



THE **CITY** OF TOMORROW

Proceedings
from the international
colloquium on the future
of cities

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Preface

Nearly twenty years after the creation of the Brussels-Capital Region, it was deemed useful to focus on town planning policies and to explore ways for adapting them to new needs. The colloquium 'The City of Tomorrow' looked at the contribution of elements aimed at consolidating town planning strategies in Brussels. It enabled us to take advantage of preliminary get-togethers necessary to prepare the ambitious colloquium and to take note of the issues which urban metropolises must confront.

The encouraging reactions and comments which we gathered both from the 230 participants and from the media as well as from the speakers themselves confirm the relevance of the objectives of the colloquium. It is heartening to be able to say without exaggeration that this colloquium had the effect of raising awareness among the decision-makers of the Region and that it thus contributed to the roll-out of a series of energising measures. Thus, the Region adopted an urgent measure to strengthen its ability to prepare, disseminate and coordinate policies for development of the territory and assistance to urban change, as well as to enhance its ability to plan for, encourage and manage urban projects and to create partnerships and projects on scales which go beyond the institutional hierarchy and the public sector budget.

In order to develop shared tools allowing the various partners to improve their effectiveness, the Government of the Brussels-Capital Region decided to create a structure aimed at reinforcing the internal consistency of city policies and overcoming the functional 'tower' limitations of the large ministries. This task of bringing policies into a consistent focus was entrusted in July 2008 to the Regional Secretariat for Urban Development

(Srdu), which thereby became the Agency for Territorial Development (ADT). The ADT is positioned as a strategic government structure whose particular assignment is to strengthen governance in the area of policies for land development within the territory and urban revitalisation by behaving as an interface and facilitator so as to offer services to the various actors in urban development.

Thus 2008 was a transitional year for the structure during which the foundations and objectives were put in order and things took shape. At the same time an audit was carried out in order to better integrate the tasks undertaken by the ADT with respect to other Brussels institutions and to establish a plan for the structure and expansion of the team in place and still to come.

Knowledge of the territory and development of the territory are the two main vectors of work to which the various ADT assignments relate. The first task, which already was given to the former Srdu, aims at developing a shared knowledge of the territory and tools for development common to all the regional and local actors (urban monitoring and evaluation of the city policies). The second task is to create something new. What this means is to plan for, support and coordinate choices of development of the regional territory in consultation with all the regional, local and other actors, and to render operational the choices made for strategic zones identified in the 'International Development Plan.'

In order to carry out these assignments, the Administrative Board of the ADT was enlarged: it now comprises representatives of the regional government, representatives of the regional administrations and of para-regional institutions as well as of the communes. The team itself

will also be expanded following the creation of territorial development through consolidation of the department of territorial knowledge and a reinforcement of the management team.

The changes made over the past few months have thus presented a real challenge and an opportunity for the ADT, but this heightened activity around its creation also had as a consequence the need to delay the appearance of the present documents. However, in view of the high quality of the presentations and of the discussions, it nonetheless seemed appropriate to us to publish the documents generated by 'The City of Tomorrow, an International Colloquium on the Future of Cities.' The quality of the papers and the richness of the discussions retain their astonishing freshness and authenticity even if in one place or another we detect the date they were generated.



It was an enriching experience to juxtapose the development of the Brussels Region with the development of other major European metropolises such as London, Paris, Milan, Barcelona and Marseilles. Though the settings of these metropolises are not the same, the sets of issues they encounter are often very similar and allow us to draw lessons from the policies conducted in other countries and to consider how to adapt them to the specifics of Brussels. The high quality and renown of the invited speakers, their expertise in the material under analysis and their active contribution to urban development of their respective metropolises contributed greatly to the high quality of the colloquium and we wish to express our sincere thanks to them.

The colloquium prioritised a systematic approach by placing the evolution of urban territories in a more general context. By taking into account the interaction of the world economy with local socio-economic change, the colloquium on the future of the city was able to reveal the important consequences of globalisation on territorial governance. Putting territorial development into a broader context made it possible to establish an analytical framework to deal with new social and economic relations inside these territories in the context of globalisation and to indicate the equilibrium which has to be found between the various spheres of decision making.



What we are talking about is not just taking stock of the question of city planning in general. It was also appropriate to highlight methods of evaluating territorial management. But above all it was necessary to put this in the context of the full complexity of territorial governance. Thus, in his short introductory speech to the Colloquium Pascal Roggero performed the important task of dealing with the relevance of the territory as a complex system and place of exchange.

This approach was also present in the work of the colloquium in a transversal manner. By setting up workshops and workgroups, it was possible to deal with specific issues from the point of view of the relevance and timeliness of the territories as defined today and the relevance of their self-organisation.

Thus, the workgroups took into consideration the entire complex territorial system in the various topics dealt with, whether speaking about monitoring and analysis of urban phenomena and networks, the sharing of information at the territorial level and decision-making processes, the implementation of structural projects, their quality and nature or participatory and institutional governance.

In the same way, the colloquium examined closely ways of improving '(inter)sectorial governance' and of enhancing the consistency and coherence of 'territorial governance' over the territory as a lever of equitable urban change.

Finally, the colloquium touched upon the territorial policies and the territorialisation of policies as seen from three perspectives. Firstly, via the approach of a multi-faceted system of action applied to a territory as the base for analysing urban change: to analyse territory-based policies by applying the analytical framework of multi-faceted thinking such as was developed by Edgar Morin. This makes it possible to indicate the systems analysis of the processes which develop joint projects within a given territory and to highlight the types of informal and formal 'arrangements' as well as to reveal their interdependence. Then by looking at the territoriality and the territorial processes in an urban milieu against the background of change in socio-economic and political relations and policies from the perspective of analysing new social, economic and political issues to allow change to occur with greater assurance in a context which is often contradictory. What we are talking about is above all to better appreciate the role of relative urban structures and positioning among cities in modern society. Finally, we have analysis of the consequences of complexity of territorial policies for institutional and participatory governance in a context of erasing hierarchies between the government authorities while making a link between the issue of territoriality in societal change and the systematic approach of territorial complexity.

The dimension of territoriality of governance was presented in three Colloquium workshops from the perspective of building participation and partnerships, as well as monitoring of the territory in workshop 1, participative management and good institutional

governance in workshop 2 and governance in building shared projects and the conditions for their sustainability in workshop 3.

The dimension of territoriality of governance appeared in the approach to tools for monitoring, information, communications and management, considerations on institutional and participatory governance and, finally, on innovative and structural urban projects.



It would have been wrong to expect that a systematic approach to territorial policies and territorialisation of policies could end in a single colloquium however rich in ideas it might be. Today we still have a long road ahead of us to study and develop the great many methodological, organisational and communications proposals which are useful for metropolitan development, which fit into the long-term future and which have a relevance proven insofar as they have been concretely implemented.

However, we were able to get to know and evaluate five major areas of concern which were set out for European metropolises and the Region of Brussels-Capital in particular. These are firstly the need to create a method of interpretation relevant for developing European cities given the opportunities and threats posed by globalisation. Second, the indispensable modification of management and urban policies to suit the needs of this globalised context. Then, we need to have a summary of knowledge making it possible to better monitor the socio-economic space of Brussels. We need to analyse the relevance of new practices of territorial development (major projects of urban restructuring, the PDI, town planning agencies). Finally, there is the importance of ensuring the quality of town planning and architecture in light of the demands of sustainable development.

All of the international experts made mention of the fact that the Brussels metropolis occupies a central place in Europe and enjoys considerable advantages (including the presence of the European Union) which define its competitive positioning with respect to other European cities.

As Peter Hall said during his brilliant closing speech, historic and socio-geographic comparisons allow us to say that for its size Brussels is a city which can combine both economic prosperity and improved quality of life.

In order to satisfy these two objectives, what we need to do is to launch a new plan for the city in which the Region must be the 'leader' in defining an overall vision of development and in launching projects which meet the objectives acknowledged by all those actively engaged, and to do so in the interests of all the inhabitants of Brussels.

In this way, the 'Week of the City' reminded us of the importance of urban policies by putting into operation effective tools (Neighbourhood contracts,...) which ensure a certain quality of life in the various neighbourhoods while also reminding us that the socio-economic situations of the residents remain problematic.

It also underscored the importance of planning international development so as to improve the positioning of Brussels in the context of competition between cities. The need to develop stronger cooperation with the neighbouring Regions for the sake of common territorial interests was highlighted, just as we saw the need to improve relations between the actors in the city on the basis of the principle of subsidiarity.

The cities have undergone change. Thus, we must be attentive to socio-economic changes in both the city centres and the outlying city districts, and we must respond to this imperative by using effective mechanisms and processes of monitoring and evaluation.

Last but not least, 'The City of Tomorrow' highlighted the need in Brussels to give operational expression to the striving for internally consistent and high-quality development by equipping ourselves with proactive tools of governance such as the Agency for Territorial Development (ADT) and an institution charged with the task of improving supervision of public works. Thus, the colloquium significantly contributed to establishing a consensus needed to move on towards creation of the Agency for Territorial Development and the Unit for Improvement of Supervision of Public Works ("Cellule d'Assistance à la Maîtrise d'Ouvrage Publique" – CAMOP). We are doing everything possible not to disappoint those who contributed to this positive change out of the conviction that we must strengthen the new dynamism around urban governance working together with the parties participating in the development of Brussels.



Given the methodological issues of the contributions from the Colloquium 'The City of Tomorrow,' the publication of these documents remains timely and will serve as a support for later considerations. These papers logically follow the structure of the journal given out to participants (Cahier of the Srdû N° 5) while respecting the chronological order in which the events took place. Thus, each session consists of the presentation by the speaker and a transcript of exchange of views with the audience. The workshops are presented in summary, starting with the introduction of the speaker and ending with the discussions among those taking part. The audience and the speakers all spoke highly of the clarity of the journalistic summaries drawn up by Mia Droeshout and Stéphanie Meyer, and for that reason we decided to reproduce them here as well. Despite a certain duplication, we wanted to prioritise above all the greatest possible accessibility of the information.

A list of the participants in the colloquium is provided at the end of this work. For the workgroups, we have tried to establish as complete a list of participants as was possible. However, there may be a difference between the names shown on the list of participants enrolled in a workgroup and the names of the participants who were in fact present during the workgroup. We ask those who escaped our notice to kindly pardon our oversight. In closing, we wish everyone pleasant reading of what follows.

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Plenary session [Welcome]

by Marie-Laure ROGGEMANS, Chair
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Pascal ROGGERO, Speaker



The City of Tomorrow, Introduction to the Colloquium on the Future of Cities



Colloquium Chair

Marie-Laure ROGGEMANS,

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"Talking about cities in the age of globalisation demands that we stop and look at particular words and try to evaluate the various situations to which they refer"

(O. Mongin)

The aim of these two days devoted to the future of cities is to bring together speakers from the academic world and city planning practitioners, experts (the workshop chairmen) and participants who are genuine stakeholders. The Region hopes that their collaboration will help to refine the problems put forward: understand them properly, make the necessary semantic refinements and better identify the problems of Brussels.

The two-day conference consists of two plenary sessions, three workshops and nine workgroups organised on two major themes:

- the problem of medium-sized cities in Europe, big cities and/or mega-regions;
- SRDU organised the expertise so that the themes of *territoriality* and *governance* were present in each workshop.

The Brussels Capital Region wanted to be able to respond to five categories of concern at the end of the two-day conference:

- identifying the specific place of Brussels in the globalisation process;
- gaining a perspective on the urban governance and urban policies implemented since the mid 1970s;
- developing a synthesis of knowledge that can be used for better observation of what is happening in Brussels;
- gaining a perspective on different views of new planning practices;
- positioning the debates on quality and architecture within the vaster problem of sustainable development.

Identifying the specific place of Brussels in the globalisation process

The Minister-President would like the local authority in Brussels, as well as citizens and decision-makers, to have an up-to-date corpus of theoretical analyses of cities.

These analyses should enable them to identify more easily the place of European cities in general, and Brussels in particular, within *globalisation* along with the place they could have within it. Since the late 20th century, we have been witnessing the advent of a new economy, the *information economy*, or more specifically what we call the *third wave of globalisation*.

The *third wave of globalisation* or the *information economy* is a global economy like the economy that has existed in the West since the 16th century, where capital is accumulated throughout the world, but what is specific about it is this: it is *global*. It is *an economy capable of functioning as a unit in real time on a global scale*. Today, the strategic core of economic activities functions at global level via electronic exchanges of capital, goods and information. Alongside this mass movement of capital, goods and information, there is also a mass movement of humans in operation. What is clearly understood is that this profoundly changes the hierarchy of cities throughout the world and throughout Europe.

How are the cities and regions of Europe affected by this evolution, which is constantly pushing back the boundaries of time and space?

Some predict the end of territory as we know it.

In contrast to this statement, Pascal Roggero would say that: "*thinking about the future of the city consists of thinking about a territorial form as something that anchors humans in one place*" and that "*territory remains relevant as a concept for thinking about contemporary changes in society*". Nevertheless, he adds that it is a complex system, which is not without its consequences for public action.

Meanwhile, Peter Hall will unravel the reasoning of those "*who still claim that cities have no future*". He will dwell on the four key sectors of city economies and their implications for the location of business activities. He asks what the exact nature of these activities in large cities is, and identifies four categories:

- *financial and commercial services*, including booming design services such as architecture, engineering and fashion;
- *management and control functions*, such as company head offices, national and international authorities and the whole network of activities surrounding them;
- *the culture and creative sectors*, including the arts and electronic and printed media; and finally;
- *tourism*, both for business and leisure (G.B. Government Office for London, 1996).

These sectors operate both very interdependently and very much in synergy with one another. This is what Allen Scott calls the *cognitive and cultural economy* and what others call *cognitive capitalism*.

These four sectors relate essentially to the exchange and use of information in different forms. The cities of the world are their favoured location, but this does not mean the "death of the city" for European cities. But how does the new internal dynamic of the big European cities under the influence of the new economy present itself? The post-war boom context, and confidence in opportunities for social betterment, are disappearing. How, then, are the social schisms created by the new economy reflected in urban space?

Finally, Jacques Donzelot will analyse the logics of separation that have taken hold of social behaviour.

Gaining a perspective on the urban governance and urban policies implemented since the mid 1970s, which hit a decisive turning point with the creation twenty years ago of the Brussels Region

The Minister-President will speak about the practical aspects of these policies. The idea is to be able to put the governance and public policies of the Brussels Capital region into a theoretical perspective during the two-day conference. This will be done by putting aside ideological discourse and bandwagon effects. There will be a particular focus on the following: the governance of Brussels itself, traditional city planning, territory-based policies, certain original schemes such as planning charges (corrective schemes in favour of housing) and consultation (all the public consultation mechanisms) and mobility plans.

All the invited speakers agree on one thing: *public action in territories has become less easy to decipher and more indistinct*. This explains the success of the term *governance* but it does not really lend itself to analysis and is not the most fruitful term; Pascal Roggero will be alluding to this.

For Pascal Roggero, the term *governance* has two immediate meanings: on the one hand, public action is no longer decided just by government authorities, but derives from a system of interactions and interrelationships between many public, private, institutional and non-institutional players at different levels (from municipalities to Europe, from the local to the supranational). He also says that there is greater autonomy for those who play a role. However, Pascal Roggero prefers to talk about the *complete analysis*, or *complex system* instead of governance. Regarding these concepts of *complexity* and *governance*, Artur de Rosa Pires will

underline the need for *pluralist decision-making procedures*. Frank Hendriks will demonstrate that *democracy* and *good governance* are not givens. He underlines the crisis of the nation state as a sovereign entity and that of democracy as it has been constructed over the last two centuries.

Regarding *public policies*, several authors emphasise that these must be analysed in terms of their ability to have an effect on *complex systems* such as *territories*. There is one word that will be very much in use, and that is the word *project*. It is used by all the speakers. This concept describes on the one hand the compelling need to mobilise multiple players over the long term and not to exclude anyone, and on the other the need to take comprehensive action rather than action embedded in the traditional sectorisation of public policy. Several speakers emphasise that, associated with the *political will* to develop a vision, there needs to be a technical guidance system that can challenge the traditional management tools, in particular plans.

The concept of the *project* is used by Pascal Roggero, but also by Josep Acebillo, who will talk about *new European big city models* to rival the mega-cities of Asia and the Pacific in particular, and also by Alessandro Balducci when he talks about his project for Milan, the "City of cities", and again by Joël Gayet when he speaks up for *large structural projects*.

Developing a synthesis of knowledge that can be used for better observation of what is happening in Brussels

SRDU's role has been given a stronger focus on observing the population. Furthermore, throughout the whole of the Brussels Region, there is a multitude of monitoring centres looking at everything from health to commerce.

Pascal Roggero will be giving us a word of caution: he believes "*you cannot know an area just through objective knowledge*", while Philippe Herbaux propounds *territorial intelligence*, a new tool in which citizens pool information to deal with risks generated by their region.

Alessandro Balducci points out the need to define new tools for intervention considering that, since 1970, urban situations have multiplied and diversified. In his observation of socio-economic processes in the Milan mega-region (ten provinces belonging to three different regions; a population of eight million; 700,000 companies), Alessandro Balducci sees three different images appearing: *movement*, *fragmentation* and the *construction of networks*. These networks constitute new forms of sociability, supporting stable relationships that are nevertheless not directly connected with space, unlike in districts or villages. From this basis, he redefines the functions and role of its centre and has constructed the "City of cities", a strategic project for the urban area of Milan.

Gaining a perspective on different views of new planning practices

There is a need to gain some perspective on different views of new planning practices, particularly as regards experiences with large-scale projects and their management: master plans, the International Development Plan (PDI) and the possible creation of a Planning Agency.

When thinking about setting up a project, Josep Acebillo suggests that it should be a priority: "*to make it possible to reduce inequalities by seeking an overall positive effect for all the different layers of society*". He also mentions how the urban revitalisation of Barcelona was achieved by implementing a whole series of small projects in difficult neighbourhoods, not just large symbolic projects.

Meanwhile, Christian Brunner will analyse the *Euroméditerranée* operation and the added value an urban development agency will bring.

Positioning the debates on quality and architecture within the vaster problem of sustainable development

Josep Acebillo will talk about Barcelona Regionál, an urban development agency working for the city area; the function of the 'master builder' (Bouwmeester) and the quality commission that has been set up in Barcelona and other cities such as London and Rotterdam.

Finally, on sustainable development, Yvonne Rydin will be reminding us that twenty years have passed since the publication of the Brundtland report, *Our common future*, and that although the expressions *sustainable development* and *sustainability* are now on everyone's lips, changes that really contribute to building a sustainable future are rare.

Towards a new policy for the City of Brussels

The Minister-President of the Brussels-Capital Region

What assessment can we make of urban policies pursued in Brussels over the last fifteen or so years? Without thinking about this question, we cannot be prepared to face the challenges of tomorrow.

This discussion needs to be part of a larger framework if we are to make the most of policies and experiences in urban planning and revitalisation conducted abroad.

While it is convenient to put this approach into a theoretical framework, we always have to bear in mind the specific nature of cities. Because the situation of each is so variable, we need to look in more depth at each individual large urban entity.

In an attempt to find a balance, the approach we have taken since the Brussels Region was set up has been a pragmatic one. But pragmatism, if it is going to continue working, must be fed by the enlightenment and opinions of external experts, that is, of people capable of making our assessment and analysis of the future of Brussels bear fruit.

The choices made as regards urban governance are intimately bound up with political objectives that reflect the major choices of society: solidarity, regulation and economic initiative, education, the predominant role of public authority, and the demands of sustainable development. The city is a paradigm of society's challenges; it crystallises all the major social pathologies of our age and all the major social challenges we know.

In 1989, we secured the legal principle for setting up our Region. It was imperative, at the time, to develop a global and differentiated vision of the city. Brussels had been dominated by a utilitarian conception of the city, which ignored the concerns and needs of its inhabitants. Unfortunate planning decisions brutalised the city. In 1989 it was therefore necessary to think about developing the first tool of forward-looking development, the Regional Development Plan (PRD), to be the cornerstone of a coherent vision of Brussels.

Territorial discrimination : the choice of urban and socio-economic planning

Positive territorial discrimination has been a priority for political action among the new managers of Brussels. A few years before the Brussels Region was set up, we worked on identifying the most deprived and disadvantaged areas and happened to notice that a split was developing in the socio-economic fabric. We then chose this discriminatory approach, based on measures founded on the principle of the socio-economic 'repair' of areas, measures that introduce new mediations within urban entities. We then put massive investment into renewal programmes, programmes to rehabilitate public spaces, and programmes to strengthen social cohesion within neighbourhoods.

Today, we are starting to reap the benefits of the urban policy developed on the basis of proposals written into the Regional Development Plan: the Neighbourhood Contracts, which are integrated development tools for revitalisation, the renovation incentives, the multi-year municipal investment plans, the subsidies for restoring listed buildings, the Commercial District Contracts, the European Structural Funds, the Prevention and Security Contracts, the construction of social and middle-income housing, not to mention many other initiatives.

Stemming the process of decline and promoting the renewal of disadvantaged districts must continue through more new investment. Unquestionably, this action has had positive effects in these districts, and a report on these is presented in the publication "*Bruxelles change... ! 10 ans de politique de la ville en Région de Bruxelles-Capitale*".

While we have managed to change visibly the configuration and the physical and material image of some districts within the cities, through the creation of amenities, infrastructure and the renovation of the building stock in general, it cannot be denied that the social and economic problems outlined in the PRD are still present. I am thinking particularly of the fragile social status of many Brussels residents. This is of course a situation that exists in many big cities, but I am still shocked by the social exclusion that looms in the European capital.

A vision for Brussels: the challenge of internationalising the city

We need to invest more resources in amenities and infrastructure based on our international ambitions. We have to remain competitive in relation to other big cities that are threatening our status as an international city. This approach has to be explained to the population, which currently lacks certain local amenities and infrastructure because of a lack of funds among local authorities, though major progress has been achieved in this area.

Since the Brussels Capital Region was set up 20 years ago, new challenges have emerged that influences our management choices, and more generally the future of our cities, more than ever. Globalisation, of which EU enlargement is just one facet, has had the effect of increasing the competition between cities through the system of networks, urban centres and urban archipelagos of the international economy, etc.

In this globalised world, cities are subject to market forces and competition.

This is both a constraint and a lever.

We have to live up to international standards to keep our place, but the danger is that this is achieved to the detriment of the people living here.

It is a lever because it is through economic development, the result of cities competing with each other, that improvements can be made to a city's districts.

The challenge for those in charge is to be able to link competition with the necessary solidarity.

Managing a city in a way that reconciles economic development with social ethics

On the global cities scene, Brussels has a specific part to play.

It is one of the most important cities for decision-making, at European and global level, both as regards public and private strategy. It ranks among the top five cities for business in Europe. It is at the heart of a network of links, which is one of its key assets.

But because of the unfair way in which finance is doled out in the Region, Brussels is one of the major cities where all public investment expenditure levels are below the average for public interest expenditure per inhabitant in the major European cities. This comparison is made on the basis of budgets of certain other big cities that are not necessarily facing the same challenges as ours and make a much smaller contribution to national wealth per inhabitant than Brussels. So we constantly need to be confronting our international competitiveness with the fight against the processes of social exclusion that are in danger of threatening the entire socio-economic balance of our capital.

Property prices in Brussels have risen substantially, which has obviously had an effect on the city's residents, who have much lower purchasing power and incomes per head of population than those in other big cities. All too often the middle classes are leaving the city for its outskirts, where they further accentuate the growing division between Brussels and its periphery.

Not all cities are experiencing this. In some of them, the middle classes are concentrated in central areas, which are exporting their poverty. Here we are confronted with

another problem, with the concentration of social precariousness in the heart of Brussels, and the relocation of the more affluent in areas surrounding the city.

We need to set ourselves an objective, have an ambition, because urban governance is above all about political choices and social ethics. An equal chance of moving up the social ladder needs to be given to all citizens. That is where the regulatory role of government has a part to play at the centre of mechanisms for managing urban society.

Because cities, by nature, tend to produce dysfunctionality, disorder and social inequality, we need to restore the regulatory authority of the State. Socially active cities, to use a concept at the heart of debates during the Week of the City, mean reconciling the solidarity essential to achieve social cohesion and living together in harmony, with the economic performance we require of our big cities.

Brussels is also a multicultural city with concentrations of newly arrived immigrants, who are often socially disadvantaged, in certain districts. We also play host to international executives and diplomats coming to live in the city, who usually end up in the most affluent districts. There is obviously a danger of heterogeneous grouping against a background of social crisis, with the risk of race relations issues like in other cities. In Brussels we are well aware that the big challenge of mixing cultures is far from won, though our aim is to encourage cultural exchange between different population groups, which are sometimes tempted to withdraw into themselves.

The issue of the environment and sustainable development has also become a priority. The demographic and economic weight of cities makes them essential players in a global strategy to fight climate change and all forms of environmental damage.

The city needs to set itself a goal regarding image. The 'ideology of appearance', where cities promote a prestigious area or pilot district, should be mistrusted. This 'shop window' effect prioritises only certain strategic areas for the city's image and forgets about or covers up areas of social relegation. The tensions these tricky areas generate can cancel out, or at least significantly reduce, the benefits of the city marketing attempted by the city's managers. The entire socio-economic balance of a city can be threatened by the poor impression given by the existence of areas suffering from under-investment.

The International Development Plan (PDI) should of course be a tool of governance that benefits all the city's users but it should also, first and foremost, benefit the residents of Brussels. Many residents are not unaware of the fact that large conference facilities are being built in Brussels, or of the fact that a large stadium and concert hall are being built there. But clearly it needs to be demonstrated that the internationalisation of the city will have positive repercussions for the lives of the greatest number, because of the city's economic vitality.

Forward-thinking strategies that take account of a whole series of data need to be implemented. I believe the issue of positive discrimination applied to different areas of the city is key. We also need to think about all the different dimensions of governance. What is unique about Brussels institutionally is that it is historically a city of compromise. The resulting dispersal of competencies has to be taken into account. This means we have an obligation to involve all levels of power in achieving our objectives, and to put our relations with other actors in the city on a contractual footing within the framework of general joint strategies.

I therefore hope that, through the discussions during this event, we can plot reliable routes for future choices for the region as regards territorial development, and more generally, as regards the city's policies. Our plan for the city can only be enriched by the views of observers from outside Brussels.

Territories and public policies as a prism of complexity : ideas for further thought



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The spirit of cooperation resulting from the inspired initiative which led to the founding of this international colloquium has allowed us to focus on solutions unhindered by the constraints of political expediency – a fact which researchers in this field are happy to acknowledge.

I hope that the following introduction will initiate a fruitful process, one through which those who will drive the analyses of the nine subject-based workgroups will illustrate to you and also fulfil your expectations. It falls upon me to undertake the pleasant task of introducing the event, and Sir Peter Hall will bring it to a close. So what is the best way to proceed? The procedure imposes its own rules: introducing means announcing a programme, those involved in it and of course, anticipating and justifying its results. I will perform this task and try to add my own personal touch.

Fundamentally, the reason for my presence here lies in what the organisers have called the relative originality of my research, approaching territories and public policy on the basis of what has become known as “complex thought”. What I shall do, then, is offer some ideas on urban territories and territorial policy in the light of this thought. This means that urban territories, always assuming that the territory concept is still relevant, must be seen as “complex systems”(1). By adopting this position I shall try to show that urban territories are both eco-organised, that is, they are embedded in a very influential environment on which they depend and which feeds them (2), and self-organised, i.e. capable of producing themselves by internal processes(3).

The urban territory : moving from the relevance of the concept to the way it is characterised as a “complex system”.

Although the city exists as a territorial form, it is indisputable that the relevance of the concept of territory is increasingly under discussion. My first job, then, is to justify the use of the term, and I will go on to look at the extent to which we can shed light on it using “complex thought”.

Territory – the concept is still relevant

With the world in the throes of globalisation, it seems anachronistic to be talking in terms of territories. The mass movement of people, information, capital, objects and indeed viruses is surely the dominant phenomenon of world society at the dawn of the twenty-first century. One of the most innovative sociologists of our era, the Brit John Urry has proposed that these mobility phenomena should be seen as the central “object” of the social sciences in the 21st century¹. One might be

forgiven for thinking that this generalised fluidity of activities has rendered the concept of territory, with the associated idea of people being rooted in a location, a city, obsolete.

While it is impossible to deny the impact of this mobility, we intend to show that territory remains a relevant concept for considering how contemporary society is developing.

If territory is, as we claim, a relevant concept, it is because of its anthropological and even ethological nature. As with animal societies, human social life cannot exist without territory². Space is a category of human understanding, and it becomes territory when it takes the form of a location which carries meaning and which creates resources for individuals and "communities". When we are waiting in an airport lounge, having a coffee in a motorway rest area or sleeping in a motel in a commercial zone, we are all increasingly exposed to the experience of these places of transit where the present seems to have neither past nor future. All we can do in these locations is pass time; we cannot *live* in them. You "live" somewhere when you reside in a place where you feel "at home" surrounded by things which hold meaning for you³. Our way of inhabiting the world has changed, it is true, and a "multi-topic⁴" way of life has developed among those gifted with economic and cultural capital.

However, this post-modern nomadism⁵ which suggests the existence of a completely fluid society, lacking territorial roots, is debatable on empirical grounds. There is little doubt that this equates to the mobility practices more frequently found in the USA (14% move every year, with an average of 7% in Europe and less than 2% in France) than elsewhere and in the social milieu which is home to the authors defending this idea. The socio-centrality of the mobile elites aside, the vast majority of

populations do not basically live in airports, and although many people do travel about frequently, they tend to do so within a limited geographical perimeter. It is also noticeable that the lower the economic resources of the individuals, the more they find themselves attached to "their" district⁶. In France, for example, 70% of the population lives in the *département* where they were born. However, it is unlikely that any kind of general mobility will survive in a post-petrol world. The majority of studies forecasting the future indicate that if indeed we keep on moving, it will be less often, less far and less expensively⁷.

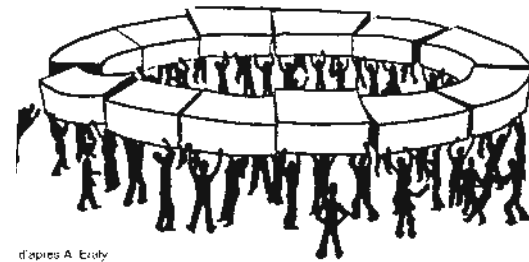
Finally, at a theoretical level an approach concentrating on mobility seems too unilateral. Trying too hard to shake up the old categories of sociology such as society, class, nation and territory ends up diminishing, the importance that the stability of the traditional frames of human experience affords and the relative permanence of some social forms. But that does not mean that contemporary mobility is not transforming territories.

But our belief is that although territory remains a relevant concept, it is as more of a process than a praxis. At a more fundamental level it reveals the characteristics of a "complex system" in Edgar Morin's sense.

The urban territory as a complex system

The city is a process. It is built, and then continually updated by the actions, interactions, relationships and perceptions of the people who make it up by living, moving and working in it. It is a huge organisation which, if looked at from above, reveals its structures (buildings, road networks, etc.) but which on closer examination reveals the swarming human movement that is the living city. Such activity is difficult to conceptualise, displaying as it does the characteristics of a complex phenomenon. Firstly, the city emerges from this protean, varied activity.

In other words, an understanding of individual behaviour patterns of the players in the city does not reveal the overall effect which results from it. The city is a system, and "the whole [or the system] is more than the sum of its parts⁸".



d'après A. Esch

Figure 1. The city arises from the behaviour patterns of the players who make it up

Seeing the city as a "complex system" illustrates the process by which it may be viewed as an evolving entity. However, we must make a distinction between the system as a phenomenon – "a global unit organised from the interrelationships between elements⁹" – and the organisation itself – "the layout of the interrelationships, articulations and structure¹⁰". Morin says that: "organisation produces, connects, maintains and transforms the system¹¹". Organisation is therefore the main active agent lying at the heart of the system. What distinguishes the systems is therefore to be found in the way it is organised and not in the nature of its components. Natural and social systems consist of the same basic components – atoms and molecules – but they cause them to be laid out differently (levels of organisation) and as a consequence they are capable of highly differentiated creations and performances. It can be argued that "complex thought" is an organisational

thought. Our task is to analyse the way the city is organised, and then seek an effective way to represent it. A distinction can be made between three analytical dimensions. Firstly, as previously mentioned, the city produces itself, it self-organises, by creating an identity specific to itself. As we know, every city bears its own identity as that great observer of the urban world, sociologist Pierre Sansot, piquantly observed.¹² But the city draws this capacity to create itself, like all systems, from its exchanges with its environment, in other words, from things which do not come from itself. It exchanges energy, matter and information in a range of forms and thus enters a system of "eco-dependence"¹³ which takes on particular significance at a time of globalisation. It then transforms, and over time, "re-organises itself" yet again within the framework of history. Students of Edgar Morin will be familiar with his concept of "self-eco-re-organisation" (Figure 2), a very powerful concept, although one which is difficult to practice. What I am attempting here is to identify major urban issues by means of the "self-eco-re-organisation" concept, and for reasons of time and relevance I shall deal with only two dimensions: eco-organisation and self-organisation.

Eco-organisation in cities or cities under an influence

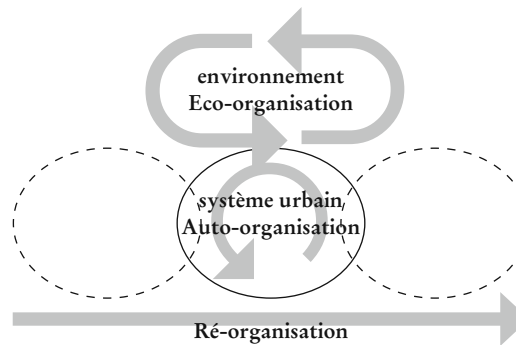


Figure2. The process of self-eco-re-organisation in urban systems

Urban co-organisation is characterised by increased dependence. Cities seem more open to their environment, and this in turn is stretching increasingly to the limits of the planet. The forms taken by globalisation are now well known and important research has been conducted into its economic effects on cities. Let us look at these effects before seeing that they are not just limited to the economic.

Some economic effects of eco-organisation

As Madam President stated, Manuel Castells suggested that cities are better defined by the currents flowing through them than by their forms and functions¹⁴. Castells takes the line that they appear as interfaces in the "flow space" which tend to replace the "place space". The increased contact the cities make with their opposite numbers in other regions and countries tends to free them from their hinterland and they seem to gain in wealth and power thanks to the processes placing advanced services, production centres and markets in

contact with each other within a worldwide network. Before Castells, geographer Saskia Sassen had observed that while industrial plant was increasingly being relocated to low-wage countries, management and administration functions were being concentrated in a small number of "world cities" where high level services such as accounting, advertising, architecture, consultancy, engineering, finance and law demanded by businesses were to be found¹⁵ Indeed, Loughborough University's *Globalization and World Cities Research Network* (GaWC¹⁶) in the UK has established a classification for cities with worldwide influence (World Cities) by factoring in the presence of at least one world-level company in the fields of accounting, advertising, finance and insurance. This classification reveals three classes of world city through decreasing level of influence. Brussels is to be found in the middle level (Major World Cities), with a score of 8/12, in company with Madrid, Mexico City and Sao Paulo, after the "Full service World Cities", particularly London, New York, Paris and Tokyo (12/12) but before the "Minor World Cities" such as Amsterdam, Düsseldorf and Geneva (6/12). This classification is quite different from that of the megalopolises, where Paris and London are ranked only 21st and 25th, and Brussels doesn't get a mention. These studies emphasise the importance of the flows and economic procedures which now appear most influential.

Under globalisation the figure of the capitalist as defined by historian Fernand Braudel – activity beyond the local market and freedom from common rules¹⁷ – becomes generalised. In other words, the mobility of capital, accelerated by falling freight costs¹⁸ and the financialisation of activities, creates a power relationship which is detrimental to the territorially-fixed labour factor. This nomadism of global capitalism places territories in general and cities in particular, in a situation of dependence which clearly explains the ubiquity of the

quality of "attractiveness" in urban economic development strategies. City marketing, to be tackled by workgroup 3.1 *The issue of societal innovation and communication in structural urban projects*, is evidence of this development, which leads to the perception of the city as a brand to be promoted. This quest for attractiveness expresses itself as no-holds-barred competition between territories involving the hunt for the best tax deal. Thus, in order to attract the head offices of large businesses to Belgium, authorities hastened to tax the bosses in these headquarters located in Belgium only in relation to the time they actually spend in the kingdom¹⁹. Imagine how it would look if a special-case system such as this were applied to all employees, lowering their tax base according to the time they spend abroad, when on leave, for example. This is clearly an attack on the equality of the citizen as far as public expenditure is concerned and in a more general way a step on the road to dismantling the social commitments which lie at the heart of the regulation of capitalism introduced at the end of World War II. This process is now well advanced. The regulatory powers of the States are considerably weakened, both ideologically and politically. This retrograde step is moving the goalposts. It requires cities to take actions whether or not they have the skill or financial capacity to do so. Indeed, as Sassen has shown, if the management of large companies ends up in the world cities, production in a number of sectors, particularly traditional ones, is driven out, either by direct investment abroad, or indirectly by international subcontracting or outsourcing. This development is what several authors have called "cognitive capitalism"²⁰, where you see, for example, Boeing reclaiming its leadership position by focusing its activity on the design of aircraft and outsourcing the manufacture. I come from Toulouse, where we fear a similar outcome for Airbus. From now on cities will have to face the process of social downgrading of the most at-risk groups (the unemployed,

immigrants and unqualified workers in particular) while at the same time striving to attract the globalised "elites". This makes for a dialogic situation, a confrontation of two systems which, though apparently in opposition, are also complementary and mutually essential. The problem as regards political action lies in the management of these contradictions, as the Minister-President so rightly pointed out. Urban eco-organisation does not boil down to a mere question of economic relationships.

Eco-organisation – societal macro-trends

Other macro-trends that could be described as societal are also clearly defined. They are the hallmarks of contemporary western cities.

The rise of the individual is one of these. Most sociologists²¹ share the view that the individual is tending to break free from collective entities and identities. He increasingly "creates" his own identity and is less willing than in the past to accept an inherited identity²². The horizon of his existence lies in personal, family and private fulfilment, with a concomitant lack of interest in institutions, public affairs and traditional political activity²³. As part of the same trend less trust is felt by the individual in his fellows²⁴. Many political professionals have made this (unpopular) observation with some degree of bitterness, since it handicaps their activities – such as the famous NIMBY, not in my back yard, effect.

As we have said, these individuals are more mobile than in the past. This mobility has a profound effect on the concept of proximity. To some extent, what is defined as nearby is no longer what is geographically nearby but what is easily accessible. Access to equipment, services and locations is becoming essential, as this raises the question of traffic, transport and communication

networks. We should observe, however, that this mobility takes place at speeds which differ according to whether the movement is in the city or between cities. While we move on a daily basis at a relatively low speed in cities, barely 30 kph on average in Brussels, less frequently we speed up to move to other locations within or beyond the nation. We are witnessing a "contraction of space-time"²⁵ between cities with the development of motorway transport, the High Speed Train and air travel so that the hub-like position of a city in these networks becomes an essential condition of its reach. In addition, our cities are symbols of wealth for immigrants in search of a better life. This means that they are called upon to manage the socio-economic effects of immigration without any say in immigration policy. The challenge arising from this kind of international mobility appears more serious for cities where the capacity for integration is an absolute essential, and will become even more so in the future. As the mobility of the people increases, so does their communication.

This situation has actually existed for some time, with the individuals in contact growing ever more distant from each other. They are becoming members of personal networks which are becoming increasingly better known as the analysis of social networks develops. The internet is a part of the change in communication practices and the way people relate to information, but it also now requires researchers to pursue their investigations among vast quantities of easily accessible data, spearheading previously inconceivable developments in social sciences. Territorial groupings have certainly not assessed the new potential for observation offered by the internet. I presume that this matter will mainly be tackled by workshop 2.1 *Territorial intelligence for a learning territory*. It should be borne in mind, however, that the internet access rate is still quite low, with an average of 22.2% subscribers to a dial-up network in the OECD

countries (20.8 in Belgium), though this rate has been rising by 10.8% per annum since 2000, with broadband developing as the main access route (15.3% i.e. 2/3 of the total but over 9/10 in Belgium which seems to be very well equipped as regards broadband). With regard to communications, falling costs and an increase in technical capacity are major factors which have given rise to an explosion in information flows²⁶ and the more or less central position of a city in communications networks is a clear advantage. There still exists, however, a "digital divide" revealing inequalities between citizens.

These inequalities are reflected in socio-spatial segregation processes in urban space. Liberalisation and deregulation, rising capital revenues and the resulting growth in very high salaries have had the effect of increasing the income gaps, which "Fordist" growth reduced from the 1980s in the Anglo-Saxon countries and to a lesser extent in mainland Europe in the 1990s²⁷. The very sharp rise in land and property prices in the centres of the large capital cities reflects these global logics on the ground. To describe these processes of urban differentiation and segregation, Jacques Donzelot has used the term "the three-speed city"²⁸. The middle-class flight to the outskirts, the gentrification of the areas richer in cultural and economic capital and the relegation of the working classes to the outer suburbs give rise to intermediate areas where the separate categories must coexist. Diversity issues make themselves sharply felt and will be debated with this author in workgroup 1.1 *Diversity! Yes, but what kind of diversity?* In a parallel sense, housing price differentials can also be seen in the urban space, a reflection of an unequal distribution of risk in the territory. If we accept the analysis made by the German sociologist Ulrich Beck, contemporary society can be seen as the "risk society"²⁹, defined as a society where risk is socialised so that it arises as a

product of the society itself. According to him, it is using the yardstick of risk that inequalities must be evaluated. This idea was tragically illustrated by the explosion of the AZF factory in Toulouse in September 2001 where the damage was concentrated in the working class zones located near the industrial site. Considerable responsibility lies with the authorities in the territory whose action, here too, proves dialogic since all activity generates risk.

Environmental constraints and institutional developments

The environment poses particular risks for cities. Whether the issue is global warming or pollution (air in particular, although soil and water are also affected), these problems are more acute in large cities. The rise in the death rate during the heat wave of August 2003 (15,000 dead) was on average 40%, but affected 80% in cities of over 200,000 inhabitants and 120% in greater Paris³⁰. The urban space is therefore also the location where the most savage effects of environmental degradation are to be found.

In the face of these economic and societal macro-trends, most western countries have implemented, in different forms and to differing extents, policies aimed at decentralisation and in a more general way, raising territorial independence. Brussels, however, like France, is confronted with the problem of matching the reach of institutions to urban spaces, to inhabited territories, to social networks and to economic processes. Steps are being taken to find institutional solutions in France, such as the development of overlapping municipalities, although adaptation is still far from adequate. Problems arise affecting the coordination of public actions, territorial competitiveness and some degree of dilution of political responsibility, where each level can blame the others.

To complete this brief overview of the dimension of urban eco-organisation, I must once again stress its dialogic nature. Cities face many threats and in many respects the urban crisis has already arrived. If there was need to add one more demonstration of this to all that has been said so far, it is that of increasingly common urban "violence scenario". While Brussels may seem to have been spared, it is nevertheless found throughout Europe, and of course the United States. However, as Hölderlin wrote "Where danger is found, there, too, is salvation", that is, if eco-organisation, like crises elsewhere, must be seen as a constraint and a threat, it also presents a raft of opportunities and potentialities which open the door to new possibilities.

We wonder how the city will seize these chances. The focus is on its own capacity to create itself: urban self-organisation.

Aspects of urban self-organisation: the fabric of the city

The city regenerates from its relationship with its environment. It is an open system capable of self-organisation. Defining such a procedure would be excessively ambitious, so I must content myself here with re-stating a few concepts which have emerged from systems theory to arrive at a succinct approach. Systems theorists are in general agreement in accepting that the law of increasing entropy and the law of requisite variety apply to all systems. Edgar Morin has also shown that the order/disorder dialogic is the basis of the organisation of all systems. I shall therefore focus first on applying these concepts to urban systems, also making use of the complex system modelling developed by Jean-Louis Le Moigne, and will suggest a method of assessing territorial projects. I hope in this way to provide at least some small, perhaps fragmentary, illumination of the crucial process of urban self-organisation.

The law of increasing entropy or the issues of openness

What we learn from this law taken from thermodynamics is that a system must nourish itself from external sources in order to counteract the internal decay which inevitably affects it in the form of falling differentiation. But if the system is excessively open to the outside it dissolves into its environment. Here too, we find another dialogic in play, that of openness and closedness. The perception citizens have of the environment determines the level of openness/closedness of the urban system. If the environment is seen as threatening, the city tends to close itself and develop within the framework of a dense, compact form with a high level of internal differentiation, as was found in the mediaeval city. Patiently constructed under the shelter of its protective fortifications, the city of the Middle Ages made the best possible use of a

restricted space with close-packed homes, economic and social relationships arranged around a common project and a clear identity. At the other end of the scale, the contemporary city expands in space far beyond its walls, creating multiple possible interfaces with its environment, which is seen as a provider of resources. It loses in density what it gains in extent while consuming large quantities of space and energy and producing a great deal of external matter (garbage, waste, pollution, etc.). While the mediaeval city was built up over periods of centuries in a cohesive form with a clear identity, the modern city develops rapidly, on a scale of decades, in a non-cohesive way, focusing on individualistic and economic logics (the individual consumer rather than the citizen), where the economy is increasingly indifferent to society and politics. Thus, the contemporary city tends to lose its uniqueness and the nature of its urban project, by nature a shared project, and we are all aware of the difficulty of creating alternative projects to those which emerge from political/technocratic circles. Indeed, the word 'project' appears in three workgroups taking part in this colloquium: workgroup 1.2 *From territorial observation to project development*, 2.3 *Quality urban projects: specific solutions vs. generic solutions* and 3.1 which has already been mentioned. I believe that it is highly relevant to investigate the capacity of cities to define a shared desirable future, arising from some form of political reconquest which might give "direction" and speak to citizens in a situation where all the market cares about is creditworthy consumers.

We can see, then, that while the openness of the urban system is necessary, it is not sufficient by itself. A city which is only adapted to its environment would lose what it is that creates its identity. It must be capable of *appropriating* the external flows of people, energy and information and incorporating them into its identity by transforming it but not relinquishing it. Let us take a

hypothesis: if the city 'riots' of autumn 2005 in France did not affect the outlying areas of Marseille, it was because the city has a strong identity which it has managed, for what it is worth, to transmit to its immigrant populations. This is characterised by a capacity to socialise newcomers which takes the form of the cultural, ethnic and social hybridisation of their identity, evidence of which is to be found in the now well-attested development of a local rap form in Provençal showing the ubiquity of the voluble Marseille accent on lips which came from Africa and elsewhere.

In this way urban systems renew themselves by welcoming new citizens, by adopting cultural, technical and organisational innovations, by the flow of information, and so on. Historically this openness is an aspect of cities which have freed themselves from the protection of the overlord and are creating the conditions for profound social change. If this urban independence lay at the origin of European culture, then it was because it allowed creative dynamics to maintain themselves around new activities, new knowledge and previously unknown behaviour forms to develop within these liberated territories. The subjects of innovation and collective learning which characterise cities are to be examined in workgroups 3.2 *Innovation and sustainable management*, and 2.1 and 3.1 which we have already mentioned.

Another loan from "complex thought" may help us to clarify these self-maintaining dynamics whereby an urban system adapts itself to its environment by maintaining its identity while changing it. This is the order/disorder dialogic, or organisational antagonism.

The order/disorder dialogic in urban systems

We are attracted to simple thoughts, their clarity and the order they inject into the hurly-burly of reality. We find it difficult to see disorder other than from a negative point of view, as dysfunctional. Yet "complex thought" teaches us that the organisation of a social system is built of order and disorder, of complementarities and individualities, conflicts and opposites. These are non-exclusive pairs – on the contrary, in fact, they stand as couples in what Morin calls "organisational antagonism. In order to understand clearly this essential point, we must introduce another dimension of the system, its potential dimension. We owe the application of this concept to urban systems to Yves Barel, a writer not as well known as he deserves to be. He shows in his book *La ville médiévale [The Mediaeval City]*³¹, that an urban system – the case in point – is never limited to what can be directly observed, to the way it actually appears, or to what can be identified on paper. The system also exists in the form of power, it has a potential dimension which is a "specific form of the existence of reality". In the form of a reserve of energy and information, the potentiality is "an action power not yet utilised"³². In other words, at any given moment, a complex system develops by simultaneously preparing itself for what it might become. As Jean-Pierre Dupuy writes, "the real always resembles the possible which it was before it came into being"³³. Hence it can be said that the system updates the creative relationships of order and complementarity, and renders those which carry disorder and opposition possible. This dimension of urban systems will probably be tackled by workgroups 1.2 *From territorial observation to project development* but also by those dealing with *urban projects*. Allow me to illustrate this type of process. Faced with the institutional fragmentation which generates disorder including power games, fiscal competition, and duplicated

administration, we witness the appearance of city authorities who are striving to update complementarities. To counteract the confrontational effects of spatial segregation some cities in France are, with the support and prompting of the State, implementing urban renewal policies promoting diversity. Others prefer to reinforce the repressive aspect of their policies (municipal police forces, CCTV surveillance, etc.), and most take something from both sides. But it is very clear that as the updating process moves forward, disorder is both a threat of destruction (radicalisation of conflicts) but also a possibility of change (organisational transformation). The objectives of diversity and participation and indeed the presence of representatives of ethnic minorities on the electoral lists are examples. Yet again we find a concept of social change already present in the work of a great sociologist, among other things on the city, the German Georg Simmel³⁴.

If, as we feel, territory leaders should be equipped with investigative means whereby they can identify the potentialities of their territory (forecasting would seem to be the most elementary), it would appear crucial at a more general level for the institutions they control to be capable of tackling the complexity of urban systems. Put more technically, they must respect the law of requisite variety.

