processing permitted the economy to organise into an extremely dense network whereby it became possible to exist like a unit in real time[12], allowing financial capital, like a system of power, impose its logic on the States, and it did so at all levels.

Previously the logic of the Fordist system had led to a situation in which wages and profits co-existed and Unions and Bosses needed each other to develop the economy and employment, giving rise to a virtuous circle[13]. What was learned was based on principles of fairness and social solidarity built on the convergence of the interests of the larger components of society. It demonstrated that it was possible to negotiate agreements between the parties, that the States became law-making machines. The economy found society and a social contract was clearly identified[14].

Nowadays financial interest is not consequent to the improvement of the other components of economic activity. These are the deductions made by a certain class of "agents", drawn from others who are striving to take over the totality of the gains from productivity to the detriment of the other players. It is clear that an increase in other incomes, whether from wages or productive investment, cannot increase the shareholder's dividend. As René Passet says : "*the more you pay in wages, the less you distribute in dividends ; the more you invest in productive investment, in what it immediately effective, the tighter you turn the dividend screw. What society takes out comes by deducting from the dividend. An economy dominated by financial interests (= the dominant income), finds itself in a vicious circle, one of a situation of permanent conflict in our nations where one of the keys to the great economic and social problems requiring a solution is the question of the share-out. Conflict is replacing interdependence and solidarity. Financial time is neither economics time nor the time of the kind of nature that the economy should be made up*"[15.]

In the context of a globalised economy, the retention of social gains can only be envisaged on the conditions that the territories remain sufficiently competitive and that they manage to generate mechanisms of solidarity in terms of organising trade, relationships with the authorities and mechanisms for the redistribution of income. When referring to Jurgen Habermas, Bruno Liebhaberg says that *"the problem is not to chase the effects of world capitalism, but to work upstream of the system of production, on education, etc., in order to generate equalities rather than produce inequalities"*[16].

The comparative advantage of a society is not to be found only in its capacity to invent and produce, but also in the creation of an environment which can embrace these changes and which can extract maximum value from them.

It is when an innovative society is not associated with a specific technology that it is more appropriate to speak of an "innovation society" rather than an "information society", or "knowledge society". In actual fact, as Richard Howkins points out, innovation cannot be reduced to a series of exceptional events driven by technological change. On the contrary, it is a basic strategy for achieving societal objectives. Of course, technology has a part to play in innovation. But it works mainly in a variety of contexts which have nothing to do with technology. Public education, the existence of a progressive tax system, credit, insurance, social security, the emancipation of women, etc., are innovations whereby the impact is important in a modern society. This non-technical innovation clearly affects the development of certain technologies and these in their turn may facilitate and support this innovation[17].

The mechanisms of solidarity, developed during the Fordist period, have today collapsed, and the public resources used to solve social problems are increasingly stressed in a context of the relative reduction of public means. The image of the State bled white (at all these levels) is, however, something of a caricature. By highlighting a false dichotomy between absolute laissez-faire and the authoritarian tendency of the State, ultra-liberal authority denies or discredits the potential of effective public governance. To regulate the market it is not enough to trust in "the invisible hand of the market" and consequently to reduce the public authorities to their "symbolic missions". Businesses, including the large financial business, understand this and depend often on public infrastructures and services. Even financial holding companies need public governance capable of guaranteeing quality services and implementing when needed the arbitration which is essential to achieve adequate stability in development.

Despite the spectre of the weakening or disappearance of the State which some commentators raise, it is impossible to avoid the fact that the State still legitimises and organises the redistribution of income through tax policies or actions with specific groups.

A demand for a minimal or non-existent State cannot really be taken seriously. But it would be absurd to imagine that State operations can ignore the transformation of society and the need for new relationships between business and civil society. There is no need to initiate a sterile ideological debate. We need to build and streamline as rationally as possible a societal project based on realities and dynamics which are both territorialised and connected to networks operating both locally and world-wide.

The law-based State remains a powerful tool for the protection of the vulnerable, even if they find difficulty in exercising their rights and democratic involvement. Even so, seeing the law solely as a means of protecting the weakest persons and operations amounts to a probable acceptance of the decay of social gains recorded during the glorious thirties [years following WWII].

Territorialised sectorial policies and territorial policys

In order to tackle the most pressing demands and deal with growing insecurity, sector-based policies are, in whole or in part, organised around the principle of positive discrimination in zones in difficulty.

The criteria for organising sector-based policies are increasingly defined by territorial divisions. This territorialisation policy is generally based on an observation of inequality in the future of the territories and/or of the spatial segregation arising from this situation. The debates and political decisions seem to find a common denominator in the attempt to respond pragmatically (intuitively) to the societal problems which arose in the so-called "post-Fordist" period.

A territorialized policy can be defined as the modulation of a sector-based measure with a view to correcting, or attempting to correct in a sector-based way the territorial development inequalities in a sector. It may also provide a response to the question (whether raised or not) or to specific local claims justified by arguments of fairness or balanced development within the territory to which the policy applies. Territorialised policies are presented as responses to spatial differentiation and segregation but they must also indicate a shift in power bases - and the interactions which flow there from - between the various levels of authority which act on the territories.

Factoring local complexities into the various territorialised policies should contribute to territorial coherence and hence to social cohesion and societal logic. This factoring-in is essential if we are to ensure that the varying levels of authority do not find themselves imposed by the policies of other levels but who are responsible for (a part of) the execution of those policies.

The distinction between territorial policy and the territorialisation of policy does not necessarily indicate an opposition between the two approaches, but rather a complementarity. In the case of the territoriality of policy, the issue is a (possible) interpretation of the redistribution role of the public authorities when they approach (vertically) the various sector-based actions (that is, from the viewpoint of the matters to be tackled). In the case of territorial policy, the opinion is on the mobilisation of the resources acting on a territory and the homogeneity or territorial coherence implied by an inter-sector approach (horizontal and local from the point of view of the matters to be dealt with).

The principle of territorial discrimination can therefore be justified in a context of sector-based policy such as development of the (urban) territory. The joint implementation of sector-based and/or horizontal territorialized policy and the different methods of territorial governance is essential to develop a capacity to manage the complexity with which the local players are faced.

Mixity and territorial coherence

Despite the difficulty involved in tracing the demarcation line between the two, the territorialisation of policy is generally based on this concept. Notably since it was perceived that social and urban ruptures were converging, where two worlds were separating, mainly because of the secessionist desire of the rich. However, Daniel Béhar and Renaud Epstein had already observed in 1999 that "*this convergence of assessment rapidly runs up against the explanatory factors which justify this shared sentiment. Some point at the contemporary city, breaking away from the industrial city, which others highlight the fascination of the young from the outer suburbs staring into the window the Bon Marché department store*"[18].

Spatial segregation appears differently depending on the specific nature of the countries and their pre-existing societal and urban structures. In France, for example, there was much debate "*on the city of the rich and that of the poor*"[19], while in Belgium spatial segregation had long since crystallised around the opposition between city and country. The framework of this colloquium does not permit a comparative study of this question at the European level.

Studies generally confirm, however, that social segregation is becoming more accentuated. This is not the result of a concentration of poverty in certain zones, but rather from the desire (expressed through choice of environment) for layers whereby a social and physical distance can be established from the sensitive urban areas. Daniel Béhar et Renaud Epstein, however, record a much more complex situation : a number of social groups, even on modest incomes, strive to establish a social and physical distance while living in the green belting between them, while making the most of the city and its attractions.

These same social groups state that they are in support of the principle of the social mix of the city. Despite the residential distance, they find this diversity in the frequent use of venues which organise contemporary urban diversity, such as multifunctional commercial centres or leisure spaces.

By removing the ambiguity connected to the ideological use of the phenomenon of spatial segregation the development of the principles of diversity is able to take on a new meaning. The concept of the duality as a contemporary representation of urban reality takes on a character which is very often ideological to the extent that it is based on the confusion between "secession" and the "feeling of secession"[20]. These frequently overused terms provide good reason for accusing the public authorities of ineffective action in their urban policies. It is no longer sufficient to support social diversity or functional diversity to energise public urban action. This problem is to be solved by attacking the reality of segregation. This statement does not render the term diversity without value, but it is essential to be aware that the use of it sometimes renders it inoperative.

The theme of diversity and the development of this concept is the subject of a workshop in this colloquium and relates to several other subject areas tackled in the other workshops. Here it is sufficient to stress the fact that the urban diversity is a field of interactive functional dynamics which act in/on a given territory in which a negotiated balance conditions social relationships, and spatial use and allocation. By adopting the principle of the mix, we open formal or informal negotiations concerning the conditions governing temporary or permanent space allocation and use.

It is also essential to be provided with tools and criteria which clearly explain the position to be taken by this diversity and to understand the dynamics which underpin it. The colloquium is focusing on the systematism of territorial complexity and the projection of a buoyant and sustainable future for a territory by factoring in the range of viewpoints (sector-based) and opinions of parties concerned (citizens, civil society, public and private partners). This approach means that we can bypass the generic use of the term social and urban diversity.

Social and urban mix can be identified by a methodically organised periodic observation. We can allow ourselves to make the most of the development of the tools for observing mix at the level of the territory. However, these observations are not sufficient to explain the dynamics acting on a territory.

We also need to factor in the central role of the metropolis in the manner in which it organises trade and in the framework of the development of the territories. This trade brings about new relationships with powers which necessitate the adaptation of the mechanisms of solidarity and income redistribution. In this sense large-scale urban projects are not restricted to physical expressions, but also involve projects concerned with socio-economic issues.

It is essential to understand at what level the dynamic of the mix is analysed. The fact is that the economic specialisation of urban territories in specific functions (logistics, research and development, etc) leads to urban expansion. On the other hand, however, functional interdependence is considerable, adding greatly to the unity of the city despite the spatial spread of the functions. It is this interdependence which extends the growing impact of urbanism. It is also at the scale of this interaction that the city, or rather urbanism, will retrace its full capability to reduce cultural barriers and curb the trend towards segregation between the city of the yuppie and that of the lost. Social cohesion must be grafted onto this urban potential, particularly in the struggle against spatial segregation. In this context it is important to stress the issue of the factoring in of perception and the assessment of the various relationships fields to which each individual belongs. The greater the polyvalence of a person's relationships, the greater the prospects of success. The more a person is limited to a restricted network, the more that person risks isolation and identity withdrawal. By viewing the mix as a tentative expression of the emergence of urban renewal, we can see it as an indication of a desire to organise "living together" as an aspect of active social urbanism.

Finally, the correlative connection must be made between the mix and democracy. The concept of the mix is noticeably close to the word diversity (mix is often translated into English as diversity). These concepts are often limited to a dichotomy-type reading of the principles such as : diversity - legality (social and in law) ; freedom (of thought and enterprise) - solidarity (social and political) ; cosmopolitanism (the expansion of cultures) - universality (of basic principles) ; generality - specificity ; globalisation - localisation.

The mix is an expression of the complex and paradoxical reality which cannot be explained by a single universal abstraction. In depth understanding is neceesary rather than merely marshalling the thinking processes. Skill in understanding the complementarity of the various points of view of the different actors involved in mixty by adopting the principle of self-organisation.

The relevance of the territory as a complex system and locus of exchange will be dealt with by Pascal Roggero in his speech to the Colloquium, but it will also be tackled in parallel during the workshops and by the working groups. The subject areas of the working groups have been defned in such a way that the specific questions raised by them can be considered from the standpoints regarding the relevance of contemporary territories and the relevance of the way they organise themselves.

In this way the working groups will concentrate on the consequences which flow from these standpoints as they affect the observation and analysis of urban phenomena (and supra-territorialnetworks), in matters of sharing information at territory level and the decision-making processes involved in the implementation of structural projects, in quality and the brand and in participatory and institutional governance. The details of this layout will be announced when the workshops are introduced.

Institutional and participatory governance as regards territorial complexity

Territorial policies have developed according to the specific natures of the national, infra and supra-national contexts. The analaysis of territorialised policies in Europe require that all the institutional contexts and their background be developed in greater depth, which exceeds the scope of this colloquium. We should, however, attempt to define some basic features of territorial governance and arrive at an appropriate definition. This should be a definition which allows politicians, citizens and driving forces in the city, project managers and technicians to comprehend their place in the process which the definition should make it possible to envisage.

And it would be advisable to begin by re-stating the main issues which territorial governance is obliged to tackle.
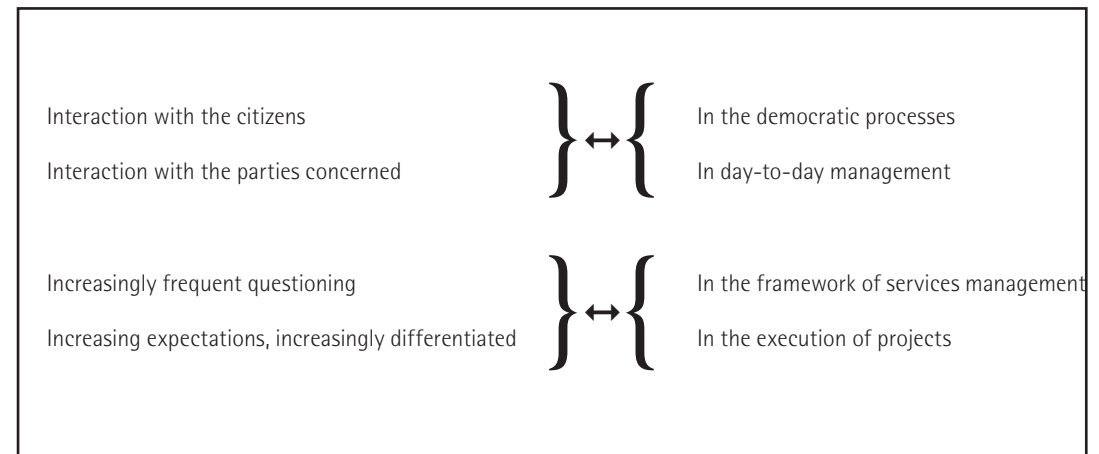
The phenomena of globalisation and reciprocal dependence which we have outlined, intensify the interactions between social, economic, cultural and ecological interactions. The limitation on ecological capacity, dual development in our regions and the independence of the citizen leads to a development which encourages the public authorities to design an inclusive and differentiated policy. Very different relationship models are not only developing between citizens and interested parties, but also between the latter and all levels of authority.

The authorities operating on a territory are required to incorporate urban projects into an all-inclusive and differentiated strategy. In the assessment of their projects and services they are obliged to take account of the increasing complexity of the environment and the systems in which they are developing. The territory has by now become so complex that the interactions with the citizen and the other parties concerned must be increasingly incorporated into public policy (both in day-to-day management and in the democratic formal processes). As a consequence authorities find themselves increasingly questioned despite their undertaking increasing and ever more varied obligations (both as regards the management of services and the execution of projects). The current and future user of a good or service may wish to be involved in political management. While not wishing to exaggerate its extent, it can be said that the role of the public services is developing from that of protecting the citizens, towards that of mediator, by the establishment of interactive relationships with the residents and the parties concerned. This is evident not only at the level of everyday management, but also in the political processes which are required to progressively adapt themselves to an ever more differentiated and critical demand.

Nor are questions concerning governance lacking. How does policy management guarantee the link between the different contextual conditions (material, organisational and institutional) within which urban projects develop? How can the satisfactory development of a project and agreement between the decision-makers, the interested parties, the people and the users be guaranteed? How can governance ensure adequate territorial coherence? How can policy management be a subsidiary intervention tool (public intervention in case of need) in the process of the functional and social mix such that excessive developments (spatial segregation, the establishment of at-risk infrastructure, nuisance, etc.) can be controlled?

Interaction with the citizens	In the democratic processes
Interaction with the parties concerned	In day-to-day management
Increasingly frequent questioning	In the framework of services management
Increasing expectations, increasingly differentiated	In the execution of projects

Territorial governance to provide more structured and reliable responses to challenges

An awareness of a growing interaction between cultural, social, economic, environmental and political questions requires greater cohesion in the totality of the decision-making and operational processes, and this is needed between all levels of authority.

Reciprocal dependence between human beings, their systems and their organisations has continually led to changes in the basic principles which underpin the decision-making processes. Because of this the classical top-down model of administration is steadily being replaced by more horizontal paradigms created from multi-centre networks and public/private partnerships.

In its turn, this development is bringing about shifts in the decision-making processes at all political levels: some matters have been decentralised, while others have been handed over to supra-national institutions, and others have been outsourced (towards the private sector).

Clear structures facilitates the necessary interactions and strengthens the trust capital of the participating parties.
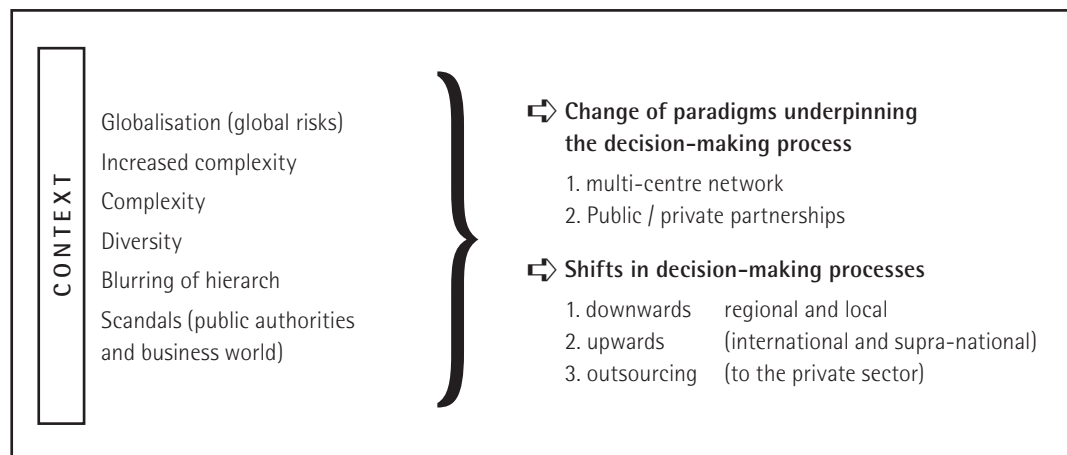
This way, governance can attain its objective if it manages to bring four major factors together. In the first place the responsibility of the decision-makers and players must be clear. Then, the division of the task involved must also be clear, and the outcome of clear, respected agreements. It is also advisable to ensure that the political effects sought can be measured and that actions and outcomes can be clearly attributed. And lastly, strategic and operational objectives must be defined and the assessment of factors essential to success forecasted.

The increasing attention paid to the verifiable assessment of policy (not to be confused with the evaluation of projects) should be seen against this background. The advantages of assessing projects and services is questioned less and less, but the acceptance that such an evaluation might contribute to noticeable improvements in governance is less evident. The importance of assessing project execution procedures, for the purpose of

monitoring and assessing policy, is also accepted, although less widespread. Nevertheless, the practice of policy assessment is hard to set up, except where it applies to budgetary analysis. Policy management tends to be inadequately factored into planning, executing or assessing projects and services.

The purpose of policy assessment is to provide information which will allow decision-makers to give rulings on policy or strategy as implemented, both at operational level (projects and programmes or the normal provision of services) and on that of the strategy and the management of policy monitoring.

The context of a globalised innovative society leads to the consideration of territorial governance as an instrument and a procedure for defining sustainable territorial development. This kind of governance will be required to guarantee integrated management, carried on simultaneously at all levels. It must also reinforce the transparency, interaction and feedback of information and it must allow the involvement of certain non-public players in defining the standard. Territorial governance cannot be implemented without involving the players in the definition of certain objectives and projects of general interest. At the same time it must guarantee a sustainable improvement in services according to the expectations of the parties concerned.

CONTEXT

Globalisation (global risks)

Increased complexity

Complexity

Diversity

Blurring of hierarch

Scandals (public authorities and business world)

⇨ **Change of paradigms underpinning the decision-making process**

1. multi-centre network
2. Public / private partnerships

⇨ **Shifts in decision-making processes**

1. downwards   regional and local
2. upwards   (international and supra-national)
3. outsourcing   (to the private sector)

In this sense governance or policy management can be defined as a responsible, dynamic and participatory management of the continued improvement of public action in a complex environment. This public management must respect democratic institutions, legal frameworks and meet the expectations of the citizens and the other parties concerned. It builds partnerships with the players concerned or involved in the general interest.

Governance should therefore simultaneously define and seek objectives for the management of action at territory level and offer a method and procedure for mediation and public management.

A number of approaches to governance are possible. However, two dimensions appear crucial to the development and assessment of territorial governance : that of participatory governance, and that of institutional governance. Participatory governance rests on the interactions between the inhabitants, the citizens or users, and the interested parties. Institutional governance, however, concerns the satisfactory management of services, the application of the rules of good administration, respect for codes of ethics, and respect for agreements between parties, preferable via mediation, but where necessary, by arbitration.

The territorial governance dimension is present in all the workshops of the "City of Tomorrow" colloquium. In workshop "Urban diversity and territorial coherence" it is principally tackled from the aspect of the construction of participation and partnerships, and from that of the observation of the territory. The theme of territorial intelligence dealt with in workshop "Territorial discrimination" is crucial to the mutual interchange of information. This workshop also investigates how participatory management can be achieved while guaranteeing satisfactory institutional governance. And in workshop "Structural urban projects", governance will be presented in the theme of the construction of communal projects and the conditions for their sustainability.

The complex action system applied to an urban territory

Quantitative observation techniques reveal the spatial qualities of urban organisation, including spaces in proximity. These tools, essential for effective urban management, must, however, be complemented by instruments effective in good decision making by the public authorities. The development of quantitative indicators renders it possible to express qualitative urban data for the benefit of urban planners and designers, particularly in the area of the social mix, but also in that of spatial mobility.

It is important to analyse and assess the accelerated (re) production of urban structures (frameworks). In this context it is appropriate to develop governance tools whereby this assessment of spatial (re)production can be managed, as well as in terms of social relationships and organisation at all levels. The metropolises are provided with urban observation tools to guide them in their development projects. For these to be effective, the connection between observation techniques and on-the-ground diagnosis, not forgetting those governing the modes of managing individual projects, must be significantly improved. Research in this area is still new and has not yet reached the practitioners.

What is required to avoid a territorial approach which is merely a reaction to observations "on the ground", the development of territories should be placed in a more global context and the endogenous and exogenous elements which emerge are inserted. Information tools must be developed so that information can be cross-referenced. Territorial intelligence can provide a valuable service in producing a territorial diagnosis, but it also provides reference points whereby the process of continuous improvement of the quality of practices and projects can be steered. It would be unwise to take only the technical or even scientific approach to observing phenomena and managing them without preparing for a debate with civil society on the values and criteria involved in steering proposals and adaptations.

The suggestion, then, is that the colloquium deals with the issues of territoriality and governance under three dimensions, that of the tools (observation, information and communication and finally management), of its status (institutional and participatory) and that of the urban project (innovative and structural).

The colloquium on the "City of Tomorrow" will be structured in line with this logic, both in the plenary sessions and in the workshops.

1   *De eeuw van de Stad, Witboek over stadsrepublieken en rastersteden*, Die Keure, Brugge, 2003, pp 18-19.

2   In 1992 the 178 countries present at the world conference on the environment and development in Rio, adopted the Rio Declaration They made a commitment to a programme of actions for the 21st century : named Action 21. This declaration recognises the determining role of the local authority, chapter 28 "Local Authorities' Initiatives in Support of Agenda 21" is entirely dedicated to and recommends to design, at the level of the local authorities, a global programme of horizontal actions for the 21st century : the local agenda 21.

3   Pascal Roggero, *De la complexité des politiques locales*, preface by Daniel Filâtre, L'Harmattan, Paris, 2005, p.13.

4   Quoted by P. Durant, *Penser l'action publique,* LGDG Collection Droit et société, Paris, 1999 resumed by Pascal Roggero, *De la complexité des politiques locales*, preface by Daniel Filâtre, L'Harmattan, Paris, 2005, p.13.

5   The term dialogic refers to two or more logics or principles which are united without their duality being lost. This concept, developed by Edgar Morin reveals the melding into a complex unit of two or more difference or even opposite logics. A complex unit is complementary, competitive and antagonistic at the same time.

6   That is, by analysing the capacity to re-think the organisation and modify it.

7   The hologrammatic principle leads directly back to the discovery of recursive self-organisation. To realise what the organisation means it is necessary to jettison the logic of linear and analytical causality. It is essential to work with a constant toing and froing between the whole and the part, according to Pascal Roggero's principle which states that the part cannot be understood without the whole and the whole without the part.

8   Pascal Roggero, *De la complexité des politiques locales*, preface by Daniel Filätre, L'Harmattan, Paris, 2005, p.13.

9   John Williamson "consensus de Washington".

[10] This veritable bible of neo-liberalism concerning the
"reform" of economies under stress, set down in ten
political commandments, the essential precepts of the
(neo ?) economy. - liberal :
1 budgetary discipline ;
2 the use of public expenses in ways which promise both
economic growth and an equal distribution of income ;
3 fiscal reform involving low tax levels and a broad tax base ;
4 liberalisation of financial markets ;
5 the creation of a stable and competitive exchange rage ;
6 liberalisation of trade ;
7 the abolition of barriers to market entry and the
liberalisation of direct foreign investment (equal
treatment for foreign and domestic enterprises) ;
8 privatisation ;
9 deregulation ;
10 the protection of private property.

[11] Horizons and debates. *A publication favouring independent
thought*, ethics and responsibility, No. 22, October 2003.

[12] Manuel Castells, *L'ère de l'informatique, tome I, La société
en réseaux*, Fayard, 1998 ; tome II, *Le Pouvoir de l'identité*,
Fayard, 1999 ; tome III, *Fin de millénaire*, Fayard, 1999.

[13] René Passet p. 4.

[14] René Passet, p. 3.

[15] René Passet, p. 3-4.

[16] Bruno Liebhaberg, *Cherche réponse : quel avenir pour la
gauche européenne ?,* in Le Soir, 29 et 30 septembre 2007,
p 21.

[17] Richar Howkins, Speach given on May the 17th 2006 at the
invitation of the SMIT-IBBT research institute.

[18] Daniel Béhar et Renaud Epstein, *Sécession urbaine : un
mythe démobilisateur*, in Le monde, 3 July 1999.

[19] Ibidem.

[20] Ibidem.

