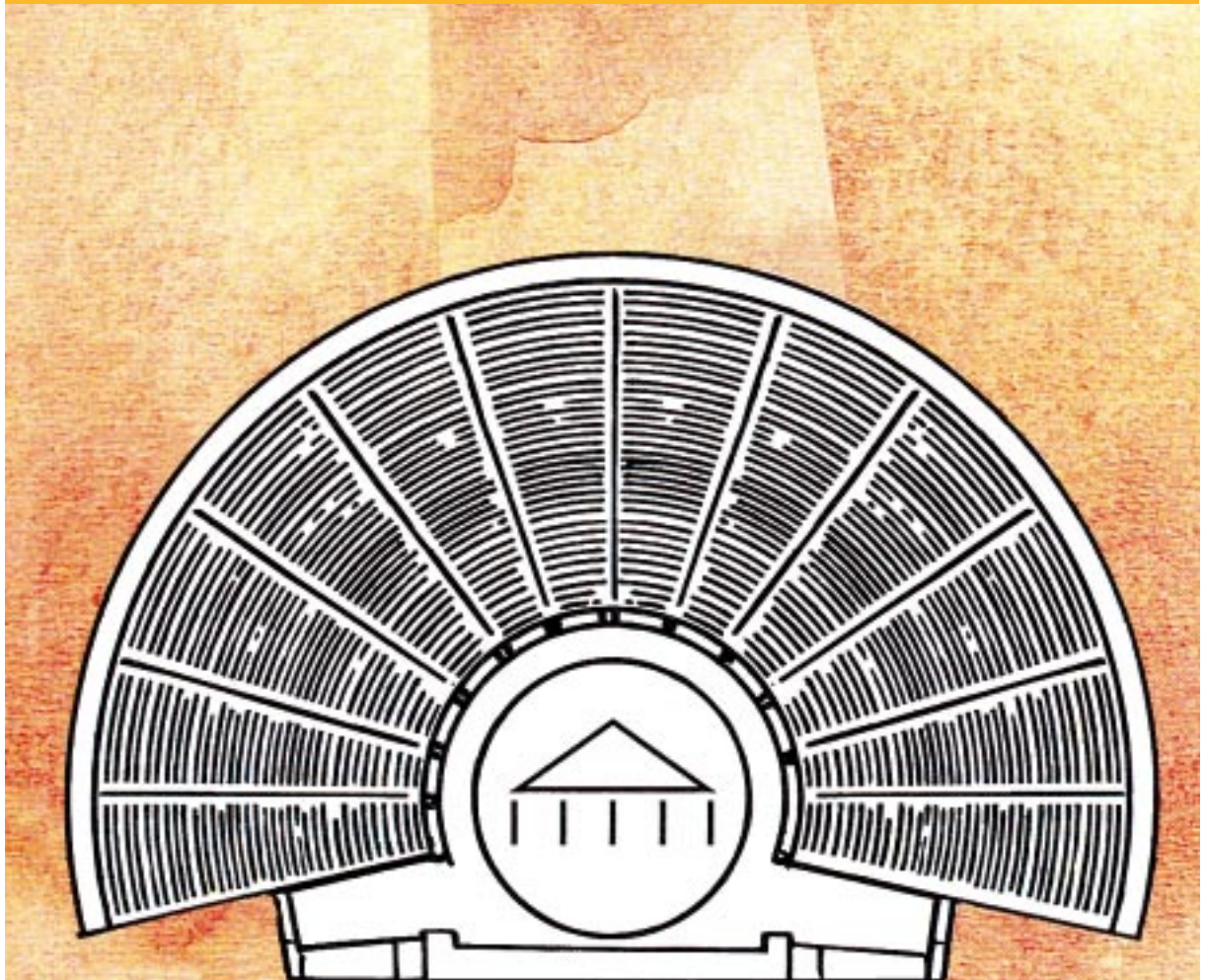


Challenges for Urban Governance in the European Union



EUROPEAN FOUNDATION
for the Improvement of Living and Working Conditions

Challenges for Urban Governance in the European Union

The European Foundation for the Improvement of Living and Working Conditions is an autonomous body of the European Union, created to assist the formulation of future policy on social and work-related matters. Further information can be found at the Foundation web site: <http://www.eurofound.ie/>

A high-ranking government official, Georges Cavallier is Engineer General of the French Highways Department and President of the division responsible for development, urban planning and the environment within the General Council of the Highways Department. In the latter capacity he advises ministers responsible for these various areas, carries out audits and supervises their regional services. He is also President of the *Observatoire national des marchés de l'immobilier* (the French property contracts supervisory body).