The demands of variety: toward the imaginative city

This law, formulated by William Ross Ashby, is well known to systems theorists. It states that a system which steers another system must have a higher level of variety than the system being steered, variety meaning the number of states which a system can display. As far as urban systems are concerned, this means that the city which governs the town must show itself capable of a high level of organisational flexibility so that it can adopt the greatest variety of systemic configurations possible. This crucial issue is often ignored. In the absence of noticeable development in this direction there is a danger that the Hayekian view (*i.e.* ultraliberal) of self-organisation will be imposed because of the utter inability of the public authorities to govern societies which the free interaction of the individual players would regulate more effectively. Additionally, it might be the case that the current fate of the term *governance* (dealt with by workgroup 1.3) to describe the new forms taken by public policy (public multi-centrism, public-private partnerships, outsourcing, and the like) is an expression of an adaptation moving in the direction of a greater variety of territorial steering systems. It highlights the difficulty of acting in a hierarchically-directed manner and of seeing these forms of jointly constructed action and shared rules through prisms too coloured by determinism and hierarchal government. In many respects it lies within a complex perspective, but in the absence of a substantial body of theory, it stands as a simple description of the processes in question even while they have to be planned. This is why I prefer an analysis in terms of complexity. But even so, how are the city or the public territorial institutions to increase their variety? The answer is: by themselves becoming complex systems. To develop this statement to some degree we should take advantage of the modelling of complex systems proposed by Jean-Louis Le Moigne³⁵.

According to him a complex system can be modelled on nine levels:

1. the location: does it exist?
2. activity: what does it do?
3. regulating it: how does it maintain the regularity of its action?
4. information: how is it informed?
5. decisions: how does it decide?
6. its memory: how does it remember its decisions and their history?
7. coordination method: how are its decisions coordinated?
8. the capacity for imagination and conception: how does it imagine and conceive of new decisions?
9. completion mode: how does it work out its ends?

While it is possible to detail each of these levels, I shall deal only with the last five in order to comment on the conditions governing the complex operations of territorial institutions.

First, information. This refers to the operations of the information system. By what means is information produced? About what? With what degree of frequency and what level of precision? While the situations are often different, we still notice that territorial authority information often appears late, incomplete and inaccurate. Usually concentrated on fiscal and economic data, mainly in quantitative forms, it is unaware of the potentialities mentioned, of social and cultural dimensions, particularly in their subjective dimension, that of the perception and experience of the inhabitants. In some towns efforts are made to obtain more systematic information tools, such as the monitoring

processes in the inner suburbs which are beginning to be implemented in Brussels. But I believe there still remains a great deal to be done to design information devices conceptually and technically which can provide intelligible representations of the condition of urban territories. If this information – which needs to be pluralist, i.e., sourced from a range of players, relevant, i.e. focused on the issues, and evaluative – is distributed throughout the territory, it can operate as *territorial intelligence*, the matter to be tackled by workgroup 2.1. If *territorial observation*, tackled by workgroup 1.2, is definitely necessary, it will in my opinion, be insufficient. It must be structured as a function of a conceptual grid in order to give it meaning. In order to observe a city in a valid way, first you must conceive of it.

How are decisions made in the city? This is an important question, and I shall merely deal with a few points which are not sufficiently well known. First the influence of its representations. In this area each country has its own tradition. In the case of France, Pierre Rosanvallon says that, as far as territories are concerned: "they speak like Tocqueville and think like Robespierre"³⁶. In a country where it was conceivable, during the Revolution, to create *départements* with geometrically identical perimeters, representations of territory appeared to be already deeply imbued with the rationalist ideal expressed by the French-style garden. Elsewhere I have attempted to show³⁷ that decentralisation was badly received there mainly because the complexity which it implies upsets these representations. Beyond the French case, it has to be said that the word of the expert continues to hold sway despite the growing interest in citizen participation and the concept of the "hybrid forum"³⁸ among researchers. Investigations into *participatory governance* and the possibility of *pluralist policies* tackled by workgroup 1.3 and that of *democracy* and *policy control*, are more relevant still. Opening up

decision-making to participation is a democratic challenge in increasingly educated societies, but it can also be a means of making better decisions. The American historian Thomas P. Hughes, in his history of engineers in the United States³⁹ shows that the need to reach a compromise with the people in the design of large scale installations (underground trains, for example) allowed engineers to reach more effective solutions, including at the technical level. Procedures exist to organise this kind of public participation, such as focus groups, for example, which will be used in the second part of this colloquium. Among them we should mention participatory modelling. This consists of creating a computerised simulation model which is used during discussions between the parties concerned by the consequences of a public decision (the building of an installation, or the like). By becoming aware of the simulated results of the model in a range of scenarios, the players are able to measure the implications of their own position and will more readily accept a compromise. This method, which is often used for the socio-environmental issues could be used more as far as the city is concerned.

When we come to memory in territorial "governance" systems, we find that this aspect is often neglected. This is regrettable because it means we lose the experience an institutional memory could provide. And again, it must be easily accessible and interpretable. This requires technical resources (storage, archiving, computerisation, etc.) as well as human and intellectual resources. I contend that what is needed to clarify public decisions is the view of the historian. By historian I mean someone capable of seeing the past in perspective in order to illuminate current issues so that consideration can be given to earlier successes and failures. Memory deserves to be used, not as a heritage to be cherished but as a cognitive resource supporting decision-making. It is also a vital component of the identity of the city and the

territory. In short, memory injects the long time period which is history into the short time period of action, of enormous interest in a world in which media communication tends to impose the urgency of the eternal present.

Decision coordination is problematic in urban systems. Training city authorities is part of the solution. But to the extent that multi-level actions (region, State, European Union) and the contributions of private players have to be added to territorial multi-centrism (several municipalities), we can see that the coordination of territorial policies is far from being guaranteed. It no longer passes through the hierarchical predominance of an institution but through partnership logics and contract-based agreements. As a consequence the involvement of a number of partners in common objectives becomes necessary. The territorial project, when it is not simply a re-packaging of old forms (merely juxtaposing sector-based measures does not constitute a project), becomes the privileged instrument of this coordination of territorial policies, i.e. those implemented by the players in the territory, but also of the integration of territorialized policies, i.e. those implemented by institutions at a higher level. It is within this framework that governance takes on its full meaning, of a complexification of forms and processes of public action.

As Mary Douglas has written, institutions "think"⁴⁰, they orient the way in which the individuals who make them work see the world, how they decide and act. Territorial policies thus experience "cognitive embedding"⁴¹ which, without the decision-makers always being aware of it, limits the solutions envisaged by pre-formatting them. This inhibits the decision-making process. But the law of requisite variety demands great political inventiveness of the authorities. Conditions favouring this inventiveness are nevertheless easily spotted; among others, we should mention: the diversity of management teams (political diversity, but also in terms of training, origins and activities), the freedom and quality of internal debate, a high level of representation of the population, openness to and knowledge of innovations practised elsewhere, an interest in new knowledge, particularly in the social sciences. Aside from the cognitive limits mentioned, other factors tend to depress political creativity: naturally these include financial constraints and the urgency of action, but we should not forget the cumbersome nature of procedures, the inertia of services, the fear of risk or simple conformity. I suggest that when it comes to designing new policies a new style of thought is called for – one more in keeping with the complexity of urban territories in particular. In actual fact, territorial action, like territorial representation, is still coloured by the ideal of simplicity attached to Cartesian thought⁴² while even the characteristics of the process that makes territory (non-linearity, uncertainty, diversity, dialogic, emergence, etc.) very clearly call for "complex thought". Political operators, like heads of enterprises in other fields, practise this complexity, but in an intuitive and pragmatic way. They often lack the conceptual tools to reason it out. This familiarity on the part of public decision-makers with "complex thought" is in my opinion an important issue as far as democracy and territorial policy are concerned.

And a complex system provides its own ends. It defines the objectives which are its own. Here the grandeur and the drama of human communities co-exist, striving to orient the course of their history. Possibly when we examine public discourse and policies intended for territories we are struck by the overwhelming importance of the economy. Political players increasingly address themselves to users and consumers and less and less to citizens. We are obliged to see here an adaptation to a societal development referred to beforehand. Permit me to apologise for this and to plead guilty in the name of the social sciences. The fact is that they have all been infiltrated by the figure of the rational and utilitarian individual who always decides, after making the cost-benefit calculation, to act for his own profit. My belief is that this is a very reductionist view of social behaviour, useful for modelling, of course, but one which contains within it a conception which denies the very idea of society. A collection of individuals does not make a society or a territory. As far as territorial policy is concerned I would argue that excessive searching for economic *boons* leads you to forget social *bonds*. The desire to live together depends on the density of the social bonds which exist within a territory. And developing Robert Putnam, economic sociology⁴³ and network analysis shows that these bonds (or this relationship) favour trust, mutual assistance and very often economic initiative and adaptation. It appears relevant that territories increasingly endow themselves much more frequently with solutions which reflect social exchange. By fostering interpersonal relationships, placing a value on involvement and voluntary work, by stimulating the networks of proximity, supporting associations – in short, by assisting social exchange – territorial policies can contribute to both economic development and social solidarity. We should clearly understand that it is not conventional social assistance which remains necessary in respect of the destitution of certain populations but a process which moves more in the direction of active

solidarity, self-organised to some degree. Although it may seem strange today, I support those who subscribe to the theory that the gift, in the meaning Marcel Mauss applies to this concept⁴⁴, lies at the heart of the life of society. We place our trust in others in order to cooperate with them, to carry out shared projects. So allow me now to devote a little time as a specific development to speaking about this instrument which cities or territories provide themselves with in order to define and achieve shared ends – the project.

The “projectivity” of territorial policy

Although the term ‘project’ has nowadays become hackneyed through overuse, it can still express the overall nature of an action undertaken in a way which is the opposite of the traditional sector-based approach of public policy; and it also expresses the developmental nature of the scheme implemented, which is peripheral to the plan. From this point of view it is arguable that this is a complex form of steering territorial action. Naturally, we must not be naïve. In many cases, despite the fact that the word is used, no project exists. An example would be the Midi-Pyrenees Region which sets up “land contracts” to promote territorial projects which could ironically be dubbed “load contracts” because the projects presented were collections of sector-based measures grouped together under the ‘project’ label for the sole purpose of obtaining subsidies. This is by no means an isolated case. Clearly, very different devices are camouflaged under the term ‘project’. It might be pertinent to assess their quality. I have set out to do this by proposing to measure what I have referred to as the “projectivity” of the action⁴⁵.

This “projectivity” can be broken down into two dimensions, self-determination and similarity, as shown in figure 3. The first term means the capacity of an institution to determine its own ends, and the second is

intended to describe the extent to which the ends match the system which will implement them. The higher the levels of self-determination and similarity, the greater the ‘projectivity’ is too, that is, the more complex will be the projects implemented.

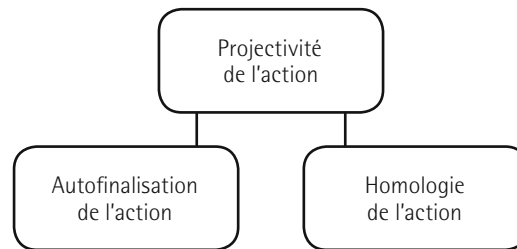


Figure 3. *The dimensions of the projectivity of the action*

The self-determination of a territorial system will depend both on the autonomy with which it represents the world, and on its openness and relationship with its environment. The former measures the extent to which it possesses an identity capable of structuring or orientating the ends of the territorial system. It may be rendered operational via indicators which assess how far the territorial players express a feeling of belonging and an awareness of their shared identity. Meanwhile, the openness relationship of which I stressed the importance earlier describes the manner in which the territorial system is linked to its environment (nature and degrees of openness) and its capacity to evaluate and control the effects of this openness. The question is whether the system is capable of opening itself without dissolving in the process of adapting to its environment.

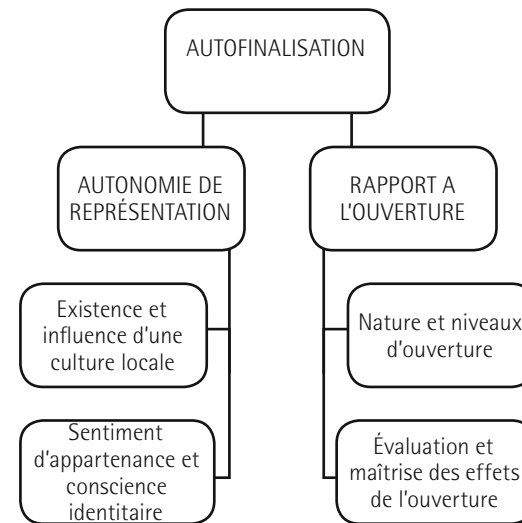
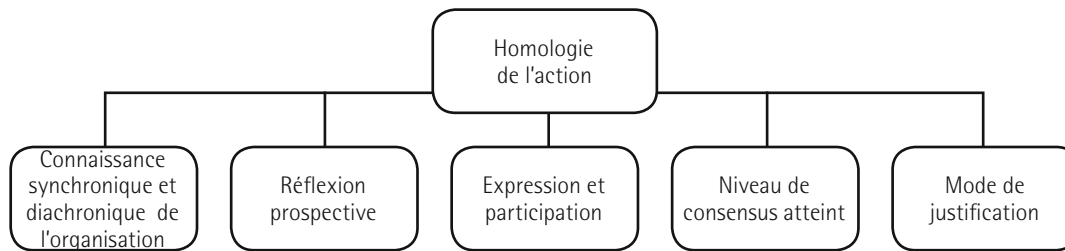


Figure 4. *The dimensions and components of self-determination*

The similarity level measures the capacity of the system to produce projects which are anchored in the territory and express its actual and potential characteristics. This requires information about the present workings of the system (current knowledge), its history (diachronic knowledge) and its potentialities (prospective knowledge). Also essential, however, is for this diversity to be factored into project development. This determines that an assessment of the level and quality of the expression and participation of the players within the territory should be undertaken. There is likewise a need to identify and evaluate the level of consensus achieved by the project. And finally, the justification method for the project provides an indicator for confirming the previous results (e.g. “we shall have to adapt” or “our identity requires that...”).



*Figure 5.
The dimensions of the similarity of the action*

The application of this analysis grid throws light on the significant differences in the development of projects. The projective quality of policies is an indicator of their capacity to express the identity of a territorial system in a complex environment. But this alone cannot account for the more or less complex nature of a policy. For this, consideration must be given to the way in which this policy will interact with the environment and subsequently transform the territorial system. This is what we call recursion. I have undertaken some work on rendering this concept operational so that it can be applied to territorial policy⁴⁶ but I shall not dwell upon this. The reason is that the workshops and workgroups in the colloquium are focusing on the *project* and other subject areas mentioned above, though not on policy recursion, and also of course, because time is passing. The time to draw a conclusion has come.

You will not be surprised that I dedicate this moment to Edgar Morin. If I may refer to a concept forged by Aristotle, who spoke of the need, in his view, for "anthropolitics"⁴⁷, in other words, a political system which placed humanity at the centre of things. As the sociologist Max Weber has said, it is hardly new to observe that the logic of means has replaced that of ends in developed societies. If all the levels of power must be involved in this kind of politics, its most appropriate framework is, to a large extent, the local territory, that in which most reality-based bonds are mainly to be found, where proximity makes social relationships come into being. Wide-ranging regulation will still of course be needed at the larger national, European and world levels. This will require the awareness of interdependence relationships, the development of democratic world "governance" procedures and the establishment of a multi-dimensional citizenship within which the decisions taken at each level take account of the relationships needed with other levels. This is still far from the case, and brings to mind the words of Paul Valéry: "How much must we be unaware of to act!" while hoping, even so, that this colloquium might succeed in collectively driving back the limits of our ignorance.

Pascal Roggero

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QUESTIONS FROM THE AUDIENCE

What roles do charities and associations play and what role does memory play in urban development?

Pascal Roggero: Charities and associations are an expression of the social world. In this, they fall within the logic of giving one's time and energy for the benefit of the community and of society. The utilitarian approach will not have it that society is useful. However, utilitarianism is dominant in the social sciences. So it is of prime importance to support what comes from social exchanges and from the initiative of charities and associations, but we need to go even further.

Memory cannot be a graveyard. It is living or it is not; it is carried by people. Memory is selective: many cities forget fundamental parts of their history. The question of territory opens up the possibility of activating things at a given moment that are currently latent. Activating memory is important, including with a view to collective learning, as part of the construction of identity, of uniqueness.

When you spoke about your idea concerning decentralisation/recentralisation, you underlined a fundamental difference between Midi-Pyrénées and Belgium. In Belgium we have regions that were created on the basis of political forces within communities, which are overdetermined. Within this overdetermination, elements appear that are not like the Brussels region as a living community, but like other regions. How do you deal with a problem like this, in your experience?

Pascal Roggero: I don't deal with it. The position of the third party is an interesting position. It allows mediation, which makes things evolve. If I had to look in more detail at your question, I would have to think about this three-way relationship more deeply.

In view of the cost of collecting statistical data and its financial consequences for local decision-makers, isn't there a danger that utilitarian or quantitative issues will take precedence over the input of data relating to anthropology, sociology and therefore what is qualitative?

Pascal Roggero: You are right. Objective information doesn't exist. An area is built from representations, from different conceptions. If we cannot see this, we are in the realms of representation that wants to rationalise, which is certainly comfortable from an intellectual point of view, but which conveys illusions. It is absolutely essential that a more subjective dimension of information about perception appears.

What does 'self-eco-re-organisation' mean other than just a complex approach?

Pascal Roggero: I was thinking of the dimension of action that one could describe as 'complexity of action' through two concepts: the 'projectivity' of the action and the 'recursion' of the action, both of which can be broken down into sub-concepts. Self-determination, for example, is part of projectivity. To conceive of the ability of a community to determine its own future, you need to think about the autonomy with which it represents the world and about its relationship with openness. From a grid of quantitative and qualitative indicators applied to a small number of cities, I am trying to identify what could be a kind of complex nature of action and trying to evaluate the results of this action.

Workshop 1

Urban diversity and territorial coherence

WORKSHOP CHAIRMAN

Nicolas JOSCHKO

Groupe de travail 1.1

Chairman : Jean-Louis GENARD

Speaker : Jacques DONZELOT

Groupe de travail 1.2

Chairman : Hugues DUCHATEAU

Speaker : Alessandro BALDUCCI

Groupe de travail 1.3

Chairman : Nicolas JOSCHKO

Speaker : Artur da ROSA PIRES

Presentation of the workgroups of the workshop

Workshop Chairman Nicolas Joschko

General Manager a.i. Urban renovation, Company for the Development of the Brussels-Capital Region (*Société de développement pour la Région de Bruxelles-Capitale, SDRB*)

Limiting urban planning to the science of organising a territory has nowadays become obsolete. Yesterday's urban planning was concerned with the complementary needs for infrastructures (architecture, urban landscape, mobility, environment, etc.) so as to integrate structural and coherent planning into the city. The human dimension was examined from the individual and group points of view, but not from the point of view of governance, where the local government authorities at various levels of urban management interact and mutually influence one another. The coherence and sustainability of the various strategies, on the one hand, and mutual comprehension between the various levels of authorities, communities, sub-communities and stakeholders, on the other hand, will play the determining role here. Contemporary urban planning must integrate this new dimension of governance, develop it and allow it to reach maturity. The first workgroup is charged with examining this dimension and tackling its most important aspects.

Workshop 1 is going to consider the various aspects linked to the interaction between territorial cohesion and urban diversity. Inside the workshop, three workgroups are going to consider respectively :

1. Diversity, economic and diversity and their interaction on the territoriality and real estate. The group will hear a presentation by Professor Jacques Donzelot and is chaired by Jean-Louis Genard. Jacques Donzelot is Lecturer in Political Sociology in University of Paris X, Director of the Study Centre, of City Documentation and Observation (CEDOV), Director of the Social Policy Study Centre (CEPS). Mr. Genard is the Director of the highly reputed 'La Cambre' Higher Institute of Architecture in Brussels.
2. The second workgroup is going to look into the evolution of the processes of territorial observation targeting development and the introduction of actual projects. This workgroup will hear from Alessandro Balducci, Professor of Urban and Territorial Policies at the University of Milan and it is chaired by Hugues Duchateau, Director of Stratec, a specialised Brussels consulting firm consisting of strategic experts in urban development.
3. The last workgroup shall consider subjects linked to participative governance and the creation of a pluralist policy. This workgroup will receive a presentation from Professor Artur da Rosa Pires, Professor of Policies of Spatial Development and Planning at the University of Aveiro in Portugal. I have the pleasure of chairing this workgroup. I am Nicolas Joschko and I am the Acting General Director of Urban Renewal at the Development Company of the Brussels-Capital Region (SDRB).

The main objective of the various groups and workshops is to produce and present clear, concrete and usable recommendations.

Diversity ! Yes, but what kind of diversity ?

Jacques Donzelot's presentation of the workgroup 1.1

'Diversity! Yes, but what kind of diversity? ?' Jacques Donzelot would reply by asking : why a diversity? From which perspective and how ?

'Why' means that I am concerned to emphasize the relatively recent nature of this imperative of diversity. It barely dates back a dozen years in the legislation of France (where the ideology of diversity is strongest) and it has spread out across Europe. Before people spoke of it as an imperative, one took care to avoid it as an imperative, because you had to separate the warring parties. We now notice that the combatants are so well separated that they can no longer even work together or can even work at all. The imperative of diversity is recent. Why did it spring up with such force ?

From which perspective and in relation to what is diversity called for? People speak a lot about diversity in a reactive manner rather than a proactive one. Reactive, because they feel that segregation is being created and they react to that. They want to encourage the middle class and the working class to rediscover one another and to share a common space. In the mind of the protagonists of diversity policies, there is just one objective: to ward off the problems that arise, such as urban violence or increasing rents that result in a situation where even the middle class can no longer remain as rental tenants. Thus, it is purely reactive, without any view on the future and without a vision of the city, in a word, without any proactive dimension.

The 'how': one imagines it in the form of something imposed. This diversity that one tries to impose is the opposite of the one which was current when things went well, during the industrial era. I am speaking about an upwardly mobile diversity, a social industrial mobility where one would leave behind working class neighbourhoods and move into middle class neighbourhoods. One wishes to replace that by a diversity that seems to produce as many inconveniences as benefits, in any case for those who live where the diversity is being introduced. In place of all that, it would be better to proceed in a different manner, 'to induce behaviour patterns' rather than seek to direct them and to find support in the lines of the city's transformation, orienting them depending on the design one is pursuing for the city and stop putting in place diversity for the sake of diversity, which is counter-productive.

From territorial observation phase to the development of projects

Alessandro Balducci's presentation of the workgroup 1.2

My thoughts bear on the situation in Milan, which offers many similarities with the one in Brussels and on the physical changes and the major problems inherent in a city today. If we wish to locate the area which has the strongest interactions, we should go beyond the municipalities and provinces to enlarge our vision.

What is it that we call a city today?

I will then dwell on the factors which have transformed the face of the city by indicating some dates affecting the process of mobility of the population, the process of fragmentation of the actors, as well as the creation of new types of networks which are not linked to the physical aspects but which are important to understand how the city changes. These are as much challenges for planning the future, for thinking about what could be a new approach based on observation of these aspects in order to build the projects in themselves.

I would like to cite the example of the strategic plan for the province of Milan that we have created within the Department of Architecture and Planning of the Polytechnic University of Milan. We have changed this strategic project as a result of data collected on the ground. As a tool, we opted for a competition of projects open to all the players (we try to use this type of instrument because when confronted by such complexity we cannot be satisfied with only scientific knowledge).

I suggest that you launch the discussion starting from this experience. How to innovate with the help of high-performance observation tools; how to encourage the participation of all the protagonists associated with a project?

Participative Governance: The challenge of Pluralistic Policy Making Processes

Artur Da Rosa Pires' presentation of the workgroup 1.3

I shall draw on my experience implementing the strategic plans of a small municipality having points in common with Milan. The difficulty was to mobilise a group of people and institutions on behalf of a common objective, all of them in a municipality not used to working on pluralist projects. It was necessary to improvise and invent a new methodology in order to bring the project to a successful conclusion. How do you get people and institutions to work together for a common objective of a collective nature? We built our methodology based on the planning literature of the 1990s. The idea was to construct a method, locate the problems and the difficulties to be tackled and highlight successes and failures. In conclusion I shall try to explain what elements of the project we did not take to the end and why, and I shall make several suggestions with a view to distinguishing between practice on the ground and the expectations of policies.



Workgroup 1.1

Diversity ! Yes, but what kind of diversity ?

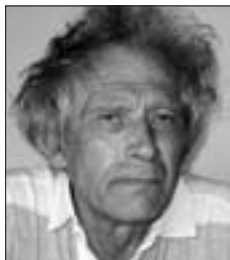
Throughout his presentation and the ensuing debate, Jacques Donzelot makes the point on the issues of separation that are at work in our cities and explores paths that advocate for increased diversity. Indeed, while the strategies of urban policy often concern the improvement of the building stock, the speaker demonstrates that social cohesion is also built on aspects that go beyond those that are purely real estate based. Jacques Donzelot offers several avenues for sustainably rethinking this diversity, both in terms of objectives as well as in terms of methods.



Workgroup Chairman

Jean-Louis GENARD,

Philosopher and PhD in Sociology, Director of the "La Cambre" Higher Institute of Architecture of the French-speaking Community, Course Leader at the Free University of Brussels and the Saint-Louis University Faculties.



Speaker

Jacques DONZELOT,

Lecturer in Political Sociology, University of Paris X, Director of the Study Centre, of City Documentation and Observation (CEDOV), Director of the Social Policy Study Centre (CEPS).

Participants

Vincent CALAY, Sophie COEKELBERGHS, Patrick CRAHAY, Gina CRISTINO, Manu DE LOEUL, Jean DE SALLE, Florence DELMOTTE, Maarten DIERYCK, Bernard FRANCO, Nadine GABET, Martine GOSSUIN, Marc HAESENDONCKX, Raphaëlle HAROU, Alain JEAN-CHRISTOPHE, Pascale LAMBIN, Odile MAROUTAEFF, Stéphane MASSAGE, François MÉNARD, Céline MOUCHART, Marco SCHMITT, Mathieu SONCK, François TIMMERMANS, Paul VERMEYLEN, Pol ZIMMER, Françoise DUPUIS, Claire TERLINDEN, Giulietta LAKI, Léo LEVY.

Summary

The diversity is a recent political problem

- The Fordist period was characterised by the logic of dispersal and segregation. In recent decades, the diversity has become a political issue. Indeed, it opposes the separation and deportation functional, social or cultural.
- Suburbanisation, relegation (in ghettoised neighbourhoods) and gentrification generate three-part log for separation in cities.
- The processes of urban diversity have anthropological effects in relation to space, time and others.

The purpose of the diversity

- Today, diversity policies are mainly reactive, for example :
 - > the fight against violence ;
 - > the fight against tax evasion.
- We will avoid a routine approach to certain concepts of diversity.
- The advantages of a diversity should offset the disadvantages generated by the logic of separation.
 - > Nothing is served by imposing a reactive diversity in an attempt to resolve this triple logic of separation.
- It is necessary to establish proactive policies that :
 - > comprehend the city as it has become (rather as a place of consumption than as a place of production) ;
 - > take into account a number of urban dynamics ;
 - > try to put their advantages to good use (it is not effective to order desegregation) ;
 - > attempt to influence the behaviour of various population groups so that they can better participate in the development of the city's strengths.
- We will seek to explore the complexities of the notion of diversity :
 - > beyond a diversity of social classes or ethnicities ;
 - > seek to find other areas of diversity (the family, school, neighbourhood) ;
 - > in some areas, the diversity is right, in others less ;

- > promoting diversity is one method among others, not an end in itself :
 - in some cases, a policy of dispersion could be a positive ;
 - prior to a diversity policy, we must advocate for policies on access to employment ;
 - do not forget the policies of the welfare state (the previous public policy phase) and the current policies of inclusion and the importance of the dispersion of services.
- The diversity as a means of integration :
 - > ethnic homogeneity is not a problem, as long it advocates for a dynamic of diversity.
This refers to :
 - the theory of strong ties (those of the community) and weak ties (those from outside) that are currently being discussed in Sweden, where
 - the idea of constructing the city as a community of communities, where the unease felt by the communities would serve as the basis for dialogue ;
 - > we would allow inflowing populations to provisionally have the community choice to later facilitate their emancipation in the city (without speaking of homogeneity or ghettoisation).
- Diversity as a vector of social cohesion :
 - > spatial proximity does not necessarily lead to social proximity and
 - > brings up the problem of diversity in terms of social scale.
 - We must distinguish two types of diversity :
 - an effective diversity that takes into account the inhabitants concerns with adding value to the neighbourhood and
 - an ineffective diversity where the middle classes neglect to take care of the neighbourhood.
 - This does not always involve creating the diversity but rather "to put together the components of a neighbourhood".
- Participation can be something other than just "participative chatter" to the extent that :
 - > it engages those who are being consulted AND the consultant ;
 - > a "local government" either put in place (confrontation in proximity between providers and recipient of the service).

The tools of diversity

- Despite the difficulty in implementing diversity (even in a small scale associative system where diversity is a priority), it is important to open doors in order to allow people to choose in which society they want to live.
- Social housing.
 - > There is a willingness within the SDRB to implement legislation that favors social housing which would allow occupants to purchase their housing in a social housing building and thus lead to diversity in the building.
 - > Density is the means to restrict a developer from creating diversity in terms of social housing. Since Brussels is a low density city (63 inhabitants per hectare versus 200 per hectare in Paris).
 - > It is necessary to be able to count on political will to create social housing.
 - > Social housing policy must be connected to employment policy.
- We must promote diversity by densification and reduce gentrification by a series of measures in matters of accessibility to housing :
 - > develop more varied social housing policies ;
 - > make the public authorities more accountable (requisition empty housing) ;
 - > develop policies for the purchase of social housing ;
 - > develop policies for the creation of middle class social housing ;
 - > requirement to produce 20% social housing in any new construction of a certain size, in exchange for greater urban density allowing developers to create added value.
- We need to develop real policies for evaluation to obtain better knowledge of the territory.

Several groups of proposal have been prepared

- We need to think of the city on its own scale, by including its hinterland.
 - > We must have the overall cost of the city paid by all of its users (the resident inhabitants and the non-resident inhabitants):
 - review fiscal and redistribution policies ;
 - make up for the lack of mobility caused by non-residents of Brussels.
 - > To organise an urban public space at the scale of the metropolitan area, we must :
 - put in place an urban community ;
 - develop an imagination that constitutes an urban community ;
 - bring out the participation in the territorialised and/or localised vision.
- The integration of ethnic minorities will be facilitated by contractual type relationships with certain urban minorities, for example, with a view towards exchanging access to jobs for accountability with regards to urban incivilities.
- This does not involve hindering the gentrification policies that have certain advantages but rather to develop policies to compensate for the negative effects of gentrification, for example, via the social housing policies.

SESSION OPENING

The Chairman, Jean-Louis Genard, opens the session, introduces Professor Jacques Donzelot and lets him know that he has about twenty minutes to talk. This contribution will be followed by the development of working political suggestions. It isn't certain that they will be able to settle on any actual concrete suggestions, but that is the task they have been assigned to. The group is responsible for opening up the discussion to include other subject areas, as long as they are connected to the diversity theme. In the second part efforts will be made to formalise the suggestions which may be tabled during the workshop when the workgroup meets with the other groups from workshop 1 to spotlight the suggestions raised by each of the groups who are sharing some of the subject areas, such as participation and governance.

CONTRIBUTION FROM JACQUES DONZELOT

Efforts must be made to enhance the complexity of this subject somewhat, since at the moment it is being treated rather simplistically. We shall try to do this by tackling two questions: how has it come about that we are faced with the diversity issue? Under what brand of city philosophy can we bring about the kind of diversity which is tending to disappear?

How is it that we are faced with the diversity issue?

It arises from the appearance of a logic of separation found to be operating in the majority of European and American cities whereby urban spaces are being divided into three large categories: flight to the outskirts (peri-urbanisation), relegation and gentrification.

This logic has been operating since the nineteen-seventies. It affects cities which never really had a high level of diversity. Each area had a relatively clearly defined social typology. This was due to the kind of city planning operational during the industrial capitalism period and the separation between the production, shopping and consumption, residential and leisure areas. Within these zones the homes of the various social classes were not intermingled, with clear distinctions between working class areas, middle class villa-type sections and the homes of the upper classes. However, they were close enough to each other for the dream of upward social mobility to prevail over the temptation to slide. From the upper floor of an inexpensive high-rise apartment building you could look out on the villas, planning your retirement in one, or seeing your children growing up there, while the villa dwellers dreamed about having their youngsters become engineers, living

somewhere that didn't have a little garden, but a park, that wasn't surrounded by an iron grill but rather stone walls... Since that period when the social classes were relatively close to each other, all brought together by big industry, we have witnessed growing physical distance and cultural separation between the various members of a society which now no longer sees itself as a unit, since big industry is no longer there to create it. Each social entity lives in relative ignorance of the others and distrust grows, due to the effects of a mixture of flight and rejection which seems unstoppable. A real breakout on the part of the working and middle classes has taken place heading for a collection of peripheral municipalities where there is more space per resident at the cost of distance which increases travelling times and concentrates existence on private life... This mass move to the outer suburbs has been the cause of the arrival of fresh populations in what were the working-class districts of the old city centres or deserted state supported housing developments. What had been the stage for at least a degree of interplay between the middle and working classes is now packed with ethnic minorities, at first invited, then who invited themselves, having to come take up or look for work. Financial assistance for housing and the tendency of families to live close to each other has led to a situation which is moving towards ethnic concentration and is moving away from integration (the "Black, White, Arab" situation of the young migrants to France at the start of the nineteen-eighties) to a much starker separation stage, also recognised and known as "relegation".

And in recent years we have witnessed a third trend which might look like a counterbalance to the negative effects of peri-urbanisation and relegation, which is gentrification. What it means is that at least some members of the middle classes are coming back to the city centres. But the hope that this might counteract the fact that some inner suburbs are overpopulated with ethnic minorities is an illusion. In reality, this phenomenon, characterised by a rise in property prices in the wake of the arrival of the home-owning middle classes, has the effect of driving out the poor, the middle-class tenants, and consequently the classes seen as intermediate, such as tradesmen and shopkeepers. We seem obliged to accept that the fate of cities is bound up with this logic of separation and transformation which reinforces cultural attitudes to the point where it is possible to define quasi-anthropological fractures between these various conditions of the city.

→ Peri-urbanisation is a phenomenon which corresponds to a style of protective community with a relationship to space where movement dominates locations, places, which are now no more than terminals to movement, points of arrival and departure, not points of meeting and interchange, plus a relationship to time based on angst (the peri-urbanist has made an investment and is frightened that he may not be able to get his money back).

→ The relegation phenomenon is characterised by a kind of community showing the restrictions of similarity and distrust which are common to ghetto societies, in relation to space where location trumps movement, unlike the peri-urban situation, and in relationship to time arising from a culture of despair because it is dangerous to hope for a change of conditions.

→ The gentrification phenomenon is shaped by a selective and elective social formula, (you must be able to pay a high price for property), a relationship to space where everywhere is yours, you are in control of location and movement. There is a growing fashion in gentrified cities for bicycles, expressing a relationship to time which is wholly different from the stress of the peri-urbanist and the rejection of hope by the relegated communities: relaxation (you move faster, go where you want, and more than that, you do yourself some good).

This anthropological phenomenon illustrates the fact that nowadays distances are not just matters of space – they are also aspects of lifestyle and create the feeling that it is impossible to move from one model to another. This state of affairs includes the loss of social mobility which went hand in hand with urban functionalism.

It is even possible to say that the urban question is now more important than the social question, that it completely shapes society to the extent that it conditions all possible responses. In the nineteenth century the urban question was simply an aspect of the social question, since it was the city which caused conflict by placing wealth and poverty face to face, leading to a need to seek solutions for these conflicts. In our time separation is such that the urban question has become the one which stops you from finding a solution to the other questions.

From what point of view should diversity be approached?

Faced with the logic of separation, it would be tempting to see diversity as a straightforward solution: simply re-starting past dynamics by a direct reaction to spontaneous "separatist" trends identified with the population. But such a "reactive" diversity policy would appear to be doomed because it takes no account of the processes which gave rise to the situation. It is completely pointless to impose diversity by building mixed communities willy-nilly. On the contrary, what is required is the adoption of a "proactive" behaviour style which takes into consideration what cities are reorganised around nowadays, to wit, consumption rather than production as it was during the 'glorious thirty' years that followed World War II.

Consideration of the 'how' of diversity means first of all understanding why something done through reactive diversity has been a disappointment. Take for example the urban renewal of the old centres or working class districts for example, as in France, but certainly other European cities, or the United States with the Hope Six programme, the aim of which was to bring the middle classes back to some areas so as to avoid an excessive concentration of poverty. What the designers of this policy failed to consider was that it would have the effect of increasing still further the destabilisation of the minorities, whether they were "native" or ethnic, in the areas where they made a living as small traders or from illegal dealing. It also became clear that it was easier to impose diversity from top-down than from the bottom-up. The fact is that it is easier to get the wealthy to move into poor districts (which are cheaper) than vice-versa.

In the light of this failure, what is required is a proactive analysis based on the reality of contemporary city life, instead of assuming that imposed city planning can be employed as it was in the time of functional city planning. What is important now is to see the city for what it has become, not a place defined by production but as a venue for consumption, services and leisure and to act in such a way that, in respect of this new attractiveness of the city, all its advantages take precedence over its disadvantages for the social classes you want to reach. The city nowadays seems to have become a meeting place where we go to consume the services on offer there. This is where its strength lies. The city will only develop and recover some degree of diversity on the day its pluses outweigh its minuses as far as consumption is concerned, such as overcrowding, lack of safety, etc. The ethnic minorities are also to be found in this bracket, associated as they are with disadvantages such as criminality and delinquency. This situation accompanies, and is due to, the fact that they have failed to locate the advantages they hoped for (advantages that they came to find when they arrived here). The solution to this, then, consists of acting on the two aspects of the problem not just one: encouraging the employment of these categories of citizens (and therefore offering them "advantages") while requiring in return that they cut down on the criminality (reducing the "disadvantages").

Similar reasoning can be applied to urban sprawl. What we must do is see the city as a mobile space within which not only the residents living in their various areas are in motion, but also the inhabitants who don't live there but enjoy its positive aspects without suffering the negatives. It is therefore important that the latter take part in the working of the city. This principle, known as "distributive justice", is very important. This may be a rather utilitarian view of the city, but it has the merit of clarity rather than being based on an idealistic vision of what a city ought to be to satisfy the republican or utopian spirit which lurks in every city planner... This is a vision which strives to be fair and profitable for all categories involved in its deployment and sharing its advantages, or at least with a wish to do so. This then makes it possible to envisage a perception of diversity facilitated by the involvement of all parties in the process of improving the quality of city life. This concept attempts to tackle the three offending trends (peri-urbanisation, relegation and gentrification) in a framework of reconstruction. It is not a matter of imposing diversity, but of facilitating it, of shaping behaviour patterns rather than trying to eradicate them. It should stand as a kind of social neo-liberalism aimed at reducing barriers and logics of separation, supported by people strategies and striving for flexibility, while fairly offsetting the advantages they enjoy or the disadvantages they suffer from.

DISCUSSION

The chairman briefly sums up the introduction to Jacques Donzelot's contribution and draws a number of questions from it: how should the use of the city be paid for by those who don't really live there, how could you ensure the integration of the ethnic communities, how should employment policy be used, how could contractually-binding relationships be entered into with these communities (employment vs. integration), and how should assisted social housing policies be implemented along with the hypothesis of the creation of an urban community remote from participatory processes.

He then lists the points which should provide the focus of the discussion.

Workgroup discussions should focus on the possibility of influencing :

- the peri-urban middle classes
 - the ethnic minorities in the old city centres
 - the "gentrifiers" invading the city centres
- And more specifically :
- Is it possible to attract the "fleeing" middle classes from the peripheral municipalities to contribute to the costs of centrality and hence persuade them to take some responsibility for the future of the city?
 - Some minorities suffer from the lack of jobs and punish the city by behaviour patterns which are sometimes illegal. To what extent can the representatives of these groups be persuaded to take responsibility at the security level on the basis of a demonstration of efforts made on the jobs front?
 - If we wish renewal to profit the poor residents of the city, rather than driving them out, shouldn't we also be building social housing for them?
 - Couldn't we aim to build an "urban community" by effective negotiation rather than "participatory chatter" and "alibi diversity" through a policy of methodical replacement of the poor by the middle classes?

During the discussions, it certainly turns out to be a question of diversity. The participation subject area is also mentioned.

The concept of "participatory chatter" used by Jacques Donzelot in this respect also leads to the reaction of one of the participants who raises the question as to whether participation, like diversity, can be anything other than the unproductive and contrived "chatting" mentioned above. Jacques Donzelot answers that : "Participation organised in a top-down way is of no interest. The mayor (the burgomaster) and his assistants plus three inhabitants bring us nowhere. What matters is having "government on the local level", by a face-to-face meeting of service providers (teachers, police) and recipients.

One speaker pointed to the importance given to community choice by several service providers to explain the way certain population groups were concentrated in certain districts, the example given being Chaussée de Haecht (between Schaerbeek and Saint-Josse) where a large Turkish community had grown up, generating a considerable range of economic activities (shops, homes, small businesses) plus a socio-occupational range (people of Turkish origin are to be found there, who have developed a diversified social trajectory including the independent or liberal professions). The same speaker emphasised that it was perhaps in a neighbourhood such as this that, despite appearances, a greater degree of diversity was to be found (at least of classes) in comparison with certain parts of Woluwé or Uccle. Jacques Donzelot responded to this observation with two statements. In the first place he is in favour of groupings on the basis of ethnic background, since this situation makes for a developmental and strategic dynamic.

Secondly, and perhaps most importantly, Jacques Donzelot insists on the importance of those service providers highlighted earlier. In this type of community, the best results to be hoped for do not depend on the strength of the community or its links with the outside, but rather on the service providers themselves (in the first place the trainers) and the trust placed in them.

This brings us back to the principle mentioned above of facilitating access to jobs or training in return for self-control over the disadvantages caused in the city. The unease felt by an ethnic minority can thus serve as the basis for dialogue with the community and a request for something to make up for it. The city then becomes a community of communities, which can provide food for thought regarding the principle of social cohesion on which Jacques Donzelot spends a few minutes following a remark from one speaker working in this sector in Brussels. According to him, the concept of social cohesion (equality of opportunity) replaces that of social progress (reduction of inequalities). It is important for the members of a community to have the feeling that possibilities are available to them in a society if we wish them to take part in it.

In matters of gentrification, Jacques Donzelot does not propose to hinder gentrification policies that provide real advantages, but rather to develop policies to compensate for their negative effects. Social housing policies were to occupy a very fundamental position.

After the break the chairman briefly sums up the subject areas tackled in the first part of the discussion period.

The discussion then turned into a discussion of social housing policies.

One speaker suggested submit the building permit and construct, the requirement to produce 20% of social housing for new construction of a certain magnitude. He also stressed the interest of not just limiting it to social housing policies in the strict sense, but to developing policy at the government level of building middle class housing. Another suggestion was to develop policies for the acquisition of social housing because the turnover in social housing is very low in Brussels.

One speaker denounced the inaction of authorities who do not currently utilise all the possibilities of existing devices, such as regulations concerning empty dwellings and the requisitioning of the latter.

Which leaves us with the need to create a true urban community that is far removed from the participatory chatter that has led to very lively discussions, particularly around the need for urban public spaces throughout the city as a whole, whereas currently, the participatory policies are territorialised. This is a particularly complex issue.

Jacques Donzelot emphasises the need for localised participatory processes (government by the locals) and he submits for thought the idea of thinking of public spaces on a citywide basis.

The discussion then turned to the importance of strategies for integration, while conceding that these are regressive policies in relation to the social policy ambitions of a few decades ago that were aimed towards emancipation. Within these inclusion policies, various elements have been put forward, including the importance of cultural associations that are strongly present in Brussels and in respect of which a whole series of public policies are being initiated. In this regard the web of associations appears to be an important component of public policies for integration.

The importance was also pointed to of the dispersion of services, which connected to other talks. Some persons prefer to talk about policies of accountability in relation to so-called access policies that the welfare state previously focused on.

Diversity could be promoted through a strategy of densification. Brussels is a relatively low density city compared to other comparable large cities. One speaker suggested offering "density bonuses" as a sort of compensation, in terms of the diversity obligation. Such grants are quite credible and even necessary in some urban areas.

Last point: the need to develop devices for increased knowledge. It appears several speakers that Brussels has a low level of self-knowledge, particularly in terms of its urban characteristics. In this regard, the need to develop assessment policies was emphasized. The lack of evaluation of public policy leads to a dispersion or a lack of monitoring of the policies in place.

In response to the discussions, Jean-Louis Genard, Chairman of the workgroup, issues a series of recommendations on the central issue of diversity.



Workgroup 1.2

From territorial observation phase to the development of projects

Alessandro Balducci emphasizes the advantages of thinking about the city outside of its institutional frontiers. He illustrates his ideas by drawing on the experience of the 'Mega-City-Region' of Milan. Considerations of the image and the scale of the city, of the set of problems which go beyond the traditional limits and oblige us today to rethink the tools needed for its development.



Chairman of the workgroup

Hugues DUCHATEAU,

Director of Stratec s.a



Speaker

Alessandro BALDUCCI,

Professor of Urban and Territorial Politics, head of the Department of Architecture and Planning, Polytechnic University of Milan

Participants

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Olivia LEMMENS, Johan MAGNUSSON, Roland MATTHU,
Benoît PÉRILLEUX, Jorge PUTTEMANS, Marco SCHMITT,
Claire SCOHIER, Pierre SMET, Marie-Laure ROGGEMANS,
Katrien THEUNIS, Cédric VAN MEERBEECK,
Philippe VANMUYLDER, Benjamin WAYENS,
Julien WINKEL.

Summary

Polytechnic of Milan's Study Assignment

- For the past 30 years, Milan has suffered from the phenomenon of urban sprawl and a lack of consistency in governance between the central and peripheral areas:
- > to compensate for it, the Province of Milan has entrusted the Polytechnic of Milan to perform a three-part study:
 - to measure and quantify the reality (be an observatory);
 - to construct a vision of the urban region;
 - define and propose tools and instruments for improving the situation on the basis of a diagnosis (competitive examination launched regarding the livability of the area);
 - > the research team has proposed a strategic project, including:
 - setting up a contest on the theme of livability;
 - the development of the "City of Cities" project.

The Emphasis of this Study

Various problems such as mobility and ecology do not respect political boundaries:

- > the challenge for urban development is increasingly choosing the most relevant boundaries for the area as required for the study of a given subject;
- > The observation should therefore dare to transgress these boundaries to allow more flexibility and better consideration of every search, every movement and change that affect the urban fabric.

The implementation of projects on the basis of these observations

- The actual development of a study or project requires:
- > better cooperation between cities, their suburbs and their urban areas;
 - > cooperation between municipalities, the kinetic energy, associations and researchers.
 - > Therefore, it would be interesting for Brussels to establish an independent institute responsible for collecting and processing a maximum of data through an interdisciplinary team.

- > On this basis:
 - coordination between various levels of power in the region and its periphery, could be initiated, developed and regularly adapted;
 - a balance should be found between competition and cooperation, i.e. "co-opetition" between various levels of authority beyond the regional borders.

Some suggestions for applying such a case study to Brussels:

- > establish the observatory at the scale of the urban area (which should not necessarily cover the same territory for different issues);
- > the basic unit of observation is the municipality;
- > entrust the mission to a sort of SCTD (Standing Conference on Territorial Development);
- > to make the request come from the communes and not from higher levels of government;
- > to put in place the concept of a 'City of Cities': allowing for variable geographic demarcation by economic sector for different topics (done in Milan to overcome the geographic limits of the urban area and the difficulty of creating a unifying image of the city as a whole);
- > to inaugurate the operation with a general forum serving the objective of bringing all the actors on board in support of the project and thereby achieving a greater consistency and generating guidelines to follow (intellectual, social and political capital).

OPENING OF THE SESSION

The Chairman, Hugues Duchateau, opens the session, presents the speaker and suggests a method for the discussion. He asks each participant to introduce himself and indicate the main reason for his interest in this session.



*Spatial-economic imbalance
of the EU territory The "Pentagon"*

EU 15:	EU 27:
18% Area	14% Area
41% Inhabitants	32% Inhabitants
49% EU GDP	47% EU GDP

CONTRIBUTION FROM ALESSANDRO BALDUCCI

Milan is a city of 1.2 million inhabitants, whose size is quite similar to that of Brussels. In Italy, the cities have broad jurisdiction and great deal of power. The next highest level is the Province. Above the Province is the Region, in this case Lombardy which has a dozen Provinces. Milan is the main unit of the Province of Milan with of 4 million inhabitants.

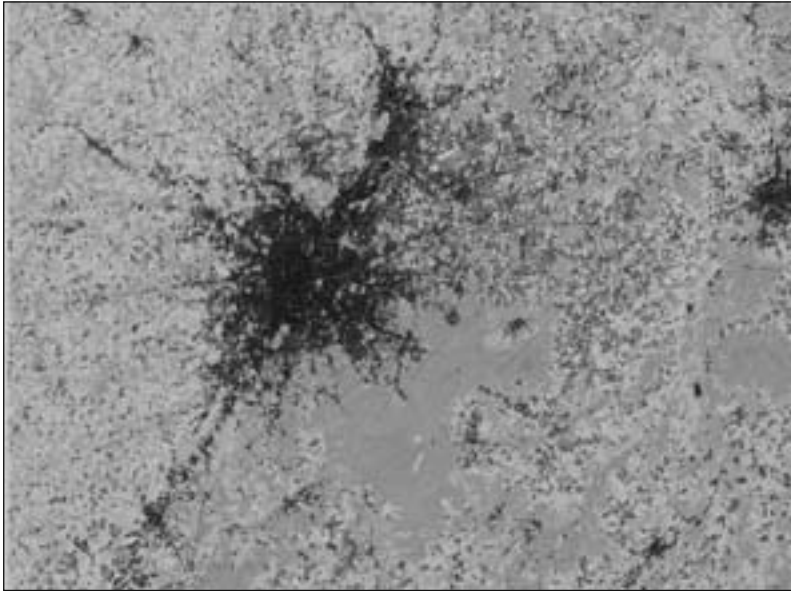
Over the past 30 years, Greater Milan has experienced urban sprawl phenomena very similar to that which we see around Brussels, at least in terms of land use. It seems that, even more than in the case of Brussels, it seems to be industrial businesses within the service sector that have migrated from the center to the periphery.