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Programme - 1ˢᵗ day: morning

9 : 00 - 9 : 30	**Welcome, breakfast**
9 : 30 - 9 : 45	**PLENARY SESSION** **Opening of the session** by Marie-Laure Roggemans, Chair of the colloquium
9 : 45 - 10 : 15	**Short speech** by Charles Picqué, Minister-President of the Brussels-Capital Region
10 : 15 - 11 : 15	**"Territories and public policies as a prism of complexity: ideas for further thought"** by **Pascal ROGGERO**
11 : 15 - 11 : 30	**Presentation** of workshops and workgroups
11 : 30 - 11 : 45	**Coffee break**
11 : 45 - 12 : 30	**WORKSHOP 1** Presentation of the developments of the workshop and the themes approached in each workgroup / **WORKSHOP 2** Presentation of the developments of the workshop and the themes approached in each workgroup / **WORKSHOP 3** Presentation of the developments of the workshop and the themes approached in each workgroup
12 : 30 - 14 : 00	**Walking Lunch**

Programme – 1st day: afternoon

	WORKSHOP 1: Urban diversity and territorial coherence			WORKSHOP 2: Territorial discrimination			WORKSHOP 3: Structural urban projects		
14:00 - 15:30	**WG 1.1** Diversity! Yes, but what kind of diversity?	**WG 1.2** From the territorial observation phase to the development of projects	**WG 1.3** Participative Governance: The challenge of Pluralistic Policy Making Processes	**WG 2.1** Territorial intelligence for a learning territory	**WG 2.2** Between democracy and governability: Managing Trade-Offs in Metropolitan Regions	**WG 2.3** Urban Projects of Quality: specific versus generic solutions	**WG 3.1** The issue of societal innovation and communication in structural urban projects	**WG 3.2** Innovation and sustainable management	**WG 3.3** The added value of a city planning agency in a structural city planning operation
	speaker **Jacques DONZELOT** *Chair* **Jean-Louis GENARD**	*speaker* **Alessandro BALDUCCI** *Chair* **Hugues DUCHATEAU**	*speaker* **Artur da ROSA PIRES** *Chair* **Nicolas JOSCHKO**	*speaker* **Philippe HERBAUX** *Chair* **Michaël VAN CUTSEM**	*speaker* **Frank HENDRIKS** *Chair* **Bruno VINIKAS**	*speaker* **Josep ACEBILLO** *Chair* **Joachim DECLERCK**	*speaker* **Joël GAYET** *Chair* **Hendrik VANMOLKOT**	*speaker* **Yvonne RYDIN** *Chair* **Marc SAUVEZ**	*speaker* **Christian BRUNNER** *Chair* **Joris DEMOOR**
	Theme-based work sessions > Introductory exposé by the President of each workgroup > Open debate within the workgroups > Determination of the essential aspects of the theme discussed by each workgroup								
15:30 - 16:00	**Coffee break**								
16:00 - 16:50	**Work continues in the WG**	**Work continues in the WG**	**Work continues in the WG**	**Work continues in the WG**	**Work continues in the WG**	**Work continues in the WG**	**Work continues in the WG**	**Work continues in the WG**	**Work continues in the WG**
	In-depth approach to the basic elements of each theme and conclusions								
16:50 - 17:30	The three thematic workgroups will meet in a workshop to communicate and comment on their conclusions.			The three thematic workgroups will meet in a workshop to communicate and comment on their conclusions.			The three thematic workgroups will meet in a workshop to communicate and comment on their conclusions.		

Programme - 2nd day: morning

8:30 - 9:00	**Welcome, breakfast**
9:00 - 9:15	**PLENARY SESSION** **Summary** of the previous day's programme and introduction to the morning's programme by the Chair of the colloquium
9:15 - 10:15	**Reporting of the workshops**
10:15 - 10:45	**Coffee break**
10:45 - 12:15	**Conclusions: "Spaces and Flows in 21st-Century Europe"** by Peter HALL
12:15	**Reception and lunch (Tour & Taxis)**

3

Reflections on the
City of Tomorrow

Plenary session [introduction]

Marie-Laure ROGGEMANS, Chair

Charles PICQUÉ, Minister-President of the Brussels-Capital Region

Pascal ROGGERO, Speaker

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Tracé Royal : la charte d'aménagement, Fondation Roi Baudouin, 1995 ;
Un "Central Park" au cœur de l'Europe : la restauration du Parc du Cinquantenaire, Fondation Roi Baudouin, 2005 ;
Vacant City lancé dans le cadre de Bruxelles 2000, Fondation Roi Baudouin, 2000 ;
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Territories and public policies as a prism
of complexity : ideas for further thought

If we consider cities as territories, and territories as complex systems, we find it is then possible to conceive policies applied to territories as complex processes. From this point of view what we must do therefore is define, identify and assess the projective and recursive dimensions of policies.

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La complexité territoriale : entre processus et projets, L'Harmattan, 2006 ;
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TERRITORIES AND PUBLIC POLICIES THROUGH THE PRISM OF COMPLEXITY:
IDEAS FOR FURTHER THOUGHT

Reflecting on the future of the city involves asking questions about a form of territory. However, at this present time of globalisation, is it not anachronistic to think in terms of territories? Indeed, is not the mass movement of human beings, information, capital, objects and viruses the key phenomenon of societies at the beginning of the 21st century? Furthermore, has one of the most innovative sociologists of this time, the British sociologist John Urry not proposed that these mobility phenomena should be the core "subject" of 21st century social sciences[1]? Is not the concept of territories and the related concept of human roots in a specific place obsolete in this context of generalised mobility?

Without denying the impact of this mobility, we would like to first of all show that the territorial concept is still relevant for addressing contemporary societal changes. Nevertheless, although it is interesting to evoke the city as a territory, from our point of view it is necessary to envisage territories as a complex system. We will attempt to do this in a second stage. Finally, we will examine various consequences of this concept of the urban territory as a complex system on public action.

The territorial concept is still relevant

If the territorial concept is still, in our view, relevant, it is because of its anthropological, if not ethological nature. In the same way as with animal societies, there can be no human and social life without territory. A category of human understanding, space becomes a territory when it takes a shape which gives it a meaning and creates resources for individuals and "communities". Waiting in an airport lounge, having a cup of coffee in a motorway service area or sleeping in a motel in a business area, such interim locations, where the present seems to have neither a past nor a future are increasingly part of all our lives. But such places are for passing through and are certainly not places to live. We only "live" somewhere when it is a place where we feel "at home" surrounded by things which have a meaning for us. It is true that lifestyles in the world have evolved and the most economically and culturally rich categories of the population have adopted a "poly-topical"[2] lifestyle, as opposed to the traditional "mono-topical" way of living, that is to say focused on a single place.
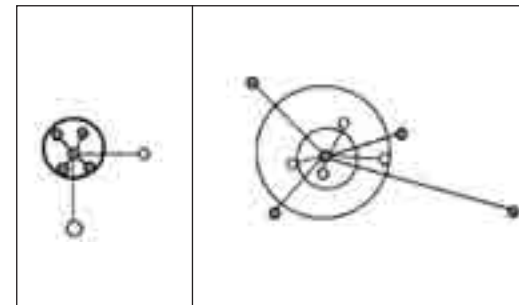
Chart n° 1. "Mono-topical" and "multi-topical" lifestyles according to M. Stock

In the first chart, the familiar places represented by grey dots are geographically close while the unfamiliar places - white dots - are located outside that geographical proximity. This corresponds to a "mono-topical" lifestyle. On the right, on the other hand, the familiar places are located or can be located at a greater geographical distance than the unfamiliar places; in that case what characterises them is the frequency of their use rather than their geographical proximity, e.g. second homes, a workplace a long way from home etc. This is a "poly-topical" lifestyle. The second circle shows improved geographical accessibility thanks to the development of transport.

However, this post-modern nomadism[3] which reflects the concept of a fully mobile society, without as it were any territorial roots, appears empirically questionable. There is little doubt that it corresponds more closely to mobility practices which are more frequent in the United States - 14% of Americans move home every year versus

7% on average in Europe and less than 2% in France - than elsewhere in the world and in the social classes to which the authors defending this idea belong. Over and above the socio-centrism of the mobile elite, the vast majority of the population do not live chiefly in airport lounges and although many individuals do travel regularly, they generally tend to move within a very limited geographical perimeter. Moreover, it is noteworthy that the lower an individual's economic resources are the greater importance a person attaches physically and emotionally to "his or her" district[4]. More generally speaking, in France today, 70% of individuals live in the department where they were born.

Furthermore, it is doubtful that such widespread mobility will survive the post-oil age. Most forward-looking studies report that although people will continue to remain mobile in the future, they will travel less often and not as far, and travelling will be slower and more expensive[5].

Finally, from a theoretical point of view, this approach, which focuses on mobility, appears too unilateral. By over-emphasising this characteristic to transform the old categories of sociology - society, class, nation, territory, etc. - it plays down the importance, excessively in our view, of what falls within the scope of the stability of the usual framework of experiences and the relative continuity of certain social forms. That does not mean that contemporary mobility is not transforming territories.

But if the territorial concept remains relevant it is, in our view, more a process than a materiality. More fundamentally, it has the characteristics of a complex system according to Edgar Morin.

The territory as a complex system

First of all, it is constructed, updated on an ongoing basis by the actions, interactions, relations and representations of those who create it. Although a territory is constructed, it also shapes the actions which construct it - people act by taking account of their perception of the territory. In this regard, in the vocabulary of complex thought, we shall say that it is "recursive" which is the first dimension of its complexity.

Then, the territory is a "dialogic" form, that is to say it is the result of actions which are contradictory and complementary at the same time. It is a conceptualisation which is at the same time stable in its general configuration while changing in its day-to-day activity. It represents diverse stakeholders and interests which however have a relative unity. It appears simultaneously to be confined to its own specific identity while open to phenomena which tend to deny it. An example of this is the transformation of property markets into financial markets which has resulted in a stupefying increase in the cost of housing in the world's major capitals. For example, the price per square meter at the beginning of the 1990s was as high as almost 20 million yen, i.e. the equivalent of more than 800 000 French francs at the time[6] (more than 110 000 euros). Nevertheless, although territories have a relative autonomy this feeds on their openness to the outside world.

We can say that it is self-generated within the framework, on the one hand, of an "eco-dependency" with its environment and, on the other hand, of a history. People who are familiar with the work of Edgar Morin will recognise here his first principle of "self-eco-reorganisation". "Self" for its ability to reproduce, "eco" for its dependency on its environment and "re" to translate the fact that the process is part of a history, a succession of past states which characterise the system.

If the territorial concept can be analysed as a complex system, that means that its overall behaviour has certain important characteristics. First of all, unlike complicated systems, knowledge of these basic constitutive elements does not make it possible to predict its behaviour as a system. As Morin wrote, "*the system is more than the sum of its parts*". In certain situations, it can undergo radical transformations as a result of minor "*disruptions*". This brings to mind the model of the famous Belgian chemist Ilya Prigogine. I would like to illustrate this point with an example that I have studied.

In the department of the Tarn, in south-west France, two equivalent medium-sized cities, Albi and Castres, have always competed throughout history for the territorial leadership. But, there was a key moment in their common history, namely the attribution of "county town" status for the department in 1791, when that departmental institution was created. Initially awarded to Castres, the "county town" status was then transferred to Albi following the hasty departure of the State's representative one night when he thought that he was under threat from counter-revolutionaries. If the reality of that threat has still to be proved, it was a minor but nevertheless decisive episode in the development of the two cities. The fact that Albi became the county town led to an unequal development between the two cities. Today, Albi is unrivalled and Castres has slumped into economic and social atrophy.

Theorists of complexity, in particular the French author Yves Barel[7] have demonstrated that a complex system is composed of two dimensions: first the current dimension within the meaning of what has been updated, that which is seen and generally studied and, secondly, the potential dimension, that of the "*powers of being and action*" which are not updated, which are still at the stage of their potential. The potentialities of a territory as a complex system are an element that is difficult to apprehend; it is however essential to understand it, in order to influence it.

Finally, so as not to dwell too long on this idea, I will refer to only one other characteristic, which nonetheless is linked to the previous one. To describe it, I will quote the words used by the Belgian philosopher, Isabelle Stengers, in her introductory presentation to a colloquium simply entitled "*reinventing the city*". *Positioning herself from the point of view of complex systems, she evoked the writings of Deleuze and Guattari on the human brain as a comparison with the situation of the city. For the latter, it was impossible to acquire objective knowledge of the brain, because in this regard "penetrating is creating"*. In other words, "*reflecting on the brain does not mean understanding how it works, but understanding - thanks to new social or individual developments, new links with the outside world, new technical or chemical prosthetics - its capabilities*[8]".

She concluded that "*learning means learning with, creating links and systems which facilitate learning with the interested groups and not about them. This means learning from within a situation and not about the situation. That is to say succeeding in creating situations where learning has a double thrust: the stakeholders in a given situation apprehending their capacity, obliging town planners and other experts to learn with them, as part of them and through them*". This observation that a human system such as a territory cannot be understood solely from an outside point of view may seem obvious but I believe it is worth underlining it, as long as pretensions to objective knowledge continue to exist. It is not certain that our representations of territories have truly integrated this, given that the territorial institutions allow it and that both elected representatives and experts agree with it[9]. I will have the opportunity during my presentation to illustrate this essential point but I would like to close this short presentation by evoking a complex approach of territorial policies.

From governance to the complexity of territorial policies

The evolution of the term "governance" reveals that public action as regards territories has become less transparent, more vague. The term governance has two main consequences. It means first of all that the direction given is not the decision of the authorities alone but results from a system of interactions and interrelations between multiple stakeholders with different statuses (public, private, institutional and non -institutional) and levels (from communes to Europe). It then implies that an increased form of stakeholder autonomy comes into play, confirmed by the decentralisation and contractualisation of public policies.

The use of the term governance therefore translates a modus operandi of contemporary societies characterised at the same time by the multiplicity and diversity of the stakeholders and their relations and their ability to construct a certain order or a form of unity. It reflects the difficulties of acting in a hierarchical way and addressing these forms of joint construction of action and collective rules with concepts that are too marked by determinism and hierarchy, such as government. In many respects, it is part of a complex perspective but, without a substantial theoretical corpus, it is limited to a simple description of the processes in question. Which is why I prefer an analysis in terms of complexity.
I have particularly developed in my work two dimensions of public policies which could translate their ability to influence the systems which constitute territories[10]. These are the project dimension and the recursive dimension.

Although territories appear as a process, they are also projects, involving the grandeur and drama of human communities, with the goal of shaping the course of their history. Even if the term is today tarnished by excessive utilisation, it makes it possible, first, to express the global character of the action carried out which contrasts with the traditional sectorisation of public policies. In addition, it translates the evolutionary character of the system implemented which does not appear to a lesser extent in the plan. This raises the problem of the framework of this project, or precisely of these political projects. Undermined from both sides, from the top and the bottom, the State is struggling to embody a consistent and credible perspective. Decentralisation in France, as in many countries in the world, is simultaneously a cause and a consequence of this situation. But this appeal for infranational territories will obviously not be without problems. These include, among others, the need to reconstitute institutional perimeters in order to bring them more into line with economic and social movements, and the political legitimacy of these new bodies, which are institutionalised to differing degrees, such as in France, for example, inter-communal bodies and the "territorial sub-divisions". From a more general point of view, the question of the democratic capacity of the local authorities appears increasingly pertinent as voters desert polling booths except where voting is compulsory and prefer private affairs to public affairs. Bringing to mind past grandeurs, we could obviously urge the nation with a more or less combative rallying call to react to this decadence. However, whether that would suffice is not certain. We could also, in a more adventurous way but, from our point of view, more realistically, bank on a revitalisation of democracy starting at local level, where public decisions are directly related to everyday life and where responsibilities can be embodied more easily.

As we know, the experiences of participative democracy do not generally succeed in involving populations in defining public policies. The traditional mechanisms whereby a few leaders of opinion dominate the scene and the political indifference of populations are discouraging for the best intentioned elected representatives, while others accept this failure with differing degrees of cynicism. It appears, however, that many systems could be invented in this area by using the resources of the Internet[11] and that those of the participative model are still very much in limbo.

Nevertheless, the territorial authorities do not act in an identical way as regards projects. Some of them attempt to prepare products which result exclusively from their territory with a view to developing their potentialities and defending the identity, others are less successful[12]. These differences have several explanations and I will have the opportunity to specify them orally.

In the same way, it is possible to distinguish between public policies according to their level of "recursiveness". Several levels can be taken into consideration: the capacity of the local authorities to obtain information, their ability to adjust, that is to say modify the action carried out depending on the results obtained, their ability to adapt, that is to say to transform themselves by adapting structurally to situations and, finally, their ability to deal with unexpected situations. Once again we can draw lessons from complex systems regarding certain conditions necessary to acquire and implement these capacities by which local and regional authorities react to their environment.

This modest reflection is not intended at all to be exhaustive, I will therefore interrupt it here, but not without having concluded on a slightly lofty note as usual.

Evoking a concept formulated by Aristotle, E. Morin has spoken of the need, in his opinion, for "anthropolitics", in other words, a policy that puts human beings at the centre of its concerns. It is trivial, according to the sociologist Max Weber, to note that an approach of means has replaced that of results in developed societies. If all the levels of power must be involved in such a policy, its most suitable framework is, to a large extent, the local territorial level, that is to say where the most concrete solidarity is practised, where social relations are embodied in the concept of proximity. Of course, wide-ranging regulations remain necessary at larger, national, European and world levels. They require awareness of interdependencies, the development of democratic processes of world "governance" and the implementation of a multi-dimensional citizenship in which the decisions taken at every level take account of the solidarities necessary with the other levels. We are very far short of the target and this brings to mind the following words of Paul Valery: "*We need to be unaware of a lot of things to act!*".

Pascal ROGGERO

[1] J. Urry, Sociology Beyond Societies. Mobilities for the Twenty-first Century, London, Routledge, 2000, see also Global Complexity, Polity Press, Cambridge, 2003.

[2] M. Stock, "L'hypothèse de l'habiter poly-topique : pratiquer les lieux géographiques dans les sociétés à individus mobiles", EspacesTemps.net, Textuel, 26.02.2006, http://espacestemps.net/document1853.html.

[3] See, for example, R. Braidotti, Nomadic Subjects, New York, Columbia University Press, 1994.

[4] Thus, several studies on "sensitive" districts in Toulouse, have highlighted that their inhabitants have a positive perception of the territories which they have taken over.

[5] See for example A. Grandjean and J.-M. Lancovici, Le plein s'il vous plaît!, Seuil, Paris, 2006.

[6] N. Aveline, *La bulle foncière au Japon*, Paris, Adef, 1995 and V. Renard, "*Les dynamiques économiques des villes du XXIe siècle : dérive des marchés immobiliers et fragmentation urbaine*", Communication to the Academy of Moral and Political Sciences, the 25th of March 2002.

[7] Y. Barel, *Le paradoxe et le système. Essai sur l'imaginaire social*, PUG, Grenoble, 1977.

[8] "Réinventer la ville. Le choix de la complexité", Urbanités coloquium, 28 and 29 September 2000, Urbanités, Fondation 93, Saint-Denis, 2001.

[9] P. Roggero, *Sociologie des représentations du pouvoir local : l'Etat français et ses communes*, Presses de l'université laurentienne, Sudbury, 2006.

[10] P. Roggero, *De la complexité des politiques locales*, L'Harmattan, col. Pratiques de la systémique, Paris, 2005.

[11] M. Rocard, *La république 2.0, vers une société de la connaissance ouverte*, 5 April 2007, http://www.journaldunet.com/0704/070411-net-rapport-michel-rocard-propositions.shtml.

[12] I will develop this point but a concrete analysis can be found in P. Roggero, op. cit., 2005.

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Workshop 1

Urban diversity and territorial coherence

Urban diversity has evolved from an issue of spatial organisation to one of governance. The public stakeholders are adapting to the new realities. In addition to the need to monitor urban transformations, they must integrate the existence of new networks and the diversity of exchanges to improve in a sustainable way the fate of territories and individuals.

Workgroup 1.1

Chair : Jean-Louis GENARD
Speaker : Jacques DONZELOT

Workgroup 1.2

Chair : Hugues DUCHATEAU
Speaker : Alessandro BALDUCCI

Workgroup 1.3

Chair : Nicolas JOSCHKO
Speaker: Artur da ROSA PIRES

Urban diversity and territorial coherence

The concept of the urban population diversity, which is now very widely understood and currently found in public plans, revolves not only around concepts of the socio-economic and cultural organisation of space, but also towards a study of socio-spatial diversity in contemporary public policy. The socio-economic questions which support these concepts have caused 'mix/diversity' to evolve from a technocratic utopia of territorial organisation to an issue of governance. This development reveals the emergence of new models of public action in city management, in that multiple interests are factored in and diverging viewpoints refereed. Consequently the concept of the 'diversity' asks for the players to be mobilised to seek a balance and a coherence which ought to be the outcome of a complex tension. The complexity of the issues means that a more systemic approach must be adopted regarding space, focusing on the various levels of interdependence between territories which are increasingly specialised but increasingly connected. This means that the first working group will devote its attention to defining the nature of the diversity.

Several levels of interdependence are the characteristics of an innovative society; there is no doubt that these levels lead to power shifts in public authorities (and private ones, for that matter) and it will be expected of them, now and in the future, to adapt their modes of governance so that the complexity of the territory can be adequately factored in. To support their views of territorial development the public authorities are now equipped with observation tools and methods.

Even so, these provisions alone are not enough to tackle territorial complexity or fragmentation or to guarantee viability. Besides local diagnosis, efforts must also be made to factor in the phenomena which are associated with the accelerated creation of new extra-local networks, to understand the diversity of the players and the interchange they are involved in, both inside and outside the territory and to incorporate the multiplication of endogenous and exogenous elements which go hand in hand. The second working group will touch on the question of development of urban projects on the basis of territorial diagnosis.

The strategies and projects developed and the various operational objectives which the public authorities pursue to meet the challenges of a complex environment must also incorporate the complexity inherent in all systems of organisation. If governance is defined as a contribution to a sustainable improvement in services according to the concerned parties, it is also necessary to operate simultaneously at different levels (world, European, national or federal, regional, departmental or provincial, local, etc). It is also essential to incorporate the objectives and the range of instruments it needs to achieve reality.

Such integration cannot be achieved unless transparency, information feedback and interaction is achieved, the players in question are involved in the realisation of various objectives and projects of general interest, and various non-public players agree to take part in defining standards.

As far as transparency is concerned it is Indispensable that the project (self-)assessment procedure be established, and that the assessment of governance be accepted. This means that the territorial players involved must be given help to enable them to diagnose the situation and to evaluate the effects of their programmes and projects. This also presupposes the establishment of horizontal assessment tools between the programmes at the level of intervention zones and at the level of the territory. This new ability also calls for a balanced factoring in of the divergent opinions of the concerned parties. This common compromise is crucial for the achievement of territorial coherence. The third working group will tackle the challenge of participatory governance from the point of view of the creation of pluralist political procedures.

Chair of the workgroup

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Workgroup 1.1
Diversity! Yes, but what kind of diversity ?

Using the term diversity is considered as the key to successful town planning. Each authority claims that they adhere to this principle to justify their urban policies, in order to attract the middle classes back to the working class districts. However, in general, the strategies of each of them focuses solely on the built environment, improving property, making it jointly more attractive and accessible. Debate on how to promote and sustain this diversity over the long term over and above the success of the improvement of property.
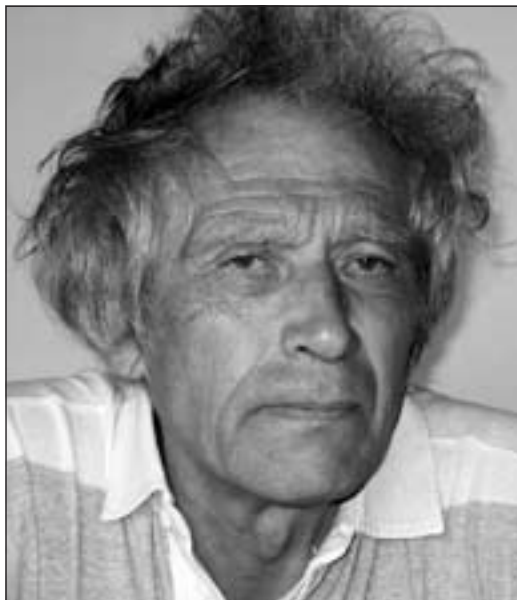
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Diversity, yes, but what kind of diversity?

When people talk about social diversity in the framework of European and particularly French cities they are implicitly referring to two sorts of problems. The first is that of the "flight" of the middle classes to communities on the periphery of the cities where they choose to live and where businesses frequently follow them as it depends on grey matter rather than the manual worker's muscle. The difficulty which this departure causes arises from the loss of a social category of residents who are important because of the part they play in the life of the city, the level of safety they imply and, frankly, the city's income because of the taxes they pay which benefit other municipalities or regions. The second problem consists of the concentration of poverty in districts which in the past were occupied by a mixture of working and middle class residents who are now replaced by ethnic minorities from the poor countries of the South and East. These migrants who came for jobs for which no qualifications were required, found themselves out of work when larege industries closed down. They now survive in an informal economy where ethnic businesses lie cheek-by-cheek with involvement in illicit trades, a scenario which gives these districts the air of a ghetto. They are therefore costly to the city because of the problems they cause in terms of delinquency and social dependence, not to mention the fact that they contribute nothing. And a final justification for the need for social diversity has recently appeared in policy discussions in the form of the gentrification phenomenon. This is certainly a kind of social diversity, because it consists of the injection of relatively well-off classes into what were working class areas.

However, the overall outcome would appear to be negative as far as the diversity is concerned, since it automatically leads to property price increases which raises the cost of cheaper housing required by the poorer section of the city population and in the end drives them out of the city. In the case of Brussels, almost as a caricature of the scenario described by the experts, it seems that the Belgian residents have left for distant residential areas and only come into the city to work, while the spaces they have left behind has been invaded partly by ethnic minorities, but also partly by people working for the European Commission.

The middle classes "flee", the minorities "stagnate" in the old centres, while the classes rising on the back of globalisation "chase away" the working classes: all the terms used to describe the spontaneous behaviour of the city residents are clearly pejorative in nature. They describe the malaise of the elite faced with the future of a city coming apart at the seams, or in any case, one witnessing the fading of the relatively ordered makeup of the city during the fist industrial era, that of the "glorious thirties", the three decades following World War II. At that time the residents organised themselves in as efficient a way as possible in the urban space close to the manufacturing, commercial and administrative zones. The social classes were bound together by the production facilities they shared, and while they may not have actually mingled, or at least not sustainably, they were at least sufficiently close to each other for the dream of upward social mobility to have its effect on the possibility of a clash or withdrawal.

Our current debate which celebrates social diversity and calls for its immediate return, reveals a nostalgia for the time when the unity of the city was based on the means of production, commerce and administration, when everybody could clearly perceive the interdependent relationship between themselves and everybody else. The types of accommodation varied according to income levels, but were linked by the convergent spatial mobility effect - people going to work - and their belief in the possibility of social advancement, which gave rise to "upward" residential mobility. This meant that the great carrousel of the city kept on turning without too many collisions or disasters. It is this urban world positively arranged in the direction of upward social mobility that is being longed for by the social diversity discourse, in its desire to return to the certainties which meant that the city kept its promise to its residents. We talk about social diversity because instead of upward social mobility we are more likely to witness a logic of separation, an inversion of the previous positive trends. However, while nostalgia alone can give rise to this desire, it is also, and above all, exacerbated by how hard it has become to imagine the future of the city, to manage the currents via a clear and positive perception in relation to this industrial world we have lost. The debate at present tends to be more reactive than proactive, condemning current trends rather than offering suggestions as to how they can be steered in ways which will manage them in a positive way.