After completing his studies at a technology institute and at the National Highways Institute, Mr Cavallier has spent his entire professional life in the service of the State. A key position in his career was Head of the Towns and Regions Department of the Commission for the National Plan, responsible for preparation of the 7th Plan on towns, regional planning and the environment. Earlier responsibilities include Head of the Regional Mission at the Prefecture of the Lorraine region and Deputy Director of Urban and Countryside Planning (Ministry of Infrastructure) during the run-up to and actual process of decentralisation of urban planning. In 1998 he became assistant to the newly appointed Inter-Departmental delegate for urban policy and contributed towards raising the profile of urban policy within government, this having hitherto been primarily the area of protest groups. In 1992 and 1993 he directed the office of two ministers responsible for urban policy and urban social development. He has just been given responsibility by the new minister for towns for preparing for the setting up of a head-end for the promotion, capitalisation and development of the science of towns and related know-how.

Since the 1980s, Mr Cavallier has actively contributed to France's involvement at international level in the area of urban policy, planning and the urban environment, coordinating French contributions to the urban affairs group at the OECD, of which he is Vice-Chairman, and at the Committee on Human Settlements of the EEC/UN and the UNCHS. Mr Cavallier has taken part in European seminars on these various subjects. Between April 1994 and June 1996 he was also the Coordinator of the French group for the preparation of the world summit on towns and cities, Habitat II. Since then he has been responsible for its follow-up.

Challenges for Urban Governance in the European Union

Georges Cavallier



EUROPEAN FOUNDATION
for the Improvement of Living and Working Conditions

Cataloguing data can be found at the end of this publication

Luxembourg: Office for Official Publications of the European Communities, 1998

ISBN 92-828-4273-8

© European Foundation for the Improvement of Living and Working Conditions, 1998

For rights of translation or reproduction, applications should be made to the Director, European Foundation for the Improvement of Living and Working Conditions, Wyattville Road, Loughlinstown, Co. Dublin, Ireland.

Printed in Ireland

The paper used in this publication is chlorine free and comes from managed forests in Northern Europe.
For every tree felled, at least one new tree is planted.




Foreword

In 1997, the Foundation launched a research project on urban institutions and infrastructure of the future. This project builds on the 'Innovations for the Improvement of the Urban Environment' project which pinpointed and analysed innovative action not just on the urban fabric but also on the intelligence and competence to be found in the towns and cities of the European Union.

Infrastructure and institutions are the cornerstones of productive and high-quality urban life. Governance was felt to be of major concern at the City Summit Habitat II organised by the UN in Istanbul in 1996. A workshop, organised by the Foundation in Dublin on 19 and 20 June 1997, highlighted the challenges facing these urban institutions and infrastructure on the eve of the 21st century.

A study of the challenges facing urban governance was commissioned from Georges Cavallier, who led the French delegation to the City Summit. The following report is the outcome of his work and should be seen as a complement to Professor Frank Convery's study of the challenges facing urban infrastructure. Both reports were evaluated in Brussels on 12 December 1997 by a committee composed of representatives of the European Commission and the Foundation's Administrative Board.

Voula Mega, Research Manager, has prepared an introduction that highlights links not just with the urban innovations project, but also between these two studies.

Clive Purkiss
Director

Eric Verborgh
Deputy Director



Contents

	Page
Foreword	v
Preface	ix
An Introduction by Voula Mega: The European City	1
Chapter 1	Lessons of the Istanbul Summit (Habitat II) 11
1.1	An unparalleled trend towards urbanisation 12
1.2	Towns and cities, prime movers of economic development 13
1.3	The globalisation of the economy sustains the urban dynamic 14
1.4	The future of society is being played out in our cities 15
1.5	The ecological future of our planet is also being played out in cities 16
1.6	The need for better collective control of urban development 17
Chapter 2	The Challenges Facing European Cities 19
2.1	Adapting to changes in the production system 19
2.2	Controlling urban sprawl 22
2.3	Regenerating urbanity 23
2.4	Taking account of the requirements of sustainable development 24
Chapter 3	A Particularly Difficult Context 27
3.1	The impact of the globalisation of trade 27

	3.2 An increasingly complex urban society	28
	3.3 Politics in crisis	28
	3.4 An uncertain future	29
	3.5 Finding the link between different time scales	30
Chapter 4	City Government and Urban Governance	31
	4.1 Independent urban governance: paradise lost or utopia?	32
	4.2 The end of the myth of “pertinent territory”	33
	4.3 The established forms of local power: from the municipality to the conurbation	34
	4.4 An unavoidable trend: from city government to urban governance	37
Chapter 5	Ten Keys for Good Urban Governance	41
	5.1 Strengthening the prerogatives and resources of local authorities	41
	5.2 Changing the role of central government	42
	5.3 Implementing new forms of public action	44
	5.4 Linking the work of the various levels of public authority in better ways	47
	5.5 Improving cooperation between public authorities and the private sector	48
	5.6 Constructing concerted territorial development projects	49
	5.7 Developing strategic planning for major urban areas	50
	5.8 Paving the way for participative democracy rooted at local level	52
	5.9 Promoting the role of women in cities	53
	5.10 Better integration of the younger generations into urban life	54
Chapter 6	Conclusion: Towards a European observatory of innovative practices of urban governance	57
Annex		59
Bibliography		75



Preface

The European Foundation for the Improvement of Living and Working Conditions has for some years been analysing those factors that shape the quality of life and the economic performance not just of large European cities and towns, but of small and medium-sized cities as well. It is now starting to look at the future of institutions and infrastructure from the point of view of more efficient 'urban governance'.