In certain regions of Europe, the concept of a city separated from its hinterland, as this was understood until recently, is no longer valid. At present, it is better to speak of 'Mega-City-Regions' insofar as their centres and outskirts tend to form one and the same ensemble. This situation is due to the combination of two convergent factors: decentralisation (especially of companies and industries) and the expansion of the cities. When put together, these phenomena gave rise to the situation that we know today, a situation which also prompts us to reflect on the means to deploy in order to manage these 'Mega-Cities-Regions' that may combine between 10 and 50 cities or localities and are characterised by a whole range of attributes. They consist of physically separate entities that are nonetheless strongly linked from a functional point of view and are organised around one or more large central cities. They generate enormous economic power thanks to a new functional organisation of labour and operation, on the one hand, as separate entities within which most people work and reside at the

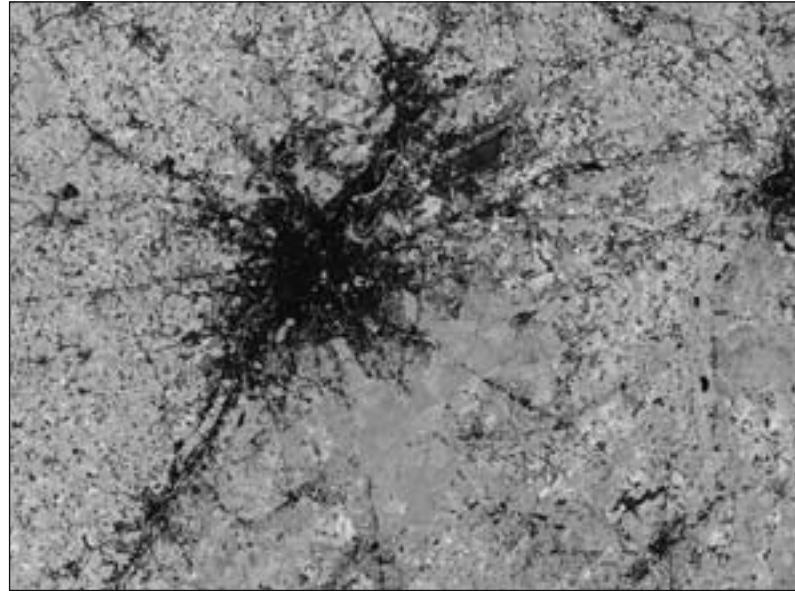
local level. On the other hand, they form a wider urban region, crisscrossed by a flow of population carried along on the highways and railways. Thus, on the European scale, a vast urban network that underwent this type of evolution developed within a pentagon formed by the cities of London, Hamburg, Munich, Paris and Milan.

At present, the city of Milan and its outskirts form one unit consisting of no less than 10 provinces and 3 regions whose boundaries are no longer as clear as they were thirty years ago. Three socio-economic processes have influenced this evolution.

Firstly, since 1972 the commune of Milan has lost nearly one third of its population (480,000 persons left, moving to the nearby provinces including Lombardy). The reason: an overheated real estate market with prices rising ever higher. This pushed the younger residents to leave Milan for the outskirts, which are less expensive, to the point where in 2001, 20% of the population of the city consisted of seniors. Another element: development of the means of transport has enabled individuals to live far from their place of work. This exodus of population has been somewhat offset by an influx of foreigners who at the present moment make up 10% of the population of Milan. A large number of commuters use the city daily and in a temporary manner they swell the ranks of the crowd moving around Milan in the course of the day to the point where they generate obstructions to traffic and a level of air pollution that has become problematic. Between 700,000 and 900,000 cars enter the city each day.



Brussels, satellite image from 1978



Brussels, satellite image from 2001

The second socio-economic process that has encouraged the emergence of the 'Mega-City-Region' of Milan is that of its triple fragmentation:

- *economic fragmentation*: the crisis of heavy industry caused such a fragmentation of the structure of production that we see today 370,000 companies in the region;
- *social fragmentation*: the redistribution of the population has had negative consequences for the networks of neighbourhoods. Working in one place and residing in another, many people have lost the notion of neighbourhood life and of what it conveyed in terms of identity and sense of belonging (connotations that are very 'local'). In parallel, the exodus of young people towards the outskirts and the well-to-

do (rather old) remaining behind in the city centre have led to a rather serious social polarisation;

- *administrative fragmentation*: this has led to a crisis in the system of the parties. The expansion of the public sphere has caused a rise in the number of administrative units which are ever more specialised. Finally, thirdly, the creation of new networks has also strongly contributed to the creation of the Milanese 'Mega-City-Region.' Thus, the fragmentation cited above has created new links between individuals and groups (immigrants, professional networks, students) who are no longer linked from a geographic point of view but who share values and areas of common interest (music, sports, professions). With regard to this change, one may conclude that the city's function as a 'platform' has become more important than that of residence.

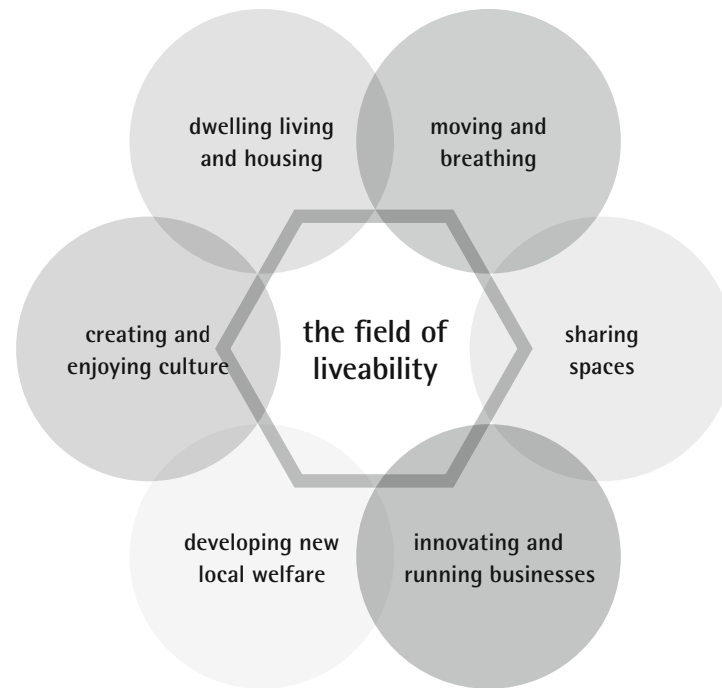
The strategic project of the 'City of Cities'

The province of Milan to be entrusted to the Polytechnic of Milan a study comprising three main elements:

- measure and quantify reality, since there was no body able to provide an overall view of occupation and businesses in the urban area. The first task was therefore to create an observatory whose purpose was not quite completely defined because we do not yet know the exact boundaries;
- construct a vision of the urban area;
- define and propose tools and instruments to improve this situation at the basis for the diagnosis.

Thus the Polytechnic University of Milan devised a strategic plan for the whole region. Apart from the goal of creating an observation tool, the purpose was also to clearly define the boundaries of the built-up urban area around the city and to suggest tools to improve the cohesion of this territory. This was an arduous task that the University quickly reframed to fit the finding that a project would be considerably more effective, positive and dynamic than a map. This is how the idea was born to put greater emphasis on the notion of liveability of the city than to concentrate on creating new infrastructures. Liveability articulated around six extremely important ideas:

- to offer individuals the possibility of finding temporary or long term housing;
- to reconcile mobility and the environment: to be able to get around easily while prioritising breathable air;
- to provide occasions to share public spaces;
- to generate culture and make use of it;
- to promote a new sense of local well-being;



- to innovate and get things moving.

In parallel with this, there was also agreement on the need to establish cooperation between the various entities that comprise the 'Mega-City-Region' of Milan, to create networks, to try to put the various players in contact with one another. This was the objective that led to the 'City of Cities' project, a sort of intermediate mix of municipalities intended to encourage the emergence of a platform for discussion allowing them to cooperate and strengthen inter-community links. They also would be capable of generating a kind of inter-functionality that already exists in embryonic form (many departments and communes of the Milan region such as Brianza, Alto Milanese, Adda and Martesana already had begun to work together). For this purpose, the team of researchers

from the Polytechnic University of Milan introduced a five stage strategy initiated with the publication of a strategy paper intended to promote the initiative. The team then arranged a competition focused on the theme of livability (260 participants) whose objective was to attract and then choose from among a large number of innovative projects (10 projects were thus selected).

Pushing the initiative a bit further, in March 2007 it was tied into the creation of an 'Atlas of provincial policies and projects for a better livability.' In a fourth phase it led to the implementation of a limited number of pilot projects, i.e., small but very concrete projects. Finally, the team of researchers arranged an exhibition entitled 'Vivimi' (which means in Italian, 'Make Me Come Alive' or 'Make Milan Come Alive'), in which the 'Theatre of the

City' was organised (as a forum for meetings and discussions between the players in the urban region) at the Triennale of Milan during the period May to July 2007. A final document was issued summarising the entire project. The initiative was very positive, since by the time of the conclusions it had made it possible to overcome certain difficulties and to tackle challenges together such as protection of the environment and the management of supplementary services.

QUESTIONS FOR CLARIFICATION

The Chairman proposes taking up Mr. Balducci's presentation to focus on certain points in order to better understand Milan's demographic situation, which has many similarities with the situation of Brussels. For example, by noting the scale of the maps, in order to have an idea of the distances. In order to properly understand the functioning of the three levels of government, the State, the region, the provinces and the municipalities, you have to know the jurisdictions of the various levels within the domains of improvements and development of the territory, transportation, the environment, etc. This would better illustrate the similarities and differences with Brussels.

Alessandro Balducci touches upon the question of the jurisdictions of the various administrative areas (regions, provinces and municipalities) in Italy in order to make a comparison between Milan and Brussels. He begins by defining the powers of the aforementioned entities:

- the regions hold very considerable powers. At the legislative level, for example, they are responsible for health, the infrastructure and city planning (a domain in which the provinces use their prerogatives very little);
- the provinces are very old institutions. Little by little, their powers are being reined in. They are mainly in charge of the areas of economic and rural development, the environment, highway and transportation networks, the construction of school buildings, the cultural heritage, and with certain sectors of health, etc. They often enter into conflict with the municipality;
- finally, the municipalities have rather extensive autonomy in matters of territorial development.

Alessandro Balducci believes it is difficult to compare Milan and Brussels. The latter covers a rather small region in which it has no control over communes situated just 10 km away from the city centre, whereas Milan has for quite a long time been the unchallenged capital of Northern Italy.

One speaker explains the problems of taxes in Brussels. They are collected at the regional level depending on the residence of the taxpayer and not his place of work. This is a real problem for the capital, which every day receives a flotilla of commuters coming from the outskirts. The participant asks if the same is true of Milan.

Alessandro Balducci responds in the negative: the tax system is essentially centralised and the communes are financed pro rata to their population. He says that nonetheless the project of the Polytechnic University is for the moment just a process aiming at defining alliances and the question of finance has not yet arrived. At this stage, the approach is informal, looking for a new vision, trying to bring together the various actors, collecting a maximum amount of information to be made accessible to the greatest number of people. This is the strategic and theoretical stage and not yet something concrete, without too many constraints on the various players in urban development. There is no question of making an issue of the present functioning. This project is entirely new and its sole objective is to elicit dialogue.

DISCUSSION

The considerations of the workgroup focus on the following questions :

- *Changes in the city :*
 - > What changes can one observe these days in the physical dimension of the city?
 - > What are the factors influencing these changes from a socio-economic point of view?
 - > In what respect is the present system of local and supra-local government put in question by these changes?
- *The image and scale of the city :*
 - > If we wish to define in an appropriate way the meaningful limits of a city today, what image do we use : city, metropolitan area, urbanised region, mega city-region?
- *The management tools and instruments available for devising a strategy :*
 - > What type of tools should be used to manage the phenomena (protection of the environment, economic development, social cohesion, etc.) which affect modern cities?
 - > Can the example of the Province of Milan assist our search for new instruments and for deployment of a new and effective strategy for the city of today?

In the course of the discussion, there was a lot of talk about Brussels, about its lack of clarity in the territorial sense, about its hinterland, about Belgian institutional realities and the difficulty of applying the Milanese experience in this context. Eighty kilometres away from Milan people still feel they are Milanese, and this is not at all the case with Brussels. It is hard to persuade the inhabitants of Alost, of Leuven or of Nivelles that their identity is with Brussels!

This assertion prompts Alessandro Balducci to stress the importance of making an abstraction of the administrative structures, because they are incompatible with his project. You have to go beyond the problems of boundaries. The city does not recognise its boundaries. You have to adopt an overall vision that is more dynamic and more flexible. The administrative limits are always exceeded by the functional limits. It is therefore crucial to imagine flexible structures that are able to adapt rapidly to urban growth.

One participant raises the question of enlarging the Brussels region to its hinterland (65 communes). The speaker reacts by recommending a dynamic structure where each entity has the possibility of joining in the project or withdrawing from it. This would have the effect of inviting the communes to state whether or not they wish to become part of the Brussels urban area. This is an apparently simple solution but one difficult to apply in the Belgian context.

Another participant also points to the lack of cooperation between federal entities although a large amount of jurisdiction, with respect to the cities, depends on them. And you also have to add a lack of information exchanged between the Walloon, Flemish and Brussels regions.

Hugues Duchateau invites the participants to formulate a series of recommendations focusing on the situation of the urban area of greater Brussels and aimed at rendering it more cohesive.

It would be useful to create a Brussels observatory charged with the task of studying the question of the urban territory of the capital.

The urban area varies according to the sectors concerned : the urban area related to the emergence of the Senne is not the same urban area as concerns health, the environment and mobility. The same territories do not cover the same issues.

Nonetheless, the definition of the area changes according to the sector (health, transport, the environment, education). One would have to be careful to see that this observatory is independent of the regions and communities and that it emanates from the communes.

Just as in Wallonia, the mission of observing the Brussels urban area could be entrusted to a sort of Conférence permanente de développement territorial (Permanent Conference on Territorial Development – PCTD) to pose the right questions and to make it possible to acquire more steady and more in-depth knowledge of the urban complexities. The PCTD in Wallonia is a group formed at the initiative of the Walloon region of research development centres for the French-speaking territory. Brussels residents participate in it.

This mission of observation should be given to a qualified agency independent of political powers, and whose mission would be defined by the communes, and possibly the regions.

The regions should not be excluded. In France, the municipalities are not the only ones involved in the unions of communes, but also the departments (equivalent to provinces in Italy) and the State. There is no exclusivity either with regards regions or vis-à-vis the federal government. Any initiative should come from municipalities and not the higher power, if it is to work.

This Conference would consist of representatives of the administrations, university personnel and specialised managers. The top level of this observatory should be comprised of the communes, the Regions and the federal government.

The geographic boundaries vary according to the subjects. The studies must not necessarily be limited to the regional level. This difficulty was overcome by using the concept of 'City of Cities.' This concept is sufficiently flexible to permit variable geographical boundaries according to the issue.

The study by Prof. Van Hecke at the KUL, arrived at the conclusion that the area of influence of the Brussels Region extends to 65 communes.

Cooperation between the regional entities is essential, beyond competition. The idea of a 'City of Cities,' taken from the Milan experience, offers a vision of the whole.

Following the example of what has been done in Milan, management tools and instruments can be considered for Brussels

Two ideas have emerged :

- The launch of the operation should be entrusted to a global forum bringing together municipalities and other organisations such as associations. This is the ideal place to set the various geographical areas according to the sector, or to create specific tools in relation to the areas of calls for tender proposals, specifications of projects that vary according to the sectors that are being addressed and where to begin a more consistent management process for Brussels and its periphery.
- The global forum is the place for discussion and exchange that must produce the line of conduct in the social, intellectual and policy areas for all projects. In this it is the intellectual, social and political capital should serve as a basis for the project.



Workgroup 1.3

Participative Governance: The challenge of Pluralistic Policy Making Processes

Artur da Rosa Pires calls attention to the challenges posed by the creation of a guiding vision shared by the various players in a (territorial) community. He illustrates his point by referring to the experimentation with new participation techniques put into practice in Portugal with the help of a team of researchers beginning in 1998. We can draw from this some very interesting lessons for our Brussels context.



Chairman of the workgroup

Nicolas JOSCHKO,

*Acting General Director, Urban Renewal,
Société de développement pour la Région de Bruxelles-Capitale
(Development Company for the Brussels-Capital Region – SDRB)*



Speaker

Artur da ROSA PIRES,

*Professor of Policies of Spatial Development and Planning, University of Aveiro,
Portugal*

Participants

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Jacques DEPELSENAIRE, Nicoletta GARDINI,
Kaasper GEURTS, Thierry GOOSSENS, Alyn HODY,
Anne LE MAIGNAN, Eric LUNA, Christophe MERCIER,
Ludo MOYERSOEN, Isabelle PAUTHIER,
Benoît PÉRILLEUX, Marc RENSON, Muriel SACCO,
Gabriel SOLAZZI, Steyn VAN ASSCHE,
Manu VANDENBULCKE, Chantal VINVENT,
Karin VYNCKE.

Summary

The Portuguese experiment with participative governance

- A team of researchers under the direction of Professor Artur da Rosa Pires experimented with participative governance in the framework of strategic spatial planning.
- The methodology of implementation was based on five concepts:
 - > strategic planning, when correctly explained, constitutes added value compared to traditional planning. It enables the local actors to build global (universal) representation based on their local representation;
 - > taking advantage of the social capital of civil society which constitutes a veritable resource of territorial development;
 - > developing the capability of building social dynamics with the agreement of the players;
 - > taking into consideration the quality of spaces, property and the cultural specifics;
 - > the mobilisation of the total institutional capability (Capacity Building) in order to reach a higher level of development: learning to communicate better, to acquire and exchange knowledge, to mobilise resources while coordinating them.
- Professor Artur da Rosa Pires highlights the weaknesses and deficiencies of this method:
 - > the difficulty of changing the inertia of the policies and processes under way;
 - > the insufficient involvement of technical personnel;
 - > the difficulty of working in a different organisational mode or of prompting change in the process within the structure of preexisting political management;
 - > the difficulty of going from design to action;
 - > the fragility of the partnerships.
- The Portuguese experience allows us to draw the following lessons with a view to implementation of new policies of strategic spatial planning:
 - > decision-making power implies the power of execution;
 - > the process of strategic spatial development must lead to concrete productions;

- > the effectiveness of the process depends largely on a permanent information strategy;
- > don't try to push through new ideas at any price; try, on the contrary, to induce changes in the political structuring;
- > change the terms and conditions of the relations between the players;
- > change the organisational decision-making processes.
- The speaker suggests some realistic procedures for implementation that fit into the idea of sustainability, respect for complexity, in harmony with the new capacities for organisation that are essential.
- Strategic planning will head towards a vision shared by all the actors and it will lead to fruitful and consistent action over the long term if the following also occurs:
 - > regenerate the organisational body;
 - > create a network leadership;
 - > establish groups that are carriers of change;
 - > stimulate the confidence of the actors in a positive vision;
 - > do not look for perfection at any price.

The creation of pluralist policies in Brussels?

- The discussion was limited to an exchange on the advantages and the drawbacks of participation in city planning affairs in Brussels:
 - > In city planning matters, the legal framework in Brussels guarantees the principle of universal, global, open, public, oral and formal participation. However, this requires:
 - respecting all the formal demands of the procedures for participation;
 - limiting the presence of elected politicians within the participation groups, because that does not have only beneficial effects;
 - envisaging reconstituting the commissions of dialogue;
 - envisaging, 30 years after their creation, new processes making participation possible well upstream of the project.
 - > It would nonetheless be opportune to take inspiration from this legal framework and broaden the totality of participative initiatives.

OPENING OF THE SESSION

The Chairman, Nicolas Joschko, welcomes the participants of the workgroup which will deal principally with Participative Governance and the creation of coherent pluralist policies. He is pleased to welcome Professor Rosa Pires, who has been given the heavy responsibility of tackling five major themes with the goal of drawing clear, realistic and pragmatic recommendations.

CONTRIBUTION OF ARTUR DA ROSA PIRES

The adage that an 'experience is the name that many people give to the errors they make' fully applies with respect to what I am about to describe. The principle of participative governance can be summarised as follows: how to get people and institutions to cooperate and to work together on a common project at the local level? In an age marked by the phenomenon of globalisation that is more and more rampant, the work of communities is in effect going through a revival, however paradoxical that

may seem. It appears more crucial than ever for communities to be not only capable of taking advantage of the opportunities offered by globalisation but also to identify the dangers that it can generate. An action of this type requires that the communities have a shared and coherent approach, as well as a common understanding of the challenges they face in order to adopt proactive measures when confronting events. It must be open, holistic and aware of the issues of globalisation. However, this type of functioning is not customary at the local level. Without intentionally unleashing these dynamics, there is not much chance of it spontaneously establishing itself. In Portugal, after the advent of democracy in 1974, local governments were only concerned with satisfying the basic needs of citizens and there was no tradition of strategic spatial planning.

With these facts as its point of departure, a team of researchers during the 1990s identified four concepts which they deemed to be essential in the context of establishing this type of participation.

→ Firstly, to get the players to understand what value added strategic spatial planning is capable of producing compared to traditional planning. To create a strong link between the local level and the overall level. Well organised localities are better able to efficiently identify the challenges posed by globalisation.

→ Secondly, the concept of social capital is crucial. It turns the whole of society into a major engine of development provided that it succeeds in rallying around common objectives.

Framing Strategic Spatial Planning

- **Strategic (non-spatial) planning**

- **Spatial planning and the “new” development context
(new challenges, new resources, new roles for planning)**

- **Locality and globalisation** → opening local policy making to the “new” world context
- **Social capital** → untapped but fundamental (manly intangible) development resources
- **Institutional capacity building** → the novelty of innovative (and purposeful) social dynamics
- **The concept of development** → mobilising latent resources

- **The specificities of Local Political and Planning culture
(legal framework, professional and socio-political culture)**

- Thirdly, the notion of Institutional Capacity Building should facilitate introduction of a system of planning capable of promoting a social dynamic able to confront the most diverse types of situations.
- Fourthly, to identify all the unknown resources and promote their potential for development. For example, it is interesting to note the quality of spaces and to take into account the sometimes unsuspected wealth of the cultural heritage.
- Fifthly, the institutional capacity should be stimulated in its entirety to reach a level of excellence.

Before applying this method of planning in the various Lusitanian localities, it was important straightaway to design a 'mission plan' encompassing all of these different points. The plan used was conceived and devised taking into account the principle of Institutional Capacity Building. From this standpoint, it was imperative that the various local actors be able to communicate among themselves and make their decisions in full awareness of the facts, which of course presupposed prior access to all the information so as to have effective implementation.

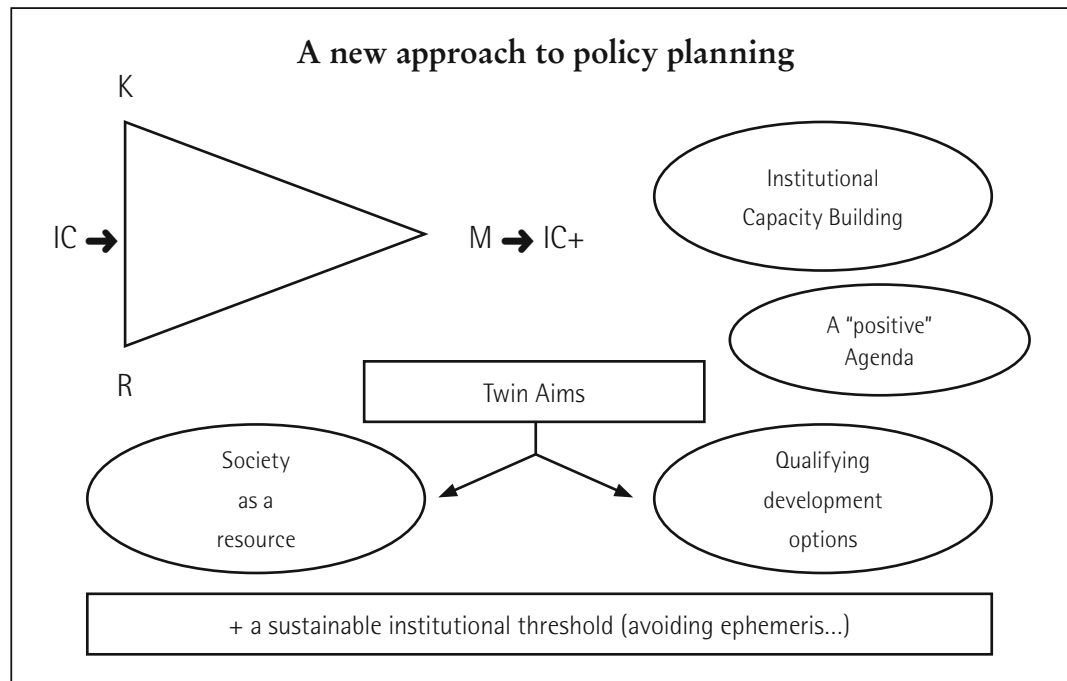
In the second stage, it was necessary to perfect a 'positive agenda' in order to erase an atrocious reputation for slow and nitpicking deliberations.

We were determined to introduce a policy capable of opening up new paths for mobilising all the actors on the ground, officials, expert administrators and their institutions in order to end up with concrete and sustainable results.

As soon as it got down to work, the team of researchers began to consult a sampling of residents in the localities concerned, drawing their attention to what strategic spatial planning could demand of them :

- a solid and relevant argument for their requests and/or complaints (each of their proposals had to be justified, well argued and above all applicable to the entire community);
- a better understanding of the dynamics of change and of the trends in development (all of which required a good dose of teaching on our part, as well as measures that are 'proactive' to a certain degree);
- a solid and realistic knowledge of what is going to happen in the future, an awareness of the importance of properly selecting the priorities and the determination to implement guidelines that are not too restrictive so as to leave room for interpretation.

To top it all off, it was important to state in the clearest way that strategic spatial planning requires the consensus of all stakeholders as regards development policies and *a fortiori* the strong involvement of civil society. This consensus in effect confers on it a social legitimacy thanks to the participation of civil society in the discussions, as well as a culture of monitoring and evaluation of the project (a particularly arduous task up until then totally unknown in Portugal)



Methodology

Once this first stage was undertaken, it was necessary to put in place a methodology inspired necessarily by a common vision so that the various protagonists were all looking in the same direction and shared the same understanding of what was at stake in the situation. If it were otherwise, they would start off in all directions with different approaches, sets of problems and contradictory priorities making any hope of consensus null and void.

In order to avoid the trap of cacophony and that of escape into unrealistic abstractions instead of working concretely and realistically, a series of challenges had to be met:

- by creating local agencies permitting all the actors to meet with one another, to listen to one another, to respect one another and to understand one another (Local Empathy);
- by going beyond local perceptions that are often simplistic so as to raise the discussion to a more global level (Global Perspective);
- by reinterpreting the various perceptions of the quality of the places and resources in order that all the players be aware of their value.

It was also important to properly prepare the public participation by avoiding very large gatherings, big conferences and instead arranging small encounters and meetings of several persons (the researchers avoided workshops of more than 6 to 8 speakers) in order to improve the art of listening and to facilitate the exchanges of ideas. These meetings brought together the participants by categories (decision-makers, politicians and technicians, neighbourhood experts, teachers, local journalists, city employees) or by local associations (businesspeople, environmentalists, etc.).



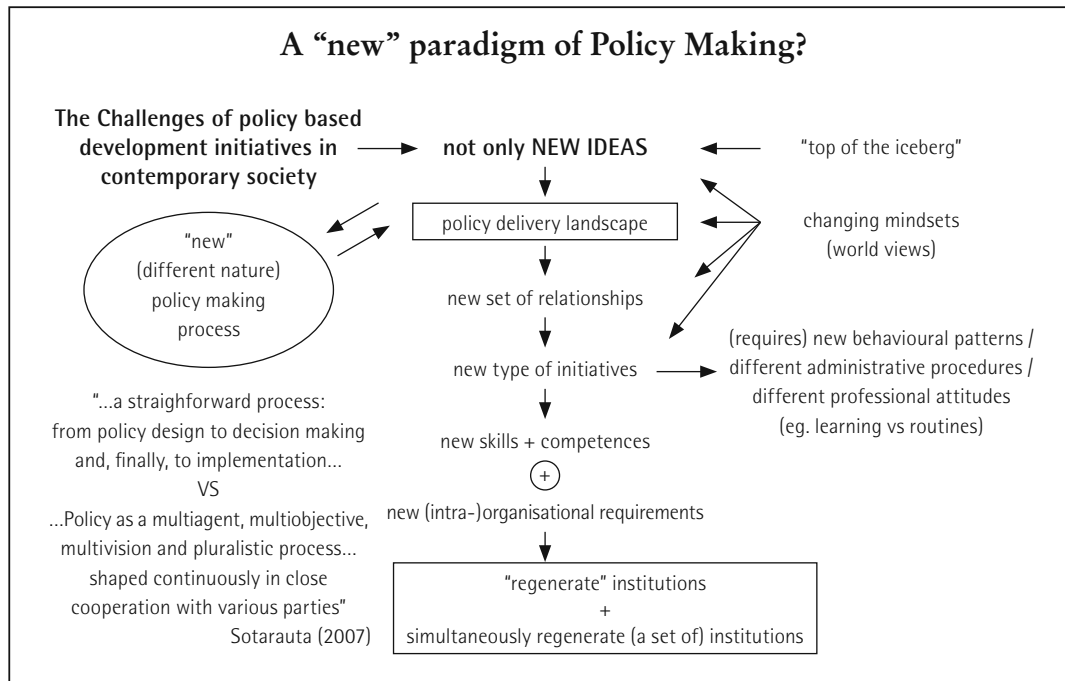
The discussions were experienced not as confrontations in which you had to be assertive but as exchanges of points of view during which it was possible to express 'friendly disagreements.' The result of these discussions was then given concrete form in a series of simple reports intelligible to all. They largely contributed to a situation where all the players could follow the development of the project and sign on.

Once the reports were published, we had to go into action and this turned out to be more difficult than foreseen, since it was not just a matter of applying the directives and recommendations on virgin soil. A certain number of other mechanisms were already in place and

now it was rather a question of seeing how we could influence ongoing actions in the direction of our recommendations. This process proved to be more complex than the project's supporters had expected and they had to confront quite a few difficulties.

Changing the operation of structures that are already in place is a risky exercise that can prove to be very costly both in terms of time and money. Obtaining a consensus in favour of a novel initiative in no way guarantees it will be successfully implemented.

A "new" paradigm of Policy Making?



What lessons can be drawn from this semi-failure?

It is crucial that the top levels of government implement new strategies and that the university researchers learn to take into account the political 'culture' of the area where they are going to have to implement them.

On the ground, most institutions have a hard time accepting new ideas and applying innovative policies, when they are introduced in what they see as an unaccustomed and unorthodox manner.

It did not take much time to go from a rigid linear structure (design, application) in which it was 'easy' to create a project according to well-oiled routines to a dynamic structure in which many associations, many objectives and many processes overlap each other within a continuous and complicated dynamics. This requires new aptitudes and attitudes, as well as a new organisation on the part of the institutions involved, often changing the paradigm against their will.

It is thus necessary to introduce Network Leadership, or, to put it in other words, co-conceptualisation in a network tasked with changing the mentalities of the institutions affected. This Network Leadership, linked to a process of legitimisation by a dynamic of pluralistic governance, takes time to assert itself and still more to reach a degree of excellence. It would be futile to demand perfection all at once. Network Leadership expects each partner to agree that its business culture can change.

Several pitfalls were encountered :

- the routines of launching the project and implementing the policies were not changed much modified during the experiment. The objective of 'institutional sustainability' was not attained ;
- the technical personnel were rather reticent to get involved ;
- the political representatives had a hard time integrating the new structure put in place that that was never applied in practice ;

- the team of researchers had not been sufficiently attentive to developing the tools necessary for the project to function properly, all of which greatly complicated achieving concrete results ;
- These scientists did not succeed in establishing a solid partnership with those who were supposed to become the main agents of change.

Key elements of change

- **“Network leadership”** (which is different from “hierarchical leadership”):
 - **The relevance of key mobilising persons: bring human agency back to spatial development policy** (Sotarauta, 2007)
- **Legitimation, Stimulus and Confidence → multi-level governance**
 - **Avoiding the “unarticulated reality” phenomena** (Healey, 2005)
- **Co-evolution between policy and development dynamics**
 - **“Organizations need time to experiment and learn”**
VS
“perfectionism of strategy formation” (Sotarauta and Srinivas, 2005)

**from strategic spatial plans to
strategic spatial (multi-year) programmes**

DISCUSSION

Nicolas Joschko indicates that the workgroup's assignment is to formulate some recommendations. Most of the recommendations which have been considered till now have dealt with city planning in its present form, whereas the point of the discussion is to go beyond the notion of city planning and to consider participative strategies which go beyond it, without however diminishing its value.

The workgroup is going to consider five thematic questions from which to draw its recommendations :

- How do you overcome the losses of energy in the procedures of pluralist decision-making and then succeed in making these decisions last over time?
- How do you set up a constructive dialogue that respects divergent points of view and draws out of them a shared vision?
- How do you reconcile the 'overall setting' and the 'local level' when detailing a shared vision?
- How are the various partners going to build a parallel strategy that changes over time and how are they going to put it to work, to implement it as we like to say today?
- How do you reconcile the new concepts of development that are emerging and controversial with the local specifics and/or with the effectiveness of the old strategies?

The point of the exercise is to articulate as many issues as possible surrounding coherent participative strategies.

Straightaway, the discussions bear on the presentation by Mr. Artur da Rosa Pires. He is given the opportunity to stress the importance of the notion of Network and of the links that have to be developed between the various institutions.

One participant describes the situation of the participation groups in Brussels and criticises the presence of elected officials within them. This can have both beneficial effects (involvement of politicians in the project) but also harmful effects (influence on the behaviour of the group, the elected officials monopolising the podium...). Artur da Rosa Pires comments that in the consultation measures in Portugal, some groups of politicians were created but never mixed in with the other groups (such as those made up of neighbourhood experts or local associations, for example). This constitutes a major difference compared to the situation in Brussels.

The majority of comments of participants which followed concerned the situation in Brussels, somewhat eclipsing the ideas put forward by Artur da Rosa Pires. There was a lot of talk about citizens' participation in the dynamics of city planning in Brussels, about its advantages and its drawbacks.

One of the participants said she considered this participation to be productive (in comparison with the district Contracts for which certain issues seem sometimes to be forgotten in the dialogue), universal (everyone can be heard), overall (this concerns all of the regional issues once you have to apply for a permit), open, public, oral (some meetings bringing in both project managers and their opponents are regularly arranged) and formal (minutes are published after the meeting). However, she has one reservation in the form of a recommendation :

all participative initiatives should take their inspiration from the legal framework spelled out from above and should respect all the requirements, even the formal ones (such as the minister in charge of urban planning sending a return receipt for requests).

Another participant expresses doubts about the capability of the commissions of dialogue to learn, 30 years after their creation, the participative processes. In his view, these commissions participate too late in the process (at the moment when an application for a construction permit is being filed, to endorse the project) whereas for participation to be properly conducted, it should occur upstream of the project.

On a similar note, the same speaker criticised the practice of opinions and decisions taken behind closed doors following the dialogue. He points out the example of Place Flagey in Ixelles. He pleads the case for re-examining the composition of the commissions of dialogue and suggests possibly including representatives of the committees of local residents when the doors are closed to the general public.

Conclusions of workshop 1

Urban diversity and territorial coherence

The workshop on 'Urban diversity and territorial coherence' met at the end of the day under the chairmanship of Nicolas Joschko to communicate a summary of the recommendations developed in the three workgroups and to move on to a brief exchange of views.

Diversity ! Yes, but what kind of diversity ?

Presentation of the session of workgroup 1.1 by Jean-Louis Genard

Jacques Donzelot suggested setting the context for the idea of diversity by highlighting the very political dimension of diversity, an idea which is relatively recent. He reminded us that in 'Ford' type cities, the logic of dispersion of populations was encouraged. The theme of diversity became an imperative about a dozen years ago. He stressed three vectors driving the logic of separation and hindering diversity. The vector of peri-urbanisation, which removes a certain type of social stratum towards the hinterland. The relegation of certain strata, notably the ethnic minorities, to ghetto-like neighbourhoods. And, finally, the process of gentrification, which introduces new social groups, but pushes out others in neighbourhoods that increase in prestige once again. He emphasized the links between these macro-social dimensions and an anthropological dimension by stressing the extent to which these processes of urban diversity lead to anthropological effects with respect to

space, with respect to time and in other respects. The diversity policies such as they have developed up until now are predominantly reactive.

He recommends substituting these reactive policies with proactive policies, not only to fight against urban violence, against the departure of affluent taxpayers, but to bring about certain urban dynamics while trying to influence them. A policy of diversity cannot be prescribed or decreed from above in the present context.

Many participants suggested making the idea of diversity more complex by stressing that diversity must be well thought out and based on variables that are routinely applied each time. Diversity should not be taken to mean only a socio-ethnic mix. In order to define properly the concept of diversity, you also have to look at other areas such as the family, the school, and the neighbourhoods. Several participants emphasised that in certain spaces, diversity could be perfectly legitimate while in others it would not be. Hence, we see the necessity for a more sophisticated understanding of the concept of diversity. Diversity policies should not be presented as an end in

themselves. In a certain number of important cases, policies of dispersion might be better founded, in particular to facilitate access to certain types of properties.

Before focusing on the diversity policies, there are other priorities to deal with, for example, policies of access to employment. Wanting to take action essentially on diversity would appear to certain participants as rather simplistic compared with the objective of recreating a mixed city life. Most of the suggestions are in line with what Jacques Donzelot suggested.

A great number of participants insisted on the need to learn to think about the city on its true scale, i.e., by including its hinterland, with the project of making all users pay for the costs of equipping the city.

Attention was then drawn to serious problems with financing the Region and the need to rethink how the city is financed via solidarity among all its users. It's a matter of thinking of the city as an urban community, well beyond its boundaries and including its hinterland.

Within this urban community, one must henceforth view things in terms of solidarity. Some suggestions were made to rethink the policies of mobility which appeared to many participants as the domain par excellence where greater solidarity should be exercised at the scale of the urban hinterland. Close behind, participants stressed the public's weak influence over urban policies in general compared to other countries, particularly The Netherlands.

A second discussion dealt with the question of integrating ethnic minorities.

The idea to consider starting up negotiations or establishing contractual type relations with certain urban minorities was mentioned. For example, for ethnic minorities: offering them better access to employment while requiring that they in return take responsibility for controlling unsocial urban behaviour. That is a hypothetical strategy that merits consideration but appears in the view of the participants to be rather remote from customary practices in Brussels.

Social housing, mentioned before the break then becomes the subject of further discussion. It is discussed here as a response to a firm and effective establishment of a diversity in neighborhoods to address the growing process of gentrification. The main paths initiated are to increase density and require developers to include social housing in their real estate transactions, to allow the occupants of social housing to purchase their homes or even to convert existing empty housing into social housing.

Conclusions / Recommendations WG 1.1

- Diversity is hampered by a triple logic of separation :
 - > suburbanisation ;
 - > the relegation to ghettoised neighbourhoods ;
 - > gentrification.
- From the political point of view, we should :
 - > think of city on its true scale ;
 - > have all users pay the cost of using the city (residents and non-residents).
- Joint financing by users is required due to losses caused by the exodus to the periphery and involves :
 - > a review of fiscal policies and redistribution measures ;
 - > a solution to the serious deficit caused by problems of mobility in Brussels (a majority of users do not contribute to its financing since they reside outside of the nineteen communes).
- The solution would therefore be to think of Brussels as :
 - > an urban community including its hinterland ;
 - > an urban public space on the scale of the metropolitan area where participation exceeds the limits of a territorial and/or local view ;
 - > one issue in the public debate on the questions of forming the imaginary Brussels on the scale of its metropolitan area (including its urban community).
 - > In this approach, the importance should be emphasized of :
 - insertion policies ;
 - association and cultural work ;
 - the dispersion of services ;
 - the stakes involved in "local government" (Including the political devices that permit a dialogue among the players who live nearby but meet very little).
- The integration of ethnic minorities could be facilitated by the establishment of contractual relationships that facilitate access to employment and the creation, in return, of respect for the law.
- Gentrification could be reduced by a series of measures such as :
 - > the requisitioning of empty housing ;
 - > the purchase of social housing (purchase of social housing by its occupants) ;
 - > the creation of social and middle class housing ;
 - > requiring developers to reserve 20 % for social housing in each building.
- The construction of social housing should increase urban density while allowing developers to create capital added value despite the requirement to build a quota of social housing.
- Need to do an evaluation of the situation : the lack of current analyses contributes to a lack of coherence hindering the implementing if effective policies.

From territorial observation phase to the development of projects

Presentation of the session of workgroup 1.2 by Hugues Duchateau

Our workgroup was given the task of dealing with the problem of territorial observation and development of projects. The thinking was enriched by a contribution from Professor Balducci on the urban area of Milan.

Milan is a municipality of a size similar to that of the Brussels-Capital region. In the course of the last 30 years, the metropolitan area has witnessed very similar phenomena of urban sprawl.

This urban sprawl experienced by the region of Milan resulted in a diagnosis rather similar to the one we are making in Brussels, namely a lack of cohesion in public management between the communes of the centre and the outskirts. But unlike Brussels, it seems that the perception of a lack of cohesion or of flaws has operated more in the outskirts than in the centre.

The team's conclusions implemented at the start by the Polytechnic School of Milan were to create one or several projects accessible to the occupants of the entire urban area and dealing with the principal theme of the liveability of the area. This theme was broken down into a certain number of sub-themes concerning residence, business, etc.

Our workgroup tried next to draw inspiration from the Milanese experience to make some concrete proposals that could be applied to the case of Brussels.

The first theme concerns observation and the dynamics of the facts. In the case of Brussels, it would be desirable for the observatory to be established on the scale of the urban area.

The basic unit of observation should be the commune. The mission of observation should be entrusted to a CPDT (Conférence permanente du développement territorial – Permanent Conference of Territorial Development) of the urban area of Brussels.

The geographic boundaries of the urban area can vary depending on the subjects and this leads to a difficulty in creating a unifying image of the ensemble. This concept of a 'City of Cities' allowed for overcoming this difficulty through its flexibility allowing sector-driven geographic divisions according to the subjects. In last place we examined what management tools and instruments can be envisaged, taking as our example what was done in Milan.

A global forum (neither regional nor community) open to the entire federation of municipalities (ownership), would develop specific tools for the labour pool (sector) and begin a process for more consistent management of Brussels and its periphery. This Forum would be mandated to propose paths and conductive lines in the social, intellectual and political domains.

Conclusions / Recommendations WG 1.2

Coherence is an essential element of urban policies.

The example of Milan

- The Milan metropolitan area is extended :
 - > the municipality of Milan has 1.2 million inhabitants and its jurisdiction exceeds that of Belgian communes ;
 - > the province of Milan has around 4 million inhabitants ;
 - > the region of Lombardy includes 10 provinces.
- The last 30 years are characterised by :
 - > an urban extension (similar to Brussels in its vision of the occupation of the ground) :
 - it is above all business and industry that has migrated to the periphery ;
 - inhabitants have remained (many more owners than in Brussels) ;
 - > a lack of coherence between the region and the city-centre ;
 - > a way of thinking that is too functional and a lack of long-term vision by the communes.
- For this reason, the province of Milan has introduced a request for a three-part strategic plan :
 - > part 1 : measure and evaluate the reality ;
 - > part 2 : develop a vision of the urban region ;
 - > part 3 : research and then propose tools and instruments to improve the coherence and cooperation of the various players.

- The Polytechnic University of Milan has provided a strategic project in place of a strategic plan :
 - > establish a contest on the theme of "habitability" :
 - various players have responded ;
 - which has generated various projects, more theoretical than practical ;
 - > development of the "City of Cities" Project to :
 - stimulate cooperation and create networks between municipalities ;
 - seek prospects and opportunities, bring together the various players.

Proposals for Brussels

- The observation of changes :
 - > it would be interesting to create an observatory to study the urban area of Brussels, whose definition changes depending on the sector (health, transport, environment, education...). This observatory would arise from the Communes and would be independent of the regions and communities ;
 - > it is proposed to entrust the mission to a Standing Conference of Territorial Development (like the CPDT Walloon) to :
 - identify and ask the right questions ;
 - provide more stable and thorough knowledge ; and
 - offer more opportunities for negotiation.
 - > The observatory would consist of :
 - administrative representatives ;
 - academics ; and
 - specialised managers ;

- > The OP of the observatory would consist of :
 - the communes ;
 - the Regions ; and
 - the Federal State.

→ Scale and image :

- > the geographic limits vary depending on the subject. There is no need to confine ourselves within the limits of the Region ;
- > the idea of «City of Cities», taken from Milan experience offers the image of an overall vision that encourages collaboration between regional entities, beyond any form of competition.

→ Management tools and instruments :

- > the establishment of a global open forum (neither regional nor community) for the entire Federation of Communes will allow :
 - the communes to gain a vision of the whole and the partnerships ;
 - to develop specific tools defined by labour pool (sector) ; and
 - to initiate a process of more consistent management of Brussels and its periphery ;
- > this forum's mission would be to produce guidelines in the social, cultural and political domains.

Participative Governance: The challenge of Pluralistic Policy Making Processes

Presentation of the session of workgroup 1.3 by Nicolas Joschko

Group 1.3 worked on participative strategic planning. The subject was tackled by Professor Pires, who described experiments undertaken in Portugal in this domain. In his presentation, he described the various phases of setting up strategic planning and he stressed the need to bring out a common vision and the means to reach it before transforming it into an action plan with the help of networking and Flagship Projects. It is crucial to permanently maintain internal dynamics (a living momentum) in order to avoid the operation's becoming just fireworks that explode and then fall flat.

He produced in a fully transparent way an appraisal of the successes encountered and the malfunctions which proved particularly instructive and inspired us to reach several elements of our recommendations. The workgroup was, from this standpoint, very productive.

Here is a selection of these recommendations.

Development of networking and of Networking Leadership is extremely important to the preparation of a participative strategy. There are several proposals that are headed in this direction.

A second recommendation concerns what has been called the 'Empowerment of the Stakeholders,' i.e., a sort of guidance which makes the various actors responsible for helping to put in place the tools and the training of the various actors who have not been trained naturally in this style of exercise. This type of support, of coaching is as essential as independence from the various actors.

The group strongly considered making the officials, the various representatives and each of the public actors bear responsibility.

Many points drew our attention :

The group looked for a long time into the problems of city planning today and somewhat less into the questions of strategic approach and of participative development.

The group also recommends formalising more precisely the processes of participation, and it wishes in particular to see more round tables organised (with the minutes accessible on the Internet.)

It pleads for strengthening the participative process, permitting citizens to act more upstream in order to be included in various decisions and sub-decisions.

Certain tools already exist ; they should not be ignored.

The old strategies should not however be scrapped without appeal.

Hence, the importance of a critical evaluation of all the mechanisms put in place by the Brussels Region.

Another point which was raised: the possibility of bringing other leadership techniques into the process of participative apprenticeship. One example : to supplement the discussion or dialogue with several elements which are more entertaining.

It was recommended to strengthen the human and financial resources at the street level. While confirming that the participative strategy operates mostly top-down, it would be better to work more from the bottom-up and get the various levels to interact. Another recommendation : to increase the professionalism and autonomy of the various leaders and actors in the participative process.

Conclusions / Recommendations WG 1.3

- Professor Artur da Rosa Pires has outlined a strategic planning approach by pointing out the key elements necessary for its implementation.
 - > He stressed the importance of:
 - arriving at a common vision and suggested various ways of achieving it;
 - transforming this vision into an action plan;
 - practicing "Networking" with a new leadership style;
 - implementing "Flagship Projects";
 - avoid « fireworks » actions without a future while maintaining « the living momentum ».
- It should be noted that workgroup 1.3 was mainly composed of representatives of non-profit associations and professional urban planners. Most recommendations seek more an improvement over current procedures than they advocate the development of overall participation strategies:
 - > will develop a dynamic of participatory democracy (Empowerment) involving all parties by:
 - the accountability of all actors;
 - the training of all parties involved;
 - counseling and coaching;
 - > we also organize the networking between:
 - the public authorities;
 - the local authorities; and
 - the non-institutional parties involved;
- > this requires :
 - knowledge transfer via the network;
 - evaluation of the existing strategies and the tools necessary to optimize and develop them;
 - to design and develop innovative leadership tools;
 - stimulating the development of "bottom-up" approaches in parallel and while interacting with actions and "top-down";
 - a more professional approach to the process of participation, especially at the leadership level;
 - the increase in human and financial resources for the implementation of a strategy for participation.

Workshop 2

Territorial discrimination

WORKSHOP CHAIRMAN

Joachim DECLERCK

Workshop 2.1

Chairman : Michaël VAN CUTSEM,

Speaker : Philippe HERBAUX

Workshop 2.2

Chairman : Bruno VINIKAS

Speaker : Frank HENDRIKS

Workshop 2.3

Chairman : Joachim DECLERCK

Speaker : Josep ACEBILLO

Workshop workgroups' presentation

Workshop Chairman Joachim DECLERCK

Director of the Centre for Architectural Research & Development, Berlage Institute

European cities are now subject to a double tension.