The insistence on diversity can thus be seen as symbolising a healthy reaction to the danger of an idea of separation which would appear to take control of social behaviour, as well as a lack of sufficient objectivity in bringing together those who have been forced to separate. Everything happens as though all that was required was to oppose these spontaneous trends in order to recreate a lost and rather mythical harmony. We are well aware that this is not the case. We cannot pretend to contain the outward spread of the city in a limited framework without leaving ourselves open to the possibility that it will continue to still spread further out. The fact is that this arises from an irrefutable democratic logic. People cannot be prevented from voting with their feet if that is the way they feel, they will be more certain of the effect of the vote they cast with their hands. We can no longer be sure that urban renewal operations intended to improve the social composition of the old centres for the purpose of improving the lot of their residents, will not produce effects which are the opposite of what is intended. In Brussels as elsewhere it appears that urban renewal has principally exacerbated the problems of the poorer population to the advantage of those better placed classes to grab the available finance for rehabilitation, encouraging the gentrification which makes it difficult for the ethnic minorities to stay on in these zones, thus increasing their problems rather than solving them.

If it is impossible to put a stop to spontaneous trends without risking making them worse, then what can be done? A more modest approach would be more effective, whereby, instead of trying to insist on certain behaviour patterns, we try merely to influence them. In this respect the formula Michel Foucault used to designate the modus operandi of liberal government can be profitably restated.

According to him, what it does is "conduct behaviour (conduct)" by influencing it and not by striving to direct it. But this kind of action, at a distance, affecting the behaviour of the individual by playing a positive and negative encouragement game, means that the individual must be clearly understood. The scenario which wishes to impose social diversity is an aspect of technocratic voluntarism which enjoyed a high level of credibility at a time when the State was in a position to claim that it was managing local areas for the general interest, organising urban spaces to attract industry and positioning the producers and their homes in the most functional way possible But those days are over. Nowadays the city is no longer a focus for production but a locus for consumption, the consumption of services of all kinds. This attracts both companies and individuals. Companies are attracted because in the city they find a high concentration of legal, banking and consultancy services. Individuals come because those who serve companies also need people to serve them in turn. (cf Saskia Sassen). And the individuals in their own turn attract personal services. The city is attractive because it represents a whole range of advantages. The outcome of these advantages is that a lot of people come who are not entirely clear in advance of the profit they will gain but who want to find out how they will benefit on the spot. The result is a certain level of disorder and attitudes which inspire mistrust instead of a clear understanding of the behaviour of each individual to be found in the city of functional city life in which people's dress, vehicles and movements reveal their roles and the codes to be used to address them. This new unease is the main problem of cities in the post-industrial economy. It is expressed in rising rates of delinquency and falling standards of manners. It explains the tendency of certain social classes to flee the city for the outer suburbs. So what exactly is the attraction of the city and its sought-after competitiveness?

The advantages have to be greater than the disadvantages. As Edward Glaeser says, it was from the moment when the level of delinquency fell in large American cities that a return at a certain level of the middle classes began to be observed.[1]

If what we want to do is "conduct behaviour" with a view to upgrading the advantages of the city and reducing its disadvantages in a way which will be fair to all parties involved, we are in a position to outline a less imperious form of social diversity which makes visiting the city, using its services and the opportunities it has to offer easier. This will be a concept which balances the negative behaviour patterns - the "flight" to the suburbs, the "ghettoisation" of minorities, and gentrification - against the relationships which the categories concerned set up in respect of their contributions to the city's pluses and minuses, including those which they themselves are seeking. The outer-suburbanites are fleeing from the city's disadvantages, particularly as regards safety, but are acting as though they gained nothing from it in terms of employment. The inner city minorities suffer from limited access to the city's advantages in terms of employment, but increase its disadvantages as regards safety because of their tendency to lean towards illicit trading. The gentrified population are keen on the city's advantages as a leisure amenity and object to the disadvantages which in this case is the presence of the poor who are the reason for their continued departure. Since social diversity depends on mobility, and mobility on removing the barriers between the classes resulting from the current logic of separation, there is really no way to support the diversity other than by encouraging all parties to contribute to a process of improving the quality of the city.

If the aim is to have people moving and mixing without fear rather than fleeing and withdrawing, the first requirement is to build a community which is sufficiently united and open for movements within it. In practical terms this means negotiating the costs of centralism with the suburbs where the outer-suburbanites have fled to escape the disadvantages, while still enjoying the advantages. They are by no means residents of the City Centre. But they are users of it, and in a way, citizens of it. If they are forced to contribute to these costs, via the suburb where they live, they will perforce become more demanding, less likely to behave like fugitives and more like participants. The same pragmatic reasoning could lead to the establishment of a dialogue which might illuminate some of the misunderstandings which exist between the local authorities and the working class districts (the ethnic minorities). These people have arrived in the city attracted by the prospect of advantages as regards access to jobs, which they have failed to find. Which means that they are all the more likely to adopt behaviour patterns which render the city less attractive. Is there any way of changing this situation other than that of making specific efforts on behalf of these residents as regards jobs, by setting up workshops in these districts, by facilitating access to employment outside... and demonstrating the value of this policy to their representatives so that they make a determined commitment to controlling the illegal activities which are damaging to the entire city? The group which benefits from urban renewal is mainly the gentrification section, while the less well-heeled residents are remorselessly driven from their localities. The best way to avoid this unintentional effect is to build community housing.

This phenomenon is well known in Paris, where the only districts experiencing gentrification where the poor have been able to remain, were those where there was a large proportion of community housing which saved them from being chased from the *arrondissement* (the 19th and 20th *arrondissements,* in fact). This kind of policy does not fit in with the scope and ambition of the engineers who dream of making a clean sweep in order to rebuild the city in keeping with the republican ideal. The advantage, however, is this: it is much better to make the city into a whole, hesitantly and endlessly renegotiated, but living, rather a "grand unit" condemned to demolition.

Jacques DONZELOT

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[1]   *Urban resurgence and the consumer city*, Harvard 2006

Workgroup discussions will concentrate on the possibilities of influencing:

➤   the middle classes in the urban periphery zones

➤   the ethnic minorities in the old centre

➤   the gentrifiers who are invading these areas

And in particular:

➤   Is it possible to force the middle classes who have "fled" from the City to the outer areas to contribute to the costs of the centre and thus take responsibility for the future of the city?

➤   The minorities tend to be unemployed and penalise the city by sometimes participating in illegal activities: to what extent is it possible to persuade their representatives to take responsibility at a safety level by demonstrating the efforts being made as regards jobs?

➤   If the intention is that renovation benefits the poor city residents rather than driving them away, shouldn't community housing be built for them at the same time?

➤   Could we not imagine building an urban community via effective negotiation rather than vague chit-chat whereby urban diversity stands for a policy of methodical replacement of the poor by the middle classes?

Chair of the workgroup

Hugues DUCHATEAU,

Managing Director of Stratec s.a

Workgroup 1.2
From territorial observation phase to the development of projects

Merely possessing tools and methods for territorial observation is not enough in itself to grasp urban complexity.
To optimise the "habitability" of the space means that the development of the territory must be understood not only
in its global nature, but also in the adaptation of the tools and instruments to be used in its development.
An instigated (or launched) debate based on the Milan Province case.

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This paper presents a series of reflections on changes in the city inspired by the example of Milan.

I intend to show how the extent and speed of urban transformation is prompting us to explore new instruments in creating projects which we can interpret and use to direct this change. I shall address two points:
1. Observation of territorial change: physical and socio-economic factors
2. The experience of the strategic project of the province of Milan, taken as an impetus to discuss the need for exploring new intervention instruments.

Observation of territorial change: physical and socio-economic factors

Cities have once again become the driving factors of development, after a phase when it seemed that suburban areas had a leading role.

Until the end of the 1970s it was thought that the city crisis was irreversible because of the industrial decline and the spreading of new information technologies. But in fact, it has not been so. While new technologies encourage decentralisation, they also encourage network control operations in the cities.

Observing the physical city

But the city which has emerged from this deep transformation process, which has allowed the transition of a predominantly material economy to a non material one, is a social, economic and spatial phenomenon. This is completely different from what we were used to calling a city up to the end of the twentieth century.

What happened, starting from the 70's was not just a simple expansion of the central city, an extension of urbanisation from the centre to the furthest suburb. The contemporary city is fashioned from discontinuities.

The change happening in the city is impacting the whole world. In Europe, where almost 80% of the population lives in urban environments, the situation is different again: a dense city network has ossified a population redistribution process which after the large internal migrations, has given rise to a variety of urban situations (Secchi 2003): from the large high density city regions such as London, Paris and Berlin, to the widespread low density city regions of Veneto or Belgium, to the combination of the two models giving rise to what Peter Hall (Hall and Pain 2006) calls *mega-city-regions*, in the North and South of Great Britain, the region between Brussels and Amsterdam, in the Ruhr and in the Lombard Plain: the mega-city-region of Milan extending from Turin to Venice. This is a development which on the European scale identifies an urban core (according to ESPON) in a pentagon with corners at Paris, London, Hamburg, Munich and Milan which encompasses 14% of the European territory, 32% of the population and which produces 47% of the GDP.

These images of an extension of the urban phenomenon describing a transition from city to metropolis, to urban region to *mega city-region* up to a city taking over the central part of Europe indicate at the same time the need to assume a new prospective in considering the nature and limits of the city, and also the need to find new intermediate stages to govern the growth processes.

In fact if we look closely at an urban region a series of territorial phenomena clearly emerge which we have to interpret with new keys.
Let us look at Milan in two satellite images, from 1972 and 2001.

In the 1972 image (Fig. 1) a compact urban structure developed along radial lines, particularly to the North, is still recognisable. A series of centres is recognisable in a ring at 15-20 Km from Milan making up second order aggregation centres in a typically Christallerian scheme. The main towns of the confining provinces are clearly visible.

The 2001 situation is very different (Fig. 2). The central area of Milan in the 2001 image no longer has continuity with many of the Communes in the first and second rings, and with them forms a single dense urban formation. A wider view shows quite clearly that other different "urban formations" appear as a result of the densification of the urbanisation aggregating groups of communes that used to be completely separate (Brianza is a typical example). These are interconnected urban formations, with their own shape, centres, settlement principles which all together characterise that territory which can no longer be defined as a "metropolitan area".
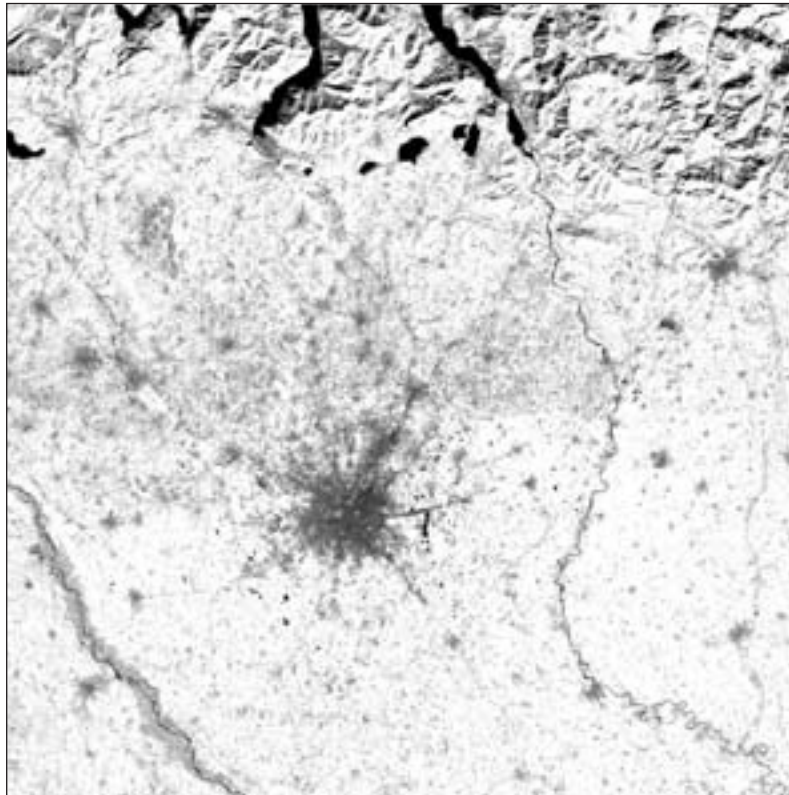
Fig. 1 Satellite image 1972
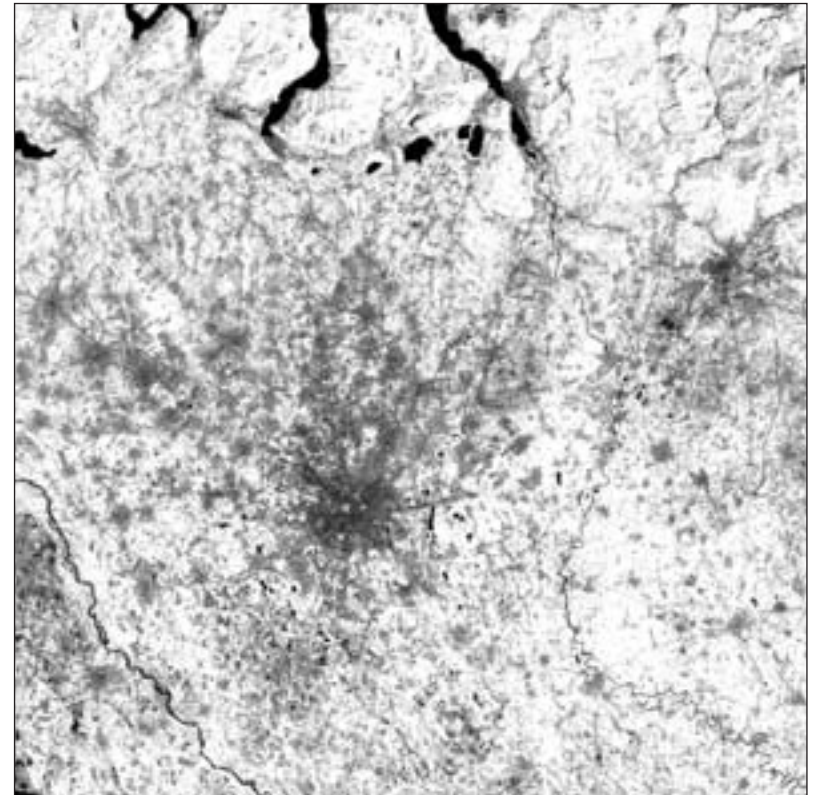*(source : Global Land Cover Facility)*

Fig. 2 Satellite image 2001
(source : Global Land Cover Facility)

From the observation of the physical transformations we can understand that the "Milan urban region" extends across the administrative confines of the provinces and regions (OECD 2006). It is an area including up to 10 provinces with almost 8 million inhabitants and 700,000 businesses: Milan, Lodi, Piacenza, Pavia, Novara, Varese, Lecco, Como and Bergamo. They belong to three different regions and we can also say that the urban region extends over two different nations if we consider the fact, that the area of Lugano in Switzerland can be legitimately described as part of the Milan territory. This is an area exisitng in a very integrated way because of the development of communication systems and it is also the outcome of these fragmented growth processes which have crossed urban societies.

Observing socio economic processes cause and effect of city transformations

To understand the reasons behind these spatial exploits we must look at the city from a point of view of society as Henri Lefebvre suggests - "the city is society traced on the ground." I feel we can categorize this view starting from three images, *movement, fragmentation and network connection.*

Movement. The territorial configuration of the city that we see in maps is firstly the outcome of growing population mobility.

In the last thirty years, Milan has lost almost a third of its population (480,000 inhabitants), less than in 1951, right after the war and before the large migrations. This population has relocated in the Province of Milan and in other adjacent provinces (in particular those in the strip of Piedmont).

The causes of the decentralisation are well known: A very strained urban housing market and the continued development of private motor transport which enabled people to reach more distant places effortlessly.

The new city has produced perverse effects from this point of view: the population has moved away to find more accessible housing and has added travel time and costs to its urban income. This process has dragged productive and commercial activities with it. These are also tied to road transport which now presents itself as a dramatic traffic congestion problem with high levels of air pollution and land consumption.

The decline in the resident population of the central city has been offset by the growth in the foreign population which has come to make up over 10% of the Milanese capital, 132,676 in 2001 according to the Municipality of Milan (the decline would have been even more drastic without this).

Demographic dynamics have taken the young population out of the central city, leaving behind an elderly population which was over 20% of all inhabitants in 2001, one of the highest levels in European cities (Assolombarda 2005).

This loss was compensated by an increase in population using the city temporarily or on a daily basis. Each day 700,000 to 900,000 vehicles enter Milan for different reasons. 320,000 people daily use only Milan's central station. 512 million people used the ATM network in 2002 and 51 million used the Ferrovie Nord. 30 million passengers go through the Milan airports of Linate, Malpensa and Orio al Serio compared with 15 million ten years ago.

The Meglio Milano survey showed that 176,000 students enrolled in Milan universities in 2003/4, only 34,800 of these were from Milan, 43,250 were from other places and 97,800 commuted. There are 350,000 patients in Milan hospitals each year.
Flows are not just of people but also of goods and information (Castells 2002).

Fragmentation. The shape of the city we have seen on the map is made up of fragments which reflect a process which has been taking place widely across society.

In the economic sphere, the crisis in heavy industry has splintered the production structure: now there are 370,000 companies in the Province of Milan, 65% more than in 1981. One company per ten inhabitants.

In the social sphere, the strong selective redistribution movement of the population has fragmented traditional family and neighbourhood networks with a series of consequences:
The neighbourhood, the village in the extended city are losing their strong spatial reference which structures identity and appearance, the active population travels through the space, living in one place, working in several others, studying elsewhere whilst looking for places for shopping and leisure in yet other parts of the urban region.

There are also polarisation processes which are more typical of global cities (Sassen 1997) which break the pre-existing social equilibriums between emerging classes with high incomes, and marginal populations frequently made up of immigrants doing unqualified service jobs.

In the political and administrative sphere the fragmentation process can be seen in the crisis of the party system as in other locally based associations, such as culture circles and parishes. The expansion of the public sector has been accompanied by the proliferation of subjects and administrative units (Dente 1985) who have confronted the problems posed by the different parts of society with an approach involving increasing specialisation.

Thus, faced with territorial processes and more interconnected phenomena on the level of the whole urban region, more people are able to take decisions in increasingly smaller areas.

Building networks. Confronted with fragmentation processes some networks connect parts of the extended city suggesting new forms of aggregation and sociality which are not tied to a geographical area. While places become less important, "sites" where people can meet thanks to the development of electronic and physical communication constitute "remote communities" (Amin and Thrift 2005). Thus while neighbourhood relationships are weakening, associative networks based on common interests are developing. These produce a lightweight sociality which involves less obligation, but is not for this less important. Groups of young people brought together by an interest in a certain type of music, or other passions, or for a specific sport, networks bringing together interests and protests as in the case of critical mass; networks of populations creating a living space even though they originate from considerable distances.

Professional, cultural networks, networks of radio programme listeners, networks linked to interests in food, animals, alternative medicines, family or friendship networks keeping together populations now dispersed in the urban area, networks of populations belonging to different ethnic groups who meet on set days of the week or on the basis of a password. All these groups are characterised by keeping up stable relationships through communication systems and being in places other than the urban region.

In conclusion, from the observation of the physical city and its socio-economic determinants we can see a process of extension of the territorial city which crosses boundaries and redefines the role of its central core. This assumes even more the characteristics of a platform hosting citizens and temporary inhabitants coming together for reasons of work, tourism, study, leisure, and often suppresses the city of the residents.

City of Cities strategic project

This is the context in which the Province of Milan has asked our scientific support for making a "*Strategic project for the Milan urban region.*" We felt it was important to make use of the thought which from the immediate post war years characterised the attempts to give order and form to an impetuous process of development. Aware that it has never been possible to guide the growth of this area only with tools of scientific analysis and observation which can be converted into a binding plan, because of the irreducible pluralism of the decision makers (Balducci 2005). In this long history it has been the proposal of ideas, descriptions, generative visions and projects which can stimulate people to take effective decisions.

Thus the strategic project sees the main obstacle to the development of the urban region as a threatened livability, a *habitability* problem of the city which for the first time in the history of human development concerns citizens and businesses at the same time. Not just because production does not have to take place in functionally and technically separate places, but above all because the development of the economy needs the city "*as a place for accumulating creative capital, a complex system of interactions between companies, risk capital services, media, informal economies, private and public institutions, artists' communities, associations, social networks, the diffusion of know-how, cultures*" (Dematteis 2005).

The strategic project therefore centres on the habitability theme as a strategy grafted onto the needs of a population which wishes to re-experience the city as a cohesive, welcoming, friendly and stimulating environment, and the needs of new companies wanting to develop in a context in which localisation factors tend to approach the needs expressed by the population.

We have set out the habitability theme in six different ways: find a stable or temporarily home, move freely and at the same time breathe, share new public spaces, create and enjoy culture, promote new local welfare, innovate and build enterprise.

To act in the context of habitability, we believe it is necessary to look at the processes of territorialisation and re-territorialisation which affect the heart of the urban region: On one hand the emergence of "practice communities" (Amine and Thrift 2005), populations relating to each other through new network connections without being rooted in a specific territory: Students, immigrants, commuters, all those remote communities who challenge the traditional relationship between territorial policies and groups which people adhere to. New territorial rooting processes which can no longer accept the commune as the only reference point, but rather on a wider and potentially more significant scale.

From this point of view the structure of the "City of cities" is an essential part of a description being orientated to the project.

To find interpretive images that give a key to this cooperation in the heart of the Urban Region, we need to look at Brianza, Alto Milandes, North Milan and Adda Martesana. These conurbations which are found on the maps are not just densifications of urban space. They are rich histories of cooperation between communes linked together in this period to confront problems which overcame commune limits, from the protection of the environment to the management of complementary services. In this sense they are cities. Milan city of cities, is an image that can help public, private and third sector parties to work in the context of greater habitability.

With these objectives the Province has thought of trying new means of constructing a strategic project in a different direction to those of the better known strategic plans.

Emphasis on the project, rather than the plan means to underline hierarchically the distance regarding each control and coordination of the actions set out.

The project is broken down into a series of steps that together are designed to activate a strategic planning process but only allude to the plan as a replete of progress and outcome.

The begining of the project is represented by the *Strategic Document* entitled "*City of cities, a strategic project for the Milan urban region*" (Provincia 2006) presented in a public initiative in February 2006: A sort of white paper on the themes of change in the urban region, rich in data and information which launches the theme of habitability and present vision and strategy.

The second move was to initiate a *call for project ideas and good practices* which can contribute to the improvement of habitability in the Milan urban region. The idea was borrowed from a noted European experience, that of Iba Emsher Park, which as a planning strategy used the innovative idea of a planning competition, through which a series of plans were selected and then guided to realisation. Also in our case, we received a huge response from Milanese society: Foundations, universities, individual or joint communes, private individuals and the tertiary sector participated. We received 259 definitive proposals between good practices and project ideas which covered all the facets of habitability indicated above and showed a local company which was not only rich and lively but also wanting to enter into a relationship with institutions in order to confront relevant public programmes.

The third move was the conception of an *Atlas of policies and projects for habitability in the Province of Milan*, the result of dialogue with the 14 assessors, delegated advisors and their managers. This is an operation of self reflection and the sharing of internal information, and with showing the presentation externally, it demonstrates just how much the Province is already doing and that it can build another network of projects and policies for habitability which interface with the network of projects of the announcement.

The fourth move is the launch of a *limited number of pilot projects* which are destined to intervene in particularly relevant areas such as the realisation of a peri-urban woodland and the trying out of innovative policies for housing access, or a project for requalifying production spaces.

The fifth and last move is a *triennial Milan exhibition*, held in May - July 2007 providing information on the changes to Milan to a wider public audience and in which the initiatives of the "City Theatre" are developed, a place of comparison between participants in the urban region in order to construct, not just metaphorically, an arena in which people can meet and discuss the future of the city.

As may be seen, this is a course that attempts to construct a new relationship between observation, project and action confronted with the complexity of urban contexts, I am presenting this to stimulate thought.

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debate

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Workgroup discussions will concentrate on :

➤ The changes in the city :

■ What changes in the physical dimension of the city can we observe today?

■ What are the determinants of these changes looking at socio-economic aspects?

■ How the is existing system of local and supra-local power challenged by these changes?

➤ City image and level :

■ If we want to appropriately describe significant borders of a contemporary city what kind of images must I use: city, metropolitan area, urban region, mega city-region?

➤ Management tools and instruments in the service of a strategy :

■ What kind of tools can we use to govern the relevant phenomena – environmental protection, economic development, social cohesion etc- which affect contemporary cities ?

■ Is the example of the Province of Milan stimulating our search for new instruments to deploy an effective strategy for the contemporary city ?

Chair of the workgroup

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Workgroup 1.3
Participative Governance :
The challenge of Pluralistic Policy Making Processes

Focusing on the challenges of creating a shared guidance vision amongst the various actors in a (territorial) community is the main issue of participative governance. The idea is to present and critically analyse a carefully thought-out methodological approach for the purpose of building a pluralistic strategy process. Then, to futher explore the necessary requirements to consolidate a strong and efficient policy delivery system.

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Participative Governance : The challenge of Pluralistic Policy Making Processes

Introduction

The new generation of urban (and indeed, spatial) development policies poses new questions and challenges. Indeed, it is often overlooked that one is facing not only the reshaping of the policy agenda, bringing new issues to the forefront of public policy attention, but also a significant reconfiguration of policy making routines.

One of the most prominent dimensions of the new approaches to policy planning is its pluralistic character. In other words, in the face of growing globalisation processes, the local level (re)gains relevance, in terms of its ability to constitute a "*viable base for social mobilisation*" (Cooke, 1989) in an attempt to effectively influence global forces which play an increasing role in shaping the future of localities. Mobilising different interests and agents of change, providing coherent and focussed strategies and stimulating policy-based action programmes are now recognised as fundamental ingredients for enhancing the capacity of local and regional communities to attempt to influence their own development trajectories in contemporary society.

One of the biggest challenges of this new approach to policy planning is bringing together different people and organisations, with different agendas and views of the world, with compartmentalised operational behaviour and, often, with historically rooted resentment and/or mistrust in each other. Spatial strategic planning provides policy makers with valuable tools which may be extremely useful in overcoming the barriers that such an approach will inevitably have to face. This paper is an experience-based presentation, largely focussed on the lessons learnt through the actual preparation of strategic spatial plans for some Portuguese municipalities with scarce experience of pluralistic policy making processes. It will start with a detailed explanation and a critical analysis of the achievements (as well as the under-achievements) of a theory-led and purposefully designed methodology. Secondly, it will address the rather well know concern to the "*implementation gap*", exploring some causes and/or difficulties which may be related with the proposed methodology. Finally, the paper will also discuss, although under a more speculative stance, the challenge of embedding and sustaining over time the new policy making routines.

The issues to be discussed

To develop a shared vision or... a common understanding of the situation.