The term governance has long been in use. It seems to have been used for the first time, in a sense close to the modern and current sense, by the English lawyer Fortescue in his book *The Governance of England*, published over 500 years ago in 1471 (and republished elsewhere in 1884).

It is only very recently, however, during the 1990s, that the concept has caught on to its current extent. The need for better control over development, at all levels, and the importance of good urban governance, seen as a prerequisite for the balanced and sustainable development of any city, were stressed at the cycle of the United Nations' major world conferences, starting in 1992 in Rio and ending in 1996 in Istanbul.

The nature of these events obviously made it impossible to look in any depth at the conditions, routes and methods needed for their achievement. It is therefore fortunate that others, like the Foundation, are now taking up the baton and looking at these issues in greater depth.

The OECD has opened, within its urban affairs group, a parallel work programme on good urban governance organised around three workshops. The first was held in Stockholm in Spring 1996. The second was held in Toronto in October 1997. A third and final workshop is planned in

Athens in September 1998. Urban governance was also the keynote theme of important UN meetings (Nairobi – May 1997, New York – July 1997) aimed at decision-makers, and in particular mayors themselves, who are increasingly sensitive to these problems. A conference on “Better government: more effective regulation” was held in Manchester in March 1998 as part of the British Presidency of the European Union.

Many researchers have also been looking at this issue. In France, urban governance has been a priority theme of research on cities at the National Scientific Research Centre (CNRS) since 1992. The global “urban research initiative” network, led by the Canadian Richard Stren, has focused its work on urban governance in developing countries and published a work on this topic at Habitat II. The European Urban Research Association held a seminar in Brussels in September 1997 on the topic of urban governance. There are obviously many more examples.

This report endeavours to pinpoint the “challenges for urban governance in the European Union”. It does not examine the history of the concept nor, moreover, does it put forward a new paradigm. Its sole aim is to examine, as clearly and concisely as possible, what progress has been made.

It is preceded by an introduction by Voula Mega which, starting from the most recent research work, in particular the studies carried out by the European Foundation for the Improvement of Living and Working Conditions, relocates the development of European cities in a modern context, perceiving these cities as ‘theatres and schools of citizenship’ for the coming millennium.

Georges CAVALLIER



Introduction
by Voula Mega

The European City

A. Challenges and Issues for European Cities at the End of the 20th Century

Cities are above all a focus of sociability, confrontation, dialectic and emotion. They are theatres of civilisation, schools of abilities and values, and temples of learning about life in society and about rights and negotiation. They have been defined as places in which the human genius is expressed, a palette of possibilities, a melting pot of potential that has not yet been exploited (EC 1997a). According to Aristotle, cities are “built politics”. Vitruvius felt that cities should be solid, beautiful and useful. J. Jacobs defines them as places that generate, in a ongoing way, their economic growth from their own resources and from the “disordered order” of human interaction (Jacobs 1969). Alcaeus (7th century BC) suggested that “cities are not made from their roofs, stone walls, bridges and canals but from men able to grasp opportunities and make the most of them”. This latter definition reminds us of the definition given by Geddes: “The city is a dramatic action” (EF 1997c).

Europe, as a market and agora, is fed by its urban vitality. Its future is closely linked to the ongoing abilities of cities to innovate and communicate and to stir and rally people (EC 1997a,b; EF 1997b). On the eve of the 21st century, cities are becoming stronger on the European scene, and although there may be more competition between them, there is also more cooperation. They have a heritage that offers a wealth of teaching on their economy, their environment and their capacity for innovation. They want to offer a better quality of life and attract more people and investment. However, cities are also becoming more ambivalent; there are cities which include and exclude, which rally together and which divide, which integrate and marginalise, which make some people wealthier and others poorer. The urban seems to be afflicted by every possible

problem and yet has all the solutions (EF 1997a,e; EC 1997a,b; Hall 1995; MOPTMA 1995; OECD 1994, 1996a; UNESCO 1995). “Building Eutopia” (Doxiadis 1975a) is becoming a long-term objective so that cities can again become living places and powerful magnets. Plans need to be drawn up and choices made – cities therefore need to be governed.