On one hand, growing territorial inequality is increasingly affecting the most disadvantaged city areas giving rise to a policy of positive territorial discrimination of an aggressive nature. On the other hand, ever fiercer competition between metropolitan areas forces them to maintain or acquire a position of advantage. This brings with it a wide-ranging debate around the impact of projects both on large-scale planning and more modest operations.

This workshop on territorial discrimination will occur in three stages

The first deals with the methods of collecting information to facilitate balanced territorial development. It will be presented by Professor Philippe Herbaux of the University of Lille (France) who runs the economic and territorial intelligence department of that university. His workgroup will be chaired by Michaël Van Cutsem, Director of the Jules Destrée Research Institute and head of the planning unit.

Second stage : how will the democratic aspects of urban development and management policies contribute to improving the democratic workings of governments? This workshop will be run by Professor Frank Hendriks of the University of Tilburg, with Dirk Van de Putte of the SRDU [Regional Secretariat for Urban Development] introducing the workgroup in the absence of the Professor.

Third aspect : the impact of large-scale urban projects on

territorial discrimination will be considered based on the iconic example of Barcelona. This group will be run by Josep Acebillo.

Brussels is an ideal test case for tackling the question of territorial discrimination. The separation of society can be observed everywhere. This workshop is of the greatest use in detailing and refining the nature of governance policies capable of eliminating territorial discrimination.

Territorial intelligence, for a learning territory

Presentation of the workgroup 2.1 by Philippe Herbaux

At the University of Lille 2, in an environment specialising in health, works a small unit initially responsible for "data-processing". Ten years later, this mini structure had transformed itself into a true "Territorial Intelligence" resource. After the somewhat theoretical approach of Mr. Roggero, I tried to work in a "research-action" mode that we will elaborate on together in the workshop.

Territorial intelligence is a relatively new word for the general public and means a different way of processing information within a territory. Territorial intelligence (TI) is characterised by a radically different way of collecting and processing information. I will suggest a preliminary definition for TI arising from evolution of the culture of organisations now based on collecting and processing data, and putting information into perspective, but it is also based on indicators and key figures with the aim of

providing local political decision-makers with well thought-out information at the right time. The hurdle is therefore placed quite high and the resulting processing is considerable. The issues that caused a variety of territories to promote this type of process are still emerging at the current time except for the experiments carried out by the Destrée Institute by Michaël Van Cutsem.

Territorial intelligence forms part of a process that addresses a number of issues. I will give you some examples:

The difficulty for local political officeholders in processing information in real time

We are witnessing an information explosion, and an endemic rise in the flows of information that are more and more difficult to control. The imperative for a decision maker is to provide against threats as well as breakdowns. The inhabitants of a territory become extremely demanding and oblige the political world to seek new methods of processing information. Processing this information requires the use of specialists, but more constructively; it should increasingly involve the inhabitants, the locals, in short the electors. Although the processing of information was previously done manually, use of communications and information technology has propelled us into the world of here and now.

This mutualisation necessarily goes hand-in-hand with capitalising on the use of information.

Several of these "collaborative territorial platforms" exist in Europe at the experimental stage, I am thinking of CAENTI (Coordination Action of the European Network of Territorial Intelligence) which is made up of some ten European partners. We should also mention the Huelva (Spain) project and that in Besançon (France) and in Romania. These experiments are not necessarily based on information technology, which only amplifies the existing process. In any case, information technology offers attractive prospects.

In short, TI is not a recipe but an approach demanding time, sometimes four-yearly contracts. This is one territorial governance resource out of several which does not claim to replace forward-looking resources but is complementary to them. These are the supports to which the territory can turn to anticipate breakdowns, preserve what exists, and increase it if necessary. This territorial intelligence approach will in the end make the territory into what is expected of it, that is a learning territory.

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

Presentation of the workgroup 2.2 by Dirk Van de Putte

Professor Hendriks, who has been slightly delayed, has asked me to introduce the subject in his place. This is a perilous exercise, but I will take the risk all the same. I will make the task easier for myself by telling you why exactly we called upon him. We asked him to study the problems of participation and partnership. In workgroup 1, we tackled the methods of organising participation, managing partnership and the conditions for working together effectively.

When you have heard each actor from each stakeholder, when you have collected their opinions and you all continuously ask yourselves – rightly – when each one has finally finished giving their impressions or recommendations, it is important that the public authorities at all levels should be able to choose between options, and if necessary reach a decision. The situation has become one of extreme complexity between governance and democracy. The principle of governance stipulates that the public authorities do not necessarily have the final word because although other bodies may set a de facto standard, they must in all circumstances continue to direct and control the project. This is a worry for the public authorities who must both play their role as partners and ensure that commitments are adhered to and, if necessary, choose between options. Professor Hendriks based his Ph.D. on a comparison between participative models in Germany and the Netherlands. On comparing the Rhine model to the Polder model of the Netherlands, he observed a close similarity in the manner in which the two countries, in their own local

and national structures, follow the same conceptual models. He kicked off his presentation by setting out two fundamental principles which combine together to provide a reference grid to improve the functioning of democracy. He is convinced that the rigour of democratic functioning is the secret of all good governance. There indeed it is that challenge lies, that of ensuring that democratic structures evolve continuously so that they can reflect local trends while adhering to the principles which prevail in a state respecting the rule of law.

In this he contrasts direct and indirect democracy. He calls indirect democracy representative democracy and direct democracy self-determination. Furthermore, he refers to majority democracy and non-majority democracy. Majority democracy leads to aggregation, non-majority democracy leads to integration. By cross-referring the data, you see that with a majority system and indirect (representative) democracy, you obtain the first-past-the-post democracy model, as in the UK. In the case of indirect representation with non-majority workings, you obtain a model of consensus democracy, as in Belgium, the Netherlands and Germany. A direct democracy in conjunction with a majority system generates a plebiscitary democracy and finally, a direct democracy in conjunction with non-majority systems produces participative democracy. This of course involves idealised models and is all very theoretical. But at the same time, this makes it possible to describe various forms of democracy, while being well aware that, in reality, only mixed forms will be found because pure forms of democracy hardly ever exist. We shall therefore try to bring out the plus points and weaknesses of each combination.

Territorial intelligence, for a learning territory

Presentation of the workgroup 2.3 by Joachim Declerck

Mr. Acebillo, the speaker at the third workgroup of this second workshop, by his knowledge of land, has acquired great renown over the course of the last 10-15 years. Mr. Acebillo is the head of the Barcelona Regional urban planning agency, a regional planning agency dealing with matters related to infrastructure, planning and ecology in the Barcelona area (within and beyond the Catalonia Region). He has developed considerable expertise on the subject of urban governance over the years. He is suggesting a specific approach to us and giving a clear vision of the role of architecture and that of urban planning. His reputation and his experience make him an authority throughout Europe, principally through large-scale urban development and architectural projects. The best-known was the famous "Forum" was set up at the time that Barcelona was preparing to host the 1992 Olympic Games. Barcelona is not only the city of large-scale urban development projects, some are the result of small-scale projects of a local nature. In Josep Acibello's view, there can be no large-scale urban development project without local projects on a more modest scale.

The experience and know-how developed by Barcelona Regional should make us think about some of the urban development issues central to the European context. There is no point in hoping that Europe and European cities will retain their monopoly on the services sector for long. Services sector know-how is not ready to move eastward in the immediate future, but we would be ill-advised to ignore the fact that cities such as Singapore are currently in the process of becoming "service sector cities" in Southeast Asia. This amounts to a formidable challenge facing us as Europeans, and particularly faces governments and those engaged in urban planning. The challenge consists of finding urban planning and governance solutions specific to each metropolis while taking into account the specific characteristics of each one. We may a priori have some solutions in respect of urban planning and theories, looking at the impact of urban development and architectural projects on the future of the city. In preference to a generic solution which currently produces spectacular buildings here and there generating typical contradictions which we find in the list of aporia, we tend to favour a concept of urban development which obstructs a creative conception of city development. Here we reach the core of our concerns.

What should the new models of European metropolises be and what should the specific responses be when faced with the development of the service industry sector in the new cities of south-east Asia?

Barcelona Regional suggests a model to us which proves that the urban development structure itself is capable by itself of undertaking real "works" within the city. This is of the essence in the sense that Brussels is currently debating the possibility of putting in place a planning unit under the authority of a master architect ("bouwmeester"). Generic solutions for these institutions appear not to be the most appropriate.

It is essential to allocate the missions of this urban development agency and that of the "bouwmeester" according to their specific needs. It is a privilege to be able to work here on the basis of the experience of Mr. Acebillo, who is both "bouwmeester" for Barcelona (the person responsible for the quality of metropolitan development) and as such in charge of Barcelona Regional. Barcelona Regional is a planning unit which has succeeded in transforming Barcelona both by large-scale and small-scale developments, and in so doing has projected Barcelona onto the international stage.



Workgroup 2.1

Territorial intelligence, for a learning territory

Philippe Herbaux strives throughout the length of his contribution to stay clear of theoretical strategies to encompass an approach of the research-action type. It is within this framework that he develops the concept of territorial intelligence. Territorial intelligence is a way of processing information based mainly on the sharing of data by the players involved in order to develop long-term planning. It is not a recipe, but rather a process which can be presented as a tool of territorial governance and which may, if the conditions are in place, transform a territory into a learning territory.



Workgroup chairman

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Speaker

Philippe HERBAUX,

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Summary

The urban territory is subject to competition

- Globalisation and computerisation :
 - > produce economic relocation, concentrating populations in urban areas ;
 - > create collective uncertainty in terms of consequences on employment, environment, society, etc. ;
 - > demonstrate the difficulty for local decision-makers in processing the growing tide of information.
- A territory needs to act proactively to :
 - > develop the necessary means to mobilise the community and its inhabitants ;
 - > put in place early warning indicators.
- Grouping inhabitants together works :
 - > through management by project ;
 - > by taking account of the speed of mobilisation of the inhabitants.
- The approach demonstrates :
 - > a profound change of the territory and the citizenship ;
 - > a scale of mutualisation of the individual towards the collective ;
 - > the transition from " ignorant " certainty to considered certainty.
- The anticipation of rifts is a policy responsibility in the face of the complexity of processing information.

Territorial intelligence is at the juncture between information and communication

- Territorial intelligence :
 - > consists of gathering, processing and putting into perspective the various indicators and data to provide appropriate information that the right time ;
 - > attempts to anticipate the breaches whose consequences involve specialists (for example, fire brigade, the army, NGOs) ;
 - > is based on the collection and interpretation of indicators for decision-makers ;
 - > contributes to the conservation and development of existing resources ;

- > distinguishes several levels of observation ;
 - the first level :
 - goes from reactive observation ;
 - to static observation ;
 - to formal research and finally ;
 - looks back to ensure the facts are presented correctly ;
 - the second level :
 - involves ongoing monitoring of movements of information :
 - * specific via a recursive search for information ;
 - * focused on various subjects ;
 - * intended to provide coherent summary information ;
 - it then goes for use by decision-makers :
 - * to understand events in progress and to act at an early stage ;
 - * to put forward-looking monitoring into place (analytical report, overall view of the environment, collaborative platform) ;
 - at the third level :
 - forward-looking observation covers the near future, and :
 - * is fed by reactive and forward-looking monitoring systems ;
 - * putting in perspective weak indicators collected through a technique of specific decipherment ;
 - * enables local memory to be compared with the data (comparing internal expertise and the opinion of local actors to provoke a reaction) ;
 - and iterative dialogue results from it :
 - * by involving the inhabitant in the decision-making process, the inhabitant moves from the status of a secondary decision maker (by voting) to that of a local actor ;
 - * mutualisation is built up through the territorial intelligence process : the territory becomes a learning territory.

Opportunities for Brussels to put in place a dynamic understanding of the territory

- Brussels is a natural community of interests framed by its border delimited by the 19 communes.
- The 'monitoring of neighbourhoods' cannot be considered as a tool of territorial understanding properly speaking, but it does constitute a competitive territorial tool which brings in more of the dynamics of an approach by neighbourhood.
- The issues:
 - > mutualisation : the need for a common approach to collecting and interpreting the signals and information = a challenge for the actors and for the citizenry ;
 - > communication : should we disseminate the data collected or not? The logic of territorial understanding suggests that sharing out information nourishes discussion and so it should be disseminated in a fully transparent manner to facilitate political decisions and let the authorised representatives decide on the basis of full knowledge of the matter at hand ;
 - > digital social gap : share information chiefly via Information Technologies and communication such as Web 2.0 (beware of discrimination) ;
 - > territorial : not everyone has a computer ; there are other tools as well for communicating) ;
 - > cost of implementing a move to territorial understanding ;
 - > critical mass : pool experience, scientific expertise and the citizen's contribution ;
 - > long term credibility : make the elected officials see that reflection with the help of territorial understanding pays off in the long run, not at once.
- For the monitoring of districts, developed in the Bruxelles-Capitale Region to function as a territorial intelligence projects:
 - > a "bottom-up" approach must be adopted, for :
 - access to information ;
 - developing education ;
 - having access to equipment for use by the overall project and the democratic debate ;
 - > gather and share information : in the case of Brussels, get actors to work together and as a network even though they are not presently linked formally on the basis that they could usefully gather, share and disseminate pooled, i.e., 'mutualised' data ;
 - > mobilise four universities which will store up scientific expertise to feed into a system of territorial understanding ;
 - > make good use of the 'Inspire' Directive of the European Commission.
- It is proposed that :
 - > the efforts of sectorised regional actors should be mutualised, taking long-term views, as part of the European Inspire Directive, to
 - > put in place a geographical information system (GIS) to gather and centralise geographical data ;
 - > create an information network :
 - made up of scientific personnel and scientific administrators ;
 - responsible for the collection, processing and analysis of data ;
 - communicating information and providing the comprehension interface between the academic world and the citizen, by :
 - respecting the role of each stakeholder ;
 - using communication resources appropriate to each situation.
- It will be necessary to agree operational modalities to be implemented according to two options :
 - > Starting with a specific object like the presence of fruit vendors in a city (environmental question) ;
 - > Deal with the realities on the ground in a more systemic, more comprehensive manner : Brussels is a good case study for applying a more global approach in the matter of territorial understanding.

START OF WORK

The chairman, Michaël Van Cutsem, invites the various participants to introduce themselves and he gives the floor to Philippe Herbaux.

CONTRIBUTION FROM PHILIPPE HERBAUX

Before tackling the concept of territorial intelligence and the way it is to be applied, we must first take account of the issues involved and the context within which the territory is evolving. Just like business itself, the territory will soon be faced with powerful competitive relationships, and under these conditions information processing becomes crucial. The truth is that we are drowning in information, which means that interpreting signals is of fundamental importance. The decision maker on the ground must be able to lock in this process of interpretation so that his decisions can be taken in the light of all the relevant information. As we are aware, information melts, surges and reveals itself as signals and symbols. The media and the internet are gorged with it, deafening the receiver with its white noise. As a consequence local decision makers are struggling by themselves to get to grips with this exponential tsunami of information which it is becoming increasingly dangerous to attempt to filter. In this context, territorial information consists of collecting, processing and putting the various signals and information into perspective so that the right information can be supplied at the right time. Before information becomes established, it moves through a number of stages: signals, clues, rumours, news and information. Distinguishing between a signal and a clue is never wasted time. For example, white dashes on the road are a signal, but a continuous white line means, according to the highway code, that you may not proceed, so it becomes a clue.

On the matter of signals and clues, uncertainty prevails and it becomes essential to realise that the territory is subject to this uncertainty. Changes due to competition, for example, give rise to phenomena such as economic relocation, the concentration of populations in ever more spread out urban spaces ('rurbanisation' and globalisation). The totality of these impacts mean that some regions are

winners and others losers. Deprivation of resources (economic, environmental and so on) has its effects on social bonds. A collective doubt grows up about the ability of the community to protect the individual and the consequences are to be seen in employment, habitat and society. Doubt is generated by changes in reference points, by the volatility and blurring of projects. Faced with this doubt, everyone, decision-makers and residents alike, starts to wonder about the symbolic legacy of the territory which is to be promoted or defended. What is required is a generalisation within the territories, of a sustainable dynamic to be provided for the decision-makers and inhabitants of a given territory.

As far as these uncertainties are concerned, the territory may lead to actions which are reactive (the "fireman" type of action) proactive and anticipatory. The reactive effect can be seen following a disaster or a catastrophe, while the proactive move is seen more in the establishment of indicators and follow-up research with an eye on the future. Anticipatory action is best illustrated by warning plans, such as a Child Alert when a child has disappeared or the entire population of a given territory mobilises itself to defend what it sees as fundamental values (and this is where the ability of a group to capture information can be seen).

But how, exactly, do the terms and conditions of territorial intelligence actually operate in practice? Territorial intelligence is to be found in management by project and the citizens become involved with it because they find an interest in it. Actions then change at the speed at which the residents can be mobilised on the project and the length of time it takes to realise it may be shorter or longer.

As has been noted before, the terms and conditions of territorial intelligence are found on three levels:

- reactive observation;
- proactive observation;
- anticipatory observation.

The first level, reactive observation, is the spontaneous search for sporadically-occurring information which is closely related to an individual datum (like looking for a telephone number); this is a dominant practice. It takes the form of a static observation, a formal search (you check the directory) which is retrospective, looking into the past. The outcome is the presentation of facts.

The second level, proactive observation, consists of an ongoing and organised monitoring of movements of information: the quest for recursive information on a range of subject areas. It is intended to supply information in summary form about the recent past to throw light on events in progress (disputes, breakdowns). The typical example is the SWOT analysis (a strategic business tool used to identify the available strategic options at the level of a strategic activity area). Proactive monitoring, taking the form of a varied collection of analysis, supplies and an overall picture of the environment including the most influential events, past trends and expected developments, such as a portfolio of issues for a neighbourhood.

The third level, anticipatory observation, falls within the area of the upcoming future. It is fed by reactive and proactive monitoring. Its purpose is to put the weak signals which have been gathered into perspective in order to attempt to predict what is about to happen, to form views of the future. Warning information is therefore a technique for deciphering weak signals. In order to achieve this it is important to study the data provided by local memory, internal assessment and the opinion of the local players to initiate dialogue about information and to pick out hypotheses for the future from it. The players are the first people concerned and the result is a construction of the future based on this knowledge.

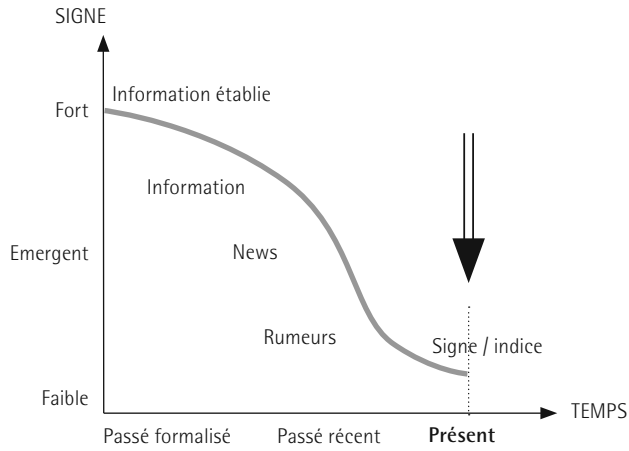
A series of prerequisites must be set up to launch a territorial intelligence project. As a minimum, the following are essential:

- the resources must be shared between the players;
- the involvement of the local players must be sought (it is recommended that a start be made with subject areas in clearly delineated portions of the territory, even virtually, so that the residents see an advantage in being involved in it);
- a teaching framework should be outlined (A/T/I/S: awareness-raising, training, initiation, support);
- the use of Information and Communications Technologies (not an objective, but one resource among others) should be progressive and not imposed on the residents;
- the timeline should be appropriate.

A territorial intelligence project tends to be successful if it is established over a period of four to eight years, the first half of which is used to raise awareness among the local players, the residents. To put it in perspective, territorial intelligence is where information meets communications. The territory thus becomes a focus for the players to share the signals amongst themselves in order to highlight what some are calling "a mutual construct".

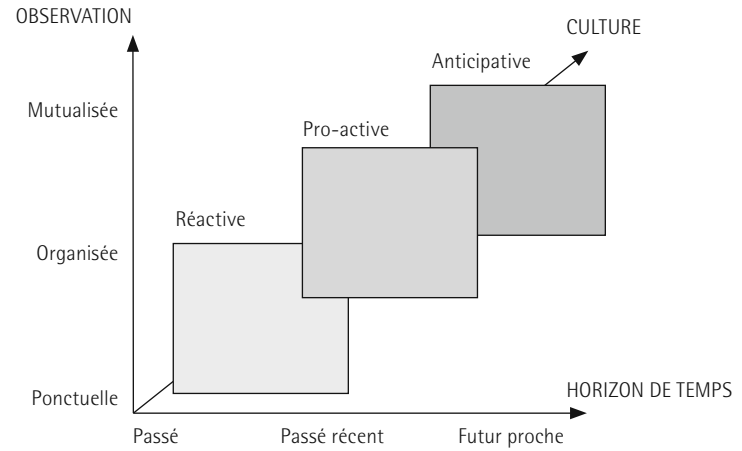
Progressively, by expanding the sharing, the territory becomes a learning territory. In physical terms, the consequences of breakdowns (fire, accident, conflict, etc.) call for the action of specialists (the fire brigade, the army, NGOs and so on), and it is important for them to strive to anticipate these breakdowns. This task is the responsibility of the political leader. To achieve this he can rely on the upstream support of the citizens in the framework of a territorial intelligence project in order to identify warning signals. The resident thus moves from the status of passive secondary decision-maker (by voting) to that of a playing member of the local orchestra. This sharing is built up by means of a translation through the process of territorial intelligence: the territory becomes a learning territory.

L'information en question



DU SIGNE à L'INFORMATION

Modalités



MUTUALISATION

POINTS FOR DEBATE

The workgroup is invited to consider the possibility of influencing :

- Territorial intelligence, an old concept?
- Competition between territories and its social consequences of breakdowns.
- Reduction of space and time: the role of communications and IT in anticipating risks.
- Anticipating threats by a different approach to processing information.

The chairman initially proposed reviewing the plus points of the theoretical presentation, to deal with any issues of understanding and working methods according to the requirements of each participant.

Thereafter, the participants are invited to take positions in relation to their professional practical work, and the importance this theme has for them, and according to their attitude, reactive, proactive or forward-looking; for example: to which category does the Monitoring of Brussels districts relate? What about the work in progress in Brussels on the subject of small children and environment?

The third level to be debated is that of mutualisation, of the appropriation of information. Is IT the best means to achieve that in the Brussels region? Should other methods be used? How to pass information down to citizen level and how can citizens pass relevant information back up (bottom-up)?

The fourth level of discussion covers proposals and ideas to submit to the Brussels authorities to develop projects to make Brussels a learning territory, and to see to it that in Brussels, territorial intelligence – observation – should be reactive (the chairman thinks that it is already at that level), but is also proactive and forward-looking.

The participants were invited to kick off the debate on questions relating to the theoretical presentation.

The various contributors attempted to bring out the limits and the outlines of territorial intelligence. Thus, of course, territorial intelligence resembles a shared ownership concept. One participant was astonished that the territorial intelligence process which seems to work so well in ad hoc, limited projects has trouble working efficiently within a more and more complex urban fabric. This increase in complexity makes consensus difficult to reach and decisions more and more come from positions of strength. The Place Flagey, for instance, was subject to floods because the drain sluices dated from the 19th-century and were too small. Major works were commenced and bigger drains were built. There are two conflicting points of view on these public works (functionality against preservation). This conflict has still not been resolved to this day, and the redevelopment of the square has not yet been finished. On a similar idea, another participant wondered if community of interest, defined within given territorial limits, was indeed absolutely necessary.

In response to these questions, Philippe Herbaux replied that territorial intelligence was only one method of governance and indication, amongst several; it is not the proprietary resource for conflict resolution and he conceded that any system has its limits. Here, the risk is effectively the confiscation of the democratic debate, under the pretext that one workgroup is responsible for dealing with the case. Territorial intelligence is the expression of the group having a project with a view to defending a local resource. The aim is mutualisation of information and the problems encountered are, either at the ethical level (thinking, content, indicator, interpretations, responsibility, etc.), or democratic in nature (accessibility of information within society). Membership can only be gained by having an interest in the project: you belong to a group in so far as there are issues. Beyond a particular interest of a group of inhabitants faced with an issue, there simply is no territorial intelligence. For that reason, territorial intelligence operations that work well specifically with a view to membership are limited. Membership is an essential condition.

An illustration of the encouraging initial results that have been observed :

- The village of Albajulia (in Romania) experienced problems of water supply for livestock. By involving the population in seeking out indicators, and succeeded in implementing a proper system for providing a continuous supply of water throughout the year.
- In the case of hotels between Toulon and Nice, variations in the flow of tourists were observed, that upset the local economy. A monitoring system was put in place, from which it was observed that certain indicators predicted a reduction in tourists: expected strikes, changeable weather, etc. When these indicators had been discovered, marketing actions were undertaken with travel agencies (sending out letters, promotional reminders, etc). The hoteliers found this practice was very useful.
- In UK, in the central area (centred on Manchester-York), a two-pronged approach to preventing natural disasters (floods and mine subsidence) is being put in place.

It is nevertheless necessary to provide means for achieving membership for all. The "top-down" type experiences, typical of public sector actions, do not systematically consult the inhabitants and this is what creates a gulf between the concerns of elected representatives and those of its governed. To enable a territorial intelligence project to reach a consensus and work properly, it is important to take the opposite approach, that is to say to start from the needs and the experience of the inhabitants so that they can associate with the project. It has to be admitted that, if a project is started and the inhabitants consulted later, there is the risk that their real concerns will be left to one side.

Illustration :

- In Huelva (in Seville region, in Spain), the main business is the production of fruit and vegetables. An elected representative from Madrid wanted to attack the issue of local employment while the local inhabitants were interested in selling their fruit and vegetable production for a good price. The first employment project therefore had to be modified (lack of interest from the inhabitants for whom this matter did not constitute a priority, but was just a consequence) to collect information on the European sales price of fruit and vegetables.
- Territorial intelligence can reflect the general interest. It manifests itself when it brings together at the same time the concerns of the decision-makers and the inhabitants. It can therefore serve the general interest and interests of individuals. In parallel, there are other very general approaches for monitoring such as *Futuris*, *Cnam* or even "*Horizon Scanning Systems*".

Finally, one contributor stressed the importance of communicating information to citizens to allow them to get together to protect their interests and produce a reaction from the political officeholders, who are always very sensitive to public opinion. In the view of Philippe Herbaux, it will be valuable to put territorial intelligence into long-term planning. The Internet constitutes a tool for transmitting information bottom-up and top-down with which a user community can itself set the rules of the game.

Brussels in territorial intelligence

The opportunities in Brussels

For Philippe Herbaux, district monitoring, an urban planning method, has limits for territorial intelligence even though for Brussels monitoring constitutes an excellent competitive tool.

Indeed, it seems that for territorial intelligence, this project is too large. It contains too great a diversity of specific issues that are very different one from the other.

Its experience is that resources are mobilised mainly by institutional actors. Moreover, this project is not forward-looking since it does not bring out plans for the future and it is based only on shared quantitative analyses.

For this method to operate as an engine of territorial intelligence, Brussels should ensure that a "bottom-up" approach is put in place, making it easier to access information and should develop education on exchange and sharing. This educational imperative would allow everyone to take part in the approach, the equipment would serve the whole project and the democratic debate could be engaged in fully.

Philippe Herbaux also envisages the creation of a picture gallery (producing images of different districts to show, through the picture, how a district evolves) which will be available to use over the Internet so that anyone can add their photos, to analyse them, etc. Thus, when the region was divided up (observation entities, catchment areas), we saw that half of these districts were imposed across community boundaries although the division was accepted by the nineteen Brussels communes because it corresponded to the realities of life.

Scientific processing of territorial intelligence starts with the collection of the study data. But in Brussels, it is difficult to work out long-term plans because of the lack of data. One participant pointed out that Brussels could usefully implement the obligation imposed by the European *Inspire* Directive, the principle of which is to gather and centralise geographical data, as an opportunity to implement a shared geographical information system (GIS). On condition of course that the various segmented regional actors work together with shared ownership of the data. Philippe Herbaux emphasised the difficulties of long-term thinking in political circles. Without resorting to generalisations, he observed that politicians' actions are all too often to do with imminent elections.

One participant suggested creating an information network, a sort of comprehension interface between the academic world and the citizen. The role of scientists should not in fact be limited to the production of data, it should also involve communicating data to the citizens. For this purpose it is suggested that a network made up of seconded scientists and/or scientific administrators should be set up to deal with the collection, processing and analysis of data. It will however be necessary to avoid information being confiscated by scientists and make sure of the details of each party's role and see to it that the communication tools are suitable for each situation.

Brussels lacks interfaces for sharing information, in particular to compare quantitative and qualitative data. Territorial intelligence could mitigate this lack by putting in place workgroups gathering together the various interpretations of indicators observed on the ground depending on the experience and the sensitivity of each one. This work would make it possible to progress from retrospective to forward-looking. We should notice in passing that nobody has correct information but that everyone should be able to put their interpretation on the indicators observed. It is essential to have sufficient participators to ensure that there is enough variety of information when comparing the various interpretations. Philippe Herbaux reminds us that territorial intelligence projects which failed covered territories that were too big or where no common interest could be found. To succeed, it is important to share a common interest in a well-defined territory relating to local issues that the inhabitants can easily perceive.

The issues for Brussels

- Ensure that the information is properly communicated to the inhabitants to involve them in the urban project («top down»).
- Ensure that political decisions, relating to the city, involve civil society in the debate («bottom-up»).
- Try to arouse the interest of as many citizens as possible in local issues.
- Ensure that the management of the future of the territory is done via a long-term view and that it should not be limited to the duration of office of an elected political representative.
- Consider the creation, in Brussels, of a network of information to compare quantitative data and qualitative data, as an interface between the scientific world and the citizens.

The speaker was careful to point out that not all these questions have an answer. Territorial intelligence cannot resolve everything!



Workgroup 2.2

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

From the outset, Professor Hendriks stated that Brussels seems to function on the basis of democracy by consensus. He then set out the various types of democracies together with their positive and negative effects. From the workgroup discussion it emerged, clearly but not unanimously, that democracy by consensus must be complemented by some forms of participation. The need for more participation to complement consensus democracy gave rise to at least two questions. That of knowing at what level it should be complemented and that of the place where the forms of participation should happen ?



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Speaker

Frank HENDRIKS,

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Summary

Frank Hendriks

- Tackles democracies from the angle of different modes of public governance as they are observed on the ground.
- Analyses and compares the forms, methods and implications in terms of governance of various democratic decision-making systems.
- Categorises into a matrix (attached to this document), the advantages, weaknesses, challenges and allergic reactions pertaining to the decision-making processes of the various (main) forms of democracy.
- Notes that these forms are correlated (their advantages bring about their own failings) but they cannot be easily transposed.

Amongst the most common forms of indirect democracy may be distinguished :

- first-past-the-post democracy :
 - > this is aggregative in nature ;
 - > it is presented as a system underpinned by the « Winner-takes-all » the power principle ;
 - > counts the votes to produce a majority that will govern ;
 - > is also used at local level :
 - in unitary states, where all power is concentrated in the capital ;
 - devolved powers derive from the National Parliament and are not safeguarded by a constitution ;
- consensus democracy :
 - > is integrative in nature ;
 - > is a system based upon proportional representation ;
 - > forms coalitions to seek a consensus amongst disparate interests ;
 - > is also used at local level :
 - in decentralised states, where different levels of power are safeguarded by a constitution ;
 - inter-dependence of different levels of power ;
- the process of reconstruction of Birmingham and Munich, two cities completely rebuilt after the war demonstrates the respective advantages and disadvantages of first-past-the-post democracy and of consensus democracy ;
- consensus democracy has been under the microscope for several decades :
 - > many people seem to favour it over direct democracy by which :
 - the aggregative (majority) type in the form of plebiscitary democracy where :
 - the citizens express themselves directly by voting without going through the intermediary of an office holder for :
 - * rapid and decisive decision-making ;
 - * avoiding long-drawn-out discussions and confabulations ;
 - examples : New England Town Meetings, Participative Budgeting ;
 - the integrative (non-majority) type in the form of participative or deliberative democracy where :
 - the citizens express themselves through intensive debates and exchanges and not by means of ballot to :
 - * ensure that decisions are taken by consensus ;
 - * involve citizens and active forces in decision-making ;
 - example : the kibbutz ;
 - > intermediary experiences of participative democracy bring the inhabitants' decisions closer together :
 - by referendum, opinion poll and survey ;
 - to survey the feelings and preferences of the majority.

Workgroup

Consensual democracy is typical of Belgium and the Brussels Region :

- general agreement of participants to the fact that democracy by consensus must be complemented by new forms of participative democracy :
 - > participative democracy as is practised in Porto Alegre is regarded as good practice in city management ;
 - > in a society as complex as our own, direct democracy cannot be considered except as being complementary to representative democracy ;
- consensus on the fact that participation by citizens in Brussels :
 - > happens mainly at the local level (district, commune) ; and
 - > is difficult to transpose to levels higher than local level ;
- several suggestions for improving participation were put forward particularly suggestions for :
 - > better training for citizens :
 - through teaching or training ;
 - through association activities ;
 - > better participation by citizens :
 - the association has seen the implementation of participative democracy procedures (consultation committees) ;
 - these work well at the consultation level for district contracts and social cohesion ;
 - > in this context the following was considered :
 - the issues of the role of political parties and syndicates ;
 - the selective restructuring of association activity :
 - beyond concerns relating to their districts, the people of Brussels showed little interest in political life (too many levels of power, too great a complexity of institutions) ;
 - this restructuring of association activity is to be understood particularly in relation to the difficulty of understanding urban systems (that are ever more) complex.

OPENING SESSION

The organisers were concerned with analysing policies in operation in the Brussels region over the last 15 years, in the light of the technical and scientific expertise of a number of people invited to this conference. This workgroup will bring out the tensions between, the wish for democratic workings in institutions, in particular regional institutions and the concern over providing the best governance possible. Professor Hendrik will explore the contradictions that are the purpose of our debate. We shall try to use Professor Hendriks' theoretical analysis to guide us to the realities on the ground with which you are more familiar than he is. We will try to formulate observations for transfer to workshop which will come up with some conclusions which will be dealt with during tomorrow's plenary session.

CONTRIBUTION FROM PROFESSOR FRANK HENDRIKS

The Institute of Comparative Political Management at Tilburg ("Instituut voor Vergelijkende bestuurskunde van Tilburg") is responsible for comparing political and administrative management systems, and takes particular interest in the various forms of democracy in different countries. By democracy is understood a rather wide concept covering the whole range of management systems in the public domain. This management system is in no way limited to the organisation of national elections. Let us start by sketching out the broad overall lines. Those of us from the Netherlands tend to look to our cousins across the Channel and even towards the USA. These countries, managed by a different decision-making system, have a quite different form of democracy, difficult to transpose into our environment. It is essential to be aware of these differences and specific points that are observed in our type of democracy. The majority of people attending the conference know about the current Brussels situation, which is a metropolitan area that is difficult to define at the institutional level and in which many modifications are in operation. Belgium and Brussels take part in a consensus form of democracy. Both Belgium and the Netherlands are considered in specialist literature as examples of the school of consensus democracy.

It is interesting to note the details by which this type of democracy differs from all the others. To start off with, I refer you to the diagram below, published last year: *The Life of Democracy*.

Four basic types of democracy can be distinguished and their various implications considered in terms of governance (particularly as it affects the quality of the decision-making process).

Let us start with the two forms of democracy mentioned at the top of the diagram which are those currently most frequently encountered. These are two forms of indirect democracy. Here, the citizens do not take the lead, but their representatives (elected representatives, prominent figures from civil society or others in charge of affairs). Complex cities or countries cannot be managed by the direct democracy mode. Instead, and up to the highest level, indirect democracy is practised. Two forms of it can be distinguished: the first, the majority type, is called first-past-the-post democracy; the other, which is different, is called consensus democracy. In it negotiation is the basic mechanism for reaching compromises. The method that consists of counting votes to reach a majority is called the aggregative process. A majority of

Type of democracy	Aggregative (majority)	Integrative (Non-majority)
Indirect (representative)	First-past-the-post Democracy Example: U.K.	Consensus Democracy Example: Belgium, the Netherlands
Direct (self-determination)	Plebiscitary or democracy of electors Example: Switzerland	Participative democracy Example: Porto Alegre

50% + 1% is enough to win. The UK, New Zealand and to a certain extent the USA are good examples of first-past-the-post democracy.

To form a government in an indirect democracy (for example the UK), which uses the majority principle, a simple majority is enough. Such a government is generally made up of representatives of a party holding an absolute majority which is not the case in a country practising consensus democracy where the power is shared between various parties condemned to work together. It all depends on the electoral system. The UK has opted for an electoral system where the "winner-takes-all" the power. The winner hits the jackpot and the losers go onto the opposition benches where they do not have a lot to say. This also works on the local level. First-past-the-post democracies in the strict sense are found in unitary States where all the power is centred in the capital. In the UK everything revolves around London where Parliament reigns sovereign ("the Sovereignty of Parliament"). Devolved powers come from the National Parliament and are not guaranteed by a constitution. If Westminster decides by simple majority that districts will be merged, they will be merged without any other form of procedure.

Consensus democracy works quite differently. There is no question of the winner in votes hitting the jackpot, because the system is based on proportional representation.

This involves the existence of a diversity of parties: a government majority almost always depends on a coalition. It is exceptional for a single party to have sufficient votes to form a government at a national level or at any other level. In the majority of cases it is reduced to having to form coalitions. This is found at all levels of power, both in Belgium and in the Netherlands. The various strata of power are independent and can mutually

block each other. These levels of power cannot be regarded as being entities of the National State, they are protected by the constitution which they have learnt to use with skill. The Netherlands is a unitary State that has been decentralised with a long federalist past, which is characterised by the devolution of powers.

How are decisions made in this type of environment? By means of various institutions mustering various blocks of power, a situation that is well-known in Belgium. Power there is fragmented following successive Government reforms, which makes taking a decision somewhat difficult.

First-past-the-post and consensus democracies are the two basic modes which deserve to be analysed for their impact on decision-making, citizenship and leadership. We will certainly come back to them during the course of the discussion. This is not without consequences on taking decisions. We will then come to plebiscitary and participative democracies.

My table shows the main forms of democracy distinguishing the strengths, weaknesses, challenges and allergies of each decision-making process. The four are clearly interdependent. Their strengths generate their own weaknesses.

Let us start with consensus democracy. Its main advantage is that it facilitates integration. A quality that is particularly appreciated in the Netherlands where, not so long ago, conflicts between Protestants and Catholics were not so different from those that could be observed in Ireland. It is in fact the institutions of the Netherlands that made it possible to avoid many tragedies by taking decisions, without bringing very different lifestyles into conflict with one another. This is where in absolute terms the great advantage of consensus democracy lies. The other side of the coin is that its decision-making process is complex, can get bogged down ("stropig"), is slow

and not very transparent. The major challenge is that of transparency, as an excess can prove to be counter-productive by revealing the underlying conflicts.

In Belgium and the Netherlands, we are allergic to unilateralism where a single party is at the helm. People are used to resolving problems amongst themselves. The "Anglo-Saxon" method referred to as "Command and Control", with its rapid and very hierarchical decision-making processes would not be well received here. However, that is where the main advantage of the first-past-the-post democracy (majority and indirect type) lies, where decisions are taken promptly and effectively. This system is allergic to fudge, to inertia and to obfuscation which they seek to avoid at any price. Some decisions are taken too quickly, and it is no easy matter to change course once underway. This system lacks control and evaluation procedures ("Checks and balances"). I can give you an example of too quick a response ("Overcommitment") in the context of urban development resulting from not taking enough time for thought.

Frank Hendriks is thinking here of a comparative study of decision-making processes in Birmingham and in Munich, two cities of comparable size on more than one account. It is a wonderful illustration of the difference between first-past-the-post democracy and consensus democracy. Both cities have large numbers of commercial vehicles and both city centres were badly damaged during the Second World War, which made it possible to plan from a completely fresh start. These cities were, properly speaking, two blank sheets. The two metropolises dreamed of constructing an urban space on the American model, with a business centre, all compatible with the traffic flows of that time. In short, they both wanted to have a clear urban network with free traffic circulation. At the end of the war, they drafted out plans which were then carried out in completely different ways, which makes the comparison of the two of particular interest.

Because of the advantages provided by first-past-the-post democracy, Birmingham carried out its plans very quickly. This meant that it had a triple ring road (inner, outer and middle) in the 60s together with a network of access roads. Everything happened very quickly, but Birmingham realised very soon that it had made some bad decisions. The city suffered from car traffic everywhere, holding everything up. This anomaly was not corrected until the 90s. The reason was excessive adherence to plans prepared previously, which it had become difficult to distance themselves from.

The opposite happened in Munich, where plans of the same type were drawn up after the war, but were reviewed and corrected in the 60s and 70s taking account of the new environment. Of course, cars needed space in Munich, but they realised the need to invest in a subway project and to improve access for cyclists and pedestrians. That is why in the 70s they opted to create a lively, exciting city centre.

This was all done slowly. Munich had to put up with the disadvantages of consensus democracy, but the great advantage was being able to build in the new priorities enabling it by give-and-take to produce more balanced decisions over time. This is an instructive example, because the Munich decision-making processes were not very different from those current in Belgium or the Netherlands. The parallel with Brussels is striking, as it is with the Randstad, this poly-centric urban space extending to the west of the Netherlands over four large towns, four provinces all involved in the decision-making process. This means a national power extending over several regions all involved in the Randstad with all the complications arising from this. There are a lot of complaints in the Netherlands at the moment of the decision-making model and its innumerable conflicts of institutional jurisdiction. I imagine this is not very different from what one could observe in Brussels, we will come back to that later in the discussion.

In the Netherlands as in Belgium, the consensus democracy model has been under the microscope for several decades. It is a model involving indirect representation and consultation: it has been discussed a lot for a long time in the hope of reaching the right decisions. Consultation operates by the intermediary of "chargés d'affaires" and representatives from the various currents of thought in society. For some years, this method which had been widely accepted was considered as a process that provided excellent apportionment of tasks, up to the 60s.

Many people seem to want to opt for a decision by majority, selecting options more quickly and avoiding excessive palaver and confabulation. Furthermore, people had their eye on the "Anglo-Saxon" model of rapid and decisive decision-making.

Belgium also became more and more tempted by the spell of direct democracy where the "chargés d'affaires" are not the main actors, but where the citizen has a role to play. Two divergent models can be distinguished: a model in which majority democracy expresses itself by referendum. The referendum is no more than a form of plebiscitary democracy where the citizens put a cross in a box or press a button to directly cast their votes without going through the intermediary of representatives. Decisions are taken by a simple majority. In the Swiss "Landgemeinde", citizens meet in a meadow and vote by show of hands on questions of public interest. This system of plebiscitary democracy also operates in the USA in the form of "New England Town Meetings."

It therefore remains to consider a final mode of direct democracy, integrative in nature, which works not by means of ballot but by consensus, which could result in a form of participative democracy in which each person plays a part in the decision-making process. Not by way of ballot but by means of intense exchanges and debates. This is what is called the deliberative democracy mode, and is both direct and integrative.

Various types of participative democracy, some more ambitious than others, have been tried in the Netherlands, with the intention of bringing the inhabitants together on the decision. Furthermore they tried to combine the advantages of participative democracy and those of consensus democracy. The citizens were involved in the decision-making process at the same time as the political officeholders. The plebiscitary democracies work more and more by way of referendum and by opinion polls aimed at consumers and at citizens. All of this is trying to achieve the same thing which is ascertaining the feelings and preferences of a majority of the public. In Tilburg for instance, consumer surveys were carried out, questioning the population relentlessly. When 60 to 70% showed a preference for a certain type of service, it was approved.

However we do not talk about plebiscitary democracy strictly speaking because this procedure does not directly result in decisions, it just establishes majority opinions. In the Netherlands the real challenge is to promote decision taking by means of this type of consensus democracy. It involves a very different process from that which underlies consensus democracy. We could establish a parallel with the situation currently operating in Belgium. I do not think that many people consider that we would resolve the question of the survival of Belgium simply by consulting citizens. On the other hand, we cannot deny that this democratic model exists and that some consider it a good system for taking decisions that is light years removed from consensus democracy. There are therefore two conflicting approaches.

We shall end of this introduction by mentioning several examples of plebiscitary democracy as practised in amongst other places Los Angeles, not as the main model but as an auxiliary model. We could also refer to the city of Porto Alegre as an example of an auxiliary model, which is very committed to the participative democracy model. We will return to that during the debate on the issues and dilemmas which are a daily occurrence in Belgium, including in the urban development domain. This will enable us to uncover the arguments and ideas of the workgroup.

DEBATE

Unless advised otherwise, we start from the assumption that the form of democracy currently practised in Brussels closely resembles consensus democracy, which is fairly typical for Belgium this is what Professor Hendriks defines as being a democracy of indirect representation. It is the people's representatives who decide, not the sovereign people. Options are chosen by consensus, not on a majority basis, but by reaching an agreement between the various parties, at different levels of power. Professor Hendriks demonstrated the weaknesses and strengths of consensus democracy. Some are tempted to question consensus democracy and hanker after first-past-the-post or participative types of democracy (which are more direct and rather more of a plebiscitary nature). The Professor illustrated his argument by backing it with many international examples.

The workgroup is invited to consider the possibility of influencing :

- How to improve the working of democracy in a democracy that is principally consensus-based and in a pluralist reality?
- How could a continuing improvement in democracy contribute to better institutional governance?
- How could institutional governance contribute to the better working of democracy?
- How can the public service function effectively while mobilising the actors in a complex reality?
- What related questions should be covered to achieve good institutional governance?

One contributor suggested that taking any decision requires a mass of information and that information and communication are being confused here. Furthermore it opposes the sensitive question of education in democracy, otherwise called training for citizens. In Belgium, there is apparently a lot of difficulty in teaching people about what democracy is, because of the absence of philosophy courses in colleges and because of the absence of a higher college for political education. He is thinking of a political education college along the lines of ENA in France where politicians are trained for careers in the political and public administration. Democracy cannot be participative unless education is given to those who are supposed to represent this participative dimension.

In Latin culture, things work better. In Italy, the Communist culture for a long time worked according to the framework of Don Camillo and Peppone and worked well in districts, giving the people being administered the feeling of taking part in village or district life, in short the impression of participative democracy. In Belgium, real participation has never been achieved. That is to say, real education in participation.

Frank Hendriks then states that in Porto Alegre, participative democracy is practised on a large scale in districts where the educational level of the inhabitants is anything but high. This in no way prevents participative democracy from working there rather well.

The two modes of democracy are sometimes referred to as alternative models. The detractors of consensus democracy emphasise that both models are necessary for the proper working of democracy. In 2002 Pim Fortuin proclaimed loudly that the Netherlands needed a political system where the citizens were the driving force, in other words, less consensus ("polderoverleg") and a bit less direct democracy. The problem is that in a highly technologically developed modern society, such as ours, it is not possible to achieve that on the basis of an ideal and «pure» model. Under the best of assumptions, a form of direct democracy can only be envisaged as complementary to the representative model. It could not in fact provide a complete substitute for representative democracy, even in countries where direct democracy is already well-established, such as in Switzerland or in the USA with the «New England Town Meetings». In California, continuous referendums have been organised on a number of issues. The widest framework will always be that of representative democracy. Even in Porto Alegre, where there is general participation in the preparation of budgets ("Participative Budgeting"). Indeed, the population is involved to a large degree in the preparation of the annual city budget without going

beyond the bounds of participative democracy. That is to say, participative democracy is practised without excluding the executive body, without sidelining the Mayor or the city council.

These strengths and weaknesses of plebiscitary democracy can better be understood by understanding the practice of referendums as organised in California and more specifically in Los Angeles, a metropolis where decisions are regularly taken by referendum. One of the plus points, is that private initiative stimulates public initiative there. This therefore resembles a form of self-determination approaching the classic idea of democracy. The inhabitants gather, organise citizens' initiatives and take their destinies into their own hands. If they succeed, they are permitted to submit their proposal to the whole population to see whether a majority indicates that it is in favour of their proposal. This is a very open system. Anyone can put forward a citizens' initiative, it is enough to gather a sufficient number of signatures in favour of the plan to prove that it has a majority. This last point is vital.

The other side of the coin: this system can generate inconsistent decisions. Let us suppose that a citizens' initiative calls for top quality higher education or demands a better network of motorways by a large majority. Let us then imagine that another citizens' initiative organises a referendum in favour of a reduction of taxes, to bring these down to the levels of 1970 and that this citizen also in turn obtains a majority. These contradictory points of view cannot be reconciled. This complicates the dynamics of referendum democracy which requires great collective control, which is particularly difficult to implement

On the side of participative democracy, a whole different set of plus and minus points can be observed. Its strength lies in its ability to bond people together, and it seeks to form social communities and tends towards unity. The

Israeli kibbutz is an organisational structure inspired by participative democracy. Its inhabitants are its managers. Decisions are taken in common, not by producing majorities by ballot, but after lengthy exchanges intended to seek a consensus with a view to agreement. This creates a sense of solidarity, community and unity. It has values that can involve the participants in interminable meetings, drift into exhausting decision-making procedures and finally fail to produce a decision because of a residual minority. In this type of situation, no decision is reached for fear of jeopardising the unity of the kibbutz. The big challenge in participative democracy is to remain realistic and dare to make choices. It is certainly not possible to do without a wide range of ideas, but choices have to be made. The same thing can be observed in the participative preparation of budgets in Porto Alegre. This system cannot function without a strong dose of representative democracy to make final decisions from one minute to the next. I invite you to continue this discussion relating it to the Belgian experience. If I am to believe the literature, Belgium is less advanced than the Netherlands. I would like to know if this is accords with your perception. In any case, the experience of the Netherlands demonstrates that while participative democracy functions, a dose of consensus democracy goes with it. We therefore talk of an interactive policy or rather a participative mode of decision-making. In other words, while the public powers alone make decisions, they make them in a participative manner trying to involve citizens in the decisions. I would like to know if the same happens in the Brussels region.