It is often referred to in relevant literature that the first major challenge in pluralistic policy making processes is to develop a shared vision on the future of the locality among different actors. This is a basic requirement to overcome the diversity of visions which characterises a fragmented community, and the consequent diversity of, and often competing, opinions about policy priorities and adequate actions. The methodology that will be presented, although subscribing unequivocally the need for a shared (and innovative) long term vision, presented as first major challenge the capacity to establish a common and informed understanding of the current situation and its dynamic of change. This involves in fact a triple challenge. Firstly, it means to be able to lead the different (local) actors to engage in a learning dialogue and to develop empathy to each other's perspectives, something that often is far from being an easy task and certainly requires purposefully designed public partici-

pation exercises. A second concern is helping local actors to see the current situation in the light of global circumstances. Again, this is often a difficult task because many of the participating actors tend to see this global framing as something rather remote and/or uncertain and, as such, with a low level of relevance for the issues under dispute at local level. The sound (and early) preparation of the professional team on key policy issues will then be crucial for the success of these efforts. A third challenge is to create the conditions for the local actors to reinterpret their own perception of the development potential of its own area, by uncovering "*resources and abilities that are hidden, scattered or badly utilized*" (Hirschman, 1958) and so, conditionally available to be mobilised (Morgan and Henderson, 2002). Again, the role of the professional team supporting the policy planning process will be crucial for the success of this objective. In other words, the aims of engaging stakeholders and of public participation initiatives go far beyond reaching agreements among stakeholders with different backgrounds and policy agendas.

From strategy to implementation... or the co-evolution between strategy and development.

A step further in (spatial) strategic planning, once a long term vision has been developed, is to design a strategy to reach the agreed vision. Indeed, this is a rather demanding task, namely because one is often dealing with completely new perspectives, at least as far as the local situation is concerned. The focus is then on how to approach issues from a innovative perspective, articulating emerging and sometimes controversial new development concepts with the specificities of the local characteristics, supported by sometime rather vague guidance from broader policy ori-

entations. The anticipated difficulties in translating strategy into action tend to lead the professional team to strengthen the perfectionism of the strategy and the detailed phasing of the sequence of implementation steps. Many argue that this approach is rather inadequate under conditions of pluralistic policy making and rapidly changing policy environments (e.g. Sotarauta and Srinivas, 2005). Several inter-related and partially overlapping arguments can be recalled for this purpose. The first stresses that a broad consensus on ideas and development directions does not necessarily mean the active mobilisation of the key agents of change around specific policy issues - and, indeed, there are crucial methodological implications from accepting such a statement. A second argument underlines the fact that the understandable enthusiasm with the hardly-fought-for new policy agenda may underestimate the weight and relevance of the "existing" agenda, which indeed cannot be discarded and does not become an "old" agenda automatically and immediately after the completion of the strategic planning process. The competing demands on (scarce) resources from different policy priorities as well as the inevitable institutional inertia clearly signals the inadequacy of considering implementation a straightforward process. A third argument, which Sotarauta and Srinivas (2005) clearly put forward is based on the simple assertion that "*organizations need time to experiment and learn*". So, instead of focussing on the perfectionist perspective of strategy design, Sotarauta advocates that coherent policy initiatives must be set in motion, articulated with purposefully designed learning mechanisms. Through the learning process, organizations will develop higher levels of policy commitment and gradually adjust institutional resources to policy requirements. In this sense, local development and local public policy will co-evolve towards the reduction of the strategy-implementation gap. Again, there are rather significant methodological implications that can be derived from accepting this argument.

From one-off policy design initiative to sustained pluralistic policy making processes.

On a rather more speculative tone, the presentation will also address the issue of institutional sustainability of pluralistic policy making processes. In fact, the challenges of spatial development policy in contemporary society do not derive exclusively from the need to explore new ideas and to strengthen the knowledge basis to support policy design. A further crucial development is that the very nature of the policy planning and delivery processes is changing. As Sotarauta (2007) puts it, there is a crucial change from "*a straightforward process: from policy design to decision making and, finally, to implementation... [towards] ... policy as a multiagent, multiobjective, multivision and pluralistic process ... shaped continuously in close cooperation with various parties...*". The point being made is that such change will require (existing) organisations to engage in completely new set of relationships and new type of initiatives, requiring different behavioural patterns, administrative procedures, professional attitudes, etc. Consequently, one is also speaking about new skills and competences and, most likely, new intra-organisational requirements. Or, invoking again Sotarauta, there is a need to "recreate" institutions and, we would add, there is a need to recreate *simultaneously* a relatively wide set of institutions in order to effectively support the desired cooperative endeavours. That requires network leadership (as opposed to hierarchical leadership) and that is why human agency is back at the central stage of urban (spatial) development policy.

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Workgroup discussions will concentrate on the following questions:

➢ How do we overcome the backlog in implementing pluralist decisions in the procedures, and then ensure that they are sustainable?

➢ How do we set up a constructive dialogue, take the differing points of view on board and then elucidate a shared vision from them?

➢ How can we reconcile "overall framework" and "local level" in the establishment of a shared vision?

➢ How can the various partners establish strategy and the development of the strategy at the same time?

➢ How can the new concepts of emerging, sometimes controversial, developments be reconciled with the specific nature of a local area and/or the relevance of the former strategies?

Workshop 2

Territorial discrimination

Globalisation intensifies and encourages territories to enhance their performances. It is important to support the latter while guaranteeing social equity, by ensuring that divergent interests can be taken in to account, by arbitrating between the parties and mastering decision-making processes and finally by developing quality standards for major urban projects.

Workgroup 2.1

Chair : Michaël VAN CUTSEM,
Speaker : Philippe HERBAUX

Workgroup 2.2

Chair : Bruno VINIKAS
Speaker : Frank HENDRIKS

Workgroup 2.3

Chair : Joachim DECLERCK
Speaker : Josep ACEBILLO

Territorial discrimination

The concept of territorial discrimination shows that contrasting development has been observed between prosperous territories and territories in difficulty. The concept also shows the quest for a balance to be sought via positive discrimination procedures. This re-balancing is seen in direct actions, support for initiatives or possibly in fiscal measures in Zones at risk. Territorialised sector-based policy and the development policy of the sector, focuses on zones seen as problematic on the basis of a reasoning which states that the need of economic, social and cultural recovery is crucial. These policies also call for actions which are specific to certain classes of players and citizens while seeking to reassure them. They also point out the need for urban repair actions (rehabilitating former industrial sites).

In order to protect them against a destabilised and destabilising society, local players, with the local population in mind, strive to set up an environment which protects the residents from the risk of "violence". These same local players are being asked at the same time to tackle territorial competition. They are therefore also required to mobilise human and technological resources and to streamline the way they perform. This requires genuine governance for the territory, which stongly calls for an organisation culture revolution, turning the local environment into a "learning" territory and developing territorial intelligence, while ensuring that there is a balance between democracy and policy control.

Organising territorial development in the framework of a globalised economy is achieved through information. Local decision makers, elected representatives or the heads of organisations, sometimes have difficulties in dealing with this exponential information flow. Consequently they find it had to take a major part in political, economic or social analysis. Access to information, for and by territorial players, is important. In a context in which shared territorial information is non-existent, we often have to be contented with suppositions where reliability cannot be verified, the future becomes uncertain.

The compartmentalised approach accepted by each player must be changed for a systemic and shared perspective. This sharing approach means that information becomes the substrate of a joint project, created and shared by all the players involved in these common communication processes. Because it has the power to render all signs and hints common, territorial intelligence is in a position to become a tool which will foreshadow the "fractures", which affect the territory and can thus factor in developments in communication flows, in order to better serve the model which the players intend to promote. By transforming the management of individual knowledge into the management of collective knowledge, territorial intelligence gives rise to new research pathways which help identify the new contours of the complexity of the territory. Territorial intelligence will be tackled by working group 2.1.

The basis of urban governance rests uneasy balanced between respect for democracy (which we should not forget is fundamentally egalitarian) and the mobilisation of the territory against the encroachment of the inequalities which arise from increased competition in economic and financial terms, but also in terms of social and cultural competition ("gentrification", new elites). Territorial mobilisation and the interactions it implies with the players on the ground, the parties involved, the participants or partners, cannot lead to a situation of incoherence or the absence of principles. It should not encourage rigidity. On the contrary, what is needed is that the players dare to innovate democratic procedures while placing themselves in the centre of the tension by adopting a flexible and coherent attitude which preserves the basic principles clearly agreed to. Flanked by the tendencies of governance to be in control and to become bogged down, the public service should be able to ensure that interests are arbitrated and that such arbitration is respected. It should also be able to ensure that the decision-making procedures are controlled in a context of management of exchanges. This theme will form the subject to be approached by working group 2.2

Urban quality is often reduced to a formal dimension in which, in a context of territorial complexity, all points of view must be brought into line before a project is launched so that it can attain its objective, ie, to facilitate the reduction of inequalities while seeking an overall positive effect for the various strata of society. The theme of high quality urban projects, seen as a specific rather than a generic procedure, will be dealt with by working group 2.3.

Chair of the workgroup

Michaël VAN CUTSEM,
Director of research at the Destree Institute
Head of the Foresight Unit

Workgroup 2.1
Territorial intelligence for a learning territory

Tackling territorial competition by mobilising all the players and by upgrading the level of their performance is a real challenge. Using "territorial intelligence" as a springboard, information must be processed in a mutual fashion, stepping outside the closed doors of the sectors, with the aim of sustainable development. It will then be possible to upgrade the performances of weakened sections and may contribute to social cohesiveness.

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Territorial Intelligence - Anticipating Fractures

In both the North and the South, it is now considered acceptable that globalisation should take into account the "local" situation and that people should take responsibility for their own development. This conference entitled "The City of Tomorrow" organised by the Brussels-Capital Region could turn out to be an example of this.

However, even if the experience gained over the past twenty years has given rise to ways of tackling development scenarios, such localised attempts are still struggling to operate within a regional, sustainable dynamic. We know how to design analysis tools for decentralised management and how to work out regulatory and legislative frameworks, but we are having difficulties in successfully generalising sustainable dynamics and in including them into the practices adopted by the residents and institutions. Endogenous territorial innovation feeds on internal signals such as information currents originating externally. If the Middle Ages time line was sufficient to allow a steady assimilation of rumour and information, the current context considerably changes its perspective. What is needed to amend a decision is not an accumulation of information point by point but the capture of a "torrent" of data which must be continuously processed so that danger can be avoided in time and any available opportunity seized.

As with large corporations, the direction taken by a territory, will in the near future be better orientated in a relationship with competitive forces wherein information processing will be essential. If the cultural changes associated with ICT (Information and Communication Technologies) still lie at the research stage, the new forms of indirect confrontation which are the outcome of this technological development remain poorly identified by the players within the territory. For example, the increasing rate of relocation and globalisation is forcing local inhabitants to investigate projects of a predominantly cultural and tourism-oriented nature, in the hope of seizing some income from a population of well-heeled nomads. The project's originality becomes exhausted in the replication of theme parks and "culture trails". The fact that they lose their impetus is not due to just technical matters but to the sad encroachment of projects which end up in competition with each other.

The territory has got to operate on several fronts : it should hold on to what it has achieved, while at the same time if possible, continue to work on those achievements by reducing risks and possible fractures. In order to obtain this, a development of information processing must be predicted : what is required is the promotion and support of a genuine mutual exchange of information by the citizens as part of a process known as territorial intelligence.

Introduction

Maslow tells us that people gather together because they need security, and society is the locus of their gathering ; but the security-type aspects of society are tending to dwindle away (uncertainty about the future, the environment, unemployment, etc). Society is no longer offering a *deal* as far as security is concerned ; on the one hand a feeling that commitment is asymmetrical is to be found (what I owe the territory and what the territory offers me) and on the other hand, which we could call generous, *the duties of the citizen and a degree of dilution of his rights are constant (La dissociété, 2006).* The fact is that if we are taught a collection of certainties, we are more often than not left in the ignorance that arises from uncertainty. Globalisation and the myths attached to it reinforce these observations ; whole sections of our society are increasingly bound by these restrictions. As the UK Chancellor of the Exchequer somewhat cynically pointed out, globalisation has meant that the machinery of Europe has become somewhat obsolete : *"for some decades we have held to the belief that the nations of Europe were set to move from national economic integration to European economic integration, from national capital flow to European capital flow and from national companies to European companies. But now, we are seeing arrangements worldwide rather than Europe-wide".*

Within the confines of the territory, information is very often "insignificant"; it is a sometimes versatile datum which fades away *"to become converted into a sign, a clue or a symbol"* says Barthes (1970). Most frequently it spreads through the radio, newspapers and the internet as it imposes on us the truths it claims, while very often blinding us to the rumours it broadcasts. In their efforts to nourish political, economic or social analysis, the local decision makers experience some difficulties in dealing with this exponential flow of information. In the counsel of others we all seek the timely warning of the storm to come, while striving at the same time to play the fortune-teller in the face of a complex and uncertain future.

This means that in addition to those aspects which might be thought paramount, (social, economy, employment), rampant epidemics now appear, bringing with them invading pollution which leads to the neighbouring territories being required to demand preservation and risk-restricting measures from the territory responsible. The problem is no longer to predict the consequences of the catastrophes affecting the local area (prospective) but to limit them, if they cannot be prevented.

It is for that reason that within cultural territory the preservation of that which has been achieved and the anticipation of oncoming dangers, requires that information be processed in a different way. The conjunction of the use of ICT[1] and the mutual exchange of information may offer local leaders some flexibility for response. The establishment of detailed conjectures[2] in this respect, provides support for the decisions to be taken. In this way the territory rises from a reactive attitude to the event (the fireman effect) to a proactive logic, which is one which anticipates future fractures. The time factor becomes the variable to be observed if a possibility of deciphering the signs which "manufacture" the decisive information is to be hoped for.

The capacity of a territory to translate a sign into a clue and to share it between the players, then to put it into perspective, are indicators that a commitment has been made to the territorial intelligence process.

Morin has translated this research for us by observing that *if thought is an ongoing negotiation between certainty and uncertainty* we can state that as far as the local area is concerned this thought is that of a learning territory.

In this respect, and in the wake of this introduction, we would like to offer you a definition of territorial intelligence, highlight a few problem scenarios arising in the local area, and then see how the local project can be of use.

Territorial intelligence

If it is the case that information is required by a decision so that it can be anticipated, it is valid to ask whether the right thing to do is to wait the arrival of valid, formalised and public information before taking a decision; in this case the decision can be very precise, but far too late. It therefore becomes necessary to act at the news stage, or even the sign in order to have any hope of being involved in developing this information. With this in mind we are offering a definition of territorial intelligence as a *"development of the culture of organisations based on collecting and sharing signs and information and putting them into perspective in such a way, that they will provide the decision makers with the right information at the right time"*. Economic intelligence is an aspect of the territorial layout which is a part of what can be generally termed informational intelligence.

The graph below (fig.1) shows that there is a correlation between time and the way information is built up. If it is revealed in a formal fashion, it is at the cost of the maturation time which is all too often fatal to a judicious decision. Thus the placing of signs and clues into perspective in advance of the information distributed, makes these signs and clues the access keys required for putting the information into perspective.

If the decision-maker finds the processing of everyday information something of a dilemma, collecting, processing and then establishing the significance of the sign will lead to a determining development in the process.

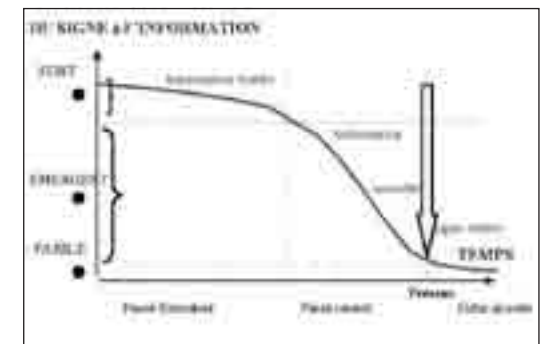*Fig. 1: Evolution of the sign into information*

It is no longer enough to capture only a fraction of the signs to reveal the clue; it has become essential to rely on the totality of the players in question and what we call the TISs (territorial information systems) to have a hope of nourishing the conjectures necessary for a judicious decision. This is a cultural development which should be implemented.

Figure 1 re-states the importance of the time factor in the production of formalised information. We have seen how the search for the sign and the interpretation of the sign, places the prospector on the border between the present and the future. When a range of converging aspects are subject first to individual, then collective, interrogation, sketching the future owes less to the crystal ball and more to the exchanges made. The incidences of uncertainty become clearer as the research is repeated.

Here this is decisive and along with the formalisation of the tacit[3], it makes up the basic data for working out conjectures. This data constitutes "pools" of hypotheses which, when processed, are accessible by the decision maker in the form of graphs. The collection of clues identified and divided up according to hypothesis allow the search routes current to be rapidly identified. Each research subject is connected to its "judiciousness file". This file covers three aspects which are the three states of current research: from raw data to privileged conjecture.

In this way (fig. 2) it is possible to observe on the basis of the research routes where the data is collected, accumulate a second level, which reveals the conjectures emerging from clue-based procedures discussed between the players and experts. The former, usually numbering from one to three, take account of the perspective view of the hypotheses validated by the group and the experts.
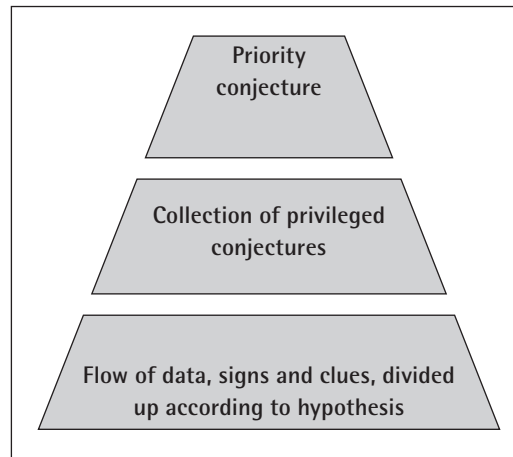
Priority
conjecture

Collection of privileged
conjectures

Flow of data, signs and clues, divided
up according to hypothesis

Fig. 2: strata in the judiciousness file

As the days pass additional clues will tend to validate or invalidate the building of the hypothesis in progress. The third level supports the path to the solution which is most plausible on the day of the consultation; an attached summary defines the points of support and relates back to the discussions as shown in the minutes.

When this data is collected in file form with a summary, they are accessible on-line with security provided by the decision-makers. What we are dealing with here is a recurrent processing of the signs and information with each data automatically dated. The traceability of the conjecture built up is partly a basis of its validity (who said what?). Although the results are accessible by secure code, the breakdown of the signs and clues is undertaken by RSS. Feeding the proactive monitoring is thus undertaken in a recurring fashion.

The territory, contributor of uncertainty

The territory is a space of several dimensions (geographical, symbolic, social, communicating, virtual) which generates risks and it is essential that the main outlines of these risks be identified. These qualities are combined with a range of strengths, weaknesses and shortages which presage possible risks. Without being exhaustive, we can list a few elements which are liable to generate fractures within the local area:

> Economic: risks threatening the rate of activity, the involution of the number of establishments (recession by field of activity: textiles).
> Environmental: dwindling flora and fauna, badly controlled waste and fertiliser disposal (recently Breton faecal slurry from raising pigs) etc.
> Accommodation: risks of developing unsatisfactory or unhealthy accommodation (the growth of squats and shantytowns), the growing accommodation waiting list (the edges of Brussels).
> Health: risks of pollution (CO_2 waste from the multiplication of emission points (noise) risk of doctor and para-medical staff shortages (disparity between the districts), technical difficulties in bringing patients into the hospital environment, quantitative and qualitative reduction in services to persons (home help).
> Social: risks of the development or geographical concentration of social cases (the appearance of a social and economic poverty zone).
> Transportation: risks of the transport map becoming obsolete (districts badly served or with little service), access to rail transport increasingly limited affecting the local economy (reduced services). Risk of sea-borne pollution (the Pas-de-Calais strait: 600 vessels per day).
> Road safety: risks of rises in the number of road accidents, and in the rate of drunken and drug-affected drivers.

> Incivility: flash risks of events which destroy public or private property (recurrent events), rising repair or upkeep costs.
> Woodland resources: risks of deforestation or erratic woodland management.
> Aquifer resources: progressive risks of drying out or water table contamination.
> Town planning: risks of building on unsuitable land (the Vaison-la Romaine drama in 1992). Risks of flooding, of wall cracking, of building subsidence (mined subsoil in Wallonia).

These are the most significant elements, but to them can be added the whole panoply of exogenous risks to the territory in respect of which, the territory experiences difficulty in observing an increase but is depending on them and waiting for national or international treatment (CO_2, proliferation of atomic weapons, etc.).

These areas of risk are probably already benefiting from a monitoring programme, but depending on the priorities in place they may become the elements which are behind a fracture anticipation plan. The objection may be raised that these risks mostly require the action of specialist experts and a battery of indicators accessible only to the specialists.

Large-scale and sole recourse to experts leads to the inevitable selection of mainly financial choices, which in fact restrict the range of an effective anticipation plan. Each class of risk involves a "Paretto"[4] of difficulty in decrypting the danger. The majority of the warning signs and clues can be processed by those residents who are interested in these matters, as long as a project management exists which can interpret the questions.

In this respect reference can be made to the AMBER[5] plan in the USA and Canada as a locally-based innovation. The same has been achieved in Belgium with the "*Child alert*" plan or in France with the "*Kidnap alert plan*".

These plans call on the community to safely find child kidnap victims. By raising the alarm as early as possible it is hoped not only to drive the kidnappers to release their victims for fear of being caught, but also to prevent the crime itself through dissuasion[6].

In terms of information processing, this represents an attitude which can be called re-active (it happens after the event) but also pro-active because of the anticipation of a potential murder risk. For the purposes of a common end (safety), the process is therefore one of sharing the risk between the institution, the relay bodies and the general public.

Another example comes from Atmo Picardie in France, a body responsible for monitoring air quality in Picardy. Despite the number of sensors in existence, there is not yet a measuring device capable of tracking some odorous molecules felt to be unpleasant by those living close to industrial zones in the environment. In this case the notion of risk is limited since polluting and toxic products are already prohibited by law and detected by electronic sensors, but even so the presence of unpleasant odours can be seen as a threat to personal comfort. At the initiative of Atmo Picardie a network of volunteer citizen sensors has been set up as a system of odour monitoring. This network is supported by training sessions organised twice weekly during the last quarter of 2007. The results expected from this monitoring should make it possible to draw up, with the aid of a SIG[7], a map of pollutant emissions and how they develop over time.

In these two examples only the "data collection" fraction is required for the first, since the second case contains processing and information sharing. Placing these into perspective in this case is the responsibility of the institution which limits these two references in the field of territorial intelligence (collection, information sharing, treatment, transmission).

As the reader will have grasped, the development of a regional territorial intelligence plan means that both communities and players must be involved. It is management by project which needs time and which falls into four precise stages:
> awareness raising,
> training,
> initiation,
> and support.

If the concept of a cultural country supports a more ready membership of the common project, the extension of the "rurban" community will thus modify the approach. The city is a cultural and social hybrid. This means that within the community of a municipality or a capital city, the heterogeneity of the population may cause a large proportion of that population to be distanced from a collective cultural project: the individual lambda resident is not bound to be part of a common project simply because of occupational needs. It is therefore sensible in the experimental stage to reduce experimentation to a sociologically homogeneous district where a common cultural identity is shared. Subsequent spreading by absorption will facilitate the migration of practices and experiences.

Conclusion

The transmission, capitalisation and processing of information lie at the heart of the issues concerning authorities world wide and will do so for the next thirty years ; the great ICT industries are already taking them on board, particularly as regards Web 2 ramifications (Microsoft, Google, IBM). At the same time the fuss raised by the threats affecting the local area mean that they must progressively adopt the tools they need for collecting and processing signals and information. Apart from his own protection, the citizen needs a shared safety which is not merely a reaction to a serious event of the disaster type. In return, this membership of the shared project includes an implicit mission for the territory : that of providing a locus for accessible resources of relative safety and of implementing the means and procedures to achieve this.

Associating the citizen with a territorial intelligence process includes him in the logic of influence which complies with the principles of governance. If no tried and tested recipe exists, it is because the procedure is unique, dependent on the history of the places and is mainly fashioned by the players in the territory.

Philippe HERBAUX

[1] ICT : information and communication technology.

[2] By conjecture, we mean the gathering together of a number of hypotheses to form the basis for an opinion.

[3] Tacit : what I have referred to as being "individually non-formulated" represents the hidden part of the iceberg of the individual's knowledge.

[4] Paretto : a diagram of causes which reveals the breakdown of the various series.

[5] AMBER (America's Missing : Broadcast Emergency Response) to the memory of young Amber Hagerman, kidnapped and murdered at the age of 9 in 1966.

[6] There are now 27 Amber plans in the USA which between 1996 and 2003 have dealt with 77,000 cases of vanished children with a remarkable 95% success rate (source : *International Centre for Missing and Exploited Children*).

[7]   SIG : geographical information system which can be seen on maps which are usually multilayer.

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debate

**Workgroup discussions will cover
the following questions :**

➢ Territorial intelligence, an old concept?

➢ Competition between territories and the
    social consequences of fracture?

➢ Reduction of space, reduction of time:
    the role of ITC in risk anticipation?

➢ Anticipating threats by a different approach
    to data processing?

Chair of the workgroup

Bruno VINIKAS,
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"Bruxelles Formation"

Workgroup 2.2
Between democracy and governability :
Managing Trade-Offs in Metropolitan Regions.

Making sure that public authorities operate effectively and that decision-making is well managed, including the mobilisation of local stakeholders, are key governance issues. Moreover, a bold innovative approach to the way democracy works can result in better solutions. The starting point for this debate will be an analytical framework corresponding to the various types of democracy, in particular consensual democracy.

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Between democracy and manageability of policy:
the management of interchanges in metropolitan regions

Territorial management is based on maintaining the difficult balance between respect for democracy and the mobilisation of the territory. The interactions with the actors in the field, the factions involved, the participating parties or the partners, should not lead to incoherence or a lack of respect for the established principles. The necessary renewal of the democratic processes demands that the government take a position in the centre of the tension field and assume a well-balanced, nuanced, and coherent stance and guarantee and safeguard the unequivocally agreed-upon and fundamental principles.

In matters of policy management and the possibility of it getting deadlocked, government is expected to intervene in a mediating or arbitrating role between interest groups and impose compliance with agreements. Guaranteeing the decision-making procedures within a context of negotiative management demands the efficient and effective intervention of the public administration and one that is operative and responsible at all administrative levels both to and including the mobilisation of the actors.

Daring to introduce innovations into the workings of the democratic order can lead to better solutions to problems. Both the approach angles of renewal of policy management (governance) and of system reform need to be approached cohesively in combination with the political system, its setting, and within the relevant cultural context.

Frank Henriks proffers an analytical framework that offers the possibility to compare the multi-facetted aspects and realities of democracy and its most important variations. The following is a brief synthesis of this analytical framework as it is described in his book '*Vitale democracy'* (Vital Democracy).