The constellation of European cities, indissolubly connected by their history, geography and culture, now seems better balanced in terms of demographic growth. They are more a constellation of national urban systems, since there is no single urban hierarchy. New waves of migration are on the horizon, however, for which these cities are the final destination of a journey. Urban continuums, such as the *Randstad*, are developing. Advances in infrastructure are transforming European geography. The deterioration of the environment and social exclusion are brakes on urban development. It is urban regeneration, rather than sprawling expansion, which seems to be the priority of most cities. Medium-sized cities, those little-but-large cities which offer a more harmonious environment for their citizens, seem promising (EC 1992c,d, 1994a,b; EF 1994b, 1996a, 1997d). Lastly, a united Europe is not a single Europe. The cultural dialectic is enriched by its north-south and east-west divides (EC 1997b).

“Sustainable development”, following on from the concepts of holistic, integral or endogenous development, has become the most symbolic and sacrosanct term of recent years, since “we have not inherited the earth from our parents, we have borrowed it from our children”. Sustainable development is perceived as a process and not as an end in itself, a voyage rather than a destination. It is a route about which there is a well-defined consensus and which has the sense of a mission. Sustainable development is “equity extended into the future”, a struggle between “the Scylla of poverty and the Charybdis of overconsumption” (EC 1997b). The principle of urban sustainability links cities to their universal conscience. The European Charter on sustainable cities, the European version of Agenda 21, describes sustainability as a creative, dynamic and co-evolving process, aiming for balance, that has to permeate all areas of local decision-making.

There seems to be a consensus that a healthy environment, social cohesion, economic efficiency and the participation of citizens are the four pillars of the temple of the sustainable city, which is necessarily plural and democratic (Alberti et al. 1994; EF 1996a, 1997e; Nijkamp & Perrels 1994; UNESCO 1988; World Bank 1994; OECD 1996a).

Sustainable development, globalisation and cohesion are the three main challenges facing European cities as they enter the next millennium. Change is not the challenge; change is inevitable. The challenge is: how to make the most of change to achieve the best possible results, how to make change into a blueprint for civilisation? Globalisation is offering a large number of cities the opportunity to belong to a global city, but this virtual conurbation may have strong districts and weak suburbs, at the mercy of decisions that they cannot influence. Strengthening cities and local society is felt to be fundamental in meeting the challenge of globalisation (EF 1997a). Rebuilding a whole range of local solidarities, nurtured by proximity and vital links, is a



prerequisite if European cities, fortified by their economic diversification, social mix and emblematic culture, are to progress.

B. New Innovations in Infrastructure and Governance

The world economic forum at Davos, in 1996, stressed the important role that cities play in the world economy. Cities are places in which economic flows are decoded, condensed, converted, metabolised and intensified. While better macro-economic management will improve urban productivity, it will not be able to do so alone. Economic performance depends to a large extent on urban institutions and infrastructure. The regulatory framework surrounding land and property markets plays a key part in all this. Shortcomings from the point of view of infrastructure, the heavy costs incurred by inappropriate regulatory policies and the lack of funds and technical skills of municipal institutions are unavoidable constraints, whose cumulative effects mean that urban development potential is frittered away. Consolidating the management of urban infrastructure, improving institutional abilities, and stepping up the financial and technical resources of local authorities, are the main recommendations (ACDHRD 1995).

Several urban policies have failed, but these failures should be seen as the birth of a new world. Cities should innovate in such a way that their future is much more than the linear projection of their present. Schumpeter defines innovation as “creative destruction” (Schumpeter 1975). Innovation is much more a process than an event, embracing the invention of a new concept, the alliances that are formed to implement it and the changes that it entails. Obsolescence is also built into any innovation. Cities that do not want current trends to become their destiny have to extend the limits of what is possible. Fertile cities progress, sterile cities stagnate. The Foundation project on urban innovation drew up a general survey of the building sites of our future world, those places inseminated by the future. They bear witness to the creative visions of cities trying to meet social, economic and environmental challenges as they increasingly evolve alongside one another. No city is proof against innovation. There are in practice no innovative actions which are not the product of partnerships or integrated approaches, that take account of both the existing fabric and the ways in which it can be upgraded. Most projects stress that governance has an important role to play in the formulation and achievement of a collective vision, of a shared urban destiny.

The performance of a city, as an open, human, dependent and vulnerable ecosystem, is crucial for sustainable development. This performance has close links with ecological management and the participation of the local population in changing lifestyles and curbing unbridled consumption, in order to withstand “the dictatorship of the present”. The more cities are ecologically “oriented” (and are able to evaluate the bio-physical ability of land to produce the resources that they need and to absorb waste), the more the “ideal ecological city” is difficult to achieve. Awareness of the quality of the environment is taking on the dimension of a new ethic, in search of proactive policies that will lead to the design of new production and consumption systems. The “green city” does not merely mean green spaces, turfed roofs, solar panels, wooden