Based on his experience in the domain of housing and urban development, a contributor considers that the majority of Brussels citizens are very little interested in democracy particularly as it affects their region. The Brussels Parliament is the democratic body for this region. The Brussels Parliament is a stooze where nothing

much happens. The Brussels population has no interest in it at all. It is the government that makes all the decisions: five or six people make decisions without consultation. What interests the people of Brussels is what happens in front of the door, in the street, and in their district. Public enquiries on urban development matters where citizens could make their views known. The legislator provided participative democracy procedures to this effect by which the fabric of associations was severely impaired in the 60s and 70s. The problem with public enquiries rests in the fact that people do not start to debate until there is a plan, until the irons are already in the fire. In Antwerp, district meetings are regularly organised at district level. If we want to engage in participative democracy in Brussels, it is at this level that we must act.

Frank Hendriks asks for more specifics on the functioning of these consultation commissions? In fact, he wonders which method to recommend to promote the involvement of inhabitants at this micro-level to encourage participation. Does it require committees of inhabitants, should evening participation meetings be organised.

The Brussels situation is horribly complex. Brussels does not function as a city but as a regional capital, made up of 19 executives and the same number of Mayors. We should not be surprised in such an environment that the citizens do not deign to take part and that they do not feel involved. We live in a society in which citizens are ever more demanding but we also observe a separation in cities while witnessing the emergence of a number of diverse cultures.

With reference to consultation committees, we can mention the examples of consultation committees for district contracts and social cohesion, where we find representatives of civil society, inhabitants and the representatives of district committees.

Chairman Vinikas observes a real interest in very local forms of participation. He notes an abnegation by citizens in respect of the decision-making process for anything other than local issues?

What seems to him to be of the essence is that decisions that may be taken at local level should not in the end hamper decisions from a higher level, as is the case for the route of the RER (Regional Express Network), which resulted from the citizens' wish to protest against it, which delayed the progress of the RER.

Frank Hendriks wonders how Brussels is able to function, or at least pretend to function with this enormous labyrinth of complicated bodies (regions, communities, and inter-connected institutions).

The answer is in the street. Stand up and see what's going on through the window. There are road works which under any other form of democracy would have finished two years ago. They are part of the tensions within the Flagey Project: the regional authority, the municipal authority and the district committees are all acting at the same time. At regular intervals the worksite is halted for several months, to give time for all of them to get together and recommend options that are different from those originally provided for.

The consultation committees, together with the committees set up for district contracts provide a good example of participation for a period of one to one and a half years, the inhabitants are invited to consult with the commune, the officials and the associations on the works to be implemented in the district within budget limits. It is regrettable that this covers only individual programs for set periods of time with a limited number of districts. Better training for people should be organised in most districts of Brussels, beyond the limits set out by district contracts. The experience of district contracts is somewhat positive. It should therefore be suggested to

the Brussels region, that the system called the Local Commission for Integrated Development (CLDI) should be extended beyond district contracts;

The complexity of Brussels rises from the fact that decisions must be taken at different levels of power. Furthermore most Brussels regional officials are local councillors who never forget that they are also would-be mayors or local magistrates. However, certain forces are more active than others.

Frank Hendriks suggests that the question should be tackled differently. "Let us imagine that you had no connection with Belgium or Brussels. Where would you want to live and work? In a city where the decisions are taken by a majority (50% + 1 decide against 49%) or in a city where decisions are taken in a consensual way: 50% + 1 is not much of a majority, a more solid basis is needed, not necessarily unanimity but something approaching it."

Participants coming from a country governed by a majority type democracy, dream of a consensus system where people get together around a table and manage to produce a solution where the general interest prevails. If they had to make a choice, they would vote for a more consensual system where the partners talk to each other and where a directive is not imposed from on high on the pretext that the decision was required by 51% of the votes. They would consider that the consensus system, for all its weaknesses, is wiser, more effective, more representative, in short more democratic.

After the break, the Chairman returns to the absolutely essential question of training citizens and decision makers.

Frank claims it would be good to draw the distinction between participative and plebiscite democracy, this last having a better threshold of accessibility. It is much more difficult to take part in a referendum ballot or in "Town Hall Meetings" than to be active in various debate processes. It is necessary to have a certain amount of training to properly take advantage of the meeting, to be able to take stock of the best opinions and to evaluate them. Those who have not had this training are very much at a disadvantage. Anyone who takes part in a referendum does not have to justify their choice or their position. This is a notorious difference. It makes you wonder whether participative democracy is more elitist than the plebiscite form. It presupposes the ability to put choices into words and the ability to take part in debate.

Talking of training the citizens, a complex theme where it is a question of bonding, of making bridges and of taking part, one participant advocates a form of popular education. Society is split by opposing forces, some of which are not favourable to this type of approach. Few people are able to take part in a true democratic dynamic. This is not a criticism of all that has been done in Brussels starting from the bottom up basis, but there must be some criticism of a lack of coordination between actions and doing much more for the citizen in whatever democratic context.

Frank Hendriks notes that you don't need training to go to vote. Everyone has the right to their say at each ballot. In Belgium, voting is compulsory, whether you are a university graduate or illiterate. Apparently, no one has any objections on this matter. If we believe "The Wisdom of Crowds", that is no surprise. For example: a crowd gathered in a market place was asked to estimate the weight of a cow, as was a small group of experts. You may be surprised by this, but taking the average of the estimates, it was found that the crowd was closer to the

correct weight of the cow than the team of experts. Some people see in this good grounds for a plebiscite democracy, by virtue of the principle of the wisdom of crowds. This is an excellent way of putting blind faith and the ability of specialists into context. Estimating the weight of a cow is certainly less complicated than deciding whether the Place Flagey should be redeveloped with underground parking or not, and fixing the destination of the access ways.

Bruno Vinikas, it is dangerous to cast aspersions on the level of citizens' training and their ability to arrive at their own opinion. In former times the same sort of arguments were used to delay bringing in universal suffrage. This was only universal in name since for a long time it was limited only to men. In former times the same thing was thought of working people. In May 1968 at the University, some demanded the election of a board of governors. They insisted that members of the technical and administrative staff should take part in the ballot, which was not to the liking of some members of the academic world who could not tolerate the idea of sharing management of the University with "people like that".

In requiring too many preliminaries to the exercise of democracy, we put democratic principles in jeopardy.

Let us go onto a more difficult question. There are a large number of associations in Belgium and in Brussels. Civil society ("middenveld") often appears to be the real promoter of participation. Association representation is often looked down upon by elected officeholders who claim that they are legitimately and directly appointed by popular vote. These associations, subsidised by the public authorities, are the places where real training for citizens is made available.

Oddly enough, nobody has mentioned the situation and the status of political parties, who are nevertheless, in

the proper sense, intermediary bodies: when you vote, by default you elect political parties

The association movement has for a very long time served as an educational movement for democracy. People learned what democracy was in associations, syndicates and other citizens' institutions. They taught people to formulate wishes, claims, to respect each other and to take it all seriously. They were trained there in the dynamics of debate, in carrying on a discussion, through to arriving at the conclusion, and in abiding by the terms of that conclusion. You do not learn any of this at college, it does not form part of any school curriculum, but is instead acquired on the ground through practice. Learning by Doing. Unfortunately, as is well known, all this has taken a backward step with the reverses suffered by the association network. It has not disappeared altogether, its institutions are still there, it retains some of its high-level representatives, but its grassroots base has eroded, and that was the foundation of the association movement. That is the reason why people today so poorly understand the democratic processes which, it is true, are often complicated. We are talking about the crucible of democracy, where you will learn to negotiate compromises, a thing that you do not properly understand until you have done it yourself, for example within government. This is an experience that ever fewer people live through, at least in the Netherlands and if I am to believe the figures, the same applies to Belgium. But you who live here can confirm or contradict this.

One participant considers that the association movement has become stronger, in the sense that many citizens see in it a way of mitigating the general disenchantment with politics. In many domains, we have in Belgium and particularly in Brussels, associations, clubs, workgroups of all types, capable of raising the average level of

general knowledge in specific fields, by a type of self-training that is not provided either by public authorities nor by the education system.

For Frank Hendriks, it is a strong point on which Belgium should build. If it should turn out that association activity remains as dynamic and is supported by active members, not only subscription payers, but also people concerned in decision-making and committed to the art of weighing the pros and cons, then Belgium enjoys a much more favourable situation than the Netherlands. In the Netherlands we observe that people have less and less time to devote to association activity. They are very happy to take advantage of their benefits, but very few are prepared to invest in its management.

On the contrary, associations that work with the inhabitants have the impression that the link between the inhabitants and the associations is widening. Associations such as the Warandegroep are positioned at a different level. Associations working for the inhabitants need to deal with simple people who make a commitment to an association for the purpose of changing things. In this field, we are going backwards just as in. Former associations of the classic types such as KWB, KAV and MOC have suffered a serious decline in their membership

The real question is to know whether some forms of association are still appropriate for the complexities of city issues. Perhaps the district committees, which we have discussed earlier, could take up the challenge of living together in an increasingly complex city? The association movement is in decline. Less so in the fields where new structures are emerging, with the old ones having difficulty adapting themselves to the current environment.

Under these conditions Bruno Vinikas notes that the workgroup started out from a statement from Professor Hendriks suggesting that Belgium is characterised by a form of democracy by consensus. In the typology which has been presented, he has demonstrated that by comparison to other forms of democracy, this one has advantages and disadvantages. The group discussion concluded with the finding that this form of indirect democracy based on a system of representation aiming at consensus, in other words based on pluralism, needed to be complemented by other forms of participation. Dissenting voices emphasised that in certain cases, a first-past-the-post type democracy could take decisions that were final and not subject to appeal. I have not heard anyone argue in favour of a democracy of the plebiscite type. A whole series of problems have been raised on the methods of organising participation.

The chairman notes that historically, the practice of participation aimed principally at local objectives for which there were forms set up, most frequently promoted by public authorities, such as consultation committees and public enquiries, etc. The whole question revolves around knowing how to make the link between the local level and other decision-making levels.

This presents a whole sequence of further problems: how to promote better participation, or encourage people to participate at other levels? This has hardly been referred to. In contrast, what has been debated at length, is the question of training for citizens, particularly by means of college and associations in which the citizens take part. We have also mentioned the fact that political parties also contribute to participation and that they relate, (in terms of indirect democracy) to choices that people make in an ideological way. It certainly seems that some sectors of association activity are indeed in decline while others are

advancing; the decline is explained by the difficulty that local actors have in facing up to the complexity of current reality.

On basis of these considerations, the workgroup agreed on the conclusions to be presented in the workshop.



Workgroup 2.3

Urban Projects of Quality : Specific solutions versus generic Solutions

Participants were aware of the warning raised by Josep Acebillo, Director of Barcelona Regionál, the Metropolitan Agency for City Planning and Infrastructure Development, against globalisation and the threat of competition from the cities of Asia. He went in to some detail into the questions focusing in particular on today's city planning and architecture, and he will also establish a connection between territorial discrimination and the development of city infrastructure, illuminated by the specific example of Barcelona.



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Summary

Evolution of European Cities

- Contemporary urban development is defined by :
 - > new technology, new economy and globalization ;
 - > outsourcing industry ;
 - > the need for a new Metropolitan language.
- The past as a learning opportunity to transform the city of the future.
- The shift of the techno-economic complex requires similar developments in the field of urban planning.

New urban perspectives

L'Europe develops an innovative neo-metropolitan model on a good scale :

- it is not the size of cities which is a problem, but the difficulty of integrating new technologies in the neighbourhoods ;
- the urban concept and the seven current aporias :
 - > preservation and innovation : new ways to capture the historical relevance of the cities in search for an innovative neo-metropolitan model ;
 - > simulation faced with reality : the tendency of contemporary architecture to focus on simulation by obscuring the real issues ;
 - > superficiality faced with complexity : take the right location decisions relative to the location of critical infrastructure to the detriment of the landscape ;
 - > convenience faced with right : the city viewed as more as a citizen space rather than a place for consumption ;
 - > conceptualization faced with utility : architects and urban planners will develop the city by design but mostly through its utilitarian aspects ;
 - > specific faced with generic : the problems are generic, the solutions are specific to each city ;
 - > regulation faced with arbitrary : priority to infrastructure over pure aesthetic speculation.

The scale of European cities

Prioritise the most appropriate scale for urban planning actions :

- the territory has become isotropic (interchangeability of the location of activities and economic and technological means virtually unlimited) ;
- isotropy invalidates the issue of zoning and hampers any discussion on the opportunities and programmes ;

In Europe, since the city cannot expand, it must be transformed into :

- resorting to the most appropriate scale for each urban intervention :
 - > combine urban acupuncture projects and bold structural projects ;
 - > operate by projects rather than by plans ;
 - > measure results based on the quality of the project ;
- by binding competing cities without sacrificing the comfort of the inhabitants, by reforming the urban economy to create jobs.

Major challenges to the neo-Metropolitan European model:

- develop infrastructure and public spaces in a polycentric urban network ;
- compete with more efficient and dynamic Asian cities ;
- develop the new metropolitan model ;
- reconnect with the strategic development faced with a formalistic town planning and architecture ;
- design quality projects focused on the relevant functionality of the infrastructure ;
- improve infrastructure and mobility through developing the public spaces concerned with the energy, environmental and technological aspects ;
- on a large scale, the city is an open system :
 - > architects find it difficult to accommodate and are at pains to decide because of the complexity of the challenges ;
 - > the three parameters of an open system are :
 - stability : a city with a high degree of stability is not flexible ;
 - reversibility : reintroducing spontaneity is only possible if the urban interventions are reversible ;
 - fluctuations : urban mobility is responsible for it.

How to change the political structures in relation to the necessary changes of scale?

- Neglected by the political sphere, tomorrow's challenges however risk being re responded to only by the private sector, which constitutes a serious threat :
 - > competition from Asian cities;
 - > absence of a new urban model;
 - > risk of not being able to control the cities.
- The absence of models and the lack of intergovernmental cooperation (Leipzig Charter).
- Need for a strong metropolitan system to create a climate of cooperation in Europe (partnerships to be developed based on the NTIC and a permanent exchange between the centre and the outlying areas).

Brussels in a tug of war between the opinion of ordinary citizens and the technical concerns of the experts.

- The metamorphosis of Barcelona was able to reconcile economic imperatives and the citizen's participation.
- Decision-makers and Brussels actors will together build the future of the city.
- This is compromised by :
 - > the non-reversibility of decisions and the difficulty of foreseeing things;
 - > the weight in its programming of traditions from the industrial age.
- A new strategic plan will address the new challenges (density, formation of clusters, etc.). It will have to :
 - > imagine new forms of urban concentration;
 - > redefine the place for growth of the European institutions;
 - > prioritise infrastructure and public spaces.

The institutional position of Barcelona Regional as agency of development

A radical transformation of Barcelona was carried out :

- at first, around mini-projects: renovation of public places, neighbourhood parks, etc.;
- then on a larger scale, launched around the project of 1975 and of four development zones;
- obstacles overcome :
 - > the Olympic Games of 1992 made it possible :
 - to overcome the hesitation of the Generalitat of Catalonia;
 - to implement infrastructures on the metropolitan level;
 - to bring together the actors involved (municipality, regional and national government);
 - to re-baptise the projects as 'Olympic projects';
 - to link up the four zones by an Olympic highway;
 - to make up for the absence of a formalised metropolitan area;
 - to create a technical institution under the name of JO Holding;
 - to generate positive results for Spain and Catalonia.
 - > Lest they lose the power acquired in this way after the Olympic Games, were over, the political players above the local actors were urged to :
 - maintain the collaboration between partners;
 - discuss the creation of a large infrastructure for the citizenry;
 - achieve new projects on the metropolitan level;
 - > the agency Barcelona Regional is a strategic structure which brings together the State, the regional government and the local government :
 - Barcelona Regional was created in order :
 - to bring the technical arguments up to the central government;
 - to work with the mayor's office;
 - to facilitate political decision-making;
 - the board of Barcelona Regional is :
 - composed of representatives of public institutions in the broad sense;
 - presided over by the mayor of Barcelona;
 - Barcelona Regional takes very pragmatic positions and offers technical solutions in support of the discussions. At the end of the day, it is up to the political authorities to make the decision;
 - Barcelona Regional encounters some difficulty consolidating its leadership (no decision-making power and limited degree of autonomy).

OPENING

The Chairman, Joachim Declerck, made it known that the discussion was to be introduced by a short lecture on the subject of the contribution to the analysis of, and action on, territorial discrimination given by Barcelona Regional (the Metropolitan Agency for City Planning and Infrastructure Development). Then we shall have a discussion which will have a two-fold focus. The first part, before the break, will concentrate more specifically on the elements raised during the course of the conference, and in particular the aporias or contradictions facing contemporary city planning and architecture. In the second part, we will concentrate on the case of Barcelona, while bearing in mind the institutions which we are striving to set up in Brussels. How can we raise the importance of territorial discrimination and the work done in urban districts to a larger scale? How should we think about the development of the infrastructure of the city? What are the institutions which can contribute to this and what lessons can be learnt from the specific example of Barcelona?

Territorial discrimination is a process which is connected with globalisation.

We can observe this through the various processes of city marketing and the creation of spectacular (even entertaining) architecture.

But where territorial discrimination finds its finest expression is in the trend towards the gentrification of certain parts of the city, where unequal development makes itself felt most powerfully and keenly.

The third workgroup is to examine to what extent large scale projects (for which Barcelona has earned an international reputation) are connected with territorial discrimination. To what extent is it possible for large-scale projects to act as engines for a form of egalitarian urban development, or at least to help maintain equality in urban development, in specific parts of the city?

In the subsequent session we shall analyse in greater detail the evolution of the specific part played by the Barcelona Regional Agency. Wearing two hats, that of the Director of the Metropolitan Agency as well as that of Commissioner for Infrastructure and City Planning, Josep Acebillo is responsible for the quality of Barcelona's architecture.

CONTRIBUTION FROM JOSEP ACEBILLO

The evolution of the European city

The evolution of the European city is currently very worrisome and I am very pessimistic in this regard. It is becoming more difficult to understand the new urban parameters which are appearing now because of the new Europe/world situation. The first problem lies in the spectacular development of technologies, in the cities.

I think that the changes that have taken place in public transportation have dramatically changed in the last twenty years, along with new technologies, such as the internet. This has had an obvious impact on urban planning and architecture.

The first big challenge is the new technologies/new economy/globalisation trilogy (which is a consequence of the new technologies) and globalisation (a system which is the outcome of the two others).

A similar situation occurred in the middle of the nineteenth century, with the appearance of new technologies of that period (with the introduction of the steam engine) and the creation of a new economy (with industry replacing agriculture) and the development of the nation States (particularly in Europe).

Today the situation is radically different. The internet has succeeded the railways and the motor car; the industrial economy is yielding (particularly in Europe) to the neo-tertiary economy; and national powers are losing ground to transnational or global powers.

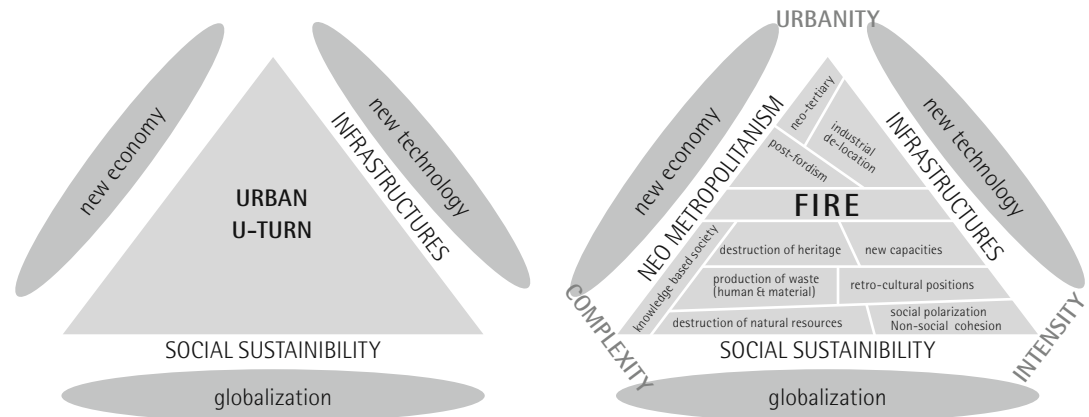
The technological and economic developments of the mid-nineteenth century certainly changed the things for architects and city planners and considerably affected their disciplines. In other words, it is impossible to understand the development of Barcelona without knowing the work of Sherrin, just as it is impossible to understand American cities without being aware of their urban models. Europe and the USA evolved within a radically new context.

When Thomas Jefferson imagined his urban models, his theories which were completely new for his time emerged from the changes which dominated at the beginning of the century resulting from industrialisation and the decline of agrarian society.

From the extent that the technical/economic complex is currently experiencing profound change, it is possible to observe similar evolutions today in city planning.

This is neither the time nor the place to explain in what way the evolution of the European city has failed to adapt itself to technological and economic development and to globalisation, but it is obvious that architects and city planners are partially responsible for this. They must now question themselves about contemporary urban development and consider how they must act in the face of these recent technological developments.

In the USA a response to this challenge has been found at which rests on four pillars. These four pillars together form the acronym FIRE: Finance, Insurance, *Real Estate*, *Enterprise*. These four pillars define the criteria used to analyse the development of the city at the dawn of the twenty-first century. We may accept or reject this criteria, but then we are required to back-up our point of view.



This leaves us with the questions regarding the consequences of globalisation, which are often of a contradictory nature. A few examples: for many people it is heritage protection which is of greatest importance. Others adopt the attitude that industrial relocation is the symptom of globalisation. For others the development of the new economy and the creation of new jobs is the top priority. These approaches are all legitimate, but they remain controversial. What concerns us here is to define how the architect should react in this new cultural, social and economic landscape.

The Barcelona Regional Metropolitan Agency works on the basis of three broad guiding principles: the new complexity, the new density and the new urbanity. However, before we tackle these three themes, there is one more problem to be dealt with: It is far from certain that the most dominant city planning theory in Europe is not based on a significant degree of nostalgia, rather than on a purely objective consideration of the new landscape. Two examples brilliantly illuminate this question:

- the city of Barcelona has had to face enormous change;
- in fact the textile industry has disappeared and the city is experiencing rising unemployment. The film *The Full Monty* shows this clearly: for the newly unemployed brutally afflicted by the cessation of employment a concrete question arises: leave the city or stay? As a starting point for the idea of a strip-tease as a money earner comes to mind in the manner of *Chippendales*. *The Full Monty* is a film where the story could have been situated in a number of other European cities;
- in Detroit, for example, industrial relocation – suburbanisation transformed or even completely destroyed urban structures.

New Perspectives

We must frankly ask ourselves if our architects in Europe are doing a good job or not? We see industry being relocated to Africa and the East. We must take into account competition from Chinese and Asian cities is appearing.

Some commentators feel that the cities of Asia are not on the same scale as those of Europe. However, it is not the scale of the city which counts: Singapore has a population of 3.5 million, but controls 10% of the world maritime economy. Singapore is a very effective city, and in comparison with Shanghai, it would appear that it is not the scale which determines its effectiveness.

Urban scale is certainly not random, but the “new European metropolitan model” is of the highest importance. In Europe, metropolitan models have not evolved since the nineteen-seventies. We can certainly admit that we must take into account the history and identity of our cities to curb the dimensions and the extension of our cities. But the European city cannot allow itself to disregard the new technologies in the new urban districts or the connection with the developments taking place on a larger scale. This increase in scale cannot, however, be permitted to bring about an unavoidable loss of independence on the part of the smaller cities and towns.

For medium-sized cities such as Barcelona and Brussels, developing the European metropolitan model and tackling the question of whether Europe is working appropriately or not is the next big challenge Europe will have to face. Exactly what are the new models which could be developed in Europe?

Seven aporias*

Before advancing into any new perspectives, we will analyse the *urban concept* of today.

The United States and Asia are not faced in the same way as Europe with the pressing need to develop a neo-metropolitan model. The seven following aporias will demonstrate the urgency of this need. It concerns contradictions which are almost impossible to overcome through an unequivocal solution:

- Preservation / Innovation;
- Reality / Simulation;
- Superficiality / Complexity;
- Convenience / Right;
- The conceptual approach / Usefulness;
- The specific / The generic;
- Regulation / The arbitrary approach.

* Aporia: Difficulty of a rational nature that appears unsolvable (The New Petit Robert, Robert Dictionaries, Paris 1993).

Preservation / Innovation

This is certainly not a question of objecting to the factoring in of historical research in architecture or restoration practice. In Italy, modern architecture has practically disappeared, since the general trend is towards the restoration of existing buildings.

Cities develop through evolution and innovation, and hence with a new language.

The architects of the Italian Renaissance, such as Alberti, Michelangelo or Palladio, worked against the current of the architecture of the Middle Ages, because the city was evolving in a qualitative way. This evolution was the consequence of innovation, which in its turn was the outcome of new techniques, new projects, a new language, and new building techniques.

The past was seen as a chance to learn, but also as an opportunity to transform the city, as an opportunity for learning and making the city more relevant, today and tomorrow.

Renovation is only to be defended if it preserves the quality of the site or its scientific interest (this principle has been applied in most modern wars which have sought to save certain sites of historic or cultural interest).

It has become incongruous to talk about modern architecture in Italy, but it's become just as hard to talk about it in Barcelona, more so today than ten years ago. Today it's much easier to talk with inhabitants about the quality of a medium-sized building nowadays than it was fifty years ago. General opposition to new architecture is strengthened by its unpopularity with the general population. Which leads us to the next point.

Reality / Simulation

Architecture has always been the art of simulation and the work of Baudrillard reveals the fact that simulation largely defines the attitude of contemporary man.

It is difficult to understand that a city such as Las Vegas is a complete simulation. Nowadays we have architects who are striving to avoid the problems. They sidestep them by escaping into the virtual, and it's very easy to do this, particularly in the context of the new technologies. It is important to conceive of new perspectives, but innovation for innovation's sake contributes nothing if it automatically involves turning your back on the real problems. And yet contemporary architecture seems to want to conceal the real problems, as illustrated by the following contradiction.

Superficiality / Complexity

The reality at issue here is the tension which exists between landscape and complexity. The position of the landscapers is nowadays unacceptable and illogical, insofar as it does not take into account the complexity of the territory and the new landscapes. The landscapers consider the countryside as a problem of aesthetics or geometry. Contemporary landscape architecture is entirely unconcerned with infrastructure, and puts up with badly finished and inadequate roads. Another example, at the present time, architects are entirely uninterested in the aviation network, and are only concerned with projects such as airport lobbies.

A major step forward, however, was made possible in city planning theory thanks to the contribution of architects such as Giorgio Martinelli, Palladio, Jefferson and Le Corbusier, who developed infrastructures which was revolutionary for its time

The new architects are unconcerned with the matter. The training given in architecture schools almost completely fails to expose the students to the major challenges which are playing out in the cities and the outcomes from them over the next ten years.

A connection can be made between two city centres in a couple of hours or less – what are the consequences? Very little! Barcelona is an exception, and escapes this mode. In Barcelona, the major concentration on infrastructure (airport, high speed train routes, etc), are our primary concerns and very different from those of the landscapers. The very complex decision regarding the appropriate location of the airport, the rail links and high speed train stations, for example, is much more essential than purely architectural concerns or those relating to landscape architecture.

Convenience / Right

It is very fashionable to claim that the city is controlled only by the market. In any case, it is certainly a fact that the economy is the only means of understanding urban transformation. Currently the right of a citizen to occupy social housing depends on the market. In the Europe of the nineteen-twenties, social housing was one of the spearheads of the social-democrat managers.

The development of new organisational models for housing, cities such as Amsterdam, Rotterdam, Stockholm and Vienna, for example, led to the creation of large developments under the pressure of a powerful new policy aimed at building thousands of municipal dwellings. At the present time it has become extremely difficult to guarantee access to social housing, because politics has abandoned the problem to the market.

What is needed here is not a critique of the market or recourse to class politics, but the facts need to be analysed. London needs a million municipal homes. The centre of London is home to essential workers such as ambulance drivers or taxi drivers, but the population of London is such that these key workers have decided to move to the outskirts of the city. It is to be assumed that in due course these people will have to set up home some 20 km from the city centre because of very high and rising property prices. This raises their commuting time to an average of two hours. Many will simply quit.

This creates the danger of the absence of these essential services in the centre of London. Precisely to avoid this danger, the city of London has developed a large-scale council housing programme. The plan in Barcelona is to build 700,000 authority properties. Similarly, the mayor of Moscow has accepted that the building of authority housing and traffic mobility are huge problems in his city.

But today, how are we to resolve the problem of public housing, communications and traffic without the involvement of the public authorities? Can the market continue to operate as it does now, without controls by the public authorities?

Conceptual approach / Usefulness

There are many people today who see architecture as a conceptual art form, with platonic architecture, that of iconic buildings, as having always been an exception. These are representative buildings: cathedrals, palaces of the nobility, museums and the like. These days the creation of a representative building, an iconic structure, is a real passion for young architects. Conceptual art *per se* is not a mistake, but an inability to see the difference between architecture and sculpture certainly is. If architecture is only a form of conceptual art, then where is its usefulness? We have lost our passion for the programme, the functional and the practical. There is an absolute need for us to re-direct ourselves towards a form of neo-functionalism. This by no means implies copying the functionalism of the nineteen forties; what we must do is re-think utilitarianism and start to struggle against the current of excessive conceptualism.

The specific approach / The generic approach

This is where the problem of the globalisation is felt, the world-focus as opposed to the local focus. Nowadays, as soon as a city-planning project is completed in a city in Europe, an international business locates there.

How many buildings do we see today that are copies of ones in London, New York or Barcelona. Forty years ago this problem was completely unknown. But nowadays we are producing iconic buildings that are photocopies. This "McDonaldism" is to be found in every city in Europe. Although this problem is thus generic, the responses to it, however, must be specific. This is one of the reasons why city planners are today becoming increasingly critical of contemporary architecture.

Regulation / The arbitrary approach

Whether in Barcelona, Brussels or Rotterdam, building regulations are identical everywhere, doubtless as a reaction to the revolution caused by a common dynamic (globalisation, the European Community, etc.). This is not a bad thing in itself. However, it is essential in the framework of the aporias to guard against the dangers of overreaction. Restoration *per se* is not necessarily bad, but excessive restoration could be much less so.

Similarly, simulation and regulation are not wrong, but excessive simulation and regulation are.

The consequence of the supranational system: is the development of a plethora of regulations. This excessive regulation, imposed by European directives lessens the possibilities of individual and creative involvement. What is the level of possible architect involvement nowadays? A good architecture should enjoy some degree of freedom but that seems to be highly compromised today. The possibilities of arbitrary action have become non-existent.

. It is important to give imagination and creativity free reign, which is becoming practically impossible, except for the production of iconic buildings. The parallel with the historical example of the building of the City of Corinth is striking: 3000 years ago, when the decision was made to build a new capital of Corinth, the concept was based on a model which was inspired by the sculptured tomb of a young woman. At that time architects were limited by the arbitrary nature of the sculptural model.

Today's architects are deprived of their creative freedom, which is crucial for original and effective design.

Excessive regulation may also be a very poor remedy to generic problems, since it excessively restricts the possibility of self-determination. From my point of view this is the main obstacle to the discovery of the city planning and architectural responses to these changes in urban culture.

The scale of European cities

In the wake of these seven contradictions, which pose most complex problems for urban culture, we should backtrack to the problem of the scale of cities, particularly in Europe where it is difficult to define the scale which is best suited to city-planning action. The scale of our cities should be reviewed as a function of the new metropolitan discourse.

In the case of Barcelona, it is impossible to understand city transformation projects without referring to the range of scale at which the actions are carried out: the small "acupuncture actions" of the nineteen-eighties, to prepare for the Olympic Games, with very limited, very inexpensive, measures, yet which were seen to be very important for the residents. At the opposite end of the scale we are witnessing the recent actions undertaken to convert the industrial city into the neo-sector sector city.

The Barcelona model gives priority to infrastructure and public spaces, to the detriment of architecture and buildings. Architecture will have to adapt to it.

First and as a priority we had to focus on the infrastructure work and take care of the public spaces. This is the case in Europe, because public spaces represent the framework of the city (which is an essential difference from the situation in the USA). In Europe, public spaces were also of great importance during the industrial period.

However, this was concealed to a certain extent because modernism was opposed to public spaces, at least as far as Le Corbusier was concerned. What we are going to do now is to repair the city, by creating new public spaces. But the public space has changed profoundly: it cannot be described as a theatre, but rather as a multimedia space, characterised by the ubiquity of the new technologies.

The territory has become absolutely isotropic: each programme is possible everywhere, which obliterates the important question of zoning. As a consequence programme perspectives have to be discussed.

This is the major difficulty for city planners and architects since as far as the market, the economy and technology are concerned, practically anything is possible.

Architects and city planners must resist the temptation to do everything everywhere, which would make any planning highly ineffective, if not impossible. In Europe, our cities should not be expanded, they should be transformed, and this is only possible if projects and plans are drawn up. In Barcelona, we have not had any overall planning for 27 years. Yet we have developed the city with the aid of the various scales of the projects and we have been able to adapt our territory to the landscape. It is not possible to assess quality by means of plans. In contemporary city planning, the results must be directly measured by the quality of the project. In Europe, the city must not be developed in size. Above all, we must change it through a project and not a plan.

DISCUSSIONS

Chairman Joachim Declerck thanks Josep Acebillo and considers that many of the points raised can be applied to the Brussels context. He recalls that

The workgroup is invited to lead a reflection on the following points :

- Based on the political context of the city (Barcelona, in this case) what are the minimum conditions required to guarantee urban quality?
- How to reconcile a guarantee of quality with large public and private city projects
- How to create a coherent project in relation to a common objective shared 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 local context?

Before opening the floor to the workgroup, the Chairman asks the speaker for a few clarifications about the evolution of small-scale projects into larger scale projects and about the way these are structured. If city planning gives way to large-scale architectural projects, what how do we distinguish between the two? How does the evolutionary process take place?

José Acebillo states that the projects in Barcelona started in 1980. Twenty-seven years later, the differences between the scales are apparent. He confirms in his answer that it is indeed possible to implement a very

wide-ranging and bold policy solely by means of small projects.

The metaphor of urban acupuncture as regards the Barcelona model is wonderfully appropriate here, in view of the enormous precision of the locations of the small actions. The method is not expensive and can be implemented swiftly to avoid making serious mistakes.

It is also easier to gain the public's acceptance since they readily understand this type of surgical action. From a political standpoint, urban acupuncture only reveals advantages. In only seven years, 145 public spaces have been created in Barcelona. At the end of this period, we proudly saw that we had radically changed the city. The residents were very satisfied, but the city was still very old. We thus had to introduce a larger scale, with a view to solving the big problem of infrastructure and the steady disappearance of industry.

In order to make it possible to introduce this larger scale, Barcelona organised the 1992 Olympic Games. Similar large-scale actions are very delicate as far as the residents are concerned. They are very costly, involve enormous risks and are very difficult for all concerned.

This is why it is easier for cities if they can associate these changes with the launch of a new political measure, in this case the political decision to launch the Olympic Games.

If you put in the context of the race to emulate other cities, the best approach nowadays is to avoid only adapting the city by means of small operations, and instead to combine the small and the large scale. It is certainly important to improve the comfort of the residents, but it is more essential yet to reform the economy of our cities to offer our children future job

prospects outside of industries, which are likely to disappear completely from the urban environment in the next ten years. Brussels will be a tertiary city or will not survive. Its position as a capital city will support this change, but it is far from certain that that alone will be enough. Competition between cities can be compared to a Formula 1 Grand Prix. If a city doesn't hold pole position, it's almost impossible for it to win the race.

So what do cities have to do to grab pole position in today's Europe? I think they have to work both through acupuncture projects and also through bolder structural projects. This may appear to be contradictory, but both types of action are essential.

The possibility of designing infrastructure and public spaces, which work well in multi-centric urban situations (ex: the network of eight urban areas in Belgium remains an open question in relation to the neo-metropolitan model. Even so, this is nevertheless a key question.

These kinds of problems are unknown in Asia, because building is taking place at an enormous speed, without the cities being faced by the problem of industrial relocation. To the contrary, Asian cities are picking up the activities which can no longer be retained in Europe because of factors such as labour costs and environmental standards. The tertiary economy sector is developing alongside industry. Bollywood is now much bigger than Hollywood, and India occupies a much more important position in IT production than the USA.

New business centres are being built in Singapore, and 54 towers are to be built in the heart of the city. This raises questions such as retaining control of the seagoing traffic and keeping the city players to the plan. But Singapore is hoping to become the next world financial

platform, overtaking Zurich. It is precisely this type of rationale which defines development strategy. It is not, of course, a matter of asking Europe to implement these types of policies. But because of the absence of a strategy at the metropolitan level, it finds itself at the other extreme and this is a serious danger. It is unacceptable for the culture of strategic development to disappear from Europe solely to the benefit of formal architecture.

Is it all just infrastructure and architecture, then?

For an architect architecture is the basis, but for the likes of the urban planner infrastructure cannot be ignored. Thomas Jefferson designed one of the most beautiful university campuses, that of the University of Virginia. To me it is very instructive to study Jefferson's recommendations for organising the urban system in the USA? I find myself very moved when I look at how Palladio created the Venetian landscape, not from an aesthetic point of view, but rather as regards the way in which it still functions today as one of the most prosperous regions of Europe. This prosperity is due to the depth and relevance of the concept of the infrastructure. I recommend that my students work on infrastructure and more particularly on the design of underground spaces. This was one of the basic starting stipulations for Barcelona: only eleven per cent of the 1992 operations budget was set aside for Olympic installations; more than sixty per cent was devoted to infrastructure and twenty-six to rationalising the infrastructure. The city which wants to come out on top in the Europe of the future must factor in these considerations.

One participant holds that the well-being of the citizens is not solely dependent on the infrastructure, but is also connected to work, the environment, etc. She wants to know what is the place of the inhabitant in European cities and wonders whether devices exist for citizen involvement in Barcelona?

Josep Acebillo responds that the infrastructure of a city is not only a matter of bridges and viaducts, but mainly concerns public space. Infrastructure is not the panacea of the engineers. Contrary to general expectations, in his capacity as director of the Olympic projects, his main concern was not the creation of magnificent buildings, such as the stadium or the swimming pool. It seemed preferable to him, on the contrary, to work on the infrastructure, particularly the 35 km ring road around the city. Most of the city's architects have not understood this position.

He proposes to reform the programming of urban infrastructure by taking into account the energy area (environment) or the HST.

He is also very critical regard to those who are not concerned about people: "the city is first of all its residents." Architects find it difficult to tackle the place of the citizen in the city. As a matter of fact, when strategy discussions take place, architects are never invited. They are only asked along to talk about formal questions and insoluble contradictions. The architect is not longer permitted to discuss, face to face, the implementation of a project as would have happened with Michaelangelo and the Pope. What interests Josep Acebillo above all is the metabolism of the city. He wants the city to be discussed as an open system and to find a way to convince the decision-makers to talk about the city together with all the players and participants.

In response to Josep Acebillo, according to which architects are no longer capable of dealing with this open system, Joachim Decleek makes the connection with the contribution from Pascal Roggero, who described the large scale city as an open system. The Chairman asks the speaker to clarify his thinking when he says that decision making in these systems is complex, but that it still requires the decision-makers to take decisions. Otherwise said, complex or not, it is important to make decisions.

Josep Acebillo then recalls the three parameters of an open system, which are:

Stability: "I recommend that the architect design the weak elements, not the strong ones" (Richard Senneth); a city with a high level of stability is not very flexible.

Reversibility: why do you think the *Clintons set up their offices in Harlem*, he asks? Because they like blacks, or because they know that Harlem will become the new Manhattan? Another example: In New York, a few years ago, the most important district was Soho, then Little Italy, then Midtown, then Silicon, then Chelsea. Reintroducing spontaneity is not possible unless the city is reversible.

Fluctuation: fluctuations in cities are caused by mobility.

One contributor replies by spotlighting the tension which exists between those who want to find out the opinion of the ordinary resident of the city and the experts who are more interested in the technical aspects. He wants to know whether this is a false opposition or if a strategy exists to manage this dilemma.

For Josep Acebillo, this bipolarity is typical of the Brussels model. Brussels is constantly being trapped in this dilemma. In Barcelona the Olympic Games strengthened the city and everybody benefited. This, however, is the exception which proves the rule. It is not clear that this success is due to the ability of the decision-makers to make the connection between the economic aspect and that of the participatory residents. Acebillo rather attempts to attribute it to a particular enthusiasm on the part of the Catalans for their city?

At the same time, a discussion solely on the utility to the citizen of the project would not be taken seriously, because of globalisation.

Naturally, the question of participation should be asked: Brussels ought to be a paradise of the supra-national level and yet this is not the case. Brussels is a mysterious city: there is something incomprehensible about it. Why, for example, is the price of property so low? This is confusing and difficult to understand. What is obvious is the fact that "it is the citizens who make the city" (Shakespeare). What is the soul of the city called Brussels? How do the architects of Brussels adapt to the challenges of globalisation? How do they incorporate the different generations who will follow? So many questions which must be answered. The citizens are worried, particularly those who have lost their jobs.

It is difficult to find common models between Barcelona and Brussels. Frankly, the word "mystery" seems to me the most apt for defining this city. Because of the irreversibility of decisions and the fact that it is impossible to predict what will happen, its future is mortgaged, and it is difficult to remain optimistic under these conditions. Even so, we are faced with new questions: density, formation of clusters, etc. We have to deal with each of these problems, particularly that of the density of Brussels

After the break, the chairman suggests to tackle the specific areas which are crucial to Brussels in connection with the institutional context in which Barcelona began its reforms. By doing this we will be able to examine which institutions are needed to manage and direct the city, taking into account the city-planning and architectural principles of urban development.

The chairman of the workgroup wishes to know the specific institutional position occupied by Barcelona Regional as a development agency, plus the relative independence it enjoys to develop its policies, ideas and projects.

To understand *Barcelona Regional*, Josep Acebillo returns to the context of his region, Catalonia, which is in a difficult institutional situation. For a thousand years Catalonia has been the loser in talks about its relationship with Madrid, so the Region is closely following the development of the Belgian question, which is fairly comparable to that facing Catalonia.

During the nineteen-eighties, after the death of Franco, doors opened all over Spain, particularly in the large cities. Catalonia had very specific expectations of the new democratic era. Speaking Catalan, which was banned under Franco, was once again permitted. It was under these circumstances that urban renewal work in the municipality of Barcelona began. The city was completely lacking any experience in city planning.

It is the mayor who bears all the responsibility for the projects, but his time in office does not exceed one or two terms, and most of the projects are such that they cannot be achieved within 3, 4 or 5 years. In 27 years Barcelona has had only 3 mayors: 1 for 2 years, 1 for 15 years and 1 for 10 years. This political continuity has contributed to the continuity of the projects: only 2 or 3 completed projects have had to be demolished after this period.

Nobody believed in the master plan for the nineteen-seventies (1974). It was therefore after a deep crisis that the new plan for the nineteen-eighties was thought out. It was based on a new city project culture and the need to cultivate the characteristic design for Barcelona, the precision and the transformation in the face of this culture.

The city of Barcelona was not transformed in one step. These changes were effected in 7 or 8 steps. Initially the work was done through small projects: squares, neighbourhood parks, etc. Since then we have completed a number of large projects by defining 4 development zones connected to the infrastructure of the new ring-road, bearing in mind the only project which had been developed in the metropolitan area in 1975, and which was really in a position to create a metropolitan structure.

It was impossible to establish a metropolitan structure. The government of the Generalitat of Catalonia strongly objected because of its fear of "metropolitanism" so characteristic of the nineteen seventies: the president of the metropolitan zone had more power than the president of the Generalitat of Catalonia, so the latter dissolved the metropolitan zone. It was remarkable that this measure was taken just at the time that Margaret Thatcher disbanded the Greater London Council.

And yet, in the absence of the metropolitan scale, how would it be possible to implement projects going beyond the local scale? The Olympic Games settled these matters and made it possible for all the parties involved to get around the table (the city council, the government of the Region, the Madrid government and the national government). The Games were the chance to rename the abovementioned urban projects as "Olympic projects". The four zones to be developed linked by an Olympic motorway, made it possible to establish a link with the sea and thus set up an Olympic port. The most important question was the replacement of industry with new recreational facilities for the citizens at the seaside. Before the Olympic Games it was impossible to reach Barcelona by sea. In fact the objective was to provide facilities for the citizens. Thanks to the Olympic Games it was possible to mitigate the absence of a metropolitan zone. A technical infrastructure was also set up under

the name JO (Jeux olympiques – Olympic Games) Holding. The Olympic Games had very positive effects on Spain and Catalonia.

To mitigate the risk that the collaboration between the partners would collapse after the Olympic Games, new worksites were created to continue along this track. Accepting the risk of losing the power which had been gained, a Minister from the Central Government and one from the Catalan Generalitat were invited to discuss the creation of infrastructure which was very important for the citizens, an airport. The mayor had accepted the airport proposal, without any power to undertake it.

Very quickly, the need to set up a study agency or design office to defend the ideas and projects on the metropolitan scale soon appeared inevitable. Thus, the Barcelona Regional was born. This public body includes representatives from the port, the airport and the public transportation agency. It is chaired by the Mayor of Barcelona. The city owns controls 17% of the structure. The agency is therefore an association between the State, the regional government and local government. The partners have a public responsibility, even if they are not however, all public authorities in the strict sense of the term. Barcelona Regional works only for the agencies which comprise it, on the implementation of new proposals for the airport, the high speed train, the location of new stations, the transformation of industrial zones into tertiary areas etc.

Barcelona Regional has no decision-making powers. It has a limited degree of independence and, because of this, difficulties in asserting its leadership. It adopts highly pragmatic positions and provides technical solutions in support for the discussions since the decisions are made by the political powers.

Barcelona Regional is still not recognised by the Regional government and recently won five court cases lodged against it. It has pleaded its case before the European Court of Justice to avoid being disbanded. Relations have improved of late. Barcelona Regional is not in competition with the existing models. Nor is it positioned in opposition to the central or regional government. Its legitimacy rests on the current urban context and of its choosing to work according to neo-metropolitan models.

How should political structures change in relation to the changes of scale which are necessary in European cities?

This problem is a sensitive but essential one. The danger is that the questions of the future will be answered only by the private sector as long the political sector is not prepared to tackle this type of challenge. Asian cities such as Seoul, Singapore and Taiwan react in a way which is much more effective and speedy to these challenges than do European cities. In Europe, we have to assume this responsibility by developing a new urban model. The London development agency, for example, is responsible for developing the eastern part of London, which is causing problems. As with Barcelona, the decision has been made to locate the Olympic Games at a critical location. But this discussion goes beyond the context of the Olympic Games: how are the political decision-makers to apply the new urban models? How will a new urban model for Brussels be realised for the upcoming 25 years? A new strategic plan has to be introduced for Brussels, because the programmes are still very connected to the industrial era. A new form of urban concentration has to be invented. What is to be done with the European institutions? How would people react to the building of a corridor with Paris for example? The strategic plan must focus on the infrastructure and public spaces.

One contributor wishes to comment on the position of the European Commission, because he feels that Brussels lacks any project for the capital of the European Union capital. He makes reference to the recent Leipzig Charter, which highlighted the lack of models of this kind, as well as the lack of inter-governmental cooperation. The contributor's conclusion is we should concentrate on the tools rather than on the models which lead nowhere.

Josep Acebillo disagrees with this. In his view a European urban model has always existed. What is required is to develop a neo-metropolitan approach based on new information and communication technologies (NICT). In Catalonia they are wary of the national level. The Europe of the regions, as opposed to the Europe of the nations is a real point of contention. But what about the Europe of the metropolitan regions? Nowadays competition is between the large cities, and this is a result of globalisation. A strong metropolitan system would allow Europe to react to competition from the United States. We will have to take another look at the ideologies (a logic of ideas, a paradigm) or be unable to control the cities (as was the case of the French riots).

Neo-metropolitanism is the only way to create a climate of cooperation in Europe.

Conclusions of workshop 2

Territorial discrimination

Joachim Declerck opened the session : the purpose of this workshop was to debate the responses to territorial discrimination (differential development between different areas of the city). The collecting of information and completing it according to Professor Philippe Herbaux's method was the first objective of the workgroup. A second sub-workgroup led by Professor Hendriks directed its attention to the democratic environment and the various forms of democracy that affect urban development projects. The third workgroup with Professor Acebillo considered the impact of urban development projects on municipalities.

Territorial intelligence, for a learning territory

Presentation of the deliberations of workgroup 2.1 by Michaël Van Cutsem

Rude tâche que de résumer un débat de 2h30 en 5 minutes. Philippe Herbaux's presentation gave us the concept of territorial intelligence as a factor for competitiveness between regions in Europe, which enters into the dynamic of territorial intelligence, controlling flows of information ; which launches into the dynamic of collective processing of information, organises a comparison between various interpretations, indicators and information available (comparison on several levels, involving citizens, and actors on the ground) and also comparison with data incorporated into local memory.

Territorial intelligence also has the advantage of reducing uncertainties because it makes it possible to anticipate

and to be proactive for the future with a forward-looking approach and taking a long-term view.

The group then tackled the specific case of Brussels and reviewed the plus points but also the failings of Brussels in launching itself into the dynamic of territorial intelligence. Brussels constitutes a natural community of interest by reason of its borders and by reason of its limitations. This constitutes an issue in itself. It is precisely because its territory is limited that territorial intelligence can be considered to be an opportunity here.