Variations on democracy

The basic tenet underlying any interpretation of the democratic system is that the people embody the driving force and the touchstone for occurrences happening within the public domain. This basic tenet is reiterated in nearly every general definition of the term 'democracy'. In one instance it may be defined as *responsive rule or popular rule,* and in another as *popular government or popular sovereignty*[1]. Democracy therefore entails the notions of (1) the people's influence on the exercise of power by government, and (2) equality in the exercise of that influence. From the perspective of the decision-making processes on the national plane, and also on the level of the local communities (thus, the entities of family, business, church, or school are left aside), Frank Hendriks summarizes democracy as "*a political system of governance by the people, either as an independent body or via others that are selected, and elected, influenced, and scrutinized by the sentiment expressed by the citizenry, in a manner that makes each and every citizen equal to any other*"[2].

The vast terminology variants associated with the democratic order sufficiently demonstrate how topical the subject actually is and how widespread confusion reigns around such discussions, both with reference to its popularity as a system and the contestable nature of the principle[3]. One can approach democracy as a meaningful ideal or as an enduring, sustainable practice. Ideally, democracy demands effective participation, equal voting right, enlightened conceptualisation and definition, controlled administration of the agenda, and inclusion of adult participants.[4] In order to persist and be tenable for a longer term and on a grander scale, such a realistic

democracy must be able to count, at the very least, on a body of elected rulers[5], alternative sources of information[6], freedom of expression[7], freedom of association[8], and inclusive civil rights [9].

The defenders of democracy invariably want frequent, free elections and political rights and freedoms. Disputes arise when, on working out the basic principles, such oft-exclusive choices are proposed. In order to abstract the wealth of types and sub-divisions, Frank Hendriks has drawn a distinction amongst four basic models of democracy. These four models spring from the crossing of two dimensions that are familiar to us from democracy[10]:

> "*Aggregative versus integrative democracy. With as key question: how are democratic decisions arrived at? Is there question of an aggregative majority process (the decisive factor of a simple majority notwithstanding the presence of large numbers of minorities), or is it a question of an integrative (non-majority, deliberative decision-making process that is aimed at arriving at a consensus that is as broad as possible)? Is it a matter of majority voting or rather of deliberative consultation?*"[11]

> "*Direct versus indirect democracy. The key question here is: Does the citizenry elect representatives to take the decisions, or is it the members of the society themselves that will decide?*"[12]

	Aggregative (majority) (votes)	Integrative (non-majority) (deliberations)
Indirect (representative)	Pendulum democracy	Consensus democracy
Direct (self-determination)	Voter democracy	Participative democracy

Out of the crossing of these two dimensions, Frank Hendriks fashions a matrix consisting of four basic forms of democracy, defined as follows: consensus, pendulum, voter, and participative democracy[13] (see figure).

In this fashion, a typology of four basic democratic models is being developed:
> *Pendulum democracy:* fundamentally indirect in nature[14];
> *Voter democracy:* couples aggregative decision-making to direct representation[15];
> *Participative democracy:* combines direct representation with integrative, deliberative decision-making[16];
> *Consensus democracy*: in principle, it is indirect in nature, strives for consensus based on a broad platform. The decision-making work is provided primarily by acting managers or overseers. The collective decision-making is carried out as much as possible through co-production, joint-government, and in coalition context[17].

The typology as developed by Frank Henriks deviates from other current forms of classification theories such as the determination of a threshold value for democracy or of implicitly or explicitly loaded blueprints. This empirically characterized typology reflects the fundamentals and expressions of various models of democracy, as well as their implications and effects. This method allows the author to examine each basic democracy model in terms of general structural principles and variable modes of expression, of patterns of democratic leadership and citizenship, and with respect to their comparative strengths and weaknesses[18].

The four analytical coordinates in the above-mentioned typology, however, are never present in a pure form. In practice, it invariably pertains to them in mixed forms with more or less pronounced accents on various models of democracy. They relate to real democracy in the same way that primary colours relate to factually observable colour patterns. They provide us with insights into the complexity that exists in the real world, making it accessible to discussion and lending itself to comparisons[19].

These institutional trends conceal more or less sustainable thought and action patterns that may be summarized under the denominator 'political culture' or 'democratic ethos'. In what way could the politico-cultural attitude vis-à-vis democracy be considered a basis for the various models of democracy[20]?

Voter democracy finds its foundation in a democratic ethos that is known as *protectionist democracy,* embracing the following central values: self-determination and self-protection - protection of individual rights and freedoms. In other words, the exercise of power requests consent from all of those that can be subjectable to that power. The 'tyranny of the majority ' is subsequently permanently kept in check by constitutional regulations and procedures and other protective instruments to the benefit of the individual citizen. The radical, neo-liberal variant is the advocate and proponent of a minimal state in defence of individual rights and in order to facilitate the workings of the free market economy[21].

The voter democracy offers from its protectionist perspective the advantage that, as a rule, those in power are not above the citizens. The citizens can themselves formulate their choices in a system that favours "*one man, one vote*" and that offers opportunities to send governments packing. One significant disadvantage, though: collective decision-making is possible by a simple majority (50%+1) of votes. Because of this, relatively large minority factions can numerically be outvoted. This, however, can be corrected by means of qualitative majority requirements and regulations towards the protection of minorities and individual interests.

Basic democracy is a participative culture that strives for improvement from "the bottom-up". With its central principles of openness, engagement, equality, solidarity, connectivity, authenticity, small-size, thrift, and sustainability, the model of the participative democracy flourishes in a culture of radical democracy or basic democracy[22].

Guardian democracy is the cultural model on which consensus democracy further builds in a democratic manner. It is based on the expertise of specialized manager-overseers (guardians or regents). They can work in relative quietness and privacy and a certain number of them are chosen through the process of general elections. This culture is rather more 'conforming and accommodating', of thoughtful deliberations, extensive meetings, consultation of relevant expertise, discussion of alternatives solutions, and arriving at compromises in a businesslike, practical manner. Behind it an 'expertocracy ethos' lies out of sight. From a basis of special functions or fields of expertise, deliberations are held in order to arrive at a consensus[23].

Mass democracy focuses the attention on the dynamics of the masses (mass psychology, mass communication, and mass media). This culture is crucial for a pendulum democracy, considering that at the time of general elections, a political movement needs to mobilize the"masses" behind it in order to reverse the political course (the pendulum swing) or, conversely, to prevent such a reversal from happening. Realizing a strong minority of the votes suffices, for the winner needs to come 'first across the finish line'. In this context, the significance of the manager-overseers is considerably more liable to "election pressures' than is the case for the consensus democracy. But once in the saddle in the pendulum democracy, one needs to devote less consideration to minority interests and constituent segments than in the other democracy models. Nonetheless, the masses are worked on and influenced and monitored in breadth by surveying their views and by publishing policy results[24].

It is these patterns of convictions and preferences with regards to democracy that Frank Hendriks assembles into four ideal types which are distinguished from each other in two dimensions: the power separation or distance (everybody in his or her own place or everybody counts) and equality of power (voting or participating). These two dimensions are associated with the two dimensions - direct-indirect and aggregative-integrative - of democracy models. But they do lie at a deeper level.

Next, Frank Hendriks establishes a logically reasoned link amongst the four culture typologies of Mary Douglas (individualism, egalitarianism, hierarchy, and atomism[26]) and the ideal-type forms of democracy. A reciprocal magnetic force prevails, the one forming a beneficial 'sociotope' for the other, and vice-versa. To what degree and in what manner the elective *affinity* receives its actual form is co-determined by drastic factors of far-reaching import[25].

In this respect, the dimension "*Group: we-culture or I-culture*" refers to the measure in which people are defined in their thinking and in their actions by their involvement in a social group. Within the ideal-type *low-group culture* (or I-culture) the individual is on his or her own. Within the ideal-type *high-group culture* (or we-culture), there exists a strong cohesive bond with the collective body[26].

The dimension *"Grid: low-grid or high-grid field?"* refers to the measure in which people are defined in their thinking and in their actions by position-bound role determinants. The ideal-type *low-grid culture* is one of *roles achieved* (people choose themselves if and how they would play their part; they have been given freedom of choice and are equal). The *high-grid culture* is one of *roles ascribed* (roles have been assigned from outside to people in certain given social positions and they strongly particularize them and determine their behaviour)[27].

Citizenship is a traditional concept that also continues to occupy an important place in today's debate about democracy. Frank Hendriks first examines the position in the role of the citizen from the dimension of the viewer (who becomes involved only at certain moments), or of actor in the play. Subsequently, he assesses whether the citizen is one of the many voters or an actor who, jointly with others, has a voice in the evaluation process[28].

Both positions are tested out in the ideal-types of democracy. In the pendulum democracy, the citizen emerges as the viewer/voter. In the consensus democracy, he is less prominent as a voter. In that process, voting is less "decisive" than deliberating and consulting. Input and consultation are part of the process but it is a process that generally, only manages to reach a limited segment of the citizenry. In the participative democracy, the citizen in turn emerges as player/participant in discussions. The notion that everybody should actively participate in action and discussion is favoured here. 'Active participation' is interpreted in a truly concrete sense. In the electorate democracy, the citizen wants his or her voice to be heard loud and clear, but than more as 'voter' in specifically focused votes about public affairs[29].

From a definition of leadership meant as 'taking the lead in the democracy', Frank Hendriks sketches out two dimensions of different roles that people can play in that process: the role of *representative or supporter* or the role as *bridge-builder or rouser of public sentiment.*

Under the ideal-types, Frank Hendriks distinguishes four styles of leadership, conjoined with the four democracy models: *gladiator* in the pendulum democracy, *overseer* in the consensus democracy, *coach* in the participative democracy, and *advocate* in the voter democracy[30].

The proven practices of democracy: weighed in the balance

With the aid of the basic models of democracy, a broad gamut of democratic practices can be sketched out. Frank Hendriks does exactly that and further adds the possibilities and the limitations in the areas of leadership, citizenship, and good policy management. Those models clarify the debates about democracy and the analysis of their many interesting forms of expression[31]. They define for us a number of lessons and strengths for each basic model of democracy.

The fundamental qualities of *pendulum democracy* are decisiveness and perseverance. Negative reactions associated with these are indecisiveness, inertia, and vagueness, with the threats of the pitfalls 'overcommitment' and 'fixation' looming around the corner. The challenges are reflection and counter-balance. The tension that exists between decisiveness and over-commitment is thus a fundamental aspect[32]. In the extension of the fundamental tension between 'to push on' and 'plow through' lie additional strengths and weaknesses[33] such as orderliness and oversimplification, unequivocal management and unilateral management, sensitivity to the majority and insensitivity to the minority, steady electoral effect and electoral distortion, changing of the guard, zig-zag management and drastic settlement, and 'throwing out the child with the bathwater'.

The *consensus democracy* is exactly the opposite of the pendulum democracy. The key quality is not the quality of decisiveness (cutting the knots) but controlled integration and cooperation. The pitfall of the consensus democracy is not one of fixation but rather one of coagulation (experiencing difficulties in governing[34]) and getting stuck together.

The consensus democracy is allergic to populism, unilateralism. Transparent decisiveness is the challenge[35]. The tension between controlled integration and excessive complexity is fundamental. This tension also is applicable to the consensus democracy in general. In the extension of this central tension field, the other strengths and weaknesses are the proportional representation and the poor, unsustained carry-over effect of the elections, the scope in policy networks and accountability within political institutions, channelled multiformity and cartel and backroom politics, administrative expertise and technocracy, expertocracy, pacification and accommodation and 'head-in-the-sand' behaviour[36].

The key quality of the *voter democracy* is the mobilisation of the particular initiative, the activation of the individual responsibility, and trust in voluntary association of citizens on the ground of well-understood self-interest. The built-in allergy here is the collective inability to move along. The voter democracy runs the risk of succumbing to public thoughtlessness. For that reason, collective self-control is a challenge. In the extension of these key qualities, the other strengths and weaknesses are helpfulness of government and windvane politics, result-oriented government and exaggerated expectations, vitality of the citizen culture and inclination towards consumerism, trust in the individual and distrust of the collective body, room for multiformity and danger of anomy and disengagement, equality in freedom and the right of might, pragmatism, efficiency and impassiveness and hardness[37].

In none of the other models of democracy are the values of concord and collectivity so strongly institutionalized as in the model of participative democracy. In none of the other models looms the threat of uniformization and inertia to such a strong degree.

Out of that tension field, a number of strong and weak points are emerging, such as, respectively, trust in collectivity and distrust of the individualist, resident participation and over-taxing of the residents, inclination to reform and other-worldliness, malleability and fragility, positive forces and negative freedom, warm envelopment and a stifling blanket[38].

Democracy in the mix

The reality of democracy is one of hybrid forms, a mix of forms, notwithstanding the fact that passionate proponents would like to see it differently. It is seldom difficult to identify a lead thread in the mix. Likewise, a strong accentuation of a given model of democracy may coincide with a more or less heavy accent on another model of democracy. This, in turn, leads to 'variations on a theme ' with divergent lead and subordinate extensions.

Variations on a theme

The combination of models of democracy is the net product of two mechanisms acting against one another: the positive and the negative feedback mechanism. The positive feedback mechanism is being described as the institutionalized tendency towards self-affirmation and self-re-enforcement of the individual character, whereas the negative feedback mechanism makes referral to the institutionalized inclination towards derangement and emasculation of the other[39].

Each of the four models of democracy has the built-in tendency to refer back positively to its own model and negatively to the other ones. This then points us to the underlying inclination to polish what one considers one's own model and to rub away all that which deviates from it. Thus, what does not fit into the preferred frame, which is taken as being correct, is misplaced or 'impure' and, therefore, needs to be cleansed.

Positive (polishing) and negative (rubbing-off) feedback mechanisms are, within certain limits, indispensable to a vital democracy. A democracy model that keeps itself plus its rivals alert is, in principle, a blessing for that democracy. Nonetheless, an unbridled form of positive and negative feedback can become destructive.

A model of democracy that produces too much of positive feedback merely rotates in a circular self-affirmation. Sight has been lost of the model's fundamental pitfall.

A model that produces a surfeit of negative feedback faces the danger of running aground. Its own characteristic becomes stalled and grinds to a halt. External positive influences which could possibly lead to creative combinations are smothered in the bud.

A democratic order that enjoys a more nuanced form and design, offers room for both the positive and negative feedback mechanisms of rival models of democracy. This then leads to a system of inter-active and inter-corrective forces influencing one another - a system of checks and balances - which benefits the overall vitality of the democracy[40].

In practice, sustainable active democracies cannot afford the luxury of an intellectual or ideological purity. Such democracies are, inevitably, beset by the presence of a degree of impurity in their composition, a certain dilution or blending of various democracy models.

There are empirically observable instances of co-existence amongst democracy models and their associated cultural patterns. In each case, it pertains to a more or less sustainable bond of divergent approaches.[41] On the basis of concrete examples, Frank Hendriks abstracts six fundamental combinations: a) the post-materialistic connection; b) the third way of the associations; c) the moderate *civic culture;* d) the Alpine model; e) the Latin alternative; f) the representative hybrid.

The more one scrutinizes, the more specific modes of expression of *co-existence* emerge. Together with Perri, Frank Hendriks distinguishes four fundamental modalities in the expression of hybridization[42]:

> *demarcation:* various models are at work in different domains, for example, the consensus democracy in the social-economic policy on the national plane, the participative democracy in the district administration at the local level;

> *alternation:* various models are at work in the course of different periods, for example, the voter in times of financial constraints, the participative democracy in times of plenty;

> *interaction:* various models interact, with, for example, national referendums, on the one hand, and consensus democratic deliberation and consultation, on the other;

> *confluence:* various models inter-penetrate, with, for example, the pendulum democracy and the consensus democracy converging in a mixed electoral system.

Good governance and poor governance

The quality of the democracy is being determined by the factors *effectivity*[43] *and legitimacy*[44]. In other words, it pertains here to the notions of *governability and accountability.* The first notion bears on the organisational and directive capacity (not only 'being there' but also 'performing'). The second one stands for responsiveness (doing the right things plus doing things right). When a democratic system scores well on these two dimensions, then democracy and good governance coincide. But this is not to be taken for granted. So that democracy may be successful, a great deal of effort is required, by reciprocal corrective forces and by natural extension and also democracy that keeps one another on their toes.

The situational circumstances, which differ from time and place, strongly determine how advantageously or disadvantageously democracy models perform in practice. One type of context imposes different demands than another (the nature of the local economic activity, the existence of centrifugal forces, and the exposure to expressed external dangers). Ideally, the accentuation of democracy models is attuned to the demands of the context. But its spontaneous fulfilment ought to be dismissed as being naïve and structural-functionalistic in nature. In the first place, there are the demands imposed by the context, which are often pluralistic and changeable and do not lend themselves readily to an accommodation. Secondly, the accentuation of democracy models is invariably contained within institutions that are slow in adapting themselves quickly and simply to prevailing circumstances. Institutional changes proceed, by definition, in a laborious process, not only with official but also in the case of unofficial institutions.

The cultural factor exerts a great influence on the chance of success of democratic procedures and reforms. The cultural perspective from which democracy is viewed determines the trust and confidence one has in certain given arrangements, and one's willingness to range oneself behind certain reforms. And, indeed, a predominantly egalitarian society will be less inclined to allow itself to become convinced of the beneficial working of the voter democracy than will a predominantly individualistic one. A strongly atomistic society will be less readily convinced of the benefits and advantages of the consensus democracy than a predominantly hierarchical society.

For instance, certain countries and certain urban centres display a 'relatively strong inclination towards the consensus democracy or the pendulum democracy, but never solely towards consensus democracy or pendulum democracy.[45] The multiform, hybrid models of democracy furthermore dominate the practical landscape.

Frank Hendriks searches for the background and the implications of this dominant position precisely in the mechanisms which ensure the presence of different types and different degrees of mixes within democracies. He explores their consequences as they bear upon the effectivity and the legitimacy of government, both crucial conditions to ensure good governance. Accommodating the need for good governance does not merely depend on the constellation of forms of democracy- the built-in mix of strengths and weaknesses - but also on the situational and cultural context - the environment wherein the system needs to acquire its effectivity and legitimacy.

When a democracy is successful in combining the various models of democracy in a *creative* and contingent manner and thereby manages to pair effectivity to legitimacy, then the system is a vital one. *Creative* means the best possible and utmost exploitation of the benefits and advantages of combined models and the maximal compensation for its disadvantages. *Contingent* is a constellation that is sensitive to the specificity of the situational setting and cultural context by means of which the democracy must assure itself of the effectivity and legitimacy elements.[46]

In connection to the democracy mix, Frank Hendriks gathers three elements together into a thought-pattern: the democratic constellation or system, the situational setting, and the cultural context[47] Whether or not a combination of democracy models works out more advantageously or not depends on three aspects that invariably need to be looked at in cohesion with each other:
a. the democratic system that is presented, the models it combines, and the manner in which the attendant built-in strengths and weaknesses converge;
b. The situational setting within which the democracy must prove its merit: the specific circumstances, the time and place one needs to take into account, the coincidental demands and assignments;
c. The cultural factor that impacts on all of the above: the cultural preferences and convictions need to be accounted for, and likewise the questions and expectations forthflowing from them.

[1] F.H. p. 35

[2] F.H. p. 36

[3] F.H. p. 36

[4] F.H. p. 15

[5] Elected people's representatives. Government decisions are controlled and legitimized by elected people's representatives and government bodies; the feasible and realisable democracy is to a large degree indirect and representative via free, untrammelled, and reasonable elections. At certain times, the citizens are offered the opportunity to voice their opinions freely and without pressure or impositions during fair and reliable elections. (F.H. p. 37)

[6] Alternative information sources. Citizens are entitled and are given the opportunity to gather their information from alternative sources, including sources which fall outside the government's province. (F.H. p. 37)

[7] Freedom of expression. Citizens are entitled to voice their opinions, also in a critical and sceptical fashion, about all possible political and administrative matters and issues. (F.H. p. 37)

[8] Freedom of association. Citizens are free to organise themselves in associations and groups, amongst which independent interest groups and political parties that participate in the elections. (F.H. p. 37)

[9] Inclusive civil rights. None of the adult, permanent members of the political community is to be excluded in advance from the above-mentioned opportunities and rights, including therein the static and dynamic electoral right, the right to cast one's vote and, possibly, be elected to office. (F.H. p. 38)

[10] F.H. p. 41

[11] F.H. p. 42

[12] F.H. p. 22

[13] F.H. p. 42

[14] The citizen periodically casts his or her vote, but the system subsequently makes the elected politicians responsible for policy formulation. This policy formulation is just as much feasible regarding an aggregative, majority form and nature. Broad participation in the process by the citizenry only occurs at periodic election times. Politicians will allow citizens merely minimal participation in setting agendas, preparing, implementing, and control. (F.H. p. 42)

[15] For example, the New England town meeting, the decision-making referendum in California. Foreshadowing of referendums may consist of public polls, home-owner surveys, consumer surveys and similar actions, and these can also be aggregated in a numerical manner. (F.H. p. 42)

[16] Within a participative democracy, a minority can never simply be numerically 'excluded' but, on the contrary, minorities are 'included'. Decision-making is first and foremost a search for consensus. Broad participation of all involved parties is considered the optimum manner for guaranteeing the legitimacy of the collective decision-making process. The relationships are horizontal ones as much as possible, open, and 'without power dominance'. (F.H p. 42)

[17] In the phase of drawing up the agenda and making preparations, representatives of social interests and societal segments are extensively consulted. Likewise during the implementation of policy, the civil society is extensively involved. Specific variations of that general model of democracry may be found in countries such as the Netherlands, Belgium, and other mixed societies (F.H. p. 43)

[18] F.H. p. 39

[19] F.H. p. 39

[20] F.H. p. 47

[21] F.H. p. 48

[22] Advocates of this can be found amongst various New Social Movements that have exercised a forceful influence on the terms in which issues of democracy are considered and discussed. The influence of the German sociologist Habermas on the radical-democratic ethos is patent. He pleads for democracy as a communicative activity: open, free of power dominance, inclusive, and integrating. All people are equal and everybody's contribution to the discussion - provided it is inclusive, open and free of the dominance element - deserves equal attention and respect in the collective process of formulating one's desires. Collective decision-making by a dominant elite that makes discreet and strategic use of its power and informative position is in this approach unjustified and undemocratic. Haberrnas's idea of communicative action resonates in recent works about 'deliberative' or 'discursive' democracy. Dryzek, for instance, stipulates that a true democracy does not recognize any hierarchy or unalterable rules and does not place limits on participation." The model of the participative democracy fits this picture to perfection. (F.H. p. 49)

[23] F.H. p. 49

[24] F.H. p. 49, 50

[25] F.H. p. 52

[26] F.H. p. 51

[27] F.H. p. 52

[28] F.H. p. 56

[29] F.H. p. 57

[30] F.H. p. 57 and 58

[31] F.H. p. 61

[32] F.H. p. 78

[33] F.H. p. 80

[34] F.H. p. 99

[35] F.H. p. 99

[36] F.H. p. 100 and 101

[37] F.H. p. 121 - 123

[38] F.H. p. 146 - 148

[39] F.H. p. 155 (6)

[40] F. H. p. 157

[41] F.H. p. 158 (12)

[42] F.H. p. 161 (6)

[43] Effectivity is the capacity for getting things done, for making the difference, for generating added value.

[44] The capacity to get people enthusiastic about it het vermogen om daar de handen voor op elkaar te krijgen, to join in with what is considered fair, fitting, and of sound quality, and to couple responsibility with acceptance."

[45] F.H. p. 151

[46] F.H. p 149

[47] F.H. p 149

debate

Workgroup discussions will concentrate on the following questions:

➢ How can ways of improving the democratic process be introduced within a predominantly consensual democracy and a pluralistic reality?

➢ In which way can a steadily improving democracy contribute to a more effective and purposeful policy management?

➢ In which way can policy management contribute to an improved democratic process?

➢ How can the public administration ensure an efficient and effective process that takes into account the mobilisation of actors within the same complex reality?

➢ What kinds of peripheral conditions must be combined in order to guide management policy into the right channels?

Chair of the workgroup

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Workgroup 2.3
Urban Projects of Quality:
specific versus generic solutions

To develop a generic quality for different cities is illusory. While existing as specific entities having their specific qualities, the cities find themselves equal. How to build urban projects of quality starting from specific and/or particular conditions will be the subject treated in the workgroup.

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High quality urban projects: specific solutions versus generic solutions

The development of a generic high quality for different cities is an illusion. By positioning cities as specific entities with their own qualities they can be regarded as having equal standing. The way in which high quality urban projects are built on the basis of specific and/or particular conditions will be the subject tackled by the workshop.

Development towards neo-tertiary status

In Europe a decade ago it was thought that the major economic problem for the city was the relocation of its industries to North Africa or Asia; but the problem nowadays is that Asia controls not only the industrial sector, but also the majority of the new tertiary sector. By way of example, Singapore, a city with a population of around only 4 million, which already has an important business centre, is currently planning to build a new financial centre with 54 towers. Its clearly stated ambition is to replace Zurich as an international financial capital. Singapore's approach is strategic: forms are more important than the uncertainties of management. This raises the question of what the future holds for ten or so medium-sized European cities such as the Brussels-Capital Region, Barcelona or Milan in the context of globalised competition.

The model of urban development used in the 1960s and 1970s in cities such as London and Barcelona no longer seems appropriate. A new model does not exist yet, but the geographical position of cities is becoming increasingly important. Therefore, the Brussels-Capital Region benefits from its position at the heart of Europe, not only geographically but in terms of decision-making.

Ensuring the quality of urban projects

Two prior conditions must be met if high quality projects are to be designed.

The **first** involves answering the following questions:
> What is the new model of the European metropolis to be, at least as regards the new tertiary cities such as Brussels, in the light of the development of the megalopolis and other Asian cities?
> Why is it that today we are inefficient in comparison with the megalopolis?

Medium-sized cities such as Brussels must develop their distinctive features, their diversity and their local differences in order to reposition themselves. They must base their development on precise identity factors, such as the Brussels canal area for example, while developing high quality management tools.

The **second** consists of never working in a mediocre manner or with mediocre procedures. In order to achieve this, the validity of the most common concepts must be questioned through urban paradoxes ("aporias").

The "urban aporia" is an insoluble logical difficulty that results from the misuse of theoretical concepts. One of the consequences of this misuse is the appearance of disciplinary positions which may cause architecture to go adrift.

Process of redesigning space. Urban management should face the following dichotomies:
> Zoning versus Flexibility
> Low density versus Intensity
> Non-durable mobility
> Aberrant energetic waste

APORIA No. 1: Confusion caused by the misuse of historical reasoning
> History as the preponderant material for project design
> History as justification; preserve and innovate
> Historical bubbles: camouflaging the real problems
> Stylistic flights into the past

APORIA No. 2: Confusion caused by the misuse of simulation
> Tendency to ignore reality
> Pretending to possess what one does not possess
> Pretending not to have what one does in fact have
> In all cases, masking the difference between truth and deceit; real or imaginary, proposing a confusion between reality and desire, cf. Disneyland, High-technology, Ecological image[1]

APORIA No. 3: Confusion caused by the misuse of superficiality
> The misuse of superficiality is not only a consequence of enjoying simulation; it is also an explicit refusal to transform the heart of the problem
> Container and content of a Japanese gift (the wrapping is, in Japan, almost as important as the gift)
> Buildings like onions; façade as a superposition of layers
> The problem of landscape development; the territory as a balance between natural systems - functional geography - cultural perception.
> Landscape development as a reduction of territorial complexity; the mirage of "Land Art"[2]

APORIA No. 4: Confusion caused by the misuse of artistic conceptualism
> Outdated vitruve quote (utilitas, firmitas, venustas)
> Building as a work of art
> Building as an object; loss of interaction with the location
> Architecture as an arbitrator in the use of plastic

APORIA No. 5: Confusion caused by the misuse of mercantilism
> The City as a human right
> Housing as a right of each citizen
> The market as prevalent over right
> Social Housing - central theme in the European city

APORIA No. 6: Confusion due to abusive indifference to context
> The new transnational scale and dialectic between location and culture
> Global - Local: Positioning in context
> The problem of identity, from "McDonaldisme" to identity fundamentalism

These two conditions are difficult to satisfy. Nevertheless, medium-sized cities such as Barcelona and Brussels in particular are at a critical phase where it is important to decide what should be changed immediately and on what conditions such changes can be implemented.

Urban quality is often reduced to the problem of matching the forms and utilitarian functionality of space. Furthermore, discussions generally conflict the elements of quality and management of a project, while these factors are necessarily complementary. Good management will not improve the quality of a badly designed project. The intrinsic quality of a project must be ensured before the project is implemented: the points of view of stakeholders must be harmonised, the aim being to reduce inequalities by ensuring that the overall effect is positive for the various strata of society.

Territorial inequalities lead many players to improve the offer of municipal housing, amenities and infrastructure with a view to revitalising the economy, improving living standards and involving a larger number of the residents in the development of the city, etc. The urban revitalisation of Barcelona was accomplished via a multitude of small projects in the at-risk districts, not merely by large-scale symbolic projects.

At the level of the city, the architectural and city planning design procedure must be careful to take account of the whole of the territory and its population. In particular, this has an effect of correcting territorial discrimination problems.

Generic versus specific

In an era of globalisation, the problems facing cities are very similar. However, each city must attempt to find specific solutions in order to improve their competitive positioning vis-à-vis other cities. As a general rule the problems facing cities cannot be solved simply by appointing an "administrator": each city must first develop a vision for its territory before appointing a good project administrator. This requires a clear urban spatial strategy based on a common vision. Clarity, consistency and clear political management are essential if strong, ambitious projects are to be satisfactorily implemented with regard to all the planning documentation. This is particularly important in a context where tensions exist between the interests of the metropolis and those of the central authorities. The political will must be backed by a technical management tool capable of challenging traditional management tools.

The function of the "master builder" may be different from one country or one city to another.

In Barcelona, the "master builder" is currently responsible for the quality of the projects, and is as much concerned with strategic matters as with questions of quality and international relationships. The disadvantage of this system, however, is that all the powers are concentrated at the hands of the same person, which is probably not the best way to operate. Nevertheless, vis-à-vis the outside world, the advantage is that there is a single clearly identified contact person.

A "Quality Committee" was set up in Barcelona around 6 or 7 years ago. This committee is an independent structure, made up of experts whose role is to examine projects at the development stage. Although it does have powers to impose constraints, it usually operates as a consultative authority and prioritises consensus. The experts present their analyses to the municipal authorities. The dynamic established in this way allows for more in-depth discussion, since responsibilities are shared. The opinions arrived at by this body are also of interest to private investors, because they exercise a moral authority which may give legitimacy to their projects. A committee of this type is also in existence in Rotterdam. At the present time other cities are considering setting one up also.

In Russia the duties of city administrators are different from those of the "master builder" in Barcelona. The "master builder" in Russia is not an architect but an economist who is concerned with economic matters and international relationships. The London Development Agency: the "International Design Committee" was set up to provide consultancy services with regard to London's growth. This role was created to bring into existence an international pressure group and the status of "master builder".

debate

Workgroup discussions will concentrate on the following questions:

➤ Based on the political context of the city of Barcelona, what are the minimum conditions required to guarantee urban quality?

➤ How can a guarantee of quality and large public and private city projects be balanced?

➤ How to create a coherent project with a common objective by the partners and all the professionals?

➤ What conditions are necessary to guarantee urban quality?

➤ How to identify the advantages and disadvantages of city-planning models and adapt them accordingly to the context?

1   Jean Baudrillard, *Simulacra and Simulation*, University of Michigan Press, 1994.

2   Ian L. McHarg, *Design with Nature*.

Workshop 3

Structural urban projects

The implementation of urban structuring projects are those which highlight the city's strengths and ensure that its "brand" corresponds closely to its reality, at the same time offering perspectives for the implementation of sustainable projects. To reach this goal, one has to ensure that all the public and private stakeholders are mobilised around a common urban project.

Workgroup 3.1

Chair : Hendrik VANMOLKOT
Speaker : Joël GAYET

Workgroup 3.2

Chair : Marc SAUVEZ
Speaker : Yvonne RYDIN

Workgroup 3.3

Chair : Joris DEMOOR
Speaker : Christian BRUNNER

Structural urban projects

Promoting an image and mobilising the players in the territory; creating a "standard" in the form of a collection of stimulatory norms, within which the local players can recognise themselves and which guarantees the city its chosen place on the map of world networks. The purpose of this "brand" or "standard" is to establish an intentional and even operational connection with and between large-scale urban projects and programmes, to the extent that it creates coherence at the territorial level. However, this "standard" must, in order to be credible, mask the reality it represents. Plainly, a brand based on a reality which does not match the desired image, could be interpreted as an abuse of confidence. This image must therefore be nourished by genuine actions and provisions. To ensure both the coherence of the territory action which the "brand" displays and the relevance of urban projects, it is important that urban players at all levels be involved and that they actively collaborate. Such collaboration must be nurtured in a climate of trust and must presuppose firstly the existence of a new form of urban governance and secondly the adoption of shared management and assessment methods which take account of multidisciplinarity in order to allow the results of each project at the territorial level to be contextualised. To ensure that trust is maintained (continuous and "ex-post") horizontal assessment procedures must be set-up.

By providing such means, it is possible, both during and after the development of a project, to compare at any given time the frame of reference of the project (goals to be achieved, specifications of the project and predicted outputs) with reality (state of progress, status) at all levels of the territory. In this way only will it be possible to check satisfactorily whether the action measures produce the desired effect and are still sufficiently suited to urban development. Such an assessment also means that it is possible to make the connection with the city's brand via, for example, a territorial quality label.
Working group 3.1 will tackle the issue of societal innovation and communication in structural urban projects.

To both assess and include sustainability in a project, it is necessary that the different levels of evaluative reading of the project, in relation to the development context be factored in. Apart from the environmental factors, which are always relevant, it is also essential nowadays to see how sustainable development is able to meet economic and social objectives. Also generally how to respond to the various problem scenarios of the city. This capacity for assessing sustainability should be sought after, and in addition, sought within the framework of actual reality and requirement. Leading to support for an evaluative approach whereby their sustainability can be checked. Such an evaluation can take a tangible form by verifying the opportunity to maintain or create service offers in the developing socio-demographic, cultural and economic context of the territory.

The putting into place of the necessarydurability with adequate assessment tools . Workshop 3.2 will deal with sustainable innovation with an emphasis on the practice of sustainable projects.

The integrated approach to urban renewal programmes will tackle planning, cultural, social and economic factors at the same time. The results of the projects should be assessed in the context of a multi-dimensional action at both regional and city districts level. It therefore would be sensible to set-up devices and structures which can guarantee this integrated and inclusive development of the territory and that all players move in the same direction. The city-planning agencies, such as those which have been set up in France are tools whereby a project can be driven at the level of the territory and which guarantee a follow-up, while organising the coordination of all players and users, and the relationships between them. The example of the Marseille conurbation will be used. Working group 3.3 will discuss the manner in which projects are implemented, taking into account problem scenarios and making sure that problems specific to a territory are factored in. The issue is not to copy existing tools, but rather to analyse the ways and means required to realise the coordination of a project at the level of the territory.

Chair of the workgroup

Hendrik VANMOLKOT,
Cultural Consultant

Workgroup 3.1
The issue of societal innovation
and communication in structural urban projects

Making use of an innovative society to promote urban rehabilitation : new approaches to development and urban marketing must be implemented by mobilising public, private, economic, social and cultural players by jointly involving them in common projects aimed at promoting the city brand.

Joël GAYET,

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Publications
La Totale-communication, Top Editions ;
Category publisher for Editions Corps et Ame, (presentation of the identification of territories) ;
Numerous articles on territorial marketing, identity and markings of territory.

THE ISSUE OF SOCIETAL INNOVATION
AND COMMUNICATION IN STRUCTURAL URBAN PROJECTS

In thirty years the general context within which cities develop has changed completely, both internally and externally, giving rise to new and increasingly complex problem scenarios.

The growth of populations (residential, tourist and business), **is turning sociology on its head and the planning of cities raises serious problems of territory layout, management and organisation.**

The increase in the size of cities, transforming the ancient fortified cities into "territory-cities", has spilt over into the inter-community space (83 conurbations of over 1 million inhabitants existed in 1950, 165 in 1970 and 408 in 2006) and represents new data in the territory organisation.

City districts are becoming "ghettoised" by sociological strata (rich districts / poor districts, Chinese / Moroccan / African districts, retired / employed districts, etc) and by functions (tourist areas, business areas and residential areas) giving rise to a loss of social cohesion sometimes accompanied by segregation and violence, the growth of home security and "bunkerisation", the exclusion of the less well-off residents from the city centres and the "museumisation" of the old hearts of the cities, and so on. At the same time traffic, pollution (air, waste, noise, etc.) and risks due to disasters have become essential issues.

At the same time, citizenship is becoming more demanding, with newer more direct, transparent and participatory relationships growing-up between the elites, the administrations and the citizens, between the residents and the tourists.

The role of the city is becoming increasingly important. Now that the urban population has become the majority in the developed countries (75% on average), with the concentration of essential service industries and the knowledge economy of these countries and the advent of urban tourism, the city-metropolis today contains all that is most significant of the past and present culture of a country and has become both the entrance and standard-bearer of a country. In the old days it was the countryside which made up the nation; nowadays it is the town. Today the success of the town determines that of the region and the nation.

The ageing of populations with the ever increasing number of elderly people, (already almost half of the populations in the developed countries) new needs are being created regards planning, equipment, neighbourhood services, the protection of goods and persons, etc.

Technological developments, particularly the development of ICT has completely changed our everyday lives. In particular it is causing a speeding-up of life with occupational and private life becoming more intertwined; it is creating tribes by facilitating the establishment of interest-group networks, it facilitates the access of citizens and "customers" to information and stimulates democracy and dialogue, particularly with the arrival of the Web 2.0. But it is also raising new problems concerned with information confidentiality, reliability and processing.

Transportation improvements are bringing the populations of neighbouring countries in contact with one another and are "connecting" cities to each other, increasing their potential "markets" (thanks to air and rail travel Brussels now has a potential market of around 300 million tourists from less than 3 hours away).

As borders have opened and markets freed up, the competition between cities has accelerated and intensified, both economically and in the tourism and culture areas. Marketing and communication are now essential tools in the management and development of cities and their individual districts. Intangible factors are becoming essential aspects of cities as they are of products and enterprises: cities are becoming actual brands. Identity and image are becoming major competitive advantages in the same way as culture, air and rail travel or large-scale structural amenities are.

The financial operator, crucial to the economy in general, is also becoming vital to the cities or to the investment necessary for infrastructure, facilities, services and city promotion.

It is clear that the context within which cities are developing has completely changed for both endogenous and exogenous reasons and problems are both sharply increasing (there never used to be such a need for a social connection between populations and generations, the protection of persons and the environment, cultural contribution and financial means, etc) and becoming more complex, at all levels, including strategy, administration, legally, marketing and finance, not forgetting economics, the environment, society and culture.

debate

The fact is that all the cities simultaneously need increased recognition, allure and leadership in order to distinguish themselves from the others, plus expertise, professionalism, strategy and management as well as organisation, planning and control. They are also in considerable need of a good quality of life and "identity" (loss of architectural and cultural icons, reduction in social cohesion, acceleration of life, change and technology, globalised standardisation, etc.). Put simply, what they really need is an opportunity to return coherence and performance to the city territory, but also and above all, to give back to the citizen the "feel" of the town in general and urban projects in particular.

This means that all the developments which have been listed, which amount to an equal number of economic, environmental, social and cultural challenges for cities, are obliging them to be innovative and to re-think the design, methodologies, tools and management involved in their development.

This is particularly true in the case of structural urban projects. An analysis of the greatest successes in the world, effectively shows that it has almost always been large-scale urban projects in general and architecture in particular which has had the triggering effect and become a symbol of change and renewal.

It is because of their size that they are able to mobilise human, technical and financial resources and from pre-planning to marketing to have significant effects on the factors listed above, ie economics, culture and the environment.

It would therefore appear vital that in the framework of their structural urban projects the cities draw enlightenment from these great successes and seek innovative solutions, which should be both effective and city-focused, to the following questions:

1. What is the best way to involve and mobilise the city-dweller in an urban project?
2. How is a future-oriented urban project to be constructed in a way which respects existing identities?
3. What methodologies and tools can be used in the designing and implementing effective urban marketing which take account of environmental, economic, social and cultural aspects as a whole?
4. What kind of governance, that is, what kind of organisation and management systems, should be set up to steer a structural urban project?
5. How can the interests of the various groupings (municipality, region, regional community authority, federal State) be reconciled with those of the residents, visitors, business people, investors or entrepreneurs? How can the aim of a project involving the territory at a number of levels be brought into line with the needs of all customers/users as a whole?
6. How is a structural urban project to be made into a communication medium relaying the image of an entire city?

Joël GAYET

Workgroup discussions will concentrate on the following questions:

➤ What is the best way to involve and mobilise the city-dweller in an urban project?

➤ How is a future-oriented urban project to be constructed in a way which respects existing identities?

➤ What methodologies and tools can be used in the designing and implementing of effective urban marketing which takes into account environmental, economic, social and cultural aspects as a whole?

➤ What kind of governance, that is, what kind of organisation and management systems, should be set up to steer a structural urban project?

➤ How is a structural urban project to be made into a communication medium relaying the image of an entire city?

Chair of the workgroup
Marc SAUVEZ,
Town planner

Workgroup 3.2
Innovation and Sustainable Management

The purpose of the workshop is to address the practical aspects of how urban development projects
can contribute to sustainability. It will argue the case for promoting urban sustainability by showing
how it can contribute to economic and social goals as well as tackling the mitigation
of the urban issue and adapting to climate change.

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Networks and Institutions in Natural Resource Management (co-ed.with E. Falleth) 2006 (Edward Elgar) ;
Urban and Environmental Planning in the UK, Palgrave, 2003 ;
Conflict, Consensus and Rationality in Environmental Planning : an institutional discourse approach, Oxford University, 2003.

MAKING SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT AN URBAN REALITY

It is now two decades since the publication of the Brundtland Report *Our Common Future* (OUP, 1987) and the words 'sustainable development' and 'sustainability' are everywhere. Yet we have limited change that might be considered actually to contribute to a sustainable future. Environmentalists decry the lack of ambition in policy makers and their unwillingness to impose action for sustainability. Yet, economic actors continue to argue that the costs of meeting the sustainability goal are too high, and that policymakers are 'gold-plating' their requirements (i.e. setting the regulatory hurdle too high). At the same time, urban communities claim that the emphasis on sustainability is prioritising future generations or far-distant communities at their expense. They stress their urgent needs for decent housing, local employment and adequate social facilities.

In this presentation, I wish to suggest that there does not need to be a choice. Sustainable development can deliver viable urban projects, meet the needs of local communities and make a significant contribution to mitigating climate change as well as other environment goals. This might sound too good to be true. Indeed, such an outcome is not easy to achieve. It requires significant knowledge of the development options, as well as constant communication with all development stakeholders. To be achieved it needs development actors to be willing to change rather than remain in set pathways. But there are coherent arguments why all partners to urban development should be actively rethinking their current practices.

First, there can be cost savings as well as extra expenditure associated with such developments. Operating costs in several areas will fall under sustainable designs and these can offer paybacks on the capital investment within reasonable times. As markets in many sustainable technologies evolve, costs will fall and reduce these payback times even further.

Many development companies and development occupiers are already using sustainable urban development to raise their market profile and deliver a unique selling point. Sustainability issues continue to achieve a higher location on policy and media agendas and more corporate actors are turning to CSR (Corporate Social Responsibility) initiatives to ensure that they are seen as market leaders not followers. The built environment has a key role to play in making CSR physically visible and real.

A sustainable urban development will be a better long term investment. Rather than repeating the buildings of the past, a sustainability approach encourages developers and other building environment actors to think into the future. Our buildings last many years, hopefully many decades. This demands that sustainability concerns are included from the outset. More and more long term property investors are now recognising this point.

Given that climate change is inevitable, there is a requirement for planners and builders of new urban developments to take this on board and provide us with a building environment that is resilient in the face of future changes : changes in temperatures, in rainfall, in ground stability, in wind speeds, in flooding. This provides an opportunity to rethink the kind of urban development that will be provided and to include not only measures to adapt to climate change but to mitigate it also.

A quick look at the direction that policy is taking at international, European and many national levels highlights that changes in urban development practices now, is the only way to avoid policy risk in the future. If development actors do not begin to think now how to deliver sustainable urban environments, then they will get caught out by policy developments which will render their development prematurely obsolete. Just think about the impact that personal or corporate carbon budgets could have!

And finally, we don't want to repeat the mistakes of the past. The rapid building of the postwar years created many planning disasters in Europe and North America. If we do no take on board the sustainability challenge within the urban development community then this could be a period which future generations regard as yet another example of planning failure. And yet we have the knowledge and means to make this an era where urban developers and planners are seen as sustainability champions.

debate

This vision needs collective action. To truly break the cost barriers to sustainable urban development requires that a substantial number of development actors follow this pathway. The time for reliance on individual Best Practice examples is past. And to move from occasional exemplary developments to sustainability being a standard feature of urban projects needs government at all levels to set a common framework now for promoting both the degree of innovation that is currently seen as feasible and pushing the boundary of what is considered feasible innovation. Governments have to commit themselves to progressing that framework in an open and transparent manner, raising their expectations for sustainable development outcomes in a way that is reasonable but also ambitious. Then our urban developments will continue to promote innovation for sustainability and achieve implementation of that elusive goal, sustainable development.

The presentation will illustrate these arguments with examples from successful developments at both the building and development area level, including an example from UK practice with brownfield sites.

Yvonne RYDIN

Workgroup discussions will focus on the following questions:

➢ What are the arguments for incorporating sustainability concerns with urban projects?

➢ What is the practical and economic viability of promoting sustainable projects?

➢ What priorities must be foreseen for urban planning and policy from a sustainability perspective?

Chair of the workgroup

Joris DEMOOR,
City of Gent Department staff services
ABIS (Department general policy
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Program Strategic Funds
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Workgroup 3.3
The added value of a city planning agency
in a structural city planning operation

Driving urban projects, defining their contours in terms of organisation and planning, and to help raise awareness
for the need of cooperation between the various institutions are the main purposes of city planning agencies.
An explanation based on the Euroméditerranée planning operation in Marseille.

Christian BRUNNER ,
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Structuring operation/governance and the role of the city-planning agency in the Marseille conurbation
The example of the Euroméditerranée operation in Marseille

The Euromed operation reveals the part played by a city-planning agency and the added value contributed by this type of structure.It illustrates perfectly the various missions which have been set aside for it, and highlights the fundamental issue of city governance served by a shared objective and in which the Marseille City-planning Agency has taken centre stage.

Introductory research followed by the creation of an operation of interest at national level

At the end of the 1980s Marseille was faced with serious planning, social and economic problems.
The city was losing 10,000 to 15,000 residents per year to the peripheral area and job losses were in the vicinity of 2,500 to 3,000 per annum.

The Marseille conurbation city-planning agency, set up at the beginning of the 1970s in the framework of the Land Orientation Act (a fundamental law in France), was tasked to undertake introductory research which, when concluded led to a proposal suggesting that a perimeter, city organisation principles and programmes should be established.

The task of working out a reference framework to serve as a basis for discussion between local and national partners was then entrusted to it.

The part played by the Agency was important, because in addition to the actual research it also took on an important teaching role, designed to explain and involve the population in the impact of the establishment of a second harbour base 50 km from Marseille and the effects of the changes to be made to the economic transportation model.

The impact in city-planning and socio-economic terms outlined the subject for a large-scale awareness-raising initiative undertaken by the Agency.

At the conclusion of the research and pre-planning stage, which lasted several years, a consensus was reached which focussed on the fact that only a wide-ranging urban rehabilitation programme could return some shape to the city and support a powerful urban rehabilitation action.

Because of the geographical and historical importance of Marseille as a Mediterranean port, the State agreed to become involved in order to ensure that the project was not merely a town planning operation and would therefore have a European/Mediterranean scope in terms of image and strategy.

This was the origin of an operation of national interest dubbed Euroméditerranée supported by the creation of a special public body with special powers in terms of planning, investigation and economic development.

Three missions were entrusted to the public body:
> to help reposition Marseille as a leading European city by strengthening its role as a European trading centre,
> to provide Marseille with the means to fulfil its metropolitan vocation by creating a tertiary hub on an international scale and the tools capable of generating 15,000 jobs, most of which would be upper-level city-based functions,
> to reorganise a 310 ha perimeter to strengthen the centre of Marseille and upgrade its attractions to business, to residents and tourists.

From the outset of the creation of the public body, very close collaboration was established with the City-planning Agency in order to both fine-tune the introductory research which had been carried out and to set up the follow-up and assessment system which all the partners wanted.

The part played by agAM (the Marseille City-planning Agency) in setting up and then the following up of the assessment system:

A statistical procedure was organised with the data suppliers. agAM re-thought its own information and resource system in order to be in a position to respond to these requirements.

This was no easy matter since the French statistical apparatus as applied to urban areas involves a large number of operators and producers of information.

The data which formed the subject of the follow-up and assessment procedures related to building permits, business, jobs created, city-planning follow-up, wealth creation, enterprises established and so on - today the Agency also works on additional indicators dealing with the needs of the enterprises and employment qualification levels.

Operational balance sheet

The **balance sheet** drawn up ten years after the launching has revealed a number of factors:

> Marseille now has an attractive business district and its international dimension is confirmed by the extent of the investors involved, of the businesses based there and the architects concerned (400,000 m^2 of office space, 1 billion Euros invested, 17,000 jobs and 700 enterprises set up or with premises there).

> the metropolis has regained a growth dynamic which has repositioned it as a premier European city (it has moved up five places in the European ranking system).

> with nearly 200,000 m^2 of public amenity and over 2,500 homes, 800 of which are public housing project-based, Euroméditerranée has contributed enormously to the aesthetic appeal of Marseille and has also helped build up tourism.

> all operations are under way and the implementation deadline has been set at three or four years with final building and layout completion set for 2012.

The part played by the Agency in the work upstream of the perimeter extension

From the start of the Euromed operation, the City-planning Agency has broadcast a strong, clear message about the need to think on several levels, since a significant number of proposals examined within the strict framework of the operational perimeter were taking shape and/or having effects far beyond it.

It was unimaginable that a prosperity perimeter could be laid out which didn't take into account its environment, expressed at various levels.

Whether it was a question of population displacement, economic development or the creation of amenities, the City-planning agency was the guarantor that the relevant levels would be factored in.

Just as the Operation of National Interest (ONI) had been set up fifteen years earlier, agAM had been mobilised to describe the extent of the first perimeter and to put that into perspective. It participated in the various working groups which the State and the local partners had organised. The results available, thanks to the assessment system set up by agAM in particular were in great demand.

Strengthened by the positive balance sheet from the first ten years and the factoring in of suitable levels for predicting the form and content of the extension, the principle of this extension was acted on by the partners at the end of 2006 with the following objectives:

> socio-economic objectives:
  - to speed up job creation,
  - to make the city more attractive,
  - to support the development of the port
  - to improve the quality of life of the residents,
  - to contribute to the development of tourism and the spread of the city's culture.

> city development objectives:
  - to continue the development of the sea front while seeking the best interface between the city and the port,
  - to continue the development of the city centre towards the north,
  - to respond to the needs of the surrounding districts in terms of amenities, services and public spaces.
  - to improve the interface with the other zones concerned and the large-scale city projects,
  - to include the principles of sustainable development.

> quantitative objectives:
  - 10,000 homes, 10,000 jobs, 500,000 m^2 of office space, 100,000 m^2 of metropolitan amenities,

> timetable:
  without excluding swifter operations, particularly those being carried out on public land, the projects to be defined in the framework of the extension will be implemented as of 2012/2013 for a duration of some ten years.

The role played by agAM in the city-port interface problem scenario

The unique aspect of the Euroméditerranée operation is that it is developing in a close, mainly physical, involvement with the independent port of Marseille (Eastern Basins).

The fact is that Eastern Basins are at an important moment in their history, a transitional stage in respect of their development conditions and evolution.

The port, based on world-scale economic models shaped by mass transportation, freight specialisation (containers) and hydrocarbons linked to large-scale transportation networks, was established 30 years ago at Fos-sur-Mer at some 50 km distance, and territorially dependent on another local authority.

The port strategy as regards its Eastern Basins is therefore based on multiple factors wherein niche and trans-Mediterranean freight shipment, naval repairs and cruises must be counterbalanced.

The issue which governs the present moment is that of examining the conditions whereby this multi-faceted port can develop without ignoring the urban context and the synergies to be favoured and upgraded. In my capacity as Director of agAM, the Board of Directors of the independent port has asked me to chair a working group on urban synergies.

According to the port management, it is this power to mediate and the practice of operating between institutions which motivated the choice of agAM.

In a delicate matter where points of view are bound to be quite different, the objectivity of the Agency and its expertise in these skills are in demand.

The work has just been set in motion. The working group has been set up and the initial meetings are being held.

agAM expresses an ongoing willingness to explain, teach, make comparisons with what is going on elsewhere and to seek objectivity so that discussion can be based on uncontested data.

The reciprocity of the needs to modernise the port and renew the city is based on a recognition of large-scale issues facing city and port:
> territorial excellence (shoreline frontage) calling for responses which are bound to be out of the ordinary,
> an increasing shortage of land which requires that choices be based on principles of optimisation,
> the need, mainly via Euromed, to develop metropolitan and international functions (business district, large-scale amenities, housing, services and functions, international business support),
> an already significant synergy in the framework of Euromed 1 (the Museum of Civilisation of Europe and the Mediterranean - MUCEM, a new urban environment which is passenger-friendly, port terraces, etc) to be strengthened.

The port issues concern the need to reinforce the Marseille port base in a context which is rapidly developing and to continue with the implementation of the overall port strategy (250 million invested in the Eastern Basins over 8 years) in the framework of which functions have a privileged urban relationship are developing, particularly cruise/passenger trips, sailing and professional sailing.