District monitoring is already a plus point (complementary to territorial intelligence) which gives Brussels an advantage by comparison to other regions using the dynamic of an approach by districts. This is a dynamic at the infra-communal level, which surveys districts, and territorial units, to find out how people live. Brussels has become familiar with participative practices. Mr. Herbaux considers territorial intelligence to be a tool that facili-

tates the collection and sharing of information coming from ground level. Brussels has a network of actors who are not connected to a shared network, but who could usefully share their data, publish it, and use it in common. With its four universities, Brussels can mobilise scientific expertise to feed into a territorial intelligence system. The dynamics from ad hoc projects exist within institutions and associations that could encourage a proactive attitude and, from there, territorial intelligence.

The workgroup also took an interest in a more limiting resource : the European Commission's "Inspire" Directive which could constitute an opportunity if Brussels to seize on it in order to enter into the territorial intelligence dynamic.

Professor Herbaux emphasised sharing information in common and the need to adopt a collective approach in respect of indicators observed. This is an issue for Brussels, both at the level of actors (still dispersed at

different levels and operating over different areas), and at the citizen level because there is no one social reality unique to Brussels, there are several, which it is difficult to incorporate into territorial intelligence.

Another issue: the communication and appropriation of information, particularly at the level of district monitoring. A dilemma: should it be circulated? In the territorial intelligence process, information is shared, used in common, and feeds the debate and must therefore preferably be circulated completely transparently to influence political decisions. This is a real issue for Brussels. Some people raised fears that making information freely available could give legitimacy to actors other than legitimate decision makers.

A major issue: the digital divide. The value of territorial intelligence lies wholly in sharing information, particularly by means of communication and information technology such as Web 2.0, the exchange of data between users, and through Internet users together building up a common database. This is a fascinating resource, but can it be applied as it is to Brussels when not everyone has access to computers, with skills and cultures sometimes being an obstacle

There are other IT tools to launch territorial intelligence dynamics, but they require education, action, and involve working with social groups.

The fourth issue involves the non-negligible cost of implementing the territorial intelligence approach.

Another major issue is that of critical mass. It is necessary to combine experience, scientific expertise and citizen input, along with what people can provide as "hot" data originating from the territory in contrast to "cold" data that the scientific experts hold. Participation has no meaning unless it has sufficient numeric representation.

The final issue, and a major issue, is that of convincing elected political officeholders of the advantages of a more intelligent information system than that are currently available. This involves the competitiveness factor which is not easy to sell to elected representatives especially since it bears a human and financial cost.

There is some difficulty in convincing elected representatives who make their political decisions on a short time horizon, and are seldom enthused by the long-term view. Thinking in terms of territorial intelligence, with faint indicators making it possible to anticipate breakdowns, is not profitable in the immediate future, only in the long term. This is investing now for results in 5, 10, 15 years time. The workgroup mentioned decisions taken 30 years ago that were still bearing fruit today, some of it bitter, some of it sweeter.

In terms of operational methodology for implementation: should we think in a global or a local way? A series of experiments suggested by Philippe Herbaux demonstrates that there is some value in starting from something purely specific in nature, such as the presence of fruit sellers in a city (a question of environment) or tackle things in a more systemic, more global, manner. Brussels is an excellent test case for applying a more global approach to territorial intelligence with its many opportunities, its issues and in all cases, the advantage of consensus making it possible to progress in the struggle against the digital divide.

As Professor Herbaux said: "Territorial intelligence cannot resolve everything".

Conclusions/Recommendations WG 2.2

Territorial intelligence?

- A factor in competitiveness between the European regions.
- Control of the flow of information.
- Collective processing.
- Comparison of data with local memory.
- Reduction of uncertainties.
- Anticipation and pro-active.

Opportunities for Brussels

- "Natural" community of interests (global issue).
- Monitoring districts.
- Participative practices.
- Numerous actors.
- Available scientific capacity.
- Dynamics and ad hoc projects.
- EU "Inspire" Directive.

Issues to be overcome

- Mutualisation of actors/citizens.
- Communication / appropriation.
- Breakdowns (social, computer).
- Critical mass / cost.
- Educating elected representatives.
- Long-term credibility.
- Local / global paradox.

«Territorial intelligence is an appropriate governance resource!» (Philippe Herbaux)

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

Presentation of the deliberations of work-group 2.2 by Bruno Vinikas

It may be helpful to reproduce the diagram showing the different types of democracy sketched out by Professor Hendriks which gave rise to two hours of discussions and comments.

Two ideal types of contrasting democracy appear; that of indirect or representative democracy and that of direct democracy. Each of these types can be broken down according to the aggregate or majority modes and the integrating or non-majority modes.

In indirect majority democracy, representatives are elected. Accordingly the rule of the majority (50+1) prevails in the form of first-past-the-post democracy (a single vote can swing the balance with a Conservative majority giving way to a Labour landslide).

In other countries, consensus democracy is practised where it is necessary to form a coalition of over 50% of elected representatives to obtain a majority. The consequence: in a regionalised federal state such as Belgium different majorities are obtained at the regional and federal levels, which partly explains the difficulty encountered in forming a government majority at the federal level.

Two forms of direct democracy can be distinguished, plebiscitary democracy, which works by consulting citizens directly for example in the Swiss cantons and participative democracy where consultation is done by a variety of methods.

Each of these four forms has advantages and disadvantages: first-past-the-post democracy: decisions are taken more quickly in pendulum democracy, but once taken, their consequences, since there was no time to modify them, can work against effectiveness, whereas in the consensus democracy system decisions are taken much more slowly by the system but are more robust in their effect.

The debate that followed can be summarised in 10 points:

For Professor Hendriks, who opened the debate, "Belgium and the Brussels region are characterised from the start by a form of democracy that is mainly consensus democracy."

It became apparent during the discussion that most participants wanted more participation, nobody argued for the introduction of harder forms of first-past-the-post democracy and certainly not for plebiscite democracy. Discussions revolved mainly around participation.

In practice, participation was limited to very local issues, most often in the form of institutionalised participation (participation committees, public enquiries, at the local level).

There is a problem when this type of participation has to reach decisions, (no decision is reached in some cases). Difficulties arise when decisions must be taken at a higher level, in this case the Region. We have in mind the very delicate task of compulsory purchases needed to complete an RER transport network in Brussels.

Participation is certainly an excellent method, but are citizens equipped to participate? All participants favoured greater participation, together with training for citizens if necessary. How could this be achieved in practice?

Amongst the suggestions put forward for promoting participation, associations with the civil society were mentioned.

The associations are certainly in favour of this participation, but what about political parties? Are they not themselves channels of participation? The workgroup noted a certain misgivings about politics.

On the role of the association movement, points of view were divided. Professor Hendriks, using the experience of the Netherlands, noted a decline in association involvement while the participants held the opposite point of view, considering that this trend was on the increase in Brussels.

Going deeper, the group talked of selective decline, to describe the activity of certain types of association.

There is in fact a restructuring process going on, as stated by Professor Roggero in his presentation. He explained that urban systems that had become particularly complex did not address the local level well and tended to favour higher levels, when acting and innovating, which is extremely discouraging.

This argues for the creation of new forms of association capable of coping with urban systems in all their complexity such as "Mouvement Ouvrier Chrétien" (M.O.C.), whose activities extend beyond the local level and are positioned at a level that takes in the whole complexity of urban systems.

Such is the analysis of the delicate workings of democracy when it tries to be participative.

Conclusions/Recommendations WG 2.2

Based on Professor Frank Hendriks' system of analysis, democracy in Belgium and Brussels is of the consensus type.

- Belgium is characterised by characterised from the start by a form of democracy that is mainly consensus democracy:
 - > advantage: Taking concerted decisions;
 - > disadvantages: Taking decisions slowly.
- This democracy by consensus must be complemented by participative forms of democracy. Because this participation:
 - > is limited to the (very) local level;
 - > and is therefore faced with difficulties in relations with the (decisions taken at) higher levels.
- Are the citizens correctly armed to participate? We recommend better participation in tandem with citizen training (which depends on civil society).

- Participative democracy in Brussels can be improved:
 - > by giving citizens training;
 - > by encouraging participation by citizens.
- Involve the associations by all means, but also the elected officials.
- A new form of associative organization can be put in place to overcome the difficulty for small associations to be heard by the ever more complex urban systems.
- The functioning of democracy tends to become more complex, especially when it is participative.

Urban Projects of Quality: specific versus generic solutions

Presentation of the deliberations of work-group 2.3 by Joachim Declerck

The example of Barcelona demonstrates the impact of jurisdiction on urban projects concerning territorial discrimination. Professor Acebillo, Director of Barcelona Regionál, the regional planning agency, put forward his thoughts on the development of European cities within a globalised context. Not only has industrialisation moved to South East Asia, but the services sector is also prospering there as in Singapore, Shanghai and all the other metropolises of that emerging region.

Under the pressure of private companies, the speed of reaction of the metropolises is greater there than in Europe. The capacity for management of cities in South East Asia is better than in European cities.

This means that there is a need to think of deploying new methods in large European cities in keeping with their historical importance. The aim is to come up with a bold proposal for a new European metropolitan model.

Professor Acebillo presented us with seven aporia, otherwise called seven impossibilities, relating to the current planning and architectural context. What should be done to counter these aporia, which give a pessimistic view of the situation in which we find ourselves, with an appropriate and positive view of what needs to be done now?

The workgroup questioned the validity of each of these aporia in the Brussels context.

There is a need to rethink European cities where conservation is not set up as a dogma as in certain Italian cities where innovation is taboo. A situation that we are very familiar with in the context of Brussels.

It is easy to avoid real problems. This mistake is continuously being made in Brussels by politicians, as well as by architects and planners: they all readily opt for the worst solutions on the basis of simulations. At the level of design as well as at the level of simulation of the environment, the real questions are not being asked. Nor yet in terms of urban architecture and planning where the simulation of a historic city takes on the semblance of false innovation.

The current trend referred to as "landscaped urban development" sees the city as an urban landscape and uses "green" as a politically correct instrument for development in Brussels. This is a method of escaping the real complexity of the city by getting around it by seeking the "sweetness of public spaces", which are specially landscaped.

There seems to be a wish to hide this powerful role from us resulting from the conquest of citizens' rights and liberties in European cities. The last urban conquest considered social housing as a basis for the projects of the cities of yesteryear. Today, the main purpose of the city is retail sales, with commercial spaces reducing the role of the city to that of a consumer space, while the city is above all a citizens' space.

Most of the time architects and urban developers are obsessed by the design of the city and they are much less concerned with developing its functional aspects comprising infrastructure of various types. Architects' buildings and projects are less and less functional and therefore less and less fit for their purpose. Indeed, they are tending to become works of art, even going as far as to be urban sculptures (conceptual art). This creates the need to make the case for a new functionalism.

The urban problems that we face in Europe are generic but the solution that we must put forward should be specific to the cities that we are talking about.

The seventh aporia (regulation versus choosing between options). It has become clear that regulations and standards have proliferated to such an extent that it has become impossible to make choices on projects. All cities used to be built on the basis of making choices, and not on the basis of standards and regulations.

Barcelona's experience is an example that can be an inspiration for resolving the challenges that Brussels has to face.

The overall masterplan, or strategic plan, has lost its effectiveness and its relevance. Today it is important to focus on infrastructure. An approach favouring projects offers a method for starting the maximum number of works in important places and at strategic points in the city.

Against "isotopic cities". We can no longer think, as we have for the last twenty years, that cities can continue to grow endlessly, nor consider each part of the city a district the same as any other and interchangeable with them.

It is important to distinguish them by identifying the features of the various parts of the city and thus the necessity for implementation of large scale projects.

If Europe, in a globalised world, wants to be able to compete with Asiatic countries, there is some urgency in promoting small local projects based on large-scale innovation projects.

Architects, urban planners, and development agencies share the responsibility for deciding what the most appropriate scale of action should be, and coming up with projects that fit it.

It is therefore important to make a clear distinction between the study of a city development, as a system, and the political necessity to decide on what needs to be done.

Why is this essential?

Brussels, London and Barcelona are, currently, administratively cut off from the scale at which they should be able to operate. There is a real risk, if we do not succeed in putting in place a new neo-metropolitan scale quickly, that we give up the monopoly at this scale to private companies alone. This would be to the detriment of public goals and despite the public authorities. There is therefore an urgent need to develop specialised knowledge and concepts at the neo-metropolitan scale.

The example of Barcelona Regional should be considered. This is a planning agency that deals with urban issues extending beyond the territory of the city of Barcelona. It had to go through a difficult process, involving displacing the metropolitan region of Barcelona. That organisation had been put in place under the Franco regime, but was then abolished by the Generalitat of Catalonia, which considered that it had too much power. The same sort of thing happened in London under Margaret Thatcher. In both cases, an authority able to work on the new metropolitan scale was abolished. In connection with the Belgian context on this point, it must be observed that today Brussels is still without an authority working at the metropolitan area level.

Barcelona Regional is a partnership between the city and other institutions (the port, airport, etc.). It is a planning institute that has no power, but it has an advisory role and provides specialist knowledge used by the political authorities to take decisions.

I would like to conclude by reminding you of the train of thought that led to the neo-metropolitan approach and the resources that it uses are distinct from any "master plan" and are much closer to a true strategic project. It is positioned at a level of expertise at which the key actors operate (port, associations representing large parts of the population, etc) and we should not allow ourselves to be guided solely by the bottom-up decision-making process. Indeed, we should try to act at the level at which it is appropriate to develop or imagine strategic plans covering the whole of a new metropolitan area.

Conclusions/Recommendations WG 2.3

There is an urgent need to analyse the cities of Europe in order to identify the historical relevance of the cities, while at the same time proposing a new metropolitan model.

The 7 aporias, or impossibilities, which Professor Acebillo has brought before the workgroup may make current architects and planners pessimistic. What is needed, however, is to adopt an adequate and positive view of the actions that are now required without delay.

→ If Europe wishes to remain competitive as regards the Asian cities:

- > a variable scale approach must be supported in which small local projects can be promoted at the same time as large-scale innovation projects;
- > the appropriate action zones must be decided in concert with the architects, the city planners and the development agencies;
- > a new metropolitan scale must be developed so as to raise it to the level of the private companies which are already operating on this scale without concern for aspects related to aims.

→ The master plan (a detailed plan seeking global mastery of events that occur in a complex situation) has lost its effectiveness and relevance:

- > the neo-metropolis approach and the tools are not a master plan: they are rather a strategic project and its implementation tools;
- > what matters is the scale at which it is possible to develop or conceive of strategic plans for a new metropolitan scale.

→ In this context organising participation must undergo various adaptations:

- > the experts meet face to face with the important players (port, associations, etc.);
- > it is therefore inopportune to organise participation exclusively according to "bottoms up".

→ Barcelona Regional is a planning agency:

- > which deals with overall questions that extend beyond the city of Barcelona;
- > it functions as a partnership between the city (17%) and other institutions (port, airport, etc.);
- > as a planning institution, it has no decision-making powers. It acts as a consultant and expert for the clarification of the political authorities in decision making.

Workshop 3

Structural urban projects

CHAIRMAN OF THE WORKSHOP

Marc SAUVEZ

Workshop 3.1

Chairman : Hendrik VANMOLKOT

Speaker : Joël GAYET

Workshop 3.2

Chairman : Marc SAUVEZ

Speaker : Yvonne RYDIN

Workshop 3.3

Chairman : Joris DEMOOR

Speaker : Christian BRUNNER

Presentation of the working groups in the workshop

Chairman of the workshop Marc SAUVEZ

Town planner

The Chairman of the workshop, Marc Sauvez, says the session will be very short, essentially focused on the presentation of the third workshop and the working groups comprising it.

It shall then move on to a brief analysis of the speeches made all around.

Urban projects described as 'structural' are not projects properly speaking, in the architectural sense of the term; rather they are plans serving certain socio-economic prospects aimed at rehabilitating space and arranging tracts of land.

Workshop 3 thus has as its objective a vision broadened to take in various themes and projects. Three working groups shall look into this set of issues and shall talk about 3 questions.

We are going to set out the questions put to each of the working groups. We ask in addition that the chairmen of the working groups or the speaker add to this questioning. Even if each working group is focused on a precise subject, it can be useful for us to exchange thoughts and, as the need arises, to go beyond this framework since if that is not done our vision risks appearing too technical and narrow in definition.

The workgroup The issue of societal innovation and communication is chaired by Hendrik Vanmolkot (consultant). Its presenter is Joël Gayet from the technical and city marketing consultancy CoManaging.

The three questions:

- Participation and respect for identities: how to blend into a unified ensemble and how to respect the different identities?
- How do you take into account in this participation and in city marketing in general the issues of sustainable development? (sustainable development embraces the economic, social, environmental and cultural dimensions which are supposed to be tackled by WG 2).
- Governance and communication? This subject shall also be tackled in WG 3, which talks about city planning agencies, otherwise called structures of governance and of communication.

The workgroup Innovation and Sustainable Management is chaired by Marc Sauvez, a French city planner who has worked at nearly all levels of government, consulting and practical implementation in France.

Speker: Yvonne Rydin, Professor of Planning at the Environmental Institute of University College, London.

- Why is there such urgency? Is the same degree of urgency found world-wide? How do we deal with it? The Chairman would like Yvonne Rydin to go into the environmental question somewhat and dramatise it for us.
- Viability and acceptability constitute a single whole. Can one resolve the questions posed by sustainable development solely by technical means or are we going to be obliged in the coming years to act on demand, as Yvonne Rydin believes and as a certain number of specialists in this domain reaffirm? Are we for the first time in human history being challenged by a profound change in behaviour and by the demands we face?
- Is it possible to put in order of ranking the responses and counterattacks to the constraints of sustainable development?

The workgroup City planning agency is chaired by Joris Demoor. The WG is looking into the concept of the city planning agency and wonders, what is its added value. This is a very special kind of structure for governance that exists in France and seems to have interested especially the Brussels actors, the Chairman of the WG and Mr. Joris Demoor, who is in charge of the political and international strategy of the city of Ghent, as well as Christian Brunner, director of the Marseilles City Planning Agency who considered the positioning of city planning agencies in the complicated institutional spaces in Marseille. The latter have nothing to envy Brussels as regards complexity.

Questions: the questions set out in the document were of great complexity, they will be simplified by Marc Sauvez.

- The problems of territorial coherence and balance, those linked to sustainable development, to dialogue, to international relations, will be dealt with by WG 3.1, WG 3.2 and also in workshops 1 and 2.
- The problem of culture hitherto mentioned by our friends who are interested in the past and in the former space of Brussels is an important element because culture is at the heart of the existence of living spaces.
- How does the question of balance operate in a city planning agency? What can a structure provide, which, in some aspects, is fairly informal. Is this 'informality' a strength or a weakness?

The issues of societal innovation and communication in structural urban projects

Hendrik Vanmolkot Chairman of workgroup 3.1 presents Joël Gayet as a specialist with practical experience and service in urban and territorial communication, who will try to react to the three questions posed by Marc Sauvez.

Presentation of workgroup 3.1 by Joël Gayet

The talk by Pascal Roggero is fascinating with respect to our concerns of an operational nature. Mr. Charles Picqué said: "Theory is good, but there are a few small concerns over feasibility." This is why people have looked to us.

The idea is to translate a certain number of concepts, which have been mentioned, into operational measures. With regard to the 3 questions:

- The problem of diagnosis shared by the territories.

This implies respect for the identities, mobilising the actors within the territories, and demanding that everyone adhere to a shared diagnosis.

- The problem of design of the project.
Along with Pascal Roggero, the problem of presenting projects has been mentioned. There are promising projects that fail and mediocre ones that succeed.

- The problem of implementation.

Once designed, projects must be put to work and that is where the problems arise. I had the privilege of studying closely many successes and failures in urban planning projects. The Guggenheim of Bilbao is an example of perfect success both in terms of image and on the economic level. The social problems of the city, which were considerable at the outset, have since been corrected. It is not irrelevant to see that even cases of great success caused some concerns.

Joël Gayet invites those who have experience on the ground to share with us their operational experience. By exchanges concerning the experience we have lived through, our workgroup can produce methodologies and imagine tools and channels.

Innovation and sustainable management

Marc Sauvez, Chairman of workgroup 3.1, gives the floor to Yvonne Rydin asking that she gives her comments.

Presentation of workgroup 3.2 by Yvonne Rydin

The workgroup represents the 'green line' in our colloquium, but I shall not take up all your time trying to convince you of the importance of sustainable development in the framework of climate change. In a more pragmatic manner, I would like to speak about the means by which we can develop projects based on the principle of sustainability.

I would like to emphasize how I understand sustainability and mention several principles that make it possible to integrate sustainability into 'win-win' projects. This is a workgroup that is very 'green' in its inspiration, very pragmatic in spirit and which has the ambition to get things moving in the city.

For Mr. Marc Sauvez the phrase from Boris Vian on the atomic bomb, "What is important is not the quality of the bomb but the place where it falls." applies to the issue of sustainable development. One may hold very different ideas on sustainable development depending on the scale to which one refers.

What is interesting in Yvonne Rydin's suggestion is to point out what are the 'win-win' scenarios when combining two scales. Someone who is dreaming about a tree close to him is implicitly pleading the case for citywide application.

It seems to me that the user, the resident, must be the central and priority preoccupation that we have not sufficiently looked into this. In this matter there has certainly been a big shortfall during the past ten years, as the Minister President stressed this morning.

The added value of a city planning agency in a structural city planning operation

For the chairman, Joris Demoor, large scale projects represent considerable challenges insofar as they touch upon various political areas and do so over the long term. How can this be resolved?

How can we harmonise and combine efforts for the long term, given the great diversity of actors, spokesmen and representatives of various interests – private as well as public, keeping in mind that the public authorities do not speak with a single voice, given the administrative hubbub where the various authorities compete with one another and act within a minuscule space?

Time management, preparation, direction, control, above all quality control, are equally important elements in my view.

Presentation of workgroup 3.3 by Christian Brunner

Several words of introduction to sketch the main contours of the proposal that will be developed afterwards.

→ Inter-institutional dialogue. The cases that I shall present in the next few minutes illustrate the difficulty of cooperation and of communication between public actors and the representatives of the economic world. City planning agencies have the task of facilitating dialogue between all the actors, which is not always obvious. Some failures are inevitable.

→ As a second important point, a city planning agency worthy of the name must take the territory's past into account. It must design these projects with an eye to their territorial, historical and identity context through a dynamic observation of the territories, the

themes and the public policies. We shall mention shortly, with respect to Marseille, that the identity reference is very important in an urban project.

→ The third element is indicative of the qualitative contribution of a city planning agency: the issue of urban culture outside the consulting studies and projects where the Agency is active. Its essential calling is to make all the actors think about a certain number of great social discussions. I shall cite two of them.

- > To begin with, the debate over housing: on the consequences of the trend to single person households. We've heard how in Marseille this shift from multiple person households had very major consequences on the housing needs there.
- > Next, a debate of a more specifically urban nature: concerning the vertical city that the City Planning Agency of Marseille is trying to direct.

→ One can illustrate with the help of a certain number of images the issues of verticality in the city in opposition to the issues of urban sprawl. The question of vertical density is not applicable to all cities, so that here too the city planning agency has as its calling to contribute elements of comprehension that may be shared by all the actors.

→ The last point concerns the value added of the agency. The priority issue is not the choice of the area within which one is going to work but on prior consideration of the whole set of problems that are being dealt with; this will lead to choosing a scale at which to locate the problems. Small, large or medium-sized area: this is not the main concern. The basic concerns include: commercial activity, housing policy, the sphere of mobility... All of these have to be looked at from the very start before considering which institutions to address.

Marc Sauvez thanks the speaker and emphasises in particular this last point by making the connection with the two other WGs. We need to ask ourselves about the difference between a department linked to an institution and an independent city planning agency, such as has just been described and such as the Minister President appears to want to encourage in Brussels. I think that it is interesting to leave ourselves room for maneuver and I am drawn to the idea right at the start, looking at the whole set of problems and without consideration of the boundaries, even in a territory of limited size. This represents a break with the generally accepted precepts of good management.

Christian Brunner adds that the city planning agencies in France have formed a net called the FNAU ("Fédération nationale des agences d'urbanisme" – National Federation of City Planning Agencies) chaired by an elected officer. According to him, 'an agency has an obligation to be impertinent.'

Chairman Marc Sauvez strongly believes in this formula, which also concerns the other two WGs. Impertinence is in the very complex concept of sustainable development. There should also be impertinence in the face of urban marketing, and when confronting participation which is going to become essential in a world ever more difficult to manage.

The two other groups deal with territorial coherence and territorial discrimination present two principles, two choices, and two objectives that have long been followed in the Brussels Region, whereas group 3.3 deals instead with new elements and elements of a transverse nature. Marc Sauvez would like to underline with regard to the three points the need to make the connection between workshop three (which deal with overall communication, innovation, sustainable development and city planning agencies or support structures) and the two other workshops which touch upon territorial coherence.

How can a city planning agency achieve or at least target an objective of territorial coherence? Should it work on territorial discrimination? Mr. Brunner pointed out a first element when he spoke about a set of issues rather than territory or an area before starting the work. One can ask the same question with regard to communication in relation to territorial discrimination. To my way of thinking, we should not restrict these discussions exclusively to the tool or to the general objective that is presented here, but try to keep in mind during our work the considerations being raised in the two other workshops.



Workgroup 3.1

The issue of societal innovation and communication in structural urban projects

The questions bear on how workable the concepts are in different and changing urban contexts: what image of our cities do we want to keep for tomorrow? Pursuing this line of questioning, the ideas of participation and respect for identities are tackled. How does one give an image of urban spaces which is at the same time faithful to reality and sufficiently attractive to bring in new actors – residents, companies, cultural and sporting spaces... who will, furthermore, set the tone? How does one position oneself and end up in a space while respecting the differences which constitute the richness of the city?



Chairman of the workgroup

Hendrik VANMOLKOT,
Cultural Consultant



Speaker

Joël GAYET,
Associate of the consultancy CoManaging, specialist in city marketing

Participants

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Murielle DASNOY, Christian FRISQUE,
Fabienne HENNEQUIN, Olivier PERIER,
Caroline PIERSOTTE, Xavier VAES, Anton VAN ASSCHE,
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Cindy VANDEWEYER.

Summary

New networks, users and funding to help the city's identity and image evolve

The triumph of individualism is hard to find on the urban landscape :

- groups have never been more diversified (informal associations and networks meet over the Internet accelerating the flow of information and the multiplication of networks);
- changes to the sociological structure have changed the image of the city:
 - > new arrivals want to be involved in projects within traditional structures (the family) or informal clan-type networks;
 - > more than 50% of the urban population is under 50;
- this change :
 - > requires more services and a better perception of the citizen dynamic;
 - > requires major structural means to implement structural projects and developments over the long term;
 - > for lack of means:
 - > recourse to more modest operations, less durable;
 - > need to seek bridge financing, which changes the mapping of the connections between elected officials and financial donors;
- the quality of urban publicity becomes an advantage in the competition between cities.

The concept of “urban identity”

- Expresses the coherence of an identity shared by the entire population and territory, beyond neighbourhood differences.
- Takes into account the attachment of citizens to their territory.
- Promotes participation of all the participants in arriving at a diagnosis, a choice of projects, and their implementation (including persons who are not directly concerned or affected by the project).
- Building an urban image on the basis of observations and values advocated by the citizens.

Three issues with long-lasting solutions

- Creativity and innovation.
- Quality publicity.
- Governance and organization.

The importance of creativity and innovation

- The originality of actions and projects will be strengthened by an innovative approach to publicity for the city project thanks to:
 - > effective education to promote an identity portrait;
 - > a simulation of the future and the beneficial fallout from the project;
 - > a publicity guide to give the project a strong identity.
- In Brussels we will seek to establish :
 - > a cultural authority, at the junction of cultures and diversity;
 - > a public/private partnership: “the better the specifications are prepared, the better the private sector works).

The importance of quality publicity

The point is to unite the users of the city around a strong identity so as to allow participation and evaluation with all the actors taking part in keeping with the concepts of co-creation and co-management :

- preparation work in consultation with all the players and at all stages of the project (concentric circles of players according to a strict schedule) :
 - > organise public dialogues (study the internal and external perceptions of users, inhabitants, businesses, tourists...) to measure the qualitative data (barometer);
 - > present the diagnosis, then the directions proposed and supported, in order to gather the reactions in order to measure the qualitative data;
 - > take into account the population's cultural baggage by concrete modes of action;
 - > recommend a criteria for public participation in the specifications;
 - > overall involvement of users (think globally and non-locally, avoid that everyone is only concerned with his own immediate environment – NIMBY) ;

- > creation of a "platform of projects", the central document of dialogue, development and management of the project :
 - merge marketing, development, urban planning, architecture,... in one initial summary document de subject to the inhabitants' opinions;
 - furnish a complete description of the advantages and weaknesses of the Region.

The importance of governance

The questions of governance precede the methodological questions, which are prior to marketing.

An overall long term vision is indispensable to ensure the good governance of a structural urban project.

The decision-makers have an interest :

- in reconciling the political objectives and the marketing of the internal and external targets;
- in nourishing the identity of the location, in combining the "historic" identity and the novelty and to reconcile all the interests;
- to inform and mobilise the citizens, to reinforce adherence thus stand out in the competition between cities;
- to get ahead of the formal and informal networks.

Method

How to communicate concerning projects?

Create and analyze a "map of links" to :

- specify the "brand name" of the city;
- indicate the common characteristics of the groups that constitute a territory;
- avoid clashes by carefully identifying the formal or informal networks, during the implementation of a new project;
- construct barometric and factual tools to evaluate and guide;
- create a diagnosis.

How to take into account participation and respect for identities?

Associate and involve the citizens in the entire project.

Furnish complete information to the citizens and respond to all questions by giving them a maximum of means to understand the project.

Develop effective teaching by diversifying the information mediums and tools (= permanent platform tool for dialogue).

Plan and consult with the public allowing the time necessary to organise the democratic debate.

Evaluate and create a forecasting tool (a barometer) to guide the project.

Draft the specifications.

Create a methodological guide.

How to take into account sustainable development?

Integrate all the aspects of sustainable development and state them in the various sectors of activity.

Develop an overall shared vision.

Establish a connection between sustainable development and marketing.

Present this vision in a single reference document.

Associate development, planning and marketing.

How to organise the communication and the governance?

Extend the partnership and networking to the public for the innovation as well as for the action.

Draft a common communication guide and make a central document of development and management of the project.

Allocate a part of the budget to the teaching outreach.

Make all actions visible.

OPENING OF THE SESSION

The Chairman, Hendrik Vanmolkot, opens the session and asks the participants to present themselves. Then he introduces the speaker and indicates the manner in which he is going to conduct the discussions. Before Joël Gayet begins his talk, Hendrik Vanmolkot gives the floor to participants who wish to react to the statements made during the plenary session with respect to the set of problems around the identity of a city.

The participants add to the statement by Pascal Roggero by stressing the importance of the cultural approach to every urban consideration and on the place that the culture or the cultures should hold in management of projects said to be structural, in order to build a true urban identity.

The ideas of citizen participation, the place reserved for associative dynamics, and the citizens themselves taking charge seem to be unanimous. This taking into account of the residents and of organisations that stem from civil society is precisely what will assure an urban project legitimacy and pre-eminence over counter-proposals and concern for co-constructing a city for everyone. Joël Gayet defines himself as a person with his feet on the ground who seeks to create theories about his observations and not vice versa.

ADDRESS BY JOËL GAYET

From detailed observation of a series of cities, each seeking to develop a strong identity, we can confirm a number of common points appear in the images that these cities were seeking to create for themselves. We can confirm that the commonly shared concept of increasing individualism does not seem to be proven on the ground, at least this is what emerges from a comparative analysis of Lille and Bilbao.

Change in the identity of cities : new networks, new users and new financing ?

On the ground we observe, on the contrary, that there have never before been as many tribes, clans, networks and different groups within the urban environment. They come together or appear particularly through associations or informal but very real networks whose meeting point is the Internet. This technological development presents undeniable advantages: acceleration of information sharing by multiplication and intersection of networks, which is negative if this information is not controlled from the start. There is the risk of being left behind by the speed of information. Every project begins with the creation and analysis of a 'map of links' on which you find all types of 'tribes,' of groups that make up a territory, in order to link up these persons and not to come up against formal or informal networks when putting in place a new project. This is the first stage that seeks to specify the city where we are, its characteristics and its 'brand name.'

When the sociological structure of the urban users changes, there are changes to the city's image. New populations move into the city and the influx of young people wants to get involved in common projects open to the world. They do this either through the traditional structure of the family, or by joining an informal network without clan hierarchy. On the other hand, 50% of the population of cities in developed countries has an average age today over 50, which implies a necessary shift in services, in the perception of the citizens' dynamics and weighs heavily on decisions in the area of public investment. The development of urban tourism in the majority of cities illustrates this very well, as along with its sometimes negative corollary, the turning of city centres into museums.

Another point which we see in urban centres as a whole is the lack of structural subsidies to finance initiatives. The local governments most of the time lack the means to implement structural development projects for the long term and compensate for this by engaging in more modest but less sustainable projects. This obliges them to seek bridge financing, which alters the mapping of connections between elected officials and providers of funding. This is a question that is more and more crucial in a context where publicizing a project takes more and more precedence over implementing it. The problem of the quality of the publicity has become crucial.

Indeed, communicating a good image of one's city is an advantage over competing cities.

How do you build a city's image taking these points into account and matching the values that the citizens stand for, values that are approved by all, such as pleasure, sharing, the human side, calm and space?

City decision-makers who have chosen to be attentive to this issue have understood the importance of the quality of expertise and of the need to professionalise the action, to reconcile political objectives with marketing the internal and external goals, nourishing the identity of the place, combining the 'historic' identity and novelty, and reconciling the interests of all (regions, communes, customers, residents, visitors...). But also, it is to inform and mobilise the citizens in order to stand out from the competition of other cities. This positioning implies the need to engage in falsehoods, if necessary, with respect to certain parties present. It uses the creativity and originality of the events and projects developed. What's involved is uniting all to oppose the consensus, which can be at times the bearer of contradictory elements. This is a veritable squaring of the circle.

Issues promoting sustainable solutions

From comparative analyses of many cities, one finds three major issues for the cities of tomorrow. The importance of creativity and innovation; the quality of the publicity as a tool to unite users of the city around a project aimed at giving it high visibility and a strong identity. And finally, there is the importance of governance, particularly by anticipating the place of the formal and informal networks. However, regardless of the creativity and innovation or the break with the past implied by the project, it is essential to begin from the cultural

identity of the place. Next comes the moment of perfecting the 'identity portrait of a city.' We must ensure that it is visual and comprehensible to the public in all its diversity.

This city portrait is a preliminary tool for any publicity project. It allows consultation and to confront the city's users, and it helps validate intuitions about the image created for the city. Its identity must be strengthened by including all the citizenry concerned by the development.

What does the term 'city identity' cover?

Some common points bring together the residents of different districts, which reveals a consistency as well as an identity that is specific to everything, and which is formed by the citizens and the territory as a whole. The identity of a city comes from peoples' behaviour when faced with their territory. This is why you have to include all of the actors who design structural urban projects and who develop the project's publicity strategies. We must ensure the participation of all the actors in developing the diagnosis, choosing the projects and in their implementation, including persons who are not directly concerned or affected by the project.

Some safeguards for working on a city's identity and publicity.

In summary, here finally are several benchmarks in the form of a 'toolbox' intended for the actors who wish to adopt an innovative approach to communication regarding city projects. Namely:

- evolve in partnership with all the actors by implementing concepts of co-creation and co-management:
 - > communicate well before, during and after the project;
 - > inform residents and users of the city ahead of the general public;
- equip yourself with the tools to evaluate the situation and guide the effort:
 - > build a shared diagnosis;
 - > involve residents and users through various techniques (opinion polls, focus groups...) and at all stages;
 - > provide factual information to the interested persons, information that they don't know, before listening to their proposals.

Present the diagnosis, then the proposed and supported directions in order to gather the users' reactions.

- Discuss and disseminate the results obtained:
 - > organise the discussions in various forums (public sessions, blogs...) in order to reach all the public audiences;
 - > disseminate and chronicle the discussions, their results and progress;
 - > disseminate the shared diagnosis;
 - > establish a preliminary test of the pilot study with customers and citizens.

Work within a 'project platform,' with the participation of politicians who are asked to have a clear vision of the project and the following questions: Why? For whom? In whose name is this project being done? What type of development is desired? What goals and tasks have been set and on what values are we relying on?

Setting up the communication for the project:

- present the project within a high-quality instructional framework, using the identity portrait;
- show a simulation of the future and the benefits of the project which can have a strong impact on the public;
- create a communications guide to give a strong identity to the project. The guide incorporates the identity values and is valid for the entire project team and its partners;
- make the project very visible.

3 key points emerge from a study of successful cities

The importance of creativity and innovation

- Seize opportunities more effectively
- Stand out / be specific
- Nourish the identity of the place and the city
- Build a 'work' that is both a symbol / flagpole
- Create word of mouth / Buzz

The importance of the communication

- Provide the project with a strong identity
- Apply financial resources to the publicity
- Mobilise and ensure the loyalty of the residents and target leaders for the project
- Give the project high visibility
- Build a positive image around all the targets / project the future
- Create a movement / an image of renewal
- Sell the project to buyers including a reference leader

The importance of governance and of the organisation

- Coordinate / bring together the territorial levels and the parties involved
- Centralise decision-making and communications

QUESTIONS FOR CLARIFICATION

Hendrik Vanmolkot thanks the speaker for his address and takes up two key points: participation and respect for identities.

During the entire working session, the participants tried to understand the relevance and the possibility of applying the approach presented by the speaker to the Brussels context.

An initial series of technical questions was addressed to the speaker, followed by in-depth questions around the problems of governance, participation and the places and levels of decision-making.

Among the first questions, we note :

- what room is left for corrections, modifications and overtures in this type of approach ?
- how are discussions among all and follow-up of the project on the ground organised ?
- how can the public associations/the public be credible before the authorities ?
- how do you avoid a situation where the authorities providing subsidies impose their will ?

The approach to communication and validating a shared project

According to Joël Gayet, this whole system rests on the possibility of changing and adapting the initial project. The first objective of the approach is to ensure that major preparatory work is done, to submit it for debate and finally to modify what needs to be modified. Then, dialogue is not pursued with all the actors at all stages of the project. To operate properly, it is necessary to dissociate the steering committee from the committee of experts. In order to avoid confusion of hats, the speaker stresses that all stages of the project should be monitored by an outside service provider, an expert who does not participate at all the meetings but who will present a diagnosis with objectivity. Another principle: the authority that partly or entirely finances the project presides over it. But if a conflict occurs, it is not very likely that it will go against the will of its steering committee.

It seems that the success of this type of project is largely connected to the culture and organisations, and to the networks and locations that are present or to be created. They often have a longer term vision than the political decision-makers. It is the responsibility of the promoters of city projects to assist the elected officials and help them confirm their positioning and to develop a strategic vision of their city.

Faced with this type of concern which seems to proceed naturally and to be the condition for the success of a project adapted to the territory and to its changes, issues and contradictions, the participants stress the lack of ambition and vision of the Brussels managers responsible for urban development even though its status as the capital of the European Union is a powerful lever they can press.

A consensus has been created within the group around the fact that there is no strong feeling of identity in Brussels. Is this a lack of vision and ambition on the part of the decision-makers or just a problem of multiculturalism? Comparison with other cities would be illuminating on this subject.

One of the advantages of this approach is the possibility it gives to elected officials to take in hand the process and not just its result. Indeed, the project is first validated by the steering committee and then presented to the elected officials before being revealed to the citizens. However, this mode of operating, by involving concentric circles of actors little by little in the projects, brings up the question of honouring the deadlines for a project in which many partners participate, even if the real work of programming and scheduling is done upstream of the project.

DISCUSSION

After this first round of technical questions, the workgroup looked into the fundamental problems relating to the future of a city where concern for its image is among its primary preoccupations.

The workgroup's discussions bear on the following questions :

- How to better involve and mobilise the citizenry on behalf of the city project?
- How to build a city project of the future while respecting the existing identities?
- Which methodology and tools should be used to design and implement effective city marketing that takes into account all the environmental, economic, social and cultural aspects?
- Which governance, that is to say, which organisation and which management do you put in place to steer a structural urban project?
- How do you make a structural urban project support the communication of the entire city's image?

How to better involve and mobilise the citizenry on behalf of the urban project? How to build an urban project of the future while respecting the existing identities?

At this time some interesting examples of shared diagnoses exist in Brussels. They seem to be a pathway to the future. One of the participants mentioned the example of the renovation of Place Jourdan. The investigation has revealed a difference in the perception of the square and its activities depending on the actors questioned and it underlined the importance of taking these differences into account. In order to supplement the public meetings and reach out to the people who do not attend, 'Walk and Talk' investigations were arranged on the square itself. This supplementary measure made it possible to reach a broader and often less well-to-do public than those who participate in the public meetings.

Aside from this example, if a shared project is to be brought to fruition it seems essential to help the residents express their opinions and wishes regarding the projects, according to their own codes of perception, and to give them all the means to understand a project. When we consult and involve city users with the projects being discussed, we see mentalities change and a strong demand for citizens' participation regarding the users' living space.

Another participant brings up the question of the identity portrait with regard to the Brussels experience of redeveloping commercial zones. Prospective plans for commercial districts are comparable to identity portraits but in reduced form. They are indispensable to any action

that aspires to be sustainable and they make it possible to develop operational users' guides for the public authorities to complete the projects. Above and beyond the measures taken with the business interests in these districts under rehabilitation, it would be interesting, one participant stresses, to prepare the same kind of users' guide for individuals suggesting actions they could take in support of a project. The objective of such an action is to create concrete means of action on how a resident can get personally involved in a project.

However, despite certain safeguards offered by Joël Gayet, there are still worries with respect to democratic principles during the discussions.

The problem of developing places for discussion arises apart from the question of power. Why not create a real place for discussion on the model of the agora, which would not be guided by the authorities? Better planning of projects and consultation with the public, an investigation into the internal and external perception that the city's users (residents, but also merchants, tourists) have of the project would permit more effective consultation that would be more widely appreciated.

Thus the undeniable tendency is to encourage public participation, particularly in Brussels, in contracts for the districts. This concern appears more and more frequently in the specifications. But often these contracts concern disadvantaged districts where only the more well-to-do persons attend the public sessions. How do you reach out to the people who are less well off? How do you overcome the problems of illiteracy (difficulty of reaching everyone via communications deposited in letter boxes)? And how do you elicit the loyalty of persons who are culturally very different? Thus the authorities are faced with the very delicate question of

the population's cultural baggage, which is not always sufficiently taken into account. Should we be concerned with population's rate of comprehension in the identity portrait and in the pre-diagnosis? If everything moves too quickly, those with less cultural baggage do not have the time to get involved.

Joël Gayet emphasises that these questions frequently come up in the various projects that he has monitored. Thus, it is important to ask questions that are essential to these various categories of residents, for example: 'In your view, what are the key words that characterise Brussels?' You have to be creative in order to reach the widest audience possible (by organising an exhibition around the project) in order to assemble maximum public support. This is needed to mobilise users around a shared vision of one point or another.

In Brussels as elsewhere, you often have barely three months to consult with the public. A longer period would be necessary to establish a reliable and representative diagnosis.

Despite all the qualities of the process of participation, one obstacle remains difficult to remove: the opposition in principle of many users to the transformation of their living environment. When you ask people their opinion of a project, the first guarantee against skin-deep reflexes is to bring them to think from an overall point of view about the implications of the project and to avoid each one selfishly daydreaming about his own small immediate environment (NIMBY). But this concern is unfortunately sometimes legitimate and it happens that the city's users detect among the multiplicity of city projects a real risk of gentrification of their district. This risk can have a very negative effect on the residents' long term participation in projects in their neighbourhood if, by their involvement, the poorest residents are chased out.

The detailed questions about the involvement and mobilisation of the citizens, about the problems of feasibility and development of an urban project of the future that respects the existing identities creates other challenges such as sustainable development.

Issues of sustainability of a project and of a mode of governance founded upon the identity of urban spaces

The working session allowed us to address questions in addition to the presentation by Joël Gayet. Which methodology and which tools are to be used to design and implement an effective marketing of the city which takes into account the totality of the environmental, economic, social and cultural aspects? Which governance, that is to say, which organisation and which management should one put in place to steer a structural urban project? How do you turn a structural project into a support for communicating the image of an entire city?

Before everything, the participants emphasise that we have to respect the dimension of identity. The ideas of marketing and redevelopment come afterwards, as do the ideas of city planning and of architecture. These are merged into an initial summary document that is submitted to the residents for their opinion. The question of governance remains essential to implement such a project, above and beyond the key question of the residents' participation to promote sustainable development of city spaces. This question arises before the methodological questions prior to marketing a city. Taking into account the environmental, economic, social and cultural aspects takes second place.

The participants are unanimous: an overall vision is indispensable for the good governance of a structural urban project. Many speakers deplore the absence of an overall vision beyond the 19 communes of the Brussels-Capital Region.

Joël Gayet points to all the interest surrounding the building of this overall vision with real contents to avoid advancing bit by bit. He takes the example of his own projects and proceeds to make comparisons with the cities of Lille and Bilbao. Bilbao's priority was to assert itself as the European axis for architecture and culture.

A participant criticised the absence of a 'cultural' concern in the city projects of Brussels. Another explained that cultural and redevelopment matters are competencies which do not participate in the same governance. For him, Brussels' development has an impact on the whole country and thus necessarily on the other regions and communities. The synergies between regions and communities and their contribution to the expansion of Brussels must not be ignored. The Region must have a 'cultural authority' as a crossroads of cultures and diversity.

Joël Gayet reminds the group of the importance of putting in place very diversified common organisations. Ideally the actors on all sides (economic, political, local or regional partners, citizens...) must be able to consult with each other, as was the case in Bilbao. How do you build up a project that goes towards an overall vision? By preparing a description that is as concrete and complete as possible of the strengths and weaknesses of the city according to the principles of information and communication mentioned in the presentation by J. Gayet.

Thanks to the mechanisms for dialogue, things will evolve without impinging on the works on each component of the project. To illustrate his topic, Joël Gayet refers to examples from the canton of Valais in Switzerland and from the Tyrol. The Valais government perfected a charter for sustainable development and recommends that it be applied to every new city project as a condition for the right to use the label 'Valais Excellence' that every project that respects this charter can display. This label of an ecological nature can be declined by each economic sector. It contains restrictions on adding to secondary residences, a concern for the development of employment during low seasons and of what is called 'tourism of sharing.' The speakers once again deplore the lack of inter-sector consultations in Belgium. The example of the PDI is cited (which is still not consulting with the two other regions).

Next the chairman of the workgroup, Hendrik Vanmolkot, and the speaker, Joël Gayet, summarise the discussions with several key words: Co-creation, Cooperation, Co-management, Common shared tool, Guide to group communication.

In conclusion, Joël Gayet recommends :

- leading permanent platforms of dialogue in order to perpetuate the actions and survive the test of time. Thanks to the follow-up they provide, adjustments can be made at any time ;
- a public/private partnership (the better the specifications are drawn up, the better the private side will work) ;
- a barometer of qualitative data (perception of the residents) which is presently too often absent on the ground.

The group wishes to see greater involvement of citizens in the work of seeking the identity and image of their living space. City marketing has proven to be an effective tool when the image and identity appear to be undeniable competitive advantages between cities and constitute a fundamental part of the concept that users give to their urban environment. The three key concepts of these 'urban success stories' are: creativity and innovation, communication (to unite people around the project and give it visibility), and, lastly, governance and organisation.



Workgroup 3.2

Innovation and sustainable management

During her talk Yvonne Rydin highlights the need to take into account three dimensions of sustainable development in the city's deployment. By working on economic, social and environmental aspects at the same time as early as possible during the projects' development. This will bring up some very concrete questions from the participants: Is this policy reserved for the most affluent? How to get beyond the purely technical questions? How to act on what exists and change it?



Working group chairman

Marc SAUVEZ,
City planner



Speaker

Yvonne RYDIN,
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Participants

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Summary

Yvonne Rydin shows that sustainable development will generate economic and social development provided that:

- current practices are reformed ;
- sustainable development principles are respected in the design of projects ;
- the priority of governance and citizens' interests are respected ;
- we think sustainably on at all levels in London where the government and the private and economic interests provide the example ;
- various facets are respected :
 - > build to resist environmental changes ;
 - > build to emit very few gases ;
 - > respect for the vegetation present ;
 - > concern for physical and mental health of users ;
 - > respect for the social context ;
 - > produce sustainable jobs ;
 - > the sustainability is financially viable.

Sustainable development and urban planning :

- identify the territorial scales ;
- determine the advantages and weaknesses of the chosen territory (socially, culturally and economically) ;
- establish a diagnosis of the characteristics of the infrastructure (mobility, energy, water use, waste removal,...) ;
- inventory the residences, businesses, offices, industries, recreational facilities (...) with an eye to sustainability ;
- radically rethink the local production and distribution of energy in a context of rarity ;
- recycle wastes ;
- reduce water consumption.

Sustainable development by coercion or inducement :

- Coercive measures :
 - > Government Carbon Challenge :
 - by 2016 the government will require zero carbon emission for all homes ;
 - general obligation to build houses that produce energy ;
 - introduction of a sustainable home code in six categories.
- Incentives :
 - > public buildings will provide the example ;
 - > promote the creation of eco-cities with between five and 20,000 zero carbon emission homes ;
 - > sustainable homes will be charged at 50% of the market price ;
 - > make it known that a passive house reduces energy costs up to 80% ;
 - > promote green houses well integrated in their environment ;
 - > improve, in turn, the working environment and productivity ;
 - > inform the public of the advantages of sustainable buildings :
 - less pollution ;
 - less energy consumption ;
 - energy redistribution ;
 - > the better the benefits are known, the more passive and redistributive homes will be built.

Stopped, the participants seek to identify where in Brussels is on sustainable management of all resources necessary to operate.