Governance issues

These are of fundamental importance, since initiating and developing an operation of this scale (500 ha) is inconceivable without close cooperation between the State and the various public bodies, but the involvement of the economic partners of the chamber of commerce and the port are also essential.

The form of the public body which includes on its Board of Directors the all of the players has been decided as the best organisational formula.

Despite the independence arising from its status, the Board of Directors is obliged to factor in the various contributions together with the influence and impact of the decisions and actions taken by the Board.
> the metropolitan level in respect of various functions: large-scale amenities, higher level city-based jobs,
> conurbation level: particularly in terms of economic positioning and commercial supply,
> urban level in respect of the supply of accommodation, amenities and jobs.

The fact is that the Euroméditerranée operation cannot be seen in isolation as an island of prosperity and wealth. It must be involved with the surrounding districts.

The logical outcome of the part played by the City-planning Agency: membership of Euromed on the agAM Board of Directors

By definition the role of the Agency has been and will continue to be of crucial importance in inter-territorial and inter-institutional matters.

agAM has been involved in the entire process of the operation:
> introductory studies for the perimeter and the content,
> establishment of an assessment system,
> factoring in the various levels, particularly at the time of the extensions,
> specific studies and consultancy.

In order to better illustrate the involvement of the Agency in this structural operation, the decision was taken that the public body known as Euroméditerranée should join agAM in 2002.

This membership of the public body of the City-planning Agency authorities is the guarantee that the important issues will be factored in at the various levels.

Without being exhaustive, below is a list of some of the missions set down in the annual partnership meeting with the Euromed public body.

> at the economic level:
  In the framework of the economic development, jobs and qualifications Observatory, agAM draws up an annual note on the balance sheet of job creation, including in particular:
  - An analysis of the location of the head offices of enterprises set up on the perimeter,
  - A categorisation of the businesses according to staff numbers, area of activities, and the economic and fiscal impact of Euroméditerranée.

It runs a steering group responsible for investigating the development of new metropolitan amenities in the perspective of the Euroméditerranée extension.

Through this work it is able to develop its observation of metropolises in the framework to which it can put the development of some fifteen non-capital European conurbations under the microscope.

It has set up a survey of recruitment, training and service needs experienced by the enterprises established on the Euroméditerranée perimeter.

> at the urban level:
  The Agency is responsible for the management and development of the city planning documents which encapsulate the project (PLU[1], ZAC[2], PAE[3]), plus the city planning studies.

It has a duty to work on the presentation files of all the programmes for new housing on the perimeter of the EPAEM[4], which has an architectural aspect and a building and occupation aspect.

It sits on competition juries.

Also it has a considerable involvement in contributing to the extension project of the operation of national interest via analyses relating to the incorporation of the project into its urban environment (subject-based consultancy, reference framework and urban data, the development of urban goods and passenger transportation systems, the effect of the LGV Paca - [Alps Province and Cote d'Azur High Speed Line], benchmarking competitor cities, etc.).

Christian BRUNNER

Workgroup discussions will focus on the following points:

➤ Main issues concerning agreement on large layout operations.

➤ Big issues involved in re-balancing the territories.

➤ The international strategy question: what assessment system should be set up for these large-scale operations?

➤ The place of culture in large-scale projects, and the consideration of image and identity.

➤ The issues of broad contemporary debate: verticality, sustainable development, others...

[1] Local City Plan.

[2] Concerted City-Planning Zone.

[3] Total City-Planning Programme.

[4] Établissement Public d'Aménagement Euroméditerranée - Euroméditerranée Public City Planning Organisation.

Plenary session [Conclusion]

Marie-Laure ROGGEMANS, Chair

Peter HALL, Speaker

Spaces and Flows in 21st-Century Europe

Manuel Castells has made a famous distinction between "The Space of Places" and "The Space of Flows". Flows – of people, of information – are profoundly reshaping the system of global and European cities. Some argue that the traditional urban hierarchy is no longer relevant. This presentation will argue that it is still important, but that it is taking a new form dominated by "Global Mega-City Regions".

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The argument is still heard that cities have no future. Ten years ago Frances Cairncross predicted the "*Death of Distance*" (Cairncross 1995, 1997): a world in which the traditional distance-deterrence effects, embodied in every locational model, diminish to zero and the entire world becomes a frictionless plain on which it is perfectly easy to locate any activity anywhere. In such a scenario, everyone will be free to locate in the place that best suits their personal preferences and whims, inter-communicating freely and at uniform cost with every other person in the world. Because the long-term trend in advanced societies has been for people to migrate from city to suburb and from suburb to countryside, so this scenario runs, we can expect a huge dispersal of human beings and human activities across continents. Five thousand and more years of city-building will come to an end: the traditional advantages of the city as a place for doing business, and for living, will finally have been eroded.

The Shift to the Knowledge Economy

The reasoning behind this argument is economic, technological and organisational. Economically, the balance of production in advanced economies has shifted sharply away from manufacturing and goods-handling and towards services, especially those that handle information. Manuel Castells has described this as the transition to the informational mode of production: a shift as momentous, in his view, as the shift from an agrarian to an industrial economy in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries (Castells 1989; Castells 1996; Hall 1995b, 1995c). This is not new: it was already recognised over half a century ago (Clark 1940); by 1991, in typical advanced countries, already by 1991 between three-fifths and three-quarters of all employment was in services, while between one-third and one-half was in information handling: for information, the proportions were 48 per cent for the United States, 46 per cent for the UK, 45 per cent for France, 39 per cent for Germany and 33 per cent for Japan. Typically these proportions have doubled since the 1920s (Castells 2000, 304-324). The trends are very strong and consistent, so there can be little doubt that the proportions will continue to rise, so that by 2025 80-90 per cent of employment in these economies will be in services, and up to 60-70 per cent will be in information production and exchange.

The question then becomes: what exactly is the nature of the work performed in these informational services, and that does that imply for their location? Manuel Castells' celebrated work speaks of the "*space of flows*", the space where the information flows (Castells 1989, 1996). In research on *Four World Cities*, comparing London, Paris, New York and Tokyo, we distinguished four key sectors of the metropolitan economy: financial and business services, both financial and non-financial (including the fast-growing design services like architecture, engineering and fashion); command and control functions such as company headquarters, national and international government agencies, and the whole web of activities that grows around them; cultural and creative industries including the live arts and the electronic and print media; and tourism, both leisure and business (G.B. Government Office for London 1996). These are highly synergistic; and many key activities (hotels, restaurants; museums, art galleries; the media) occupy the interstices between these four sectors *(Fig. 1a)*. All four sectors essentially deal with the generation, exchange and utilisation of information in different forms. They relate closely to the "*cognitive-cultural economy*" identified in Allen Scott's paper for this conference. They cater simultaneously for local, national and international markets; the international business, though generally a minority share, is significant in providing an export base. Further, they merge rather confusingly with advanced consumer services (conferences; cultural tourism) which in practice are often difficult to distinguish. Some but not all of them are now exhibiting productivity gains associated with the injection of information technology, which is producing jobless growth. They offer a wide range of job opportunities, but - as stressed by Scott - there is a sharp tendency to polarisation: on the one hand there are what Robert Reich (1991) has called the *symbolic analysts*, performing jobs that require high formal education, professional training and interpersonal skills; on the other, there is a wide range of semi-casual and low-paid work in personal services, which offer no career prospects and are often unattractive as an alternative to welfare payments (Wilson 1987, 1996).
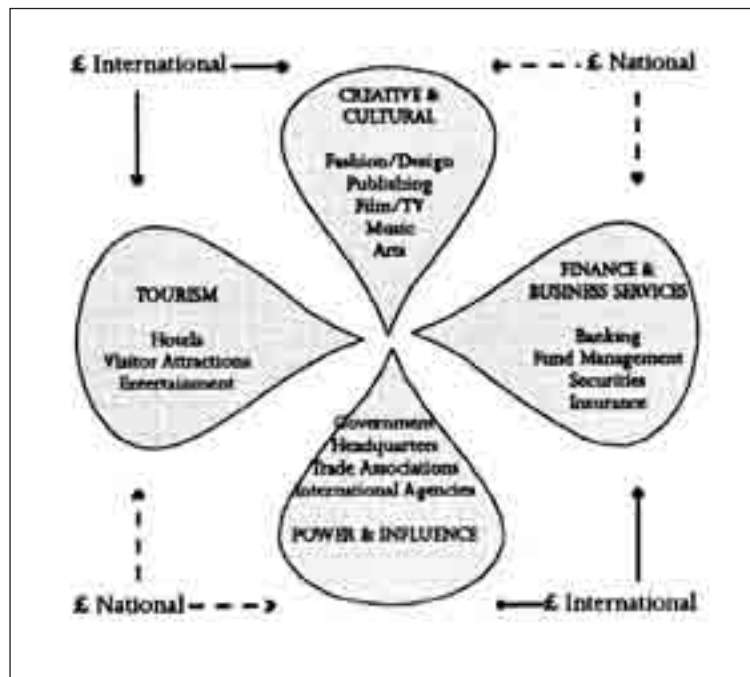
Fig. 1a Four Key Sectors in World Cities
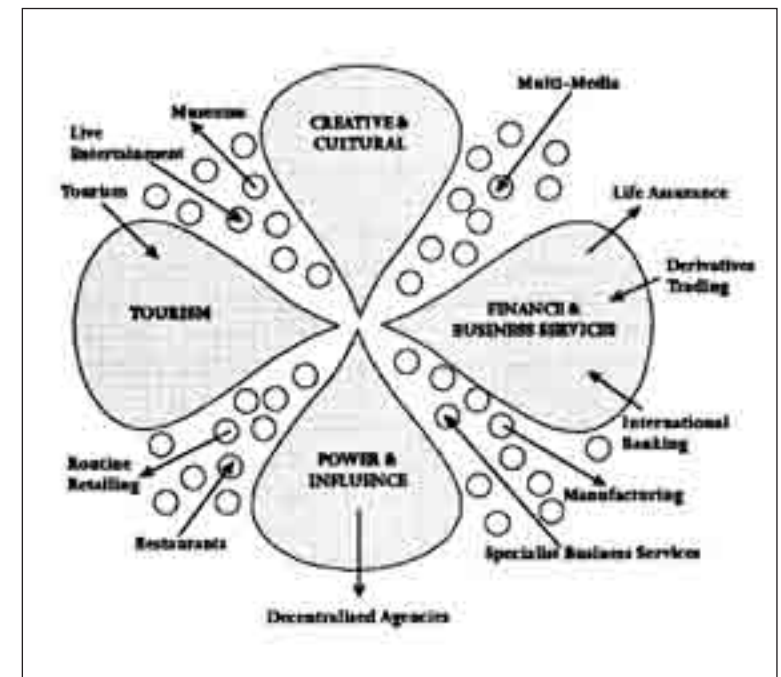*Source: G.B. Government Office for London 1996*

Fig. 1b Four Key Sectors in World Cities: Interstitial Activities and Trends
Source: Government Office for London 1996

Technologically, the cost of both personal travel and of telecommunications has dramatically fallen over the last half century, as the first jet airliners have been supplanted by the jumbo jets and as the internet has become the medium of preference for telecommunication. Telecommunications costs have fallen most dramatically: the cost of a three-minute call from London to New York, expressed in constant 1996 prices, fell from £486.98 in 1927 to £62.80 in 1945, £12.46 in 1970 and £0.52 in 1996 (Cane 1996), and the internet is effectively free once a flat fee is paid.

Organisationally, global corporations have exploited these technologies to extend into every country, crossing and increasingly ignoring national boundaries. But globalisation too is not new. Ancient Athens and Renaissance Florence were global cities for their worlds, as was London from the sixteenth century onward (Hall 1998). Thirty foreign banks were already established in London before 1914, 19 between the two world wars, another 87 down to 1969. Then the pace accelerated: 183 in the 1970s, 115 in the first half of the 1980s; in all, between 1914 and the end of 1985 the number of foreign banks in the City grew more than fourteen-fold, from 30 to 434. Both London and New York now had

more foreign than domestic banks (Thrift 1987, 210; King 1990, 89-90, 113; Moran 1991, 4; Coakley 1992, 57-61; Kynaston 1994, 1995, passim). So the scope of globalisation has progressively widened.

But there are problems with the "*death of the city*" formulation. First, though it is undoubtedly true that the long-term trend is for both transportation costs and communication costs to fall dramatically, they never quite diminish to zero, nor do they become spatially indifferent; it will always cost more to call New York than another part of London. The internet may appear to be the exception, but high-speed broadband access will always be unevenly available, with the highest-level

access available in the major centres where there is the most demand. Long-distance personal movement has also fallen in cost, but less dramatically; and there are additional time-costs in being located remotely from major air or rail hubs.

There is a basic reason for this continuing agglomeration: although telecommunications can substitute for personal movement and face-to-face contact, they can also complement and stimulate it. It was observable that the invention of the telephone, in 1876, was immediately followed by the development of concentrations of high-rise business offices in the centres of New York City and Chicago, together with the growth of commuter railroad traffic; paradoxically, the telephone had a concentrating rather than a dispersing effect on business (Hall 1998, 770). This was explained by John Goddard, whose early work on London showed that the telephone was used for preliminary "*programmed*" contacts but personal meetings were used for more important discussions of an "*unprogrammed*" nature, where the outcome was uncertain (Goddard 1973). Evidence from France suggests that over a period of more than a century, roughly since the spread of the electric telegraph and the invention of the telephone, personal business traffic has grown at almost exactly the same pace as telecommunications traffic (Graham and Marvin 1996; *Fig. 2*). This strongly suggests that telecommunications of all kinds do not finally replace the need for face-to-face contact. Not merely the growth of personal business traffic by air and rail, but also the development of the conference/convention industry, suggest that this must be the case.
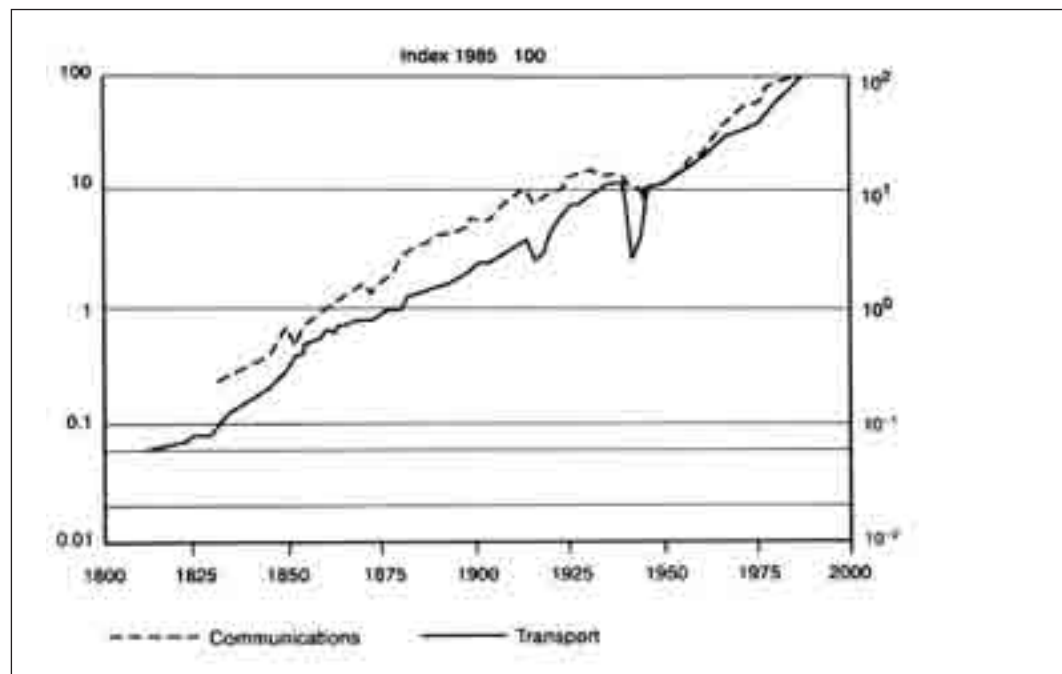

Fig. 2 Growth of Passenger Transport and Communications in France
Source: Graham and Marvin 1996

This continuing significance of face-to-face communication is surely true, if data were available, intercontinentally, internationally, and within a country: personal transport increases with electronic communication. All the evidence, even from high priests of cyberspace like Bill Gates or Bill Mitchell of MIT (Gates 1995, Mitchell 1995), suggests that city centres will retain their unique role in providing the most efficient locations for much of this activity, simply because of the accumulated weight of interrelated functions that have historically accrued there, and because radially-oriented transport systems focus on them. The 1996 *Four World Cities* study showed that although some activities decentralise from the major cities, others grow to take their place (*Fig. 1b*). This is the basic reason why the economies of cities like London, Madrid, New York and Los Angeles are now growing so remarkably: it is that the economic drivers so heavily concentrate in these cities. The empirical evidence suggests that the hierarchy of cities here in Europe has not changed very much in the last forty years and will not change very much in the future.

Face-to-Face Information Transfer: Air and High-Speed Rail

So the need is to understand how information moves for face-to-face communication. Over longer distances it will continue to move by air, through the great international airports (Shin and Timberlake 2000: Fig. 3). It is interesting to notice the correspondence between this list and another from recent research by the GaWC (Globalisation and World Cities) Programme at Loughborough University in England, which shows the urban hierarchy of the informational or knowledge economy, as demonstrated by the internal branch office structure of large multi-locational Advanced Producer Service (APS) (Taylor 2004: Fig. 4). The two are significantly very similar.

The main new influence is likely to be the development of the European high-speed train system, on present plans largely in place shortly before 2010, but with trans-alpine connections to follow during the decade 2010-2020 (Hall 1995a). We know from extensive experience here in Europe, and in Japan, that these trains will take about 80-90 per cent of traffic up to about 500 kilometres and about 50 per cent up to about 800 kilometres.; the most recent evidence from France suggests the competitive range of the high-speed train may be even greater because of its comfort and convenience for business travellers (Pepy and Leboeuf 2005, Pepy and Perren 2006). This means that even by 2010, when the system will connect all major cities of north-west and east-central Europe (Glasgow-London-Paris-Brussels-Frankfurt-Munich-Zurich-Berlin-Amsterdam), and even more so by 2020, when the system will connect all the principal cities of Europe from Bari right up to Glasgow and Umeå, virtually all traffic between key city pairs - Naples and

1: *London*

2: *Frankfurt*

3: *Paris*

4: NEW YORK

5: *Amsterdam*

6: *Zürich*

7: MIAMI

8: LOS ANGELES

9: Hong Kong

10: Singapore

11: Tokyo

12: Seoul

Fig. 3 World Airport Hierarchy
N America CAPITALIZED, *Europe italicized,*
E/S Asia underlined
Source: Shin and Timberkake 2000

A. ALPHA WORLD CITIES
12: *London, Paris,* NEW YORK, Tokyo
10: CHICAGO, *Frankfurt*, Hong Kong, LOS ANGELES, *Milan*, Singapore

B. BETA WORLD CITIES
9: SAN FRANCISCO, Sydney, TORONTO, *Zürich*
8: *Brussels, Madrid*, Mexico City, São Paulo
7: *Moscow*, Seoul

Fig. 4 GaWC Global Cities
N America CAPITALIZED, *Europe italicized,*
E/S Asia underlined
Source: Taylor 2004

Rome and Milan, Milan and Paris, Munich and Cologne, Cologne and Brussels, Brussels and London, Brussels and Paris, Copenhagen and Stockholm - will go by rail. The longer-distance traffic - southern to northern Europe, far west Europe to far east Europe, as well of course as intercontinental traffic - will largely remain in the air, and a critical planning question will then become the linkages at the airports between the two systems. This question is considered further below.

The Impact of Connectivity

It is thus generally felt that inter-city connections are important in raising economic productivity. But hard evidence seems to be lacking. An intensive review has recently been conducted in the UK as part of the review of transport policy headed by Sir Rod Eddington, supported by a commissioned research study (Eddington 2006a, b; Crafts and Leunig 2005). This acknowledges that in national economies, transport networks have historically played a critical role in driving phases of rapid economic growth. Step changes in connectivity, often associated with new transport (and more recently communications) technologies, have been of particular significance. But in countries with well-established transport networks, giving good connectivity between centres, there is considerably less scope for such dramatic effects. Here, the report suggests, attention should be focused on the capacity and performance of existing domestic links, and the addition of new links to support the growth and performance of the labour market in growing and congested urban areas, through an incremental approach. Research suggests that it is important not only to consider the benefits from investment, but also the efficiency with which existing transport networks are used.

Internationally, the most recent phase of globalisation appears to be driven by a rapid expansion in global connectivity, triggered by new communications technologies, and falling international transport costs. The report argues that it is perhaps too early to judge whether this could represent another step change that will drive significant growth in the global economy. Here, it may be unduly conservative - and too little cognisant of the likely impacts of the new high-speed train connections.

Eddington concludes from the evidence that transport improvements aimed at tackling existing problems and shortages - such as urban congestion in successful urban economies - are most likely to offer real benefits. Elsewhere, in less vibrant areas transport improvements will not turn around a local economy when adequate transport provision already exists. Instead, other policy measures will be important (Eddington 2006a, 16).

The Eddington study thus fails to find any connection between transport investment and measures of economic performance, except perhaps to boost the performance of already-strong regions: "*a transport link is unlikely to improve an unproductive urban area unless there is underlying demand for this connection, and that productivity returns are likely to be greatest where there is demand for transport, as manifest, for example, through congestion*" (Eddington 2006b, 15-16). That is likely to be disputed.

Some international evidence

It is notable that this conclusion depends heavily on UK research at a broad scale, and appears to contract a great deal of evidence from more specific local evaluations of transport impacts - as, for instance, of the Japanese Shinkansen or the French TGV. The original Tokaido Shinkansen in Japan, which opened in 1964, has accelerated the growth of the major cities along the line, and speeded up the development of a megalopolis. Tokyo and Osaka, especially Tokyo, have generally been strengthened while the position of Nagoya, the main intermediate city, has been weakened (Kamada 1980, 48). On the TGV-Sud Est between Paris and Lyon, opened in 1981-3, similarly, the result is that the structural effects have been centred on urban poles and their immediate environs (Bonnafous 1987, 129). There is an historic imbalance between the economies of the two regions at the end of the TGV-SE line: Rhone-Alpes has half the population of the Paris region but only one-third of the production, one-fifth of the higher level services, and one-twenty-fifth of the headquarters of top companies (Bonnafous 1987, 131). Surveys show that highlevel services in RhôneAlpes benefited by getting better access to Paris, while Paris competitors are happy to stay with their own market. Parisians increased their journeys by 52 per cent to RhoneAlpes to buy or sell a service, while inhabitants of RhoneAlpes increased theirs by 144 per cent (Bonnafous 1987, 136). Thus service industries, particularly consultancies, do not need to move to Paris, but can sell their services from Lyon (Bonnafous 1987, 135-6).

On the new trunk line of the European TGV, linking London, Brussels, Paris, Amsterdam and Cologne, we should expect to see a reinforcement or enhancement of the positions of London, Paris, Brussels, Cologne and Frankfurt and a weakening of intermediate places; the sole exception will be Lille, because of its position as hub of the entire system. Dutch research suggests that the system will increase the lead of Paris over all competing cities, but with London still in second place; Brussels will gain sharply; the British provincial cities all drop sharply in their relative scores (Bruinsma and Rietveld 1993). The general effect is bound to be that cities in the European heartland - the "Golden Pentagon" bounded by London, Paris, Frankfurt and Amsterdam, with Brussels at the centre, connected by fast train networks which have a natural advantage over air - will mutually benefit; and this effect may extend over a wider fringe area, approximately as far as Glasgow-Edinburgh, Lyon-Grenoble, Munich, Zurich and Berlin. Beyond this, travel to and from the heartland will be predominantly by air; but fast trains may play an important role as regional systems focusing on such major centres as København, München, Milano and Madrid.

Both in the heartland and in these more peripheral regional nodes, there is likely to be increasing stress on good interconnection between longer-distance air and shorter-distance fast train feeds, because increasing air congestion may persuade deregulated airlines to invest in new train systems. We can already see these at Europe's most advanced airports: Amsterdam, Frankfurt, Paris-Charles de Gaulle and København-Kastrup; Brussels could soon be another. The likelihood is that these places will become effectively new urban centres, as Dejan Sudjic suggested over a decade ago (Sudjic 1992). They will not only attract a vast amount of business in the form of conference centres, exhibition centres and hotels; they are likely to become shopping centres in their own right, as can be seen at London's new Heathrow Terminal Five. So they will compete with traditional downtown areas as business hubs.

Within the major urban areas, high-speed trains will reinforce the position of the city centres and will tend to restrain any tendencies to business decentralisation; but this may depend in part on the decision to develop an airport station, either as an addition to a central station or as an alternative to it. A critical question is whether new high-speed train stations can be used as the basis for urban development or regeneration efforts. On this, the evidence is ambivalent. There seems no doubt that new stations can stimulate local regeneration effects, both at the edge of the central business district and also in selected edge-city locations. Examples of the first are the huge Euralille development in Lille, the Part-Dieu development in Lyon, the Quartier-Lu in Nantes, and on a smaller scale at Wilhelmshöhe in Kassel, where in effect the old city centre has been displaced by planned regeneration around the new station. British Rail's first high-speed line, the InterCity 125 from London to Bristol, opened in 1976. The area around Reading Station 70 km west of London is now the third office centre in southern England after Central London and Croydon. However, office development was occurring even before 1976, associated with Reading's favourable position west of Heathrow, in the high-technology manufacturing belt that has come to be known as the M4 Corridor (even though the motorway was completed only in 1971, just five years before the train service opened). In Lyon, Part-Dieu is now the most favoured office location in the city, where total office space rose by 43 per cent between 1983 and 1990 (Sands 1993a, 25). In Nantes, a major regional centre in Brittany, located 380 km. from Paris, the city and private developers have collaborated to develop a mixed-use development incorporating a major conference centre and office park with about 592,000 sq.ft. (55,000 m_) on the 6.7 acre (2.7 ha.) site of an old biscuit factory (the Quartier Lu, officially the Quartier Champ-de-Mars-Madeleine), next to the new TGV-Atlantique station, which opened in 1990. However, like Reading and Bristol, Nantes was already a high-tech centre in its own right, and was proving attractive as a regional office location (Sands 1993b). On the other hand, the new Bruxelles-Midi station is located in an extremely depressed edge-of-centre area which has only recently showed signs of regeneration. In Lille a public-private partnership has built the Euralille Centre around the new TGV station, which opened in summer 1994 to coincide with the start of through Eurostar services via the Channel Tunnel; there seems to be no definitive evaluation as yet.

The most interesting cases are edge-city developments on the fringes of major metropolitan areas. The most important cases, because the best-documented, are in Japan. Shin Yokohama, some 25 miles south-west of Tokyo, was a station in a green field when it opened in 1964. Ten years later it had achieved a ridership of 15,000 a day, but then the figures fell to an average of 10,000 a day for the next decade. But then an underground station opened, cutting the journey to central Yokohama, four miles away, to 12 minutes; and JR introduced "Hikari" super-expresses; nearly half of all the super-expresses, 48 out of 105 each day in 1990, stop here. In a mere five years ridership nearly trebled, to 27,000 a day in 1989, the fastest growth of any station on the entire system. The physical result is quite anomalous: half the site, on one side of the railway, is still a rather derelict green field defiled by scrapyards and similar uses, because local citizens have resisted development. The other is an Edge City of concentrated new office development, which is evidently the creation of the railway: about one kilometre long and one third of a kilometre deep (Sands 1993b).