- Three central questions emerge from the workgroup's exchanges :
 - > the urgency "to think sustainable" for urban planning and renovation or construction ;
 - > "how to bring about sustainable development" :
 - promote sustainable development through technological approaches: the more their multiple positive impacts are publicised, the more the approach will become widespread (at both the public and private level) and the costs and recoupment periods will decrease ;
 - meeting sustainable development is not just technology. It also concerns the economic well-being and social well-being of all ;

- incentives and enforcement exist to promote sustainable development for all. They must be carefully studied in advance and accompanied by incentives tailored according to different audiences;
 - do not look only to the performance of buildings, but also the city as a whole;
 - be sure to include professional mobility devices in the study.
- > sustainable development requires collective action :
- the authorities must establish a common framework to promote innovation (too many players are present in urban projects and there are many discussion locations and they are poorly identified);
 - consider operational and well-coordinated measures and tools that go beyond current boundaries and deal with topics related to the city in relation to the territory.
- Need to promote operability by :
- > the establishment of a hard type tool (Société d'Economie Mixte [Mixed Business Company]- SEM) or soft type tool (urban planning agency);
 - > develop a work schedule;
 - > progressive actions.
- Do not neglect to take action in older neighbourhoods.
- Improve exchanges between players.
- In Brussels, begin by strengthening the clean operational structures, especially around the SRDU/ADT. After having demonstrated its effectiveness, extend the outreach to the entire hinterland.
- Improve mobility while ensuring that we do not encourage urban sprawl by extending the means of transport. Strengthen it where there is already urbanisation.
- Do not neglect the third time by not relying solely on housing and labor. Develop sports and entertainment infrastructure to attract people to the center (shopping, leisure).
- Public action must bear on individual behavior to promote sustainable development.

OPENING OF THE SESSION

The Chairman, Marc Sauvez, opens the session, presents the speaker and by way of an introduction, put the following question to her.

- Why the urgency? Is the same degree of urgency found world-wide? Does it involve us, and if so, in what way? How does this affect rehabilitation and structural organisation, or city construction projects?
- Viability or acceptability: Can we meet the challenge of sustainable development purely through technical arguments, or should we work hard on demand in the years to come? It is possible today to identify major changes in behaviour?
- Is it possible to rank the responses in relation to the limitations of sustainable development?

The session chairman also set out various other matters.

- Taking sustainable development issues into account means factoring in economic, social, environmental and cultural dimensions.
- Very different points of view on sustainable development are possible according to the territorial level at issue. What is interesting in Yvonne Rydin's proposals is that she is suggesting that we should try to pinpoint win-win scenarios while combining several different levels.

CONTRIBUTION FROM YVONNE RYDIN

Sustainable development can generate viable urban projects. To succeed in this it is important for the partners involved in urban development to be in a position to be able to review their current practices. This also applies to the political authorities. In actual fact, the viability of a project is possible when the principles of sustainable development are introduced upstream of its design, at the city planning stage. There are nowadays any number of projects where all involved have been "winners" thanks to the inclusion of environmental, social, cultural and economic factors. But as it is everywhere, the sustainable development argument has become an alibi whereby the range of different players strive to "hog the blanket to themselves", defending the need to prioritise their own interests in the design of the projects. This means that questions concerned with governance and the place of users and citizens become the guarantors of viability in structural urban projects.

Sustainable development is not a given. Whether from the point of view of business, households or public services, the "think sustainable" attitude during the design of a project (regarding activity, home building, public transportation systems, etc.) is only just beginning to be factored in systematically. This is now the case in London, for example, where the authorities and economic partners are showing the way.

Sustainable development takes on a variety of forms and performs a range of functions. In the first place it must guarantee a constructed environment that is resistant to environmental change in that it can withstand flood, drought, and biological and climatic extremes. Buildings

must be efficient from the greenhouse gas emission point of view, since these are a major cause of pollution in urban centres. In the third place, sustainable development has to be green at the physical level, which means it must be benefit from green areas in built-up locations. This would help create a city which respects the first two points on the one hand, and would make for greater physical and mental health on the part of the users at the same time. Fourthly, not only must the environment be protected, but the social aspect must be factored in. The social needs of the local populations must be identified, mainly by easing energy costs and by favouring large-scale access to green spaces. Sustainable development will moreover contribute to the growth of local economies, if necessary stepping aside from global capitalism. And lastly, sustainable development must be viable but also advantageous at the economic and financial level for it to become inevitable.

So how is sustainable development to be considered in the framework of city planning processes? In the first place by identifying the territorial levels (city, region, urban area, locality, and building) affected by the project being implemented, and then determine the characteristics, interests and weakness of these territories in environmental, social, cultural and economic terms.

Once these various levels of action have been identified, the next thing is to examine the characteristics of urban infrastructure (public transportation and roads, power supplies, water supplies, waste removal systems, etc.). It is then possible to move on to planning the connections and interchanges between them, and their multiple uses

and functions (homes, businesses, offices and industries, leisure facilities, public authorities) from a sustainable point of view. Planning a territory also means anticipating the ways in which materials, energy and people are transported in ways while respecting the ecosystems. Western societies are already having to face the problem of developing viable energy sources since oil is now a dwindling resource: we should start thinking about local energy production and distribution.

The waste management problem has already become critical: how can we reuse the wastes discarded by each of us to provide a usable large-scale energy source (productivity) that is close to the location where it is "produced." How can we recycle waste as an energy resource? And how can we get rid of waste water in an intelligent way, using systems which would absorb it, for example? It is time we stop using drinking water to flush toilets. The water use issue is currently very much under the spotlight in northern England, where water reserves are becoming increasingly scarce.

Incentive-based and coercive measures aimed to support the adoption of the concept of sustainable development by everybody

Aside from these previous issues which affect everybody, the UK authorities have been considering concrete measures to be implemented. Starting from the concept of the "multi-use urban area" as a solution for ballooning transport and vanishing energy sources, they have developed a complete range of incentive-based and coercive measures intended to boost the including sustainability in urban areas at a number of levels. Firstly, through the "UK Government's Carbon Challenge" the British government has effectively launched a carbon emissions challenge, particularly in the building construction sector where the aim is to apply a new standard. By 2016, all homes must register zero carbon emissions. Beyond that, however, the final aim of the government, backed by the scientific community, is to propose building homes that actually produce and redistribute energy.

This is why the UK government has also developed a new tool for the people: the "sustainable home code", which classifies houses into six categories that go from basic energy economy to actual energy production. This experimental code will initially be applied in public buildings.

What are known as "ecotowns" are also models which have been voted on in the UK. They include between 5,000 and 20,000 homes with zero carbon emissions and costs set at 50% of the market price. In these towns, as well as in most urban centres, are made up of "passive homes. They reduce normal energy consumption by 80% per year. In Leeds, the "Green House" and "EA Red Kit House" are very concrete examples of this. They are like of the National Trust, the headquarters for an NGO located in Heelis, which is a building wholly integrated into its environment. The NGO in question has also considerably reduced its annual operating costs thanks to this sustainable building, but it has also improved staff productivity by an analysis of working practices and the work environment.

One inevitable factor emerges from all these examples: the lower cost of sustainable buildings (construction and running) as well as their lower pollution. So the question arises as to why more passive buildings or houses, or even those which redistribute their surplus energy, have not been built? The technology for sustainable urban development exists. The more the positive effects of this kind of building become known, the more common they will become at both public and private level.

What is sustainable urban development ?

- A counter-offensive against environmental changes
- Carbon efficient and thus contributing to climate protection
- Green approach ; physically green
- Meeting social needs of local communities
- Contributes to some form of local economic development
- Stacks up financially

Think about urban development in the context of change

- On different scales
- Integrating different infrastructure
- In relation to land use

DISCUSSION

Following this clear presentation accompanied by concrete illustrations, the discussion moderator, Marc Sauvez, set out to stimulate the discussion and probe the speaker's logic. He plays the role of devil's advocate by presenting the questions and contradictions which could be raised in the implementation of sustainable development.

Marc Sauvez launches the discussion by asking three questions.

- Wouldn't this process be only for the rich, given the extra costs involved at the outset?
- He then highlights the fact that the examples quoted especially concern new buildings, and that one of the main features of sustainable development is also to adapt existing buildings. This is all the more relevant in our western context, where population growth is approaching zero.
- And lastly, he asks this question: if the examples quoted above by Yvonne Rydin essentially affect new buildings, are we doomed to an individual dwelling? In effect, it is much easier for individuals to tackle sustainability issues than a group (reaching agreement within a group of home-owners is much more difficult...). He also emphasises the fact that savings in terms of building, transportation and population flow are major issues. If the authorities only concentrate on buildings, they will be less concerned with the city as a whole, and thus less with wider-ranging structural projects.

Marc Sauvez suggests to the participants to collect each individual's thoughts on the matter, then to organise them thereafter. As a reminder :

The workgroup is invited to reflect on the following aspects :

- What are the arguments in support of the inclusion of a concern for sustainability in urban projects?
- What is the practical and economic viability of promoting sustainable projects?
- What priorities must be considered as regards sustainability in city planning and urban policy?

One participant notes that the city is the most sustainable of spaces because of its density, its diversity and its ability to renew itself. It is easier to apply the principle of sustainable development to homes than to transportation, even if the most commonly seen picture is that of the individual passive home. As far as Brussels is concerned the question of collective sustainable housing is already being approached and efforts are being made to incorporate the mostly closed building sector into the service sector where energy problems are at the most complex. Marc Sauvez then points out that examples prove that it is possible to work with group housing as well. Indeed, this is more the case with buildings built over forty years ago, but energy production savings are possible at all levels.

The discussion then turned to the question of the standard of living necessary in order to access sustainable responses. In other words, the environment is seen as a public resource, while the energy issue, and hence CO2 regulation, is wholly social. The poorer sectors of society will be those initially most disadvantaged by rising energy costs.

Initial examples emerging from the analysis of the issues involved in the development of sustainable solutions in the housing sector

The tools for calculating public housing are designed to invoice tenants for excess costs for heating buildings. This is why it is important to grant a "bonus" to proprietors who tackle carbon emissions.

Large buildings under joint ownership built in the sixties and seventies are nowadays quite a challenge as regards energy-focussed renovation. To put it another way, whether for purchase or rent, operating costs are seldom factored into calculating loan or rental amounts, a fact which becomes a problem when moving into homes which are poorly insulated or far from transportation infrastructure, which means that energy and transport costs will be considerable. Yvonne Rydin stresses the fact that, at this level, when we talk about sustainable development we are not talking about just technology, but the economic and social wellbeing of the individual as well.

Discussion of these matters give rise to another, more wide-ranging, problem: should an ill-adapted town be "eliminated", or should it be rehabilitated by converting it? The reaction of one of the participants is that "We're not going to develop a city that endlessly adapts to its residents, are we?", given the movement of urban populations, adds another. Let us not forget that it is the diversity of the residents and the mismatch between the services offered by the city to meet the needs of the residents which determine the quality of urban life, and drive people to adapt by changing the ways they operate. Even if it's true, adds Marc Sauvez playing the devil's advocate again, that at la Défense [Paris suburb] a street-sweeper who lives 30 km from his workplace is in itself inconsistent. But if we think only in terms of the closeness of the home to the workplace, that would leave out all the occupational mobility devices which most workers aspire to.

Yvonne Rydin expresses her doubts about the environmental value of the large-scale destruction of obsolete housing developments, although she accepts that the size of the rehabilitation job that would be needed in some urban centres is daunting. An initial solution is to set up very small scale energy production systems, with resale and redistribution of surplus product. A participant points out that this experiment is in progress in Brussels, but the process is being hindered by the distrust of current energy suppliers and distributors. Even so, it is presently being taken up by regional public authorities: priority is being given to the matter of energy efficiency in buildings and the decentralised production of renewable energy.

Aside from the matter of sustainability in homes, a participant stresses the fact that when speaking of sustainable development, attention must also be paid to air quality and noise pollution. However, it is difficult to take all these considerations into account in view of the complexity of the Brussels and Belgian political context.

Leaving housing aside, is "sustainable" transportation possible?

Large urban centres (beginning with London) are increasingly implementing congestion charges, and developing transport sustainability policies which go beyond incentive-based measures. In the early stages these types of measure require careful study with a close eye kept on the possible economic consequences of solutions such as congestion charges (which may damp down a city's economic and commercial dynamics). Moreover, encouraging people to move closer to city centres is not easy in a context like Belgium, where the single-family home with a garden is the favoured model. In fact, large numbers of inhabitants move away from the centres, and become large consumers of public transport, and frequent users of roadway infrastructure. Only outsiders moving into Brussels from abroad are quick to live in the city centre. Historically Brussels is historically a spread-out city, with a potential for increased density which is still considerable in comparison with the majority European cities, with the exception of Berlin (in the wake of German reunification and the fall of the Wall).

Leaving aside the matter of urban dispersal, this situation raises an additional problem, that of the tax revenue from the Brussels region. The fact is that in Belgium it is the inhabitants who bear a heavy tax burden. Conversely, in France, the burden falls on jobs generated throughout the territory. Marc Sauvez underlines the fact that the future lies with compact cities with a high level of population and employment density, not with dormitory towns and office cities. This idea of the compact city has lain at the heart of the strategy adopted by the Brussels-Capital Region since its inception. The service sector and jobs have been of great importance in urban development schemes for a long time. Public authorities are currently seeking ways to encourage the population back to the

cities. Key factors are the quality of communal life, the cost of homes in the city and the representational models of the ideal environment.

Marc Sauvez points out a great paradox which emerges from ever-increasing public transport and roads – the better the transport systems are, the more the population prefers to live at a distance! It is partly for this very reason that opposition is now being raised to the RER (Réseau Express Régional – Regional Express Network) around Brussels. The problems of the city are not to be solved with an RER, so does that mean that only transportation networks in the most densely-populated areas may be upgraded? Currently logic in London is insisting that it is the densely-populated zones where more is being built, says Yvonne Rydin. And it is also in these districts where the public services (schools, hospitals, crèches, leisure centres, etc.) are putting the emphasis on more services, greater flexibility and higher quality, avoiding the pitfall of the outer suburbs being the areas with better quality public services.

And the myth of the individual house is also ageing badly, since many are now occupied by the elderly, who are ill-equipped to maintain them, but unwilling to leave the place they have spent their lives. A "progressive" housing policy could be envisaged aimed at housing the elderly more suitably in smaller, more comfortable flats, in order to free up the individual houses for the new young families.

However, regardless of interventionist policies in this area, there remain two myths which are hard to eradicate. One is that of the outer suburbs or green belt as a place in which people can blossom, and the other is that of individuality. Would the answer be to convert these peripheral districts into "proper towns", as Marc Sauvez pointed out has been done with Hamburg and Stockholm? Even Louvain is an example, where the space issue does

not threaten the mobility of the residents and motor car transport is possible in the outer areas. What about the myth of individuality, which is ever present? How is it to be reconciled with the challenges arising from climate change and mobility if planning is unable to respond? The problem is even more acute in an administrative and territorial context such as that of Brussels, where the energy, population and job concentrations do not match the administrative boundaries. The present-day structure of the regional authority is limited when it comes to planning coherent development for the territory. Thinking in terms of morphological cities rather than administrative cities is more appropriate; this is the point raised by one participant.

Policies encouraging city living

One participant stresses an essential point: it is necessary, in certain cases, to impose restrictive policies (congestion charges, tax on carbon emissions and the like) but this process can only be complete if encouragement measures adapted to the various segments of the public are also proposed (such as policies supporting access to housing for young people keen to live in cities). If these youngsters build their lives there, they will want to stay there, stressed another speaker when tackling the subject of the "residential itinerary". Again, in France, we find that over a third of homes currently being built are for the elderly. A final example is the Flemish community which is developing the "Latin Quarter" project foreshadowing the building of accommodation in Brussels for Brussels students. Flanders is also developing a policy aimed at promoting schools, universities and indeed the bicycle with a view to capturing the students so that they remain in the city (like the Vélib operation in Paris or Vélob in Lyon which hired out cycles at low charges from various points around the cities). Another

contributor draws attention to the interest shown in implementing policies targeting the various segments of the public who can be attracted to the city, but she also proposes the development of projects focussing on inter-generational diversity. An example is that of elderly persons or adults whose children have left home renting out a part of their house. In Flanders and the Netherlands the promotion of inter-generational shared homes has already revealed its advantages.

What governance tools exist for the Brussels territory?

Marc Sauvez is keen to have the participants adopt a position on the governance of a territory such as Brussels. As a rider to this he poses the question of the tools which the Brussels-Capital Region has available to it to manage the city and its issues in a sustainable way adapted to the various sources of jobs, energy, transportation, etc.

He then presents the principle of the City Planning Agency which is already well-developed in France. An instrument such as this is able to tackle a multiplicity of factors associated with city living (waste, water, transport, quality of life and life framework, resource management, etc.) and lies outside rigid municipal and community boundaries. Agencies such as this, operating according to the rule "You don't have to understand each other to get around a table and look for agreement", involve the entirety of players concerned with urban management: project funding bodies, management decision makers, elected representatives, residents groups, municipality technical services and so on. Simplifying their job description, Marc Sauvez describes these bodies as structures without power, which carry out research, call various organisations to act and have a mirror effect on strategy dialogue.

Are there no tools in Brussels, such as the Srdu, which might see their function developing towards that of the "observer/motivator", like the Agence d'urbanisme de l'agglomération marseillaise, the Greater Marseille Planning Agency? The participants feel that there were too many players involved in urban projects, with discussion forums being too many in number and not clearly identified. Operational, well-coordinated devices are called for, not bodies which act only to reflect what is happening. An inventory of what exists, rather like the diagnosis run upstream of a city marketing project, should make it possible to identify the area of operations of such-and-such a structure, its key players (city managers, of course, but including opposition groups as well?) and the positioning logic concerned.

Such an agency would only have legitimacy if endowed with powerful and recognised moral power, since the projects themselves involve a sufficient number of decision-makers with the necessary authority to promote sustainable and viable projects.

Setting the cat among the pigeons, this concept of the City Planning Agency is likely to be a shock to Brussels representatives around a table. As far as this region is concerned, would it be possible to work with tools which operated beyond current boundaries and tackled subject areas related to the city in respect of the actual territories where those questions were based? The Brussels water supply, for example lies outside its planning boundaries to a considerable degree. This would certainly mean that powerful support is needed from the type of politician who nowadays could see this kind of tool as a unique means of going outside of administrative and political divisions to build a sustainable city. But would anybody be willing to express certainty that in the absence of powers to initiate implementation, projects arising from the "observations" made by a City Planning Agency have any chance of seeing the light of day?



Workgroup 3.3

The added value of a city planning agency in a structural city planning operation

The presentation sheds light on the principal advantages of a City Planning Agency starting from the concrete case of AGAM, l'Agence d'urbanisme de l'agglomération marseillaise [the City Planning Agency of the Marseille Metropolitan Area]. Is this French experience a model that can be transposed to Brussels? What would be the main advantages of a structure without management powers that brings together around the table the actors of urban development (designers of projects, decision-makers, financiers...)? Which types of worksites could it attach itself to? What would be the prior conditions for setting it up?



Chairman of the workgroup

Joris DEMOOR,

City of Ghent, Service Staff Department, ABIS (Section of Political Strategy and of International Cooperation), Programme de Fonds Stratégiques et Coopération Interservices (Programme of Strategic Funds and Inter-Departmental Cooperation)



Speaker

Christian BRUNNER,

General Director of the City Planning Agency of the Marseille Metropolitan Area (AGAM)

Participants

Philippe ANTOINE, Noémie BEYS, Catherine BRUNNER, Laurence CREYF, Thomas DE BÉTHUNE, Anne-Catherine GALETIC, Rob GEYS, Annabelle GUÉRIN, Nicolas HEMELEERS, Ariane HERMAN, Michel HUBERT, Christian LASSERRE, Yaron PESZTAT, Julien PIÉRART, Joelle ROSENOER, Boriana SAVOVA, Vanessa TANGHE, Mathieu VAN CRIEKINGEN, Kristien VAN DEN HOUTE, Jaques VAN GRIMBERGEN, Laura VANHUÉ, Christelle VIAL.

Summary

The presentation by Christian Brunner can be summarised in seven points:

- in the context of a City Planning Agency, the set of problems/topics dealt with prevails over the criteria of the territories concerned and over that of the institutions in play;
- the City Planning Agency does not work by the logic of competition but by value added;
- given the framework of a City Planning Agency and subsidiarity, there can be no question of its substituting for the institutions concerned;
- the calling of the Agency is advice, aid to decision-making and not to have the power to make decisions itself;
- it is the Agency which decides the roles played by the institutions concerned;
- in the case of Brussels (which was already touched upon in the first part), what is at issue is to distinguish two scales of approach : either Brussels and the hinterland, or only the Brussels Region and its 19 communes (which the participants feel is more realistic);
- finally, one should note the importance of the principle of neutrality and of the additional competences of the City Planning Agency:
 - > (the status, the financing, the management of the partnership with the private sector and the guidelines which direct the link and independence, the real estate of the AGAM);
 - > the AGAM is an association;
 - > it unites the partners;
 - > the AGAM has a status of advance assistance; it does not participate as voting member in the decision-making process;
 - > during the implementation of a project, the AGAM is not present legally speaking, but it acts as adviser and not as operator.

What would be the required fields and the principles of such a tool in Brussels?

- define a relevant political-territorial entity;
- highlight the advantages of this type of cooperation to the entire 'hinterland';
- do not leave the present instances and the geographic areas but develop a complete diagnosis of the urban problems and determine in what way an agency can act on them.

The added value of a City Planning Agency:

- the obligation of making proposals and relevance (the Agency must not be just an additional administrative service);
- the 'trans-territorial' nature ensures the relevance of an Agency;
- the Agency is not an additional structure;
- group together and coordinate the communes in common work.

In order to set up a town planning office, you must:

- target an issue rather than a territory;
- establish clear value added for all the participants;
- act according to the principle of subsidiarity;
- operate in complementary fashion;
- assist the decision making process without participating in the decision;
- define the scale of involvement;
- respect the principle of neutrality.

OPENING OF THE SESSION

The Chairman, Joris Demoor, opens the session and presents the speaker, Christian Brunner, who will offer a presentation on the City Planning Agency. Then the questions of the participants will be dealt with before attempting to respond to the large questions mentioned in the preliminary document.

SPEECH BY CHRISTIAN BRUNNER

The central question of moving urban projects along is one of defining their contours in terms of organisation and programming, and of the contribution of these mechanisms to being aware of the need for a co-production between various institutions.

The participants raised the following points and questions to feed the public discussion on the opportunity of establishing in Brussels an organisation similar to the City Planning Agency of the Marseille Metropolitan Area.

- Can one transfer to Belgium a model which has proven its effectiveness in a French context, and more specifically in Marseille?
- Are we ready to go beyond the administrative and institutional limits of the territories at the start of projects that cover 'areas' of 'basins' – areas of energy supply, areas of mobility, areas of tourism?
- What is the added value of a structure which operates on the principle of subsidiarity as an aid to decision-making when it itself does not have the management, the decision-making authority?
- On what territorial scale should a Brussels urban project be thought about? Can it, should it move outside the institutional limits?
- For which purposes and with what benefits?

Between structural operation and governance, the role of the City Planning Agency of the Marseille Metropolitan Area.

What prompted the gathering of city planning agencies in France that began in 1969?

One has to be reminded of the context of that period :

- a need for basic renovation after the war ;
- the difficulty considering the very large number of communes of bringing to the fore a coherent vision with local consensus ;
- the major competences of the centralised State ;
- the rural exodus and rapid economic development weighed heavily on the evolution of the cities and urban territories.

The creation of Central Planning Agencies met a concern to encourage harmonised management of the territory by getting all the actors of urban planning to work together within a private structure bringing together local governments and public persons.

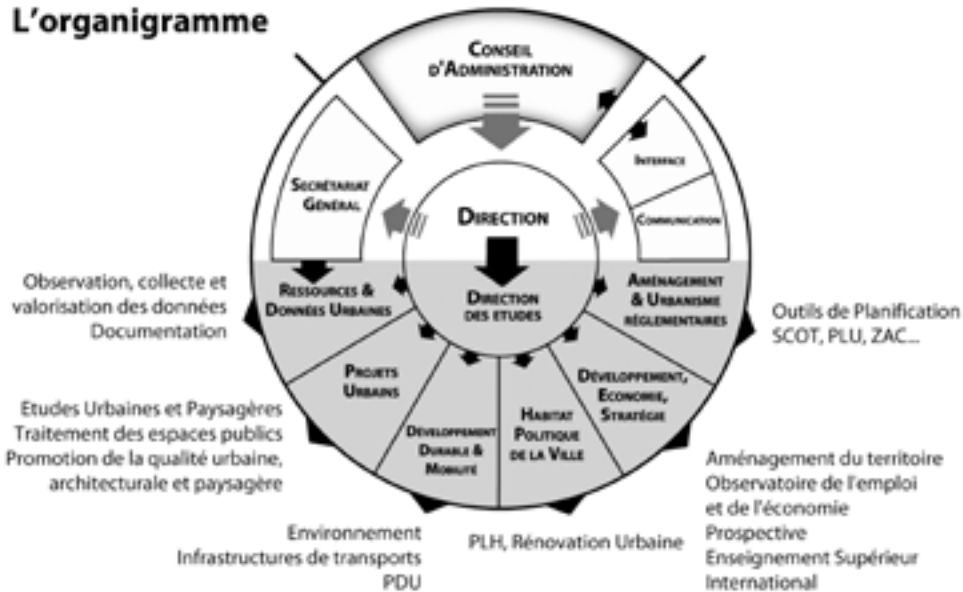
At the start, their field of activity was limited to mandate planning so as to diversify somewhat later right up to encompassing the totality of public policies.

AGAM is a City Planning Agency having private status but administered by individuals having a public status: the Chairman is the Mayor of Marseille, the Deputy Chairman is the Deputy for City Planning of the City of Marseille. The Administrative Board is constituted by local governments, the City of Marseille, the urban communities, public actors in the economy, public establishments (hospitals, the universities...)



L'organigramme

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Its specific features are numerous :

- a place for inter-institutional exchanges ;
- a centre of resources and a production tool with a double – technical and political – dimension.

What can appear to be a paradox is not so in reality : the Agency is an association of elected officials and of public partners but custom has it that the elected officials abstain from playing politics in the Agency.

Dynamic and ever changing by definition, the field of urban planning and urban rehabilitation demands that the Agency reach, or still better, that it anticipate the problems affecting the major subjects such as the urban way of life, governance, sustainable development.

A veritable urticant 'itching powder,' the Agency must anticipate all blows and occupy fields of investigation that are largely open and flexible areas of thinking while taking into account urban change and defying the administrative limits which concern citizens and actors of urban society to a greater or lesser extent.

In the Agency of Marseille, this opening is made particularly by hiring sociologists and by a specialist in setting up dialogues. It welcomes as well foreign collaborators: Italians, Spaniards and Britons.

Its field of thought goes beyond the institutional area and its gaze is essentially oriented towards implementation on the ground and not on politics. The agency is also a place of collective memory where the history of the city is taken into account. It has more latitude to organise exhibitions, conferences etc. Finally, the Agency is itself a sustainable place.

The State is also a member of the Agency since it keeps its competences in the area of solidarity and rehabilitation of the territory and it remains a major actor in arbitration and a regulator between the various local authorities.

The Agency consists of a multi-disciplinary team of architects, city planners, statisticians, landscape architects, engineers, economists, geographers...

The thoughts and reflexions directed by the Agency are first posed in terms of the set of problems and not in terms of territories.

It does not operate on the institutional aspects. It positions itself as tool to assist and advise the decisions that the public partners must take in the context of their competences.

In each of its actions, the Agency tries to bring out a vision of consensus.

In terms of human resources, the Agency employs nearly 80 persons and has a budget that borders on 7 million Euros.

Finally, AGAM is a member of FNAU (Fédération nationale des agences d'urbanisme – the National Federation of City Planning Agencies) which comprises 51 agencies and more than 1,500 professionals all across France.

Its assignments and competences are diverse :

- **Observation** : collect, analyse, disseminate data and geographic information: performance indicators, city data, an atlas of facilities in the metropolitan area. Observation within the context of a partnership, popularisation of technical data, making its available as an observer to bring together different actors and unite them.
- **Planning** : major public policy at the high level (scot, plu, pos, plh, pdu, etc.). Role of writing up thoughts, by itself or in partnership.

- **Development of strategic projects** : preparing plans for economic development, plans for use of the coast, plans for commercial setups. Balanced proposals.
- **Development of urban projects** : major rehabilitation programme.
- **Advice and organisational work** : arrange meetings, conferences and urban culture...

How is the work organised ?

For each consulting study, a 'project team' is created directed by a project director who is chosen depending on the subjects to be handled (landscape architect, city planner, economist, specialist in econometrics...).

The partnership programme of the Agency takes into account a certain number of major societal elements and in particular the relatively low level of incomes (60% of the residents live on less than 1,200 Euros/month) which is a given that has to be incorporated into the answers sought for housing, particularly in the make-up and sharing out of the programmes and of the types of housing.

In Marseille, one of the priority objectives is to create new growth thanks to action by the urban community MPM (Marseille – Provence – France) by building on the positive demographic trend line (increase of more than 4,000 residents/year, the creation of more than 5,000 private jobs/year and the construction of more than 6,000 housing units/year).

Finally, in Marseille, the topographic issues are particularly important due to the demand for land and the presence of the chain of mountains nearby. One cannot ignore the important notion of worldwide attraction of certain places like the Camargue, the Calanques, Mt. Sainte Victoire, which is incorporated into every development policy.



Euroméditerranée : the evolution of an Agency to suit a very extensive urban project

Operation Euroméditerranée is one of the main operations (but not the only one) that is being put into effect to the North of Marseille on a 300 hectare tract of land located essentially around the commercial port.

What is the context in which it has been developed?

One should be reminded of the difficulties that Marseille experienced at the end of the 1980s, resulting in particular in major industrial metamorphoses and the serious fallout of Algeria's decolonisation. More than 100,000 persons arrived in Marseille in one year and a half).

At the same time, Marseille was reporting heavy demographic losses and difficulties in maintaining employment levels.

What was the contribution of the City Planning Agency in this context?

The Agency was given the assignment of carrying out preliminary studies of foreshadowing which led in 1993 to the decision by the State to create an OIN (Opération d'Intérêt National – National Interest Operation), which generated wide-ranging projects for urban renewal in Marseille seeking major financial assistance from the State and from the local and regional government authorities.

A consensus was built around the conviction that only a large-scale 'international' operation could generate projects of a scale capable of halting the process of decline in which Marseille was caught.

The Agency was involved in the preparation of the ZAC projects (Zone d'aménagement concerté – Joint Rehabilitation Zone), as well as in putting together reference materials that gave rise to an overarching (and

flexible) plan which offered a broader field for the operational actions.

The Agency tried hard to spawn new ideas or urban concepts by proposing, among other things, the encouragement of vertical density: for example by proposing the project called "Little Manhattan" which highlights entrance into the city via the port. All of these proposals were suggested ceaselessly to the district level committees, to the mayors' offices in the area, etc.

Here are some examples of very concrete projects developed in Marseille with the support of the City Planning Agency:

- *The Docks*: a first operation at the start of Euromed, the rehabilitation of the docks into office space was motivated by concern for safeguarding our heritage.
- *The Business District*: sustainable projects where foreign investors set up business in Marseille (which was not the case formerly) and respond to the need to create a genuine business district.
- *Boulevard de Dunkerque*: work on installation of trams accompanied by a plan to create a business district, creation of major urban activities and bustle.



- *Îlots M5*: an innovative concept with elements of preserving the local heritage while expressing an aspiration for modernity, particularly as regards the architecture of residential buildings.
- *Euromed Center*: a major operation involving well known architects, the idea to create urban space around the Euromed Center.
- *Harbour Terraces du port*: plan for a shopping centre in the port area.
- *Seaport Terminal*: major project (but the Agency did not do much in this type de project; its function was to prepare the specifications for setting up each project).
- *Esplanade Cathedral de la Major*: objective of creating a walk looking out over the seafront so as to open the port to the residents.
- *Boulevard du Littoral*: to improve access to the port and offer residents the possibility to get to the sea.
- *Saint-Charles Station*: completely renovated facility (within the framework of the Operation Euromed).

The Agency is vigilant in seeing that the specifications are respected and it watches to see that all types of transport are incorporated in the project (oversight plans for the Eastern basin of the port). Objective: to better integrate the port into the city. For this purpose, the Agency was called upon to make proposals and to steer the project of a self-standing port that is in synergy with the city (consultations with the labour unions, the urban communities, representatives of the city...). With this idea in mind, the Agency creates workgroups where each actor is taken into account

In this example, the work of urban mediation practiced by the Agency is very symbolic of its value added in resolving questions of great complexity where many actors and participants are involved.

The Agency has no decision-making role, because the final decision belongs in the last analysis to the administrative board of the port.

What are the key ideas and the prospects for evolution which dominated the thoughts of the workgroup guided by the General Director of AGAM?

It is a matter of watching to see that the 'historic' port might develop at the same time as the modern industrial port located outside the area.

The potential for development of the port is linked to the explosion of globalisation which is bringing about an increase in exchanges with China and India and confers a strategic position on the Suez Canal. The goal is to capture a part of the commercial traffic headed towards the ports of Northern Europe and, in particular, Antwerp, Rotterdam and Hamburg.

Operation Euromediterranee fits into the logic of urban rehabilitation accompanied by a genuine growth in socio-economic development where the State participates and where jobs are generated.

In order to gauge the effectiveness of this project, the Agency developed a table of evaluation of the various types of jobs created to measure how well they conform to the decisions taken initially.

It has been following very closely the evolution of certain sectors of economic activity (a type of work which the agency is the only one to provide) and has set up performance indicators to measure changes in the activities which were established in Euromed.

The Agency is very attentive to the impact that its activities produce outside the ongoing projects. It tries to predict and to infer what the contours of the area will be and what will be its functions in a time horizon of five years.

In the specific case of Marseille, the city-port interface could not be ignored in the action taken as a whole, in everything that touches upon questions of development, jobs per residents, etc.

In a very concrete manner, let us say that the quantitative goals over five years are the following: creation of more than 10,000 jobs, 10,000 housing units, a million square metres of offices, 40 hectares of public space, 100,000 square metres of metropolitan facilities (theatres, etc.).

The goals of this ambitious programme correspondent overall to the creation of a new city of 50,000 residents equipped with new schools, day care centres, hospitals, etc.

An extension of the area by a further 160 hectares will be finalised by the State before the end of the year, and this will take the total area to around 500 hectares of city land that is rehabilitated.

Other plans for extension are also envisaged by the director of AGAM.

Among these we discern the importance of adapting the dynamic force of governance to the common objectives, to the essential issues independently of the political sphere: the need for independent financial guidance, the concern to prioritise the operational nature, and finally the determination to encourage public-private collaboration.

One of the key factors in reaching these objectives is the place accorded to the collective responsibility of all the public partners.

QUESTIONS FOR CLARIFICATION

The Chairman of the session, Joris Demoor, opens the discussion by offering a summary in seven points beginning with the presentation by Christian Brunner. The Chairman then suggests dealing first with the questions for clarification.

Is this a perfect model of modern governance?

Among the questions for clarification is the crucial one of the financial and legal possibilities of AGAM.

The speaker replies, explaining that this is an association bringing together public partners within an administrative board but they remain independent of the institutions (association law of 1901).

The thematic studies are not the subject of orders as in the framework of call for bids but they are incorporated in a working partnership programme which interests all the partners.

The State has a support role and is seated at the table. It also contributes around 400,000 Euros/year. Thus, it's a question of making the link between the prerogatives of the State and the thinking of the AGAM.

The creation of the Agency is an expression of the initial determination of the State and the local consensus.

Apart from this financial question, there is also the question of managing the partnership with the private sector.

What are the guidelines? And, in particular, given the importance of the real estate, a domain exclusively public, how do you make things work as a private entity?

The AGAM does not get involved in the operational legal process. The AGAM has a status of giving preliminary aid but not participating in the decision-making process. The city either accepts a project or it doesn't. If the project is accepted, it is launched with the competences suggested by the Agency. The Agency is not present legally speaking, but acts as an observer, supporting the project and advising the mayor's office.

For example, there was the adoption of a quality charter in Marseille which guarantees the permanence of decisions taken. And at the level of real estate, the Agency does not negotiate with private parties. There are many differences between the Agency and private service providers: the Agency ensures continuity in the permanence of the project; it is the guarantor of the quality of the project; it is not present legally; it gives advice; it is not an 'operator' and does not have contact with the owners; it is present within meetings.

Perhaps it is an ideal model, but in any case this tool does interest the participants of the working session. Is it possible and desirable to transpose this concept to Brussels? And for that, the speaker is asked for some advice as regards the composition of the administrative board.

The Director of the City Planning Agency of Marseille explains that it reckons on a certain ratio between the number and the financial participation, but that the acceptance of projects is done by general consensus of the administrative board.

If there is no consensus, the State can intervene and make financial contributions or give some advantages to the communes.

That was the case during the design of the metropolitan plan for transport.

A specific structure was put in place, and this elicited opposition from a number of partners.

The Agency then made proposals and projections. It was also an occasion when we saw the regulatory role of the State confirmed in particular via financial incentives and by suggesting concrete solutions like placing buses on the emergency lane.

This example highlights the role of "impertinence" of the Agency about which we heard when this colloquium was opened. It confirms that the Agency is a place of dialogue and exchange (and not a place of power games and politics).

Conclusion of workshop 3

Structural urban projects

Societal innovation and communication

Presentation of the sessions of workgroup 3.1 by Hendrik Van Molokot

The dynamics of the workgroup on 'the issue of societal innovation and communication in structural urban projects' allowed us to discern some elements based on the experience of the participants. These elements were then distributed along three key vectors.

→ How to take into account participation and respect the identities?

What is at issue is to:

- > link the citizens to the action and involve them directly in the project as a whole: from the diagnosis and the design right up to the implementation via civil society and non-governmental organisations;
- > provide complete information to the citizens about the factual reality and establish a prospective diagnosis answering all the sets of problems. Based on that, carry out a complete study of the perceptions and expectations of all the actors concerned. The citizens are looking for a supplement in sense, ethics, citizenship, authenticity, pleasure, personalisation, calm, some space for sharing and exchange, quality and services, practicality, rapidity, etc. These values do not apply only to the development of cities but also to all the sectors affecting the citizen. This diagnosis

must be shared and the residents must be linked to all the stages of the project, using various techniques and approaches. Help them to express their opinions and their expectations regarding the projects; give them all the means to understand them well;

- > prioritise teaching by varying the supports and information tools so as to reach the totality of audiences targeted (by including those who do not know how to read or write). Create a permanent platform of dialogue which reports on the observations and criticisms made at the start and in the course of the project; which takes into account the results observed and the identity of the place; which reveals the prospects and benefits expected from the project;
- > plan everything by consulting with the public. The need for concrete planning clearly makes itself felt during an exchange with the participants. Deadlines will be set leaving time for democratic discussion (model of the agora), and for ideas to mature;
- > create a forecasting tool (a barometer) and measure the effectiveness to guide the project, evaluating it and verifying each of the stages of its implementation;
- > issue a methodological guide to link up and mobilise all of the actors and targets of the project, including persons who are not directly concerned;

- > prepare a summary specification which goes back to the foundations of the project and states the working method adopted.

→ How to take into account sustainable development?

It's a matter of:

- > integrating all the aspects of sustainable development (the 3 pillars: economic progress, social justice and protection of the environment) in the project and take them all the way down into the various sectors of activities (tourism, etc.);
- > developing an overall shared vision in order to establish a link between sustainable development and marketing. This vision must be shared by the whole country in synergy with the other regions and the other communities;
- > sketch out this vision in a reference document (called the 'platform');
- > pull together in this document themes that are customarily kept separate: 'development,' 'rehabilitation' and 'marketing.'

→ How do you take into account communication and governance?

It's a matter of:

- > creating and guiding discussions in a constructive spirit, generalising the partnership and the bringing people into the network in the very design as in the follow-through. This shared tool must be used by all of the actors and protagonists together. When we speak of co-creation, we are referring to the spirit of cooperation with reference to the Web 2.0.

This translates into: an acceleration of time, bringing closer work and private life, bringing individuals into the network by their affinities, faster and broader access of the citizenry to the information, empowering the citizen via collaborative and transparent communication ;

- > turn the group communication guide into a central tool of deployment and management of the project having practical application for the whole team and for all the partners. As guarantor of the identity of the project, it contains: the vision, the aspiration, the mission, the values, the central concept, detailed argumentation with targets as well as showing the specific competitive advantages, the commitment and the key supports of the project ;
- > allocate to teaching a major part of the budgets and of the energy ;

- > give maximum visibility to the project (don't be satisfied with just communicating). Mobilise the citizens, inform them about the ins and outs; communicate widely : before, during and after the implementation (diagnosis, framework of orientation, progress and results of the discussions) and, above all, inform the residents concerned before the general public. In Brussels many things are done but no one is in the know and the actions remain only slightly visible.

Conclusions/Recommendations WG 3.1

The question of participation and of respecting identities

1. Involve the citizens directly in the total process, including :
 - > the diagnosis ;
 - > the design ;
 - > the implementation.
2. Prepare the diagnosis on the basis of factual information, as a prelude, a complete study of perceptions of expectations of all the actors concerned.
3. Teaching + diversification of the information supports and tools to reach all the target audiences.
4. Planning + time necessary for a democratic discussion.
5. Predictive tool (barometer).
6. Methodological guide to link up and mobilise.
7. Specifications: a summary document on the foundations of the project – an identity study.

Marketing and sustainable development

- Design a document which brings together development, area renewal and marketing (customarily separate).
- Integrate the 'sustainable' component (all the aspects – the 3 pillars) in the project, move it down into the various sectors (tourism, etc.).
- Have a vision (sole document and reference/platform) : a clear and shared content (shared also by the other regions).

Communication and governance

- Co-creation (collaborative spirit – Web 2.0).
- Concrete shared tool (how to communicate).
- Instructional document.
- Make all actions visible (not just communicated).

Innovation and Sustainable Management

Presentation of the sessions of workgroup 3.2 by Marc Sauvez

The WG 3.2 was put into gear with the same type of dynamics. One perceives in a rather recurrent manner the necessity of communication and the need to move things along, a necessity for marketing and a concern for promotion. What strikes me about the interface between workgroup 3.1 and workgroup 3.2 is that it has put aside the traditional management of procedures or of financing so as to prioritise the establishment of a team charged up by this leadership and promotion of new principles. Workgroup 3.2 was totally focused on this precise point in the framework of sustainable development. We heard initially a presentation by Yvonne Rydin on sustainable development. This was an approach that was slightly biased; in fact her London experience was limited to a single territory, given that Greater London is self-sufficient and looks after its own management. However, one can see there an internalisation of the subject. A lively discussion was arranged within this group with regard to Brussels as an institution on the one hand and a metropolitan area on the other hand. At what level should sustainable development be situated?

The chairman proposes to list the items, which are somewhat disconnected, followed by a succinct summary:

- it is urgent to deal with energy issues, whether on the scale of an institutional territory or on that of a living territory. We have always rocked back and forth between the one or the other side;
- management of water and putting waste to good use. This is a tough subject that affects the quality of life in the city, an essential factor to prompt people

to move in and above all to give them the desire to stay there;

- the participants have stressed the importance of managing 'operational' matters (set out a work calendar, the sequence of actions...). Brussels seems to lack operational tools, both hard tools (like an SEM-Société d'Economie Mixte – Public-Private Company) and soft tools (like an agency and structure for discussions to stimulate and encourage). Then the group looked into the question of structures: do they exist already? If yes, then do they have a sustainable and qualitative character?
- the group believes that overall the 'qualitative' can be achieved without resulting in prohibitive costs;
- the question of feasibility absorbed all of the attention of the group;
- in the oldest districts of Brussels, it makes you uneasy to act in terms of sustainable development. Experience of working in these districts made it possible to calculate the number of kilocalories consumed per cubic meter per year (information gathered thanks to numerous exchanges between the actors);
- if a single mayor's office managed the whole of the metropolitan area and decided on the projects, that would be 'nice' and more efficient. But many speakers have demonstrated that this cannot be envisioned in the near future in Brussels.

The summary illustrates rather well the tendencies that were revealed these days. Here Marc Sauvez offers the following comments on them.

- At first the area of activity of an Agency should not go beyond the boundaries of the Brussels-Capital Region. As a matter of priority, it should get down to reinforcing the internal operational structures and

work around the Srdu. If this tool shows itself to be effective, its field of action could be enlarged to envisage transactions in synergy with its hinterland. Put in other words, first succeed within the straight-jacket and get out later, strengthened by initial successes, to unleash outward moving dynamics that are flexible vis-à-vis the hinterland: dialogue, transversality, discussion on mobility and transports while watching out not to become a tool for urban sprawl; on the contrary, make the link between urbanization, mobility and transport.

- In the matter of sustainable development, the public initiative is preponderant. One may try to modify individual behaviour by avoiding looking upon sustainable development as a constraint in the form of taxation but rather proposing incentives (you mount your bicycle and you enjoy compensatory facilities; you invest in sustainable development in exchange for compensatory gifts).
- Our cities are populated by individuals. (François Ascher speaks of the 'metropolis of individuals'). By ignoring and not getting interested in the city dwellers individually, you cannot succeed in making 'sense' of the metropolitan nature.
- Finally, as the cherry on the cake, we have stressed the 'management of spare time.' To think of a city solely in terms of housing and jobs is to reduce the life of people to the strictly utilitarian (72 % of getting about has to do with shopping and leisure). It is thus appropriate to also develop the activities of sports and leisure to attract new city dwellers towards the centre and keep there those who have made the choice to settle down there.

Conclusions/Recommendations WG 3.2

Three questions were dealt with

- Why do we need a sustainable development approach?
- What about the practical and economical side?
- Is it possible to determine the priorities involved?

Conclusions :

- integrate the energy and climate change concerns;
 - integrate water and management concerns;
 - integrate quality of life concerns;
 - draw a works agenda and set different steps in our action;
 - identify sub-groups of interest;
 - bring upon operational management tools:
 - > identify, strengthen and empower existing structures;
 - > draw emphasis on the need for diplomacy;
 - > debate between reinforcing strategic and operational power structures;
 - reflexion on feasibility:
 - > refurbish older neighbourhoods;
 - > empower individual behaviour;
- exchange between stakeholders;
 - a unique Mayor governing the whole city;
 - link urban and transport aspects;
 - management of a third time beyond housing and employment, thus dealing with transportation needs beyond home to work;
 - to carry out operations of reinforcement and to monitor the relevance of the operations.

Conclusions/Recommendations WG 3.3

The added value of a city planning agency in a structural city planning operation

Presentation of the sessions of workgroup 3.3 by Joris Demoor

In workgroup 3.3, the discussion was so animated that we were unable to respect the timing. The discussion was concentrated principally on the manner of transposing a French system in a Belgian context and we were able to make several findings.

Findings

- The set of problems is more important than the territory as such.
- The value added must offer a win-win to all the participants.
- Begin modestly, starting from several practical themes and avoid the big questions that make people angry.
- The cost of such an initiative must be shared between the Region and the 19 communes.
- Act according to the principle of subsidiarity.
- Do not create an additional institution.
- The agency does not have deliberative authority; it prepares, facilitates the decision and supports the projects.
- If an agency of this kind is created in Brussels, one has to ask where it will be situated, on what scale it will act: ideally its territory should cover both the Brussels-Capital Region and its hinterland.
- On the level of principles, the neutrality of the agency is very important and its legitimacy can only result from its successes on the ground.

Recommendations

- It is possible to transpose the French system in Belgium by stressing the fact that the subject being treated is more important than territoriality.
- Restrict ourselves to the Region alone (19 communes) or include the 'hinterland'? The solution suggested by common sense would be to start modestly and grow later (by involving the Region and the 19 communes at the outset, then the hinterland). The value added will benefit all the citizens insofar as one creates a 'win-win' situation.
- Respect the principle of subsidiarity: the Agency is not an additional structure; it functions in synergy with the existing administrations.
- Assist, prepare projects without enjoying decision-making power.
- Stress the principle of neutrality of such an agency.

EXCHANGE BETWEEN THE WORKGROUPS

M. Sauvez says that the requests of the three groups are located along a continuum and he discerns a common thread that connects them. He stresses the importance of the dynamics to be established between marketing actions, the concerns of people which are expressed in a determination to participate and strong societal demand towards which it is appropriate to react in a very positive manner.

Contrary to what goes on in France, where they tend to encourage a polarisation between partisans and deniers, in Belgium we look for consensus. The participation of a maximum number of actors within the process is an essential element in the view of the group.

Everyone unanimously believes that the dimension of sustainable development must necessarily be at the heart of this mechanism. We have for a long time stressed the utility of a 'structure of openness.' It is possible to go beyond confrontations by better technical skills and by opening up to the various fields of action. A City Planning Agency which would function in the manner of an intelligent structure, performing good work of observation on the ground, bringing out the mechanisms of power, linking up the actors in the discussion must be capable of discerning effective solutions. It would in fact be difficult for actors used to meeting among themselves and discussing issues among themselves not to turn up positive operational solutions to render the social demands more intelligent and better organised.

Sustainable development imposes new demands, the need to work differently in order to avoid confrontations between institutions.

Thus, we have here an overture which meets the demands formulated by Marie-Laure Roggemans and Minister-President.

One speaker notes that everyone is participating in a group which is discussing sustainable development and whose English interlocutor was invited to dramatise the subject. He can say that nothing dramatic was revealed from this exchange. Already 25 years ago, an investigation was carried on in Brussels into the complex functioning of the urban ecosystems with their extreme fragility, especially as regards the problems of waste management. Today we are confronted with the management of water and energy.

Climate change mobilises people, because it frightens public opinion. When you speak about the city, you also must pose questions that vex people regarding measures to be taken to save water, to store and use it more sparingly, 'Tomorrow, the City' – it's essentially about that!