Shin Yokohama makes quite clear the development potential of high-speed trains. The only question is how many such development nodes it is realistic to create along a single line. In the UK, the Channel Tunnel High Speed link to London, due to open in November 2007, has two intermediate stations, at Stratford in East London and at Ebbsfleet just outside Greater London in the country of Kent; both "edge city" locations as defined here. Major commercial developments are proposed and are about to start at both stations; the first played a major role in selection of London for the 2012 Olympics next to the train station, which are predicted to have major urban regeneration impacts. But it is interesting that at this site, earlier independent assessments of development potential have shown great variations (PIEDA 1993). This illustrates the difficulty of predicting long-term parametric shifts in the pattern of development potential and resulting land values, arising from fundamental transport investments and/or major redevelopment schemes involving public-private partnership.

Measuring Information Flows

Unfortunately, there is virtually no direct measurement of the impact of communications infrastructure on patterns of location of the advanced service industries. It is possible to relate the distribution of global air traffic to measures of the global urban hierarchy. There is virtually no research on the pattern of telephone and internet traffic and its relation to urban development, because of the lack of data. Partial studies have been made of individual cities, starting with the pioneering work of John Goddard on London over thirty years ago (Goddard 1973). Halbert (2004) has mapped telecommunications flows for the Ile-De-France using a unique data set from France-Télécom *(Fig. 5)*; and Carlo Ratti has begun important work at MIT based on mobile telephone (cellphone) data (Berry and Ratti 2007 forthcoming). The POLYNET project attempted to map telephone and email traffic in North West Europe but the response rates were poor (Hall and Pain 2006). Insofar as patterns emerge, they suggest a strong concentration on the "First City" within each Mega-City Region, both of information flows within the region and of flows outside that region to other regions *(Figs. 6-7)*.

Given this lack of data, researchers have sought to employ proxies for information flows. As noticed earlier, the most important recent work on a global comparative scale has been done by the GaWC group (Taylor 2004, 2005). Taylor and his colleagues have applied their techniques at a regional scale in the POLYNET project. *Fig. 8* gives an illustration for South East England: it shows a degree of polycentricity, since some linkages bypass London, the "First City". The analysis was able to show
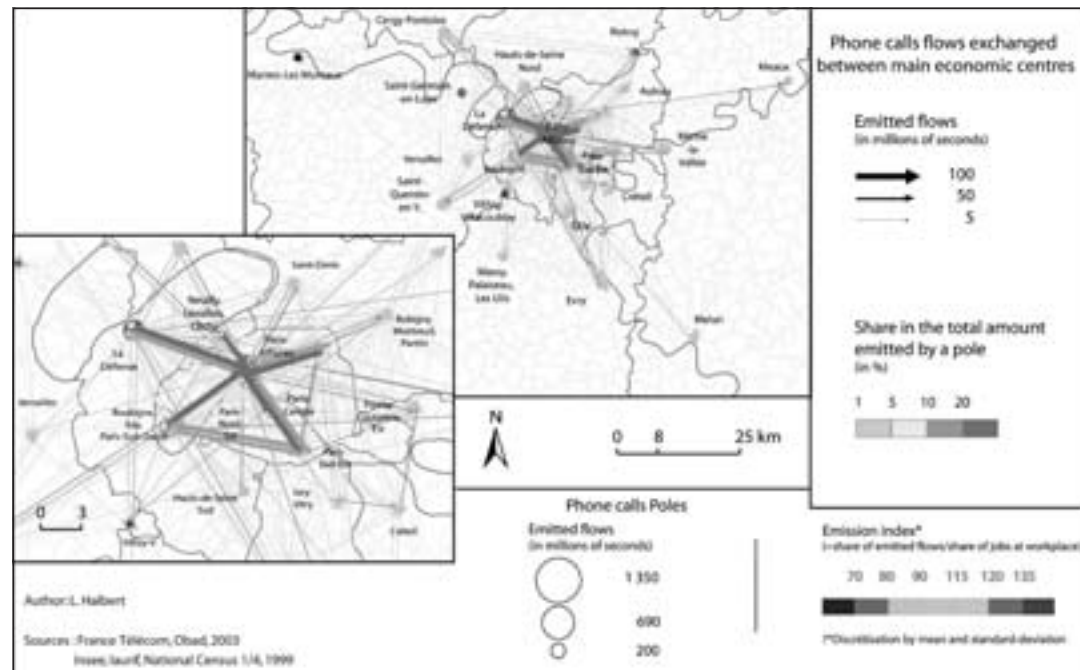

Fig. 5 Telecommunications Flows in Paris Region
Source: Halbert 2004

structures at different spatial scales: critically, at the highest (global) level, the structure was much more primate than at regional or local level. Thus, within the RhineRuhr region, Cologne recorded 99 per cent of Düsseldorf's local connectivity, but only 58 per cent of its global connectivity.
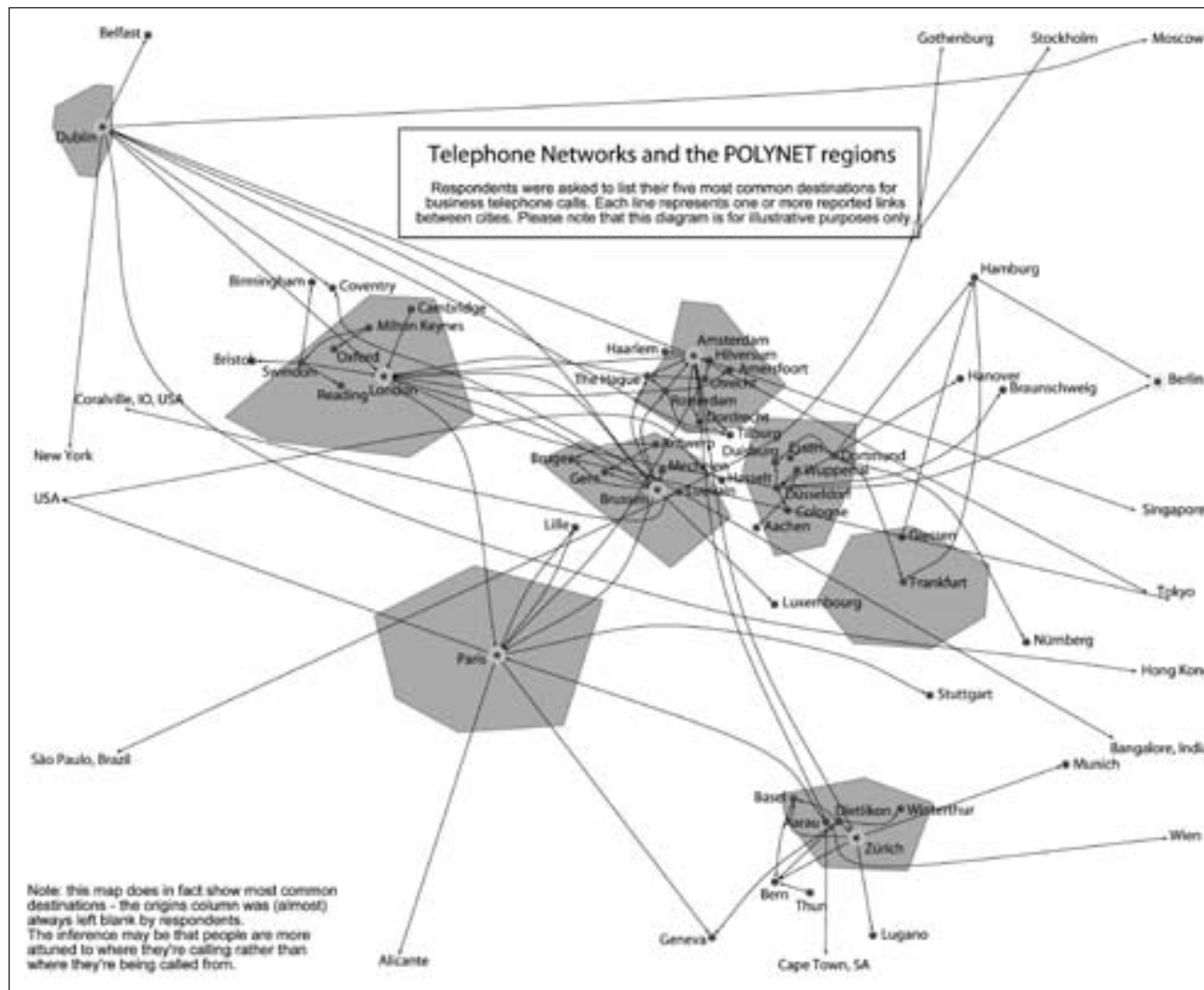
Fig. 6 Telecommunications Flows in European Mega-City Regions
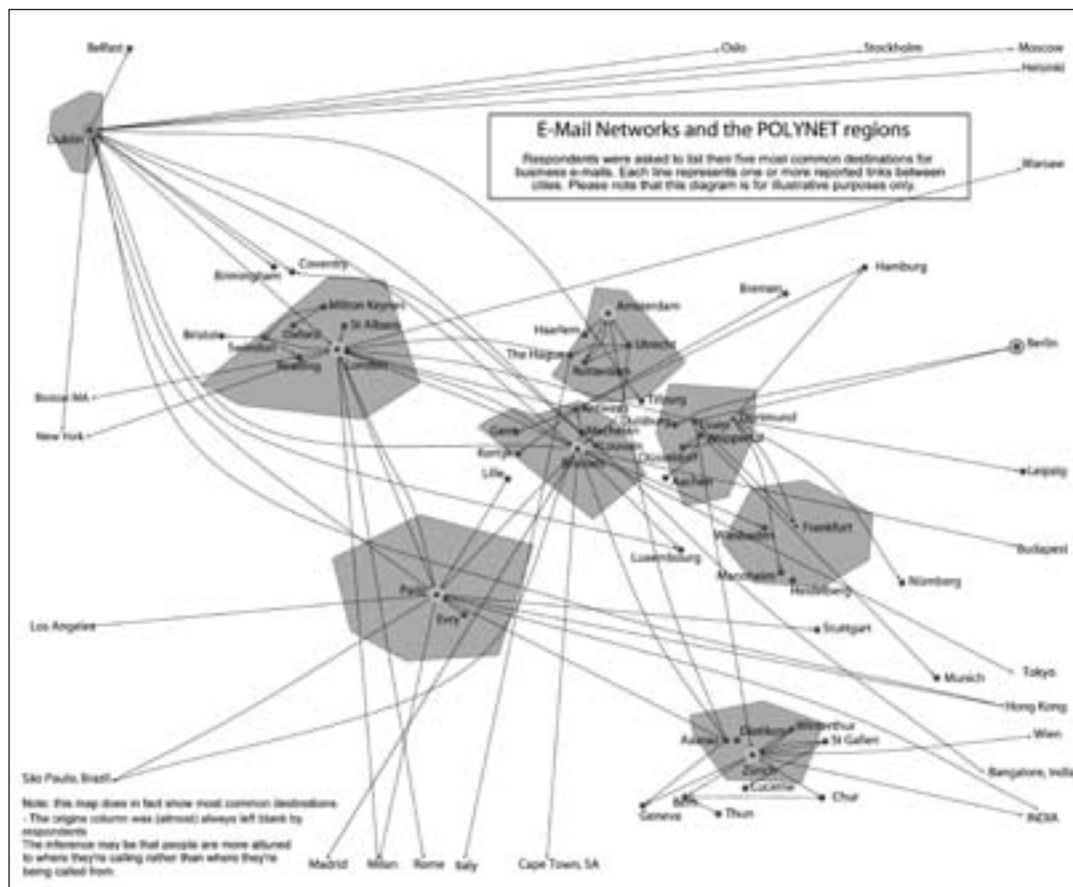Source: Hall and Pain 2006

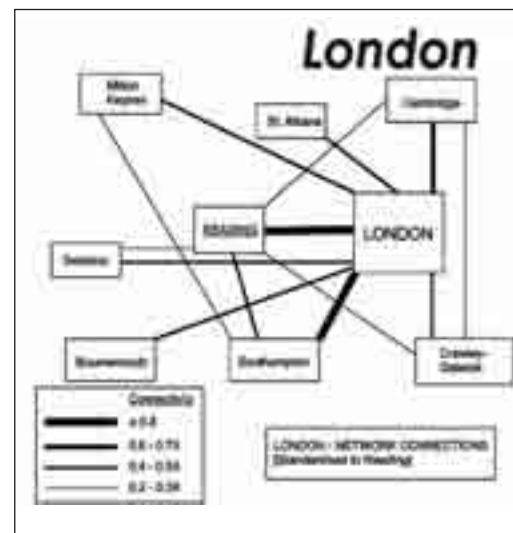Fig. 7 Email Flows in European Mega-City Regions
Source: Hall and Pain 2006

Fig. 8 Advanced Producer Services Business
Flows in South East England
Source: Hall and Pain 2006

Urban Quality and Urban Creativity

Do the physical attributes of cities and the 'quality of place' -cultural and residential environments, and lifestyle advantages - matter in attracting the kind of high-level workers who are deemed critical in driving and servicing economic development? The research in this area tends to the anecdotal. There are a number of well-known studies that seek to measure urban quality of life, going back to the original *Places Rated Almanac* published in the United States since 1981. This achieved some notoriety when in 1985 it ranked Pittsburgh the most liveable city in the United States - a conclusion may found implausible. It argued that this ranking was based on objective criteria such as low crime and housing costs, and its high arts, education and health care quality, and it has continued to rank the city highly, most recently at 12th place in 2000. However the city's economy has not been dynamic; rankings that include business performance tend to place it lower.

The Economist Intelligence Unit (EIU) periodically ranks 127 cities worldwide for quality of life, in terms of personal risk, infrastructure and the availability of goods and services.. In 2005 Vancouver scored top, followed by Melbourne, Vienna, Geneva, Perth, Adelaide, Sydney, Zürich, Toronto and Calgary. Notably, all the cities in the top "liveability" bracket were in Canada, Australia and Western (more specifically, Central) Europe. All, therefore, were in highly-developed countries with high levels of GDP per head. However, it is notable that other similar countries (the United States, United Kingdom, France, Germany and Italy) had no representation. Notably, also, all were medium-sized cities, ranging in size from 0.5 million (Geneva) to 4.9 million (Toronto), the majority between 1.0 and 2.2 million *(Table 3)*. There seems to have been no attempt to correlate these results with measures of economic performance, but all are affluent cities with high average personal incomes.

Florida goes on to try to quantify exactly what gives such places a specially attractive milieu. He develops a dependent variable, the Creativity Index, which is a mixture of four equally weighted factors: (1) the Creative Class share of the workforce; (2) innovation, measured as patents per capita; (3) a High-Tech industry index; and (4) diversity, measured by the Gay Index, used as a proxy for an area's openness to different kinds of people and ideas. This puts the San Francisco Bay Area as the undisputed leader in creativity; other leading metropolitan areas include both established East Coast cities like Boston, New York and Washington DC, as well as younger high-tech places like Austin (Texas), Seattle, San Diego and Raleigh-Durham (Florida 2002, 245-6). He produces some cross-correlations of rankings between the four constituent elements and the composite index, as well as other indicators such as the percentage of foreign-born immigrants and a "*Bohemian Index*" measuring the "*number of writers, designers, musicians, actors and directors, painters ands sculptors, photographers and dancers*", which he concludes is "*an amazingly strong predictor of everything from a region's high-technology base to its overall population and employment growth*" (Florida 2002, 260). He does not however produce regression results, nor is it at all clear what is supposed to cause what: the results could simply demonstrate that fast-growing regions are dominated by economic sectors that need large numbers of such creative individuals.

It is of course quite likely that these areas are demonstrating complex dynamic agglomeration effects: growing activities attract talented workers who then in turn generate new activities and new growth by a process of circular and cumulative causation, in much the same fashion as Alfred Marshall described over a century ago in a celebrated passage (Marshall 1890, 271).

Florida's work is based on American data and it is unclear whether it would produce similarly clear patterns if extended worldwide. Recent work for instance has compared the successful development of creative industries in London, Vancouver and Singapore, finding an explanation in the presence of a "*traditional*" or old urban structure (Hutton 2006). Yet Singapore does not fit easily into Florida's definition of the elements of a successful creative city.

An entirely different, historically-based, approach came from the present author in a study of six "*creative cities*" (Hall 1998): Athens in the fifth century B.C.; Renaissance Florence; Shakespearean London; Vienna in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries; Paris between 1870 and 1910; and Berlin in the 1920s. The first three of these cities became culturally creative long before they proved very adept either at technological advance, or in managing themselves effectively. All enjoyed golden ages even while the majority of their citizens laboured in abject poverty, and even while most people lived in conditions of abject squalor - at least, by today's standards.

These six cities varied enormously in size, but they were generally among the bigger and more important places of their time. They were generally rather unpleasant places, at least by the material standards of the early 21st century : even their haute bourgeoisie lived extraordinarily squalid lives compared to the average family in Europe or North America today. What was important was that every one of was in the course of rapid economic and social transformation, a city that in consequence had grown with dizzy speed. In economic terms they were sometimes world leaders (Athens, Florence, London, Berlin), sometimes laggards (Vienna, Paris) ; there is no clear pattern. But all led their respective polities, these polities were large by the standards of their day, and that made them magnets for the immigration of talent, as well as generators of the wealth that could help employ that talent.

Wealth clearly played an important role. It generated individual patronage, but also community patronage whether at the level of the city or [after the arrival of the nation in early modern times] the nation state. The role of the community was always vital, whether in creating the Florentine Baptistery or the court theatres of London or the Louvre or the Vienna Rathaus or the great Berlin theatres.

But the presence of talent may be more important than the availability of wealth. Notably, recent in-migrants - sometimes from the countryside, but often from far-distant places, provided both the audience and the artists : the Metics of ancient Athens, the artists who came to Florence from the countryside or from further afield, the provincial musicians of Vienna and provincial artists of Paris, the Jews in *fin-de-siècle* Vienna. The creative cities were nearly all cosmopolitan ; they drew talent from the far corners of the empires they controlled, often far-flung. Probably, no city has ever been creative without this kind of continued renewal of the creative bloodstream.

But these talented people then needed something, a stimulus, to react to. As noticed, these cities were in the throes of a transformation in social relationships, in values and in views about the world ; they all were in a state of uneasy and unstable tension between a set of conservative forces and values - aristocratic, hierarchical, religious, conformist - and a set of radical values which were the exact opposite : bourgeois, open, rational, sceptical. Creative cities, creative urban milieux, are places of great social and intellectual turbulence, not comfortable places at all.

What appears crucial is that this disjuncture is experienced and expressed by a group of creative people who feel themselves in some way outsiders : they both belong and they do not belong, because they are young or because they are provincial or even foreign, or because they do not belong to the established order of power and prestige ; quite often most or all of these things. A creative city will therefore be a place where outsiders can enter and feel a state of ambiguity : they must neither be excluded from opportunity, neither must they be so warmly embraced that the creative drive is lost. They must then communicate their *avant-garde* notions to at least part of the class that patronises them : they must communicate their uncertainties, their sense that there is another way of perceiving the reality of the world. That demands a widespread social and spiritual schism in the mainstream society, wide enough to provide at least a minority of patrons for the new product. So, once again, creative cities are almost certainly uncomfortable, unstable cities, cities in some kind of basic collective self-examination, cities in the course of kicking over the traces.

Generating Urban Creativity

Can creativity be generated by conscious urban policy? A relevant review is found in one chapter of a new book by Charles Landry (2006). He estimates that no less than 60 cities worldwide are currently claiming to be creative cities, twelve of them in Britain alone. But viewed more closely, most are concerned narrowly with strengthening the arts and cultural fabric and the creative industries. This, for him, is different from - though obviously related to - the critical issue, which is how to achieve a truly creative city. He gives specific individual examples of creativity policies in selected cities worldwide, deliberately leaving it to the reader to judge whether these are truly creative cities. But it seems clear that in the cases of Dubai, Singapore, the answer is negative - or at least, not a clear positive. Even in Barcelona, it is uncertain whether urban regeneration policies have really triggered creativity: "*Whether these add anything to the city's creativity potential, however, is an open question*" (Landry 2006, 368). Bilbao has been more successful, based on a stress on shared vision, shared ambition and shared vision based on common values: "*the way we do things around here*" (Landry 2006, 372). The result has been huge investment, which has made the city the equal of places like Rotterdam and Birmingham as a business location. One key to achieving this, Landry concludes, was the city's considerable budgetary autonomy - something that British cities, for instance, can only envy. In Brazil, Curitiba's global reputation - shared with Freiburg in Germany, as the world's most ecologically concerned city - has helped make it very successful economically, with a threefold increase of population in 35 years. Essentially it was the product of a group of activist architectural and design students - one of whom, Jaime Lerner, three times became the city's mayor. It is based on *urban acupuncture*: "*identifying pinpointed interventions that by being accomplished quickly can be catalytic by releasing energy and creating a positive ripple effects*" (Landry 2006, 377). These overcame inertia by completing projects almost before anyone could object. Vancouver, ranking as the world's most attractive city in the EIU 2005 ranking, has since the early 1970s developed and implemented a clear framework for urban planning and design, based on making the urban core mixed use with shopping and residential as well as offices, and achieved through discretionary zoning, cooperative megaproject schemes, development levies, managed neighbourhood change and building intensification both around the central core, in the False Creek redevelopment zone, and also in eight regional neighbourhood centres, accessible via the region's splendid transit system.

Landry concludes that the aim of creative city-making is a cooperative enterprise involving many different kinds of creativity: "*the creativity of the engineer, the social worker, the planner, the business person, the events organiser, the architect, the housing specialist, IT specialists, psychologists, historians, anthropologists, natural scientists, environmentalists, artists of all kinds and, most importantly, ordinary people living their lives as citizens*" (Landry 2006, 385-6). In particular, he stresses, "*Organization, management and leadership, with a control ethos and hierarchical focus, did not provide the flexibility, adaptability and resonance to cope in the emerging competitive environment*" (Landry 2006, 388). And creativity comes painfully to most established professions: the traffic engineer, the property developer, the lawyer, the planner all thrive on rules and established procedures (Landry 2006, 391). But the activities that dominate city economies today require constant reconceptualisation of thinking, concepts, products and services at different levels: what Landry calls the strategic realm of the creative city thinking (Landry 2006, 392).

A diverse population is critical for urban creativity, as it has been throughout history: cities need an influx of outsiders to bring in new ideas, products and services. Such diversity generates much of the life of the city, exemplified in street markets. Policies need to focus much more on these qualities of the urban experience rather than concentrating on purely physical solutions. Above all, they need to open out the process of imagination and decision-making, to encourage a positive ("yes") rather than a prohibitive ("no") attitude. This means ensuring that as many different groups and interests as possible are kept in constant interaction, producing a critical mass of resources, talent and power (Landry 2006, 412); this explains why the world's great cities continue to maintain their position as creative places, but makes it more difficult for new entrants to compete.

Landry is of the firm opinion that what he calls *"soft creativity"* is the wave of the future. This involves thinking of solutions that go with the grain of the local culture, rather than believing in a technological fix to everything. Innovative places, those with a strong track record of technical achievement, may in fact hinder real creativity. Clearly, in Landry's view, "hard" policy instruments have only a very tenuous relationship to this process.

Pointers to Policy

In a recent OECD symposium on key urban policy instruments, I suggested the following (Hall 2008 forthcoming):

1   **Encourage and help fund bold strategic schemes at municipal and city region level,** in particular urban regeneration projects that exploit major opportunities arising from external events (e.g. the completion of a new transport link; a major one-off cultural or sporting event; the availability of a large tract of available land). There is abundant evidence in the literature that such actions can be transformative: La Défense in Paris and its relationship to the original RER Line A; the regeneration of London Docklands in the 1980s and 1990s; the continuing development of this strategy in the Thames Gateway scheme including developments at the new Channel Tunnel Rail Link stations of Stratford and Ebbsfleet; the new Amsterdam Zuidas development axis; the impact of the 1992 Barcelona Olympics on the regeneration of that city's waterfront, and of the 2004 Forum on the continuing regeneration of the east side. Needless to say, the impacts are almost impossible to quantify in advance and some developments may fail to produce the expected results - though even then, it is vital to consider impacts over a time span of 10-20 years, i.e. over more than one construction cycle. But the recent evidence is fairly overwhelming that cities can restructure themselves, transforming relic or residual areas into dynamic places, if the right transformative actions are undertaken.

2   **Develop approaches that incentivise cities to do better**, particularly by competition for national (and international) funds for imaginative projects in the arts and cultural fields. These can include one-off events with a longer-term permanent spin-off, such as a Festival or Forum or International Expo or recognition as Capital of Culture, and more permanent projects. Examples of one-off events include Glasgow's year as European City of Culture in 1990, which essentially kick-started the city's renaissance as a centre for cultural tourism; the Seville International Expo of 1992 on the La Cartuja site opposite the city centre, which was the basis for an ambitious attempt to create a new high-technology research centre in Andalucia; and the Barcelona Forum of 2004, a kind of intellectual Olympic Games, which (it is claimed) brought millions of visitors to the city. Examples of more permanent projects are of course legion, including galleries like the Bilbao Guggenheim or the Lowry in Salford (Greater Manchester), new museums like the Imperial War Museum North in Trafford, Greater Manchester, or new or refurbished theatres outside major capital cities. These and many other efforts demand systematic evaluation to quantify what long-run difference they made to the economic fortunes of cities. Currently much of the evidence is anecdotal and may be unreliable (Landry (2006) asserts that estimates of visitor numbers at the Barcelona Forum were exaggerated); and there is certainly difficulty in arriving at a good comparative assessment; particularly of the additional effect that a particular investment may have triggered.

3   **Concentrate on human capital.** Successful places increasingly appear to be those with universities that attract able young people and then retain them after graduation, especially through an attractive urban ambience. But it will be crucial to retain these people when, after a few years, they begin to have children. Building apartment complexes in and around the city centres and the university campuses and quarters must be combined with family-friendly policies (housing, schools) in the middle and outer rings of the cities (Mace et al 2004, Nathan and Urwin 2006), so that cities retain their vital human capital resources within their boundaries rather than dissipating them in distant suburbs.

4   **Develop policies to manage urban space** so as to encourage creativity. Hutton's work on London, San Francisco, Vancouver and Singapore clearly establishes that new creative enterprises tend to start in low-rent premises in run-down "funky" areas close to city centres - but there is a danger that such areas become victims of their own success, as rent levels rise and the creative industries and firms are forced out of the area and even out of business, as demonstrated by Sharon Zukin over 20 years ago (Hutton 2004, 2006; Zukin 1982). Managing such areas to restrain redevelopment is essentially a local matter for city planning, but is an extremely delicate and difficult business; national governments can guide them in this process and provide the right legislative framework for such local policies to become effective.

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