Let us dramatise things a bit and highlight the progress made in the functioning of the ecosystems, saving on resources, the various flows which make a city a place where everyone agrees to live and to reside. Isn't it our aim to attract new residents to the city and ensure that they remain there because they find there convenience, the pleasure of living all together and a certain type of arrangement with its savings? Only the city allows this type of arrangement.

The chairman has to distinguish between two registers, the one that has just been mentioned and which should make us attentive to the problems of the environment, and on the other hand, a dramatisation which for better or worse shall oblige us to become more virtuous because of the costs of energy and the release of CO2 which are going to generate new parameters of city life. The new European 'domestic projects' promise to give us new accounting for sustainable development. A radical reform of our lives will become imperative, even for the most reticent. Marc Sauvez wrote a book several years ago in which he predicted big changes and profound reforms in our lives the day when the price of petrol would reach €5 per litre. This catastrophic scenario is becoming more and more credible.

It was justly mentioned in the group that there is a need to strengthen proximity, not just as a constraint but as an enhancement, a way of highlighting the quality of life.

Let us put a positive interpretation on things; dramatising is not necessarily negative. What is imperative for us is not necessarily deleterious. On the contrary, one must put things in a positive light, as we did within this workgroup.

One participant follows this up with emphasis that the big issue of all urban policies concerns use of energy and greenhouse gas emissions. This double principle must be at the heart of our thoughts about all urban policies, transport, housing. The quality of the air, of water, management of water in a forward looking manner, putting waste to good use: these are all basic elements of thinking about the city. Behaviour and policies which ignore this principle are going to cost us dear. We must incorporate this cost dimension. Making things sustainable is about improving the quality of life.

Joel Gayet was struck by the operational aspect. Whenever you talk about sustainability, you are talking about elements linked to ecology. What elicited the discussion was not what appeared obvious to people in the group. Instead, in a rather unexpected manner, it was tourism, since tourism results in great concentrations of people for two months a year, generating pollution but also seasonal jobs for the young. Should one bet on seasonal investments when one customarily invests outside of seasons?

What are the products that create jobs all year long? The policy on tourism is an example of applying a general policy. Is there here a subtext of thinking about sustainable character? The Swiss can provide us with an example. In the Valais, they decided to apply sustainability in five concrete areas assembled in a Charter of Sustainable Development which encompasses in addition to the social dimension the environment, the economy, culture and tourism. This shows that one has to cut across the means and the supports while working with extremely various supports to be sure of reaching all of the targets.

Christian Brunner regrets that sustainable development was not mentioned as such, though it was the subject of workshop 3. We spoke above all about structures, tools and especially relevance, and the interest in creating a City Planning Agency in Brussels. I would like to come back to the notion of sustainable development as one of the missions of the City Planning Agencies, which is to perform the task of urban teaching and to work for sustainable development in the major metropolitan areas. The large cities are structured. They create what are often transversal departments of sustainable developmentsince sustainable development encompasses a variety of topics.

But many small and medium-sized communes located around Marseille, for example, don't have the means to create sustainable development departments. The Agency comes to their aid, not in terms of services but in terms of shared culture and exchange of information. I have mentioned our initiative of gathering our Administrative Board, which consists of some sixty persons, to discuss the issues of sustainable development, with representatives of the city of Marseille, representatives of other local governments which are not equipped either with tools or departments to deal with this subject. I wanted to show by way of this to what extent a City Planning Agency is able to develop an urban vision starting from a shared culture. This is essential insofar as the task is to discern new paths which we know will revolutionise our trades. We, the professionals of city planning are going to have to change our practices both in terms of our studies and of our way of responding to urban change acting through the prism and the filter of sustainable development.

That constitutes one of the numerous aspects of our work apart from the issues of teaching, of culture and of information shared with all of the partners.

Plenary session [closing]

By Marie-Laure ROGGEMANS, Chairwoman
Mia DROESHOUT and Stéphanie MEYER, journalists
Peter HALL, conference organiser



The City Tomorrow, Introduction to the second day of the conference on the future of cities



Conference chairwoman

Marie-Laure ROGGEMANS,

Representative of the Brussels Capital Region for the development of the European Quarter, Programme Advisor to the King Baudouin Foundation

Marie-Laure Roggemans went over the previous day's progress which started with the inaugural lecture by Pascal Roggero. The participants were then invited to divide into three workshops, each chaired by moderators, who were Nicolas Joschko, Joachim Declerck and Marc Sauvez. Each of these workshops was divided into three workgroups. There were in all nine speakers and nine workshop chairpersons, which made it possible to carry out structured work, the minutes of which will be drawn up shortly. Unfortunately, it was not possible to produce comprehensive reports of the speeches and debates of the first day of the conference in one night.

This would also have been tedious. It was therefore decided to adopt a new formula : two journalists, Mia Droeshout and Stéphanie Meyer were asked to report on the atmosphere and ideas that they encountered throughout the first day. Our two journalists will give you their report this morning. Of course, these are not comprehensive reports, but they give the idea and pinpoint the priorities.

Workshop reports

Two external journalists, one French-speaking and the other Flemish speaking, Stéphanie Meyer and Mia Droeshout were given the job of producing a verbal report of the main points arising from each of the workshops that took place on 19 November 2007. Stéphanie Meyer described the perilous mission that they had been appointed to undertake. This involved summarising the main points of each workgroup, to give a general insight into things that the participants had not been present at. Stéphanie Meyer promised to keep things simple. She said that the reports would be incomplete because she and Mia Droeshout did not have the gift of being in several different places at the same time. Instead, they flitted from one group to another, gathering impressions, gathering data and talking with the various participants.



Mia DROESHOUT,
Freelance journalist



Stéphanie MEYER,
Journalist, Télé Bruxelles

Group 1.1: “Diversity! Yes, but what kind of diversity?”

This survey will start with the group considering diversity. This group has a special distinction, because as well as the registered participants, several unregistered “illicit conference attendees” joined in. Jacques Donzelot announced from the outset how things were going to be: he was going to make life a bit more complicated for us, or at least make our idea of the concept of diversity more complex.

In his view, it is pointless to impose diversity as a reaction in the hope of resolving problems generated by the process of separation that is taking place in cities. A process illustrated by three phenomena: flight to the outskirts (peri-urbanisation), relegation and gentrification. The speaker suggested that we should start out looking upon the city as a place of consumption and consider a proactive diversity for influencing the behaviour of different population groups to encourage them to take part in developing the city’s attractions. Stated objectives: that the advantages should outweigh the disadvantages generated by this process of separation.

A number of ideas were put forward, aimed at developing the attractions of cities. We will focus on the following:

Faced with an exodus to the suburbs, creating a sort of urban community including the Brussels hinterland, thus requiring the communities in which the city users live to contribute financially to the services that it provides. We should start with mobility, the most striking theme.

Faced with gentrification, emphasis must be placed on social housing, but through use of several different mechanisms: requisition of empty housing, construction of social and affordable housing, development of social housing for purchase, redevelopment of their property by individuals, etc. A discussion then followed on density, which could be increased to promote diversity: requiring developers to build social housing in exchange for building closer together.

The term “chatting to all participants” used by the speaker produced several reactions in favour of practices involving participation in Brussels. A subject that was also discussed at other workshops.

Group 1.2: “Territorial observation phase to the development of projects”

This group was very organised, and seemed particularly motivated. The key point was to get from observation to action, implementing projects using resources. It started with an account by Alessandro Balducci of the case of Milan. The city has experienced impressive growth over thirty years as a result of various socio-economic processes:

Population movements: loss of inhabitants because of the housing market, increasing mobility offset by increasing numbers of commuters (with the ensuing problems).

Economic fragmentation (increasing number of businesses), social fragmentation (people working, living and consuming in different places), and administrative fragmentation (increasing number of ever more specialised administrative units).

Connection to the network (new links between people that are not geographical in nature).

Faced with these developments, the province of Milan commissioned a strategic project called “City of cities” which will point to the problems of difficulty of living in the city as the main obstacle to development of the urban region.

Starting from there, the workgroup came up with three tips for Brussels.

Faced with urban changes, there is a necessity for a monitoring unit to track a number of subjects covering a wider area than that of Brussels. To escape the institutional straitjacket, this organisation would have to be independent of the Regional and Local authorities, and be rooted in local areas. It would work in the same way as the “conférence permanente de développement territorial” [standing regional development platform] (CPDT) which exists in Wallonia. Objective: to identify and ask the right questions.

On the question of the territorial area to be covered: the idea is to take in a wider area than Brussels, but the area covered would differ depending on the issues being dealt with. For instance: working on the catchment area for water, but by some other factor for mobility. There is a problem in that working with geographical areas of different shapes and sizes makes it difficult to create a shared image and a shared identity. These things are important in providing an overall view.

Concerning the problem of the resources to be used for such a strategy: the idea is to set off a process of more coordinated management for Brussels and its surroundings through an open forum. This forum would not be region or local area based, and would encourage the local communities affected to consider how to live together, identify the long-term issues and start off the whole process.

Group 1.3: “Participative Governance: The challenge of Pluralistic Policy Making Processes”

The third group considered participative governance. The challenge is to assemble various players around a shared project and bring out a shared vision for the future of the area. Then, to work out a strategy to make it happen. Professor Artur da Rosa Pires will particularly emphasise the importance of networking which makes it possible to share experiences and bring together the various players, institutional or non-institutional. Which raises the question of spontaneous leadership of this network.

The speaker very quickly found himself unwillingly embroiled in the Brussels Association grouping, since several representatives of that sector were taking part in the workgroup. Part of the session was used to good effect to express a series of criticisms of the current Brussels participational system and on the need to improve it, mainly in terms of urban development.

That said, the participants highlighted the real tradition of participation in urban development, that could act as an example to be applied to other areas.

They then made several recommendations:

- importance of memory, which requires evaluation of what was done and the resources used (a demand echoed by several groups);
- the idea of creating training (with guidance and coaching) for the independent professional movers of the participational process. There was also mention of training all those involved in the participation process, including politicians;
- use of innovative technology to make participation interesting (be creative, even fun);
- encouraging top down procedures at the same time as bottom up procedures;
- improving provision of information, completely transparently;
- increase in human and financial resources in favour of the participational process; giving it more time;
- networking.

Group 2.1: “Territorial intelligence for a learning territory”

The report dedicated to the subject was entrusted to Philippe Herbaux, the delegate to regional and economic intelligence at the Lille 2 University. A de facto territorial discrimination prevails in all cities. Districts develop, with a different populations and a different cultures. To eliminate this discrimination or to reduce it, the public authorities could take measures (combating poverty in certain areas by stimulating the local economy).

It would be appropriate, before taking action, to start by gathering data. Knowledge confers power. This power can be used to face up to competition between cities. We are deluged by from the IT sector).

And that is why it is necessary to promote territorial intelligence as a means of benefiting from the data flows, of facing up to the confrontation with all the players, with the scientific experts, but also with local memory, to reduce the uncertainties and to be able to anticipate and develop long-term plans. To simplify this, let us imagine that a child has disappeared. Child focus calls on all possible channels of information, gathers the data, while at the same time providing pieces of information to people acting on the ground, so that they can search more efficiently.

How can this territorial intelligence be applied to Brussels? How can a collective common interest be fostered? Brussels is in fact a natural community of interests. This constitutes a challenge in itself.

A citizen-based approach, participative practices and participation of the different players in place on the ground would be useful. Brussels will call upon the expertise and know-how of its four universities and will use European regulation, particularly the “Inspire” directive.

What then are the difficulties to be overcome?

It would be better to promote “mutualisation”, and sharing of data between players (local authorities, Region) and citizens. In short, put quality communication in place.

The local area contracts: the logic requires the debate to be open, but beware other players abusing it. Not everybody has access to all data.

The public authorities take the cost of implementation of territorial intelligence into consideration together with the provision of expertise and know-how to its citizens. Territorial intelligence is the opposite of short-term planning, as practised by politicians. It emphasises the paradox between the local level and the global level.

Philippe Herbaux explained: "Not all questions have an answer".

Group 2.2: "Between democracy and governability: Managing Trade-Offs in Metropolitan Regions"

This workgroup dealt with democracy and the workable/non-workable nature of the policy. There is the political challenge of ensuring efficient working of the public administration and guaranteeing control of the different levels of management, including mobilisation of players. Innovation in the field of democratic workings could produce novel solutions.

That is the reason why France Hendriks, Professor of comparative management at the Tilburg College of Politics and Administration carried out an analysis of the various forms of democracy. In contrast to the UK where dependent democracy is talked of, in Belgium, and also Brussels, we are dealing with consensual democracy, a model that aims at consensus in the broad sense. The main advantage is that decisions are taken after consultation. The disadvantage: it takes a long time to reach decisions.

Within of the workshop, everyone agreed to recognise that democracy by consensus is ideally complemented by several forms of participative democracy. In Brussels, participative democracy is possible only at a local level and there are incompatibilities between different levels.

For example: the Place Flagey in Ixelles. How can things be improved? By means of educating citizens and greater participation by them.

Some further thoughts were produced at the workshop on the place of "associations" and the role of political parties. Is there a renewed interest in association life or is it losing pace? Associations act as an intermediary position between the citizen and the politics. However that may be, Brussels needs new forms of association that are better suited to the realities on the ground to stimulate cohesion within a complex city.

Group 2.3: "Urban Projects of Quality: specific solutions versus generic ones"

No one has put us on our guard against globalisation and the threat of competition from cities in Asia as much as Josep Acebillo, Director of Barcelona Regional.

"Barcelona Regional", the Barcelona's city planning department, was formed after the Olympic Games in Barcelona to provide an urban development planning consultancy body at the level of this fast growing city (a new body had to be formed, the previous one was too politicised). This body had to come up with technical solutions without political prerogatives and had to fulfil a locomotive role and was set up in conjunction with the city. The aim was to have the preparatory and consultancy work carried out by urban planning experts before politicians became involved.

This method provided the mayor with the opportunity to approach other authorities and partners in fields beyond their respective jurisdictions. For example, the port authorities, the airport or even public transport.

The creation of this body is important, in the climate of competition between cities, but even more so because of the competition from cities in Asia. We have now spent over 10 years watching, sadly, the shift of the industrial sector to low wage Asian countries. It now seems that the service sector itself is also in the process of moving towards Asia. Singapore, a city with a population of a little over 4 million which also has a large business centre, plans to build a new centre that will have no less than 54 skyscrapers. Singapore in fact hopes to take the place of Zurich as the international financial capital.

To counter this competition, European cities must adopt a new Metropolitan model. If they don't, as a result of globalisation, international corporations will confront the public authorities with a *fait accompli* (think of Renault and Volkswagen in this context).

Josep Acebillo is pessimistic on account of the troubled environment within which architecture and urban development are currently functioning and so are his followers. He mentions a number of *aporia* on the matter. (Urban development *aporia*: logic problems with no solution, arising from poor use of theoretical concepts. The result is architectural anomalies. For instance: conserving rather than innovating (this last has always acted as a benchmark in city development). An example from Brussels: redevelopment of little squares with ornate lamp-posts in the purest 19th-century style but as soon as the project dared to go for something more innovative, problems arose between cities and Regions.

Architecture fails to concentrate on the utilitarian, the structure of the city, and instead gives priority to aesthetics and pure form ("Buildings like Onions"). Another example: landscape architecture as opposed to urban complexity. Urban architects are now busy providing little patches of green here and there, because green is politically correct.

Conclusion : no more Master plans, but projects on the human dimension. Architects must concentrate on the structure of the city, its infrastructure and public spaces.

"Conservation" and "Participation" were new concepts in the 1970s, states Josep Acebillo. To face up to competition, we must be bolder and opt for large-scale urban development projects. The city is in fact a system that needs radical decisions. Politicians must have the courage to promote provision of public space. In European cities, public space forms the basic structure, which is not the case in Asia or America.

There should therefore be no more Master plans but instead strategic projects, discussed with the other partners (and not on a "bottom-up" basis). A strategic project that leaves pure formalism to one side, so as to stimulate innovative urban architecture.

Group 3.1: "The issue of societal innovation and communication in structural urban projects"

Paradoxically, it is in a room that still contains ancient radios going back to the time of the INR (National Radio Institute) that the group focusing on innovation and communication met. Joël Gayet there explained the changes in which the city development environment is included. This strengthens their roles as flagships for countries. With the arrival of urban marketing image and identity become competitive advantages between cities.

Based on this study of cities' successes, three key points emerge : Creativity and innovation, communication (to rally people around a project and give it its visibility), and finally governance and organisation. The workgroup put together several recommendations :

In terms of participation, it is a matter of starting with the identity of the location, involve citizens in all initiatives, providing continuous information and a comprehensive and forward-looking projection.

The marketing dimension must be integrated into the project and should not be something thought up afterwards, an add-on.

In terms of sustainable development, we should not limit ourselves to ecology. Sustainable development is also social and cultural. Some participants also were disappointed that culture had been so neglected.

Group 3.2: "Innovation and sustainable management"

This group continued the considerations on innovation and sustainable management. Yvonne Rydin's talk demonstrated that sustainable development could produce viable urban projects and she invited urban development partners and political officeholders to question their current practices. Finally, she presented a series of specific initiatives and good practices.

Return to the workgroup : it did not really identify a priority in terms of sustainability in urban development, and talked of transport, housing, industry. In fact, the priority seems to be an overall approach taking an overall view of urban planning problems, and evaluating them in all their complexity.

The group pointed to a glaring lack of operating mechanisms, able to mobilise the disparate administrative authorities in this matter. One participant suggested strengthening operating structures within the region by setting up Regional Urban Development Secretariat at which all levels of power would be represented. It would be a matter of developing a mechanism when putting projects forward ; then transforming it into a platform for discussion with the whole Brussels hinterland. But we are already moving on to the following subject : that of the urban development agency.

Group 3.3: “The added value of a city planning agency in a structural city planning operation”

Christian Brunner, CEO of the Agence de l'Agglomération de Marseille [Marseille Conurbation Agency], is a fervent advocate of urban development agencies. In his capacity as CEO, he manages between 60 and 80 persons. The agency is responsible for an impressive urban redevelopment project, a project which should attract 10,000 new inhabitants and provide 15,000 jobs (planned up to 2010). Between now and 2010, 4,000 new housing units should be built. For 2025, we are talking about 10,000 additional new housing units. This equates to creating a new town of 50,000 inhabitants.

It is due to the urban development law that France now has 51 agencies in which no less than 1,500 specialists work. agAM is a private organisation run by the City, the local authorities, the port and many other partners. It seems that although out of sight of the cameras, the electors of the managers and the political officeholders accept the concept of the agency as placing itself above all the partisan interests.

Could such an approach be transposed to Brussels?

The discussion on this point was long and lively. Lessons were learnt from Christian Brunner's experience – he was involved in large city problems and had a set answer on the subject (whether concerning the local area or the region). The responsibility for addressing that problem falls on the person who is best placed to deal with it.

Such an agency must generate value added and must not just be the sum of local area A + local area B + region C. Every participant should derive benefit on « win-win » lines.

This presupposes plenty of humility from the outset. You would start by selecting a series of relevant themes with a real prospect of success. During the workshop, the regional agency Atrium was referred to. This provides value-added to commercial concerns. If it turns out that it could in fact give assistance, the city or a local authority will call upon its services. In such an agency, it cannot be a question of superstructure, but rather of partners working together on an equal footing.

Starting from the principle of subsidiarity (an authority on a higher level can in no case take decisions when an authority on a lower level is better placed to achieve the objectives aimed at). For instance: Why should the Russells-Capital Region involve itself in remodelling a small local road? Conversely, when we are talking about compulsory purchases under the Regional Expressway Network, the region is best placed to act.

The agency always provides support. It prepares the political managers work, collects the data, provides the expertise and know-how to enable the right decisions to be made, but has no decision-making powers.

If we opt for such an agency, what area of Brussels should it cover? Ideally the area of Brussels and its outskirts. But is that possible in the current environment? That is the reason why the workgroup advocates a realistic approach. Initially limiting it to 19 local areas, then gradually extending the agency's jurisdiction to the hinterland depending on the type of problems that need to be solved.

The strict neutrality of such an agency is of course an absolutely essential condition, as is having complementary skills and powers. Appointments can therefore not be political. An urban development service is therefore all the more able to stand back when analysing questions and suggest long-term plans.

The final word: “The proof of the pudding is in the eating”.



Space and flows in 21st-century Europe

Professor Hall is recognised worldwide for his contribution to the theory and practice of urban and regional planning. Bartlett Professor of Planning and Redevelopment at the School of Architecture and Planning at University College London (UCL), Professor Peter Hall is also "Senior Research Fellow" at the Young Foundation in London and director of the Community Studies Institute. He was previously Professor of Geography at the University of Reading. He is the author or publisher of around 35 books and ranks as an authority on urban and regional planning. He has written several impressive scientific articles. Most notably, he has published: "London Voices", "The Polycentric Metropolis", "Cities in Civilisations" and "Cities of Tomorrow".



Chair of the colloquium

Marie-Laure ROGGEMANS,

*Delegate to the Brussels-Capital Region for the development of the European district,
Programme Adviser at the King Baudouin Foundation*



Speaker

Professor Sir Peter HALL,

Bartlett Professor of Planning and Regeneration, University College London (UCL)

PRESENTATION BY PETER HALL:

Note about the handout:

In his presentation, Professor Peter Hall faithfully followed the various aspects relating to flows in Europe, covered in his article that was published in the documentation introducing the "The City Tomorrow" Conference (see SRDU Volume no. 5). As part of the "The City Tomorrow" Exhibition it was thought better to provide a summary of these items rather than repeat them in their entirety.

The «Spaces and flows in 21st-century Europe» contribution, in the participant documentation is closer to an introduction than to a conclusion to a conference, so I propose to divide my presentation into two parts. The first attempts to determine Brussels' position in the world economy and particularly the place that it occupies in geographical space and European flows. The second part will concentrate on considerations on the contribution of the journalists who have produced remarkable summaries.

Where should Brussels be positioned in the world economic space?

The death of distance is a mythic concept invented by a journalist from the British magazine *The Economist*, Frances Cairncross, some 10 years ago, initially in the form of an article, then in a book.

In Cairncross' view, the introduction of technology will wipe out distance constraints, which will enable everyone to do business wherever they want. In my view, the

disappearance of distances in no way leads to the disappearance of cities. In Europe and in the developed world we are witnessing a drift from a manufacturing economy to a service economy. Barely ten per cent of us still work in factories and we can expect this figure to continue to decline in the coming years. Most workers are employed in the service economy, an economy that no longer manufactures objects of the type that could fall on my toes but they provide services benefiting the mass of consumers.

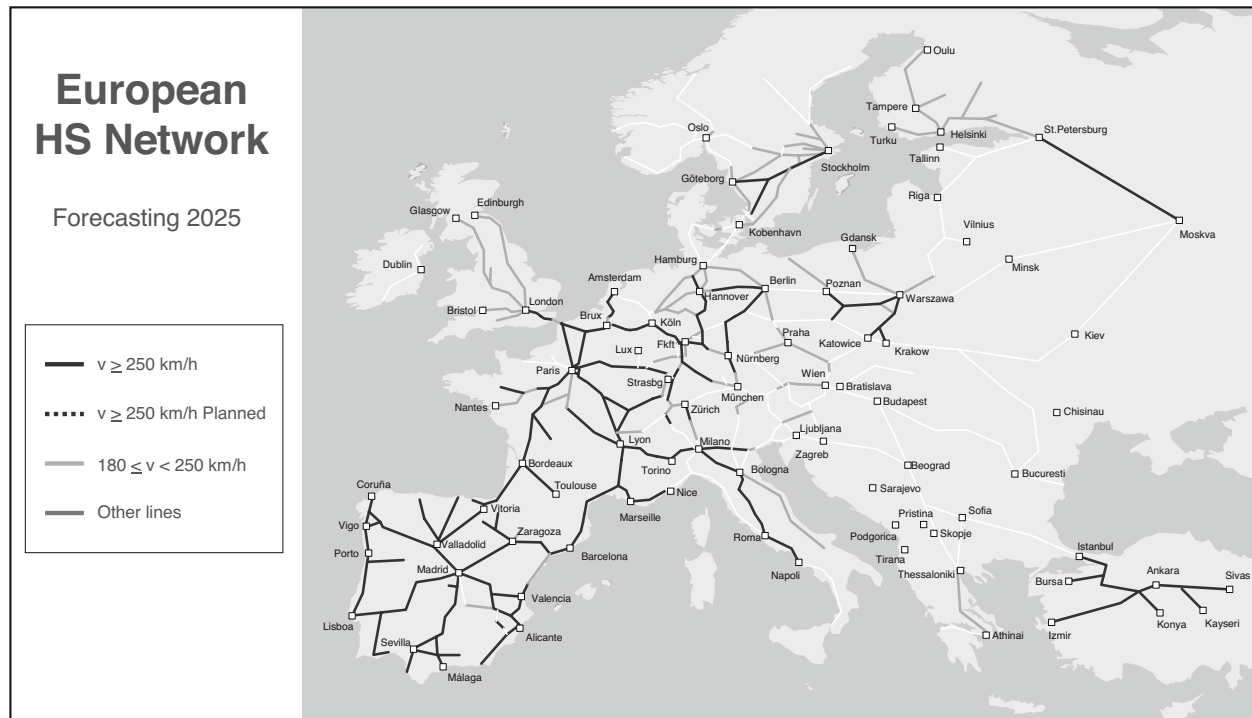
It would appear that the distinction between the manufacturing economy and the service economy is tending to disappear because of the explosion in the logistics sector, which is well developed to the North of Brussels, based on the *Just in Time* philosophy.

The Internet should not be considered as a web that will abolish the space factor. This web is in fact denser in some areas than in others; for example in North West USA, in Western Europe and also in Asia with the growth of China and India. These areas have the greatest Internet access in the world and belong to the communication economy. In his Ph.D., Ludovic Halbert, a brilliant young geographer from the Sorbonne, has succeeded in mapping the Telecom flows in the Île-de-France. If we did the same for other cities, we would be better able to understand the flows that we already know to be very concentrated, which demolishes the theory of the death of distance. In fact, electronic communication in no way acts as a substitute for face-to-face communication. On the contrary, it would rather tend to strengthen it as is confirmed by studies by Steven Graham and Simon Marvin in 1966 on the subject of telecommunications and the city. They demonstrate that in one hundred and fifty

years, the curve of telecommunications and that of transport grew in parallel (Marvin and Graham 1996, 253). There is no reason to suppose that things will happen differently in other European countries. Indeed, we can observe an explosive growth in telephone communication and intercontinental Internet growing explosively at the same time, and in parallel, a growth in the number of travellers travelling between one continent and the other on business and not only for pleasure. The most efficient methods of electronic communication can never replace face-to-face contact, principally in the four following sectors: the finance and business sectors, the political sector including international agencies, the tourism sector and finally that of culture, the most creative of the four. This is a somewhat arbitrary distinction, given that these four sectors have great synergies and are in continuous interplay: consider art galleries, theatres and catering and their relationship with culture and tourism.

Furthermore, they operate in multiple markets: global, national and local. Our researches over five years, published under the heading *Working Capital*, have demonstrated that the internal economy of cities is much more localised than had previously been imagined: they function initially on the local level then on the national level and finally on the global level.

The most recent attempt to establish a hierarchy of European cities is the work of Peter Taylor and his group – GOWC ("Globalisation and World Cities Group") – from the University of Loughborough. At the summit, we find a foursome of four cities carrying out global type exchanges between them: Paris, London, New York and Tokyo.



Taylor positions Brussels as a place of choice in his hierarchy which includes several European capitals. In the same way as Washington or Geneva, the capital of Europe in his opinion occupies a global niche of both a political and a social nature.

Exchanges of this type are, most of the time, subordinated to face-to-face contacts. It is essential to properly understand the relationship that may exist between electronic communication (E-communication), telecommunications and face-to-face communication. It is therefore of some interest to enquire into how we travel on business: by car for short journeys, but for how much longer; by plane for long journeys, but increasingly by

high-speed train to travel from one major conurbation to another, which is something new in Europe.

If we study air travel throughout the world, we observe that this is concentrated into three main zones, firstly in Northern USA, on the East [sic] coast (San Francisco and Los Angeles) and then between major European cities and finally in a rapidly expanding Asia, not losing sight of Australia.

The new and revolutionary factor in Europe is the rapid expansion of the high-speed train. Brussels is located at the centre of the new PBKAL network which connects the centres of Brussels, Paris, Cologne, Amsterdam and London without forgetting Frankfurt: it should there-

fore be called the PBKALF. This hub is connected to regional routes that head towards Spain, Italy and Switzerland. In this area, train travel competes with air travel by practically monopolising all intercity traffic for journeys of under 800 km. (Pepy and Leboeuf 2005, Pepy and Perren 2006).

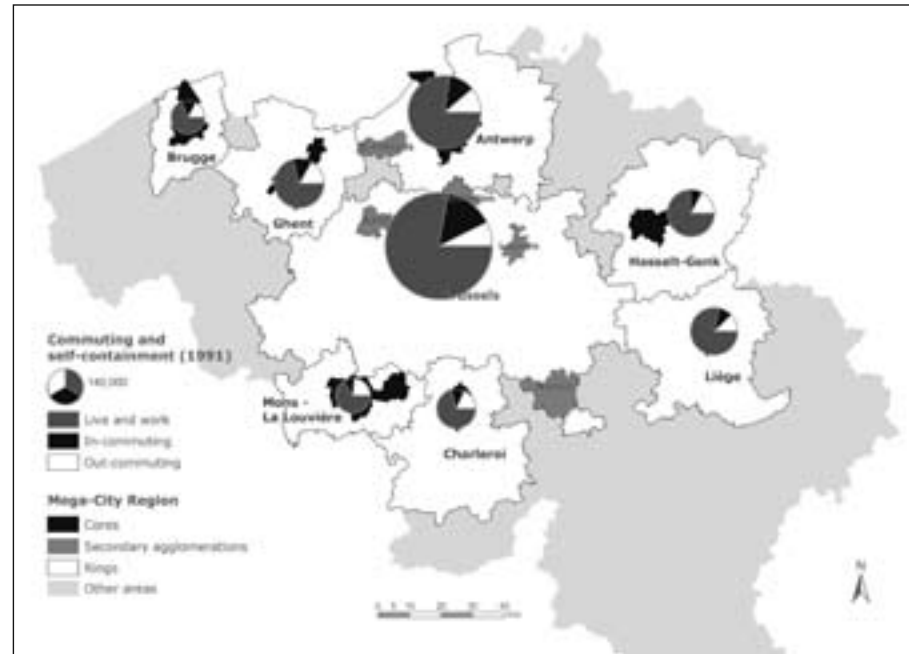
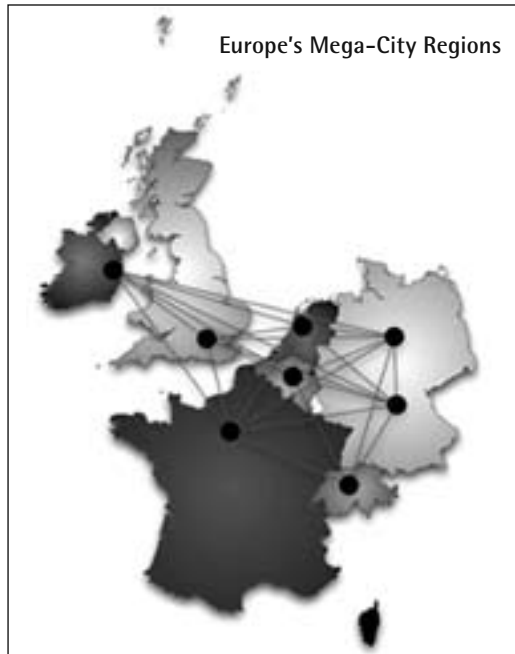


In the near future it will be essential to connect this new network to the international air transport network. This phenomenon is analysed in my work *Polycentric Metropolis* in which I forecast a drastic decrease in air traffic on the continent of Europe in favour of the HST.

The ESPON program ("European Spatial Planning Observation Network") is contemplating a new hierarchy of cities in Europe. It distinguishes an urban area with a high density of exchanges and intercommunications, such as the South of England, central Belgium or parts of the Netherlands, Germany through to Denmark and Sweden.

Furthermore, in the European Special Development Perspective – ESDP ("Schéma de Développement de l'Espace Communautaire" -SDEC in French) we may observe a high urban concentration within the pentagon formed by London, Paris, Milan, Munich and Hamburg. ESDP's goal is to promote the peripheral regions outside the pentagon, but the paradox is that in trying to promote the peripheral zones, in fact they are a strengthening the metropolitan centres.

In other words, trying to promote poly-centralism on the European level amounts to increasing mono-centralism at the national level. In the 80s and 90s, Madrid, Lisbon and Dublin experienced spectacular growth comparable to what is happening today with Budapest, Prague and Warsaw.



On the other hand, and this should be of interest to Brussels, within the pentagon we are seeing growth in the phenomenon of regional poly-centralism as a result of the growth of mega-city regions.

This is a typical 21st-century phenomenon which can be observed in China in the Pearl river delta between Hong Kong and Guangzhou or in the Yangtze Delta beyond Shanghai, where a mega-city of over 80 million inhabitants is growing. The same phenomenon can be observed in southern England with the London city region extending 60 km out from the centre. This city region contains not less than 51 towns and their catchment area of neighbouring commuters.

The mega-city region in central Belgium is another one. This is made up of eight reasonably independent satellite towns linked to Brussels by intense commuter traffic. Our colleagues at the Free University of Brussels (ULB) have observed that each of these towns in itself constitutes an autonomous sub-city region. But the flows of data are exchanged in priority between Brussels and its satellite towns, with only a minority flowing from satellite town to satellite town (Ghent - Antwerp, Bruges - Ghent).

How can strategic planning help us to take advantage of this new urban format ?

The UK example should throw some light on this. The British government has employed a new policy during the last four years. It consists of extending the London city region well beyond its boundaries, with particular emphasis on growth along three main access corridors to London: the first encompasses the towns of Luton, Bedford, Milton Keynes and Northampton, the second includes Cambridge and Peterborough and the third is located beyond the Medway Towns (Rochester-Chatham-Gillingham) up to Ashford. This is completely logical. Our research has shown that these cities are very much complementary. More Londoners are moving to dormitory towns, more employment is being generated there depending on their various specialities as with the university towns of Oxford and Cambridge. This is also true for Milton Keynes, a new town that appeared in the 60s, which is on the way to becoming the biggest urban centre after London.

We should note the particularly spectacular growth that can be observed in the Thames Gateway along the third corridor around the intermediary railway stations of Stratford and Ebbsfleet. Stratford which will host the 2012 Olympic games is in the middle of intense regeneration. This is an example of an urban development with shopping centres and residential areas around a new railway station. A parallel may be drawn with Brussels-Midi which is the subject of a huge development that has begun and will continue in the coming years.

What are the main ingredients guaranteeing the success of urban development ?

An initial response to this question is made by asking ourselves which towns offer the best quality of life to their inhabitants and to the potential incomers that they are likely to attract. All the international polls organised by the EIU (Economist Intelligence Unit) vote for Vancouver as the top of a list which includes a variety of medium-sized Canadian and Australian towns, but also Swiss and Austrian towns.

The US urban planner Richard Florida, inventor of the famous "Bohemian Index" considers that the most "Creative Cities" are those that provide the best living conditions to the most innovative and talented workers. These conditions are not measured according to conventional criteria such as the availability of parks and theatres, but in a more subtle way by a sort of "urban buzz". We have here a process of a circular nature in which creative activities attract talented workers who, in their turn, will generate other creative activities. The whole trick is to know who generates what. In any case, it appears that the most "liveable" cities are those which have the best index of creativity and vice versa.

So it is not as simple as it appears at first sight. In my work "Cities in Civilisation" I distinguish three types of innovation: cultural, technological and a hybrid form that I refer to as *culturo-technological*. In the strictly cultural domain I compare six cities: Athens in Antiquity, Florence in the Renaissance, London in the time of Shakespeare, Vienna in the 19th century, Paris in the Belle Époque and Berlin in the 20s. What do they have in common? They were all in a state of extreme tension; they were not nice cities to live in but harsh and violent places characterised by tense conflicts between conservative and radical forces, most often expressed by

artists that came from elsewhere and also not completely integrated. Of course, these cities are benchmarks in social and economic terms, but in addition there was a *je-ne-sais-quoi* of creativity in the air of each one of them.

Amongst cities that were innovative on the technological level we should point out Manchester at the time of the first industrial revolution, Glasgow as the world centre for shipbuilding in the 19th century, Berlin as the capital of the electrical industry from 1852 to 1939, and Detroit as the capital of the automobile industry at the time of Henry Ford and Palo Alto as capital of Silicon Valley at the end of the 20th century similar to Tokyo at the same time. What is their common denominator? They were centres of intense innovation most often located on the margin and not at the centre. One innovation gave rise to another in a continuous process.

The third type of city studied presented a particularly interesting phenomenon: the marriage of art and technology. I will cite two examples from the USA: Los Angeles, the movie capital of the 20s and Memphis, the capital of rock 'n' roll and popular music production thanks to the presence of Elvis Presley in the 50s. At the time they reached their zenith, none of these was a particularly important city and their geographical location was very much on the margin.

The marriage between art and technology, a field in which they were very much in the forefront, will without a shadow of doubt mark the next wave of innovation that the Internet will bring along with new software developments such as Facebook, YouTube, eBay, etc.

What are the political consequences of this development ?

At first, encouraging and stimulating the finance of bold programs at the municipal and regional level.

We should particularly point out urban redevelopment projects which take advantage of major external events (completion of the new public transport link, major ad hoc cultural or sporting events, bringing into production of a huge undeveloped territory). Here are some examples to illustrate this argument: la Défense in Paris with its connection to the first RER transport line; the redevelopment of Docklands in London, the impact of the Olympic Games in 1992 on the redevelopment of the port in Barcelona or yet again the Forum 2004 with the ongoing redevelopment of the Eastern zone, the Seville world exhibition in 1992 on the La Cartuja site on the opposite bank to the historic districts which served as the base for an ambitious project to create a cutting-edge research centre for Southern Spain.

The final example is the remarkable exhibition which was held on the banks of the River Ebro on the site located close by to the Saragossa HST station, a site which will be transformed into a major technological zone where astonishing phenomena produced by electronic means will be stimulated, particularly a digital Bauhaus which will attempt to reproduce tomorrow in Spain the effect produced by the Bauhaus in Dessau, Germany, the 20s.

To summarise, in each case it was a matter of transforming residential areas often dilapidated (old derelict industrial buildings) into ultra-dynamic areas, attracting cutting-edge economic activities belonging to what is known as the knowledge economy.

In all these cases, this meant concentrating on human capital and coming up with policies for managing urban space designed to encourage creativity.

This last point is illustrated by the recent work of the geographer Thomas Hutton of the University of British Columbia at Vancouver, focusing narrowly on the city of Vancouver which in other times passed for another Liverpool. His research demonstrates that many commercial activities of a very creative nature developed there in small firms located in low rent disadvantaged areas.

This involves a process of gentrification, backed by a public transport policy, particularly by building the sky-train line which links the centre to the southern area.

Vancouver seems to be a victim of its own success and is worried about seeing its creative capital set out for new horizons.

Resolving a problem like that is the challenge that faces today's cities as Tom Hutton demonstrated. South Market, a neglected district of San Francisco much favoured by artists and highflying IT boffins has become an in-place that you go out to on a Saturday evening and where the San Francisco Museum of Modern Art and the the Mosconi conference centre recently moved to. This resulted in a wave of gentrification which can also be observed in Mission Bay, a stone's throw or two from a former dock area that is being completely redeveloped after the installation of a new tram line and the creation of the medical campus of the University of California in San Francisco. The big difficulty lies in the policy developments that aim to revitalise dilapidated areas covering not only the territory of the city, but extending into the surrounding regions.

In conclusion to this third part, I consider that initially, cities should encourage bold strategic projects at the municipal and regional level and contribute towards financing them. I am thinking in particular of significant events. Then, projects can be developed at national and European levels to encourage cities to outdo each other, particularly in competition with other major urban projects. Thirdly, any urban development policy approach should ensure that it develops human capital, mainly by attracting and retaining university level students. Fourthly, cities owe it to themselves to promote policies for the redevelopment of urban spaces, particularly the gloomiest declining areas. This needs subtle urban development management, able to avoid the twin traps of complete dereliction and the most aggressive gentrification.

Workshop conclusions

I would like to add a few remarks of a strictly personal nature to the debates that you held in the workshops.

My first observation relates to the problems of urban diversity and the coherence of the various areas. I suppose that in our cities today the gulf between different lifestyles are widening. In our cities you meet jetsetters who travel the world in Boeings or criss-cross Europe on high-speed trains and are fully aware of everything that is going on in that world. They may happen to live in the vicinity of first or second generation immigrants who hardly know their own city, seldom going to the city centre and who have a very superficial knowledge of what their city and the world can offer them. These people are hardly conscious of their own potential, which is particularly tragic for children of low-income families. These children, victims of segregation, have to resign themselves to attending garbage schools. Very recent research carried out in the UK by the geographer Danny Dorling of the University of Sheffield shows the extent to which segregation of a social and spatial nature is gaining ground in the UK. I imagine that this is the same in Belgium. There is only one way to meet this challenge: increase the diversity in schools, which involves limiting the choice of schools for middle-class parents wanting to send their children to the best schools. This is an extremely sensitive political issue as we can observe in UK and I doubt if it would be any different in Brussels or in any other large European city.

From what the excellent report prepared for us this morning by our two brilliant journalists says, I understand that several interesting ideas have been put forward in these workshops.

Let us start with the concept of a regional monitoring unit which I certainly find attractive, but which presents many decision-making process problems. Then comes the problem of the institutional memory that is always threatening to disappear. This is an essential element for urban regeneration, at least in my personal experience. Technology may turn out to be very useful here. Those of us here from England have a lot of experience in building new towns. We built fifty-eight between the 1940s and 1970s. All this know-how has been recorded on a CD-ROM which gathers together all the information on building these towns. We need to see many more initiatives of this type.

We also tackled the need to train promoters able to facilitate the exchange of information necessary for taking decisions. These mediation procedures also caught my full attention. The idea is certainly brilliant, but I do not see how you can avoid the differences of opinion and the conflicts of jurisdiction which would arise from them. I back the suggestion recommending use of role-playing. Twenty years, Terry Nichols Clark of the University of Chicago developed some very simple role-plays. This was before the age of the Internet. I would be keen to develop more complex types of role-play using our technology.

Another idea: employ a variable geometry policy depending on the city regions. I am not opposed to it, but we need to understand that this would not have the effect of simplifying the decision-making process. Let us use the example of drinking water catchment areas. The absolutely necessary construction of ugly reservoirs in the Ardennes tourist areas threatens to generate conflict between the inhabitants of the Ardennes and the citizens of Brussels and Antwerp who benefit from the drinking water collected upstream.

Let us move on to the problem of territorial discrimination. The example of London demonstrates that rapid progress can be made in this matter. What is true for London should also be true for Brussels. The difficulty generally arises from the defensive reactions of communities traditionally attached to their living space who are often difficult about any initiative for change coming from the outside. This means there is an urgent need for exchanges, dialogues and mediation between them. The problem comes from the poor learning abilities of communities in decline, who are often isolated. We have a lot of experience of this phenomenon in England, particularly in the north of the country. I imagine that you find the same difficulties in the former mining regions of Wallonia.

How can dynamic influences be introduced into a city region?

This is the problem that we encountered in the Manchester region. Manchester is a dynamic city and it is not easy to instil dynamism into the neighbouring communities. I imagine that it is very similar in a Brussels Capital region covering a good part of central Belgium and crossing language boundaries. Transmitting innovative dynamism from a city such as Brussels towards less dynamic communities in the south in former mining areas is a real challenge.

Questions raised by the journalists:

Do participative democracies function only locally?

Naturally, because that is the only level of political power that people truly understand. The whole difficulty consists of making them understand problems of regional interest, which is necessarily more abstract and less direct.

Territorial intelligence? Could a form of territorial intelligence at the regional level be envisaged? How could you get people to think in this way? By using strategic type role-playing. By introducing the concept of a second life which would be lived in another city region in another future.

Consensus democracy? It goes without saying that in practice this is slower than delegated democracy. We should be aware that, in London for instance, district regeneration programmes can take years or even decades because of the conflicts that they arouse.

Is a new metropolitan model needed? Yes of course, but what would the right size be? Milan has found the ideal answer, what would Brussels' answer be?

To finish, what about new urban structural projects?

These will inevitably give rise to new conflicts and more than likely with the next generation. We have no right to treat future of our children as an abstraction. The main problem that presents itself in a dilapidated industrial or port area is that of arranging retraining for different jobs for all those people who lost their jobs and have not been able to find worthwhile alternative employment. More worrying still is the future of their children. They are the main victims of this inter-generational exclusion, and they do not get the education to allow them to escape from it. Thirty years ago the philosopher John Rawls advocated protecting the future of the most disadvantaged people. This is not a matter of reinventing

the past but instead of looking forward and taking care of the future of these children. This is what we tried, but did not succeed, to do with the Docklands redevelopment project in London. No one thought that they could be brought back to life. We did not manage that, but we nevertheless succeeded in creating a new economy and new jobs. It is a good example of creative destruction on the Schumpeter model.

Another conflict: that between the need for economic change and its consequences on the environment. In Germany and in California new industrial complexes are being created to produce technology for limiting environmental damage, using a carbon-neutral economy with very low CO2 emissions. This might well be a growth centre for the 21st century in which cities should take part to create new jobs for blue-collar workers.

Peter Hall

Questions from the public:

In your written documentation, you make a series of recommendations addressed to the OECD that are not yet published. Do you still stand by these ideas?

Of course, but I intended to take account of the comments made here in the workshops. I intend to revise my documentation for them.

How do you see the impact of the rise in oil and energy prices in general on the structure of inter-European and worldwide exchanges and their effect on cities?

This question relates to the issue of oil reserves. New reserves have been discovered far offshore throughout the world. The real question is that of consumption which is continuously rising because of the growth of emerging countries including China and India. The whole debate revolves around a new Kyoto on the issue of the

differential between developed countries and emerging countries. Some, as in the USA, believe in a miracle technological solution, but nothing has come of it. I was more optimistic seven or eight years ago. It is time that we had vehicles producing less pollution and guzzling less gas. I think that in future air travel will have to be drastically reduced. High-speed trains are a partial solution for travel of eight hundred kilometres and over.

What do you think of the development of the European Communities in a residential area of historic character?

You are again tackling the problem of gentrification as it presents itself in many European cities. It is a big problem that arises from the dynamism of some cities

Places where it does not arise are clearly in decline. We have to draw a distinction between external gentrification – an invasion of incomers with higher earnings – and internal gentrification – improvement in the standard of living of a local population and their children, that should be encouraged. It seems to me that Brussels has a rather low occupation density, which would make it possible to reinvest entire districts in central areas by building housing for new inhabitants without needing to remove the former inhabitants. This type of operation might require entire districts to be evacuated during the period that the new dwellings were being built. In all these cases, we would expect that urban planning would preserve the surrounding structures insofar as possible. There are no magic formulas. As we say in English, the devil is in the detail.

Your views have a very Western slant, and I am always astonished to find that certain emerging cities have been left out. I have in mind cities such as Istanbul and Cairo. How do you see the development of these cities and more particularly the role that movements of people may have upon them as well as in US and European cities. How do you see the emergence of Mediterranean

cities like Beirut or Damascus facing the major issues of democracy and diplomatic strategy on a worldwide scale?

I would need a second conference to go through all those points. We can see profound changes in these cities and we may imagine that there will be others when, in a few years, peace returns to the Middle East. This should bring about a return to stability as in Beirut after the catastrophe of the 90s. We often talk of the confrontation between Islam and the Judaeo-Christian world, but let us also talk of an ever more secular Europe. The Muslims are deeply divided. This is a phenomenon of great complexity that a diaspora is exporting to European cities as was demonstrated by the tragic events of which London was a victim. We should not forget that cities in America experienced problems of this type some hundred years ago.

This phenomenon has been analysed by city developers such as Jane Addams who derived extremely interesting urban development concepts from them, such as neighbourhood unity. The sociologist Clarence Perry has considered the problem of the evermore heterogeneous nature of cities in America. These are heterogeneous to degree never observed before. I do not know the figures for Brussels, but those for London speak volumes. In many boroughs, ethnic and cultural minorities will soon be in the majority. This demonstrates the extent to which the diaspora problem is a central one for European cities.

Belgium is a country in which democracy of a somewhat consensual nature prevails; that is the basis on which urban development works. Structural projects, as you have pointed out, generate a lot of conflicts. How do you deal with the combination of consensus and situations of conflict?

Conflicts are inevitable in a dynamic and complex city. Particularly in Brussels. The dilemma always consists of preserving institutional memory while at the same time bringing in change. The work of Jane Jacobs, recently deceased, demonstrates that it is possible to do a lot of damage by ruining the texture of an existing district, risking destroying it altogether. The gentrification process is the sort of thing that produces this type of damage. It is however hardly desirable to freeze the city in some moment of its past. Change is often inevitable.

You have not tackled the question of diversity in connection with cultural and artistic creativity. Does cultural renewal in a city not bring together people coming from different geographical, cultural and social horizons?

Absolutely. The most innovative cities have always been those that were a meeting place for their native inhabitants and people coming from elsewhere. Curiously, the most creative are those who were born elsewhere and come from the countryside or, as in Vienna, from the four quarters of the Habsburg empire. A large number of them come from religious or ethnic minorities such as the Jews in Vienna who made up the bulk of the creative class both as artists and as consumers of culture. In a city that wants to be creative it is very useful to take account of populations coming from elsewhere who feel somewhat excluded, but are sufficiently in tune with the native population to dare to question their own situation within society. I have developed this point of view in "Cities in Civilization". In any case, it is very clear that a city that wants to be creative can in no circumstances do without a dynamic cocktail of populations.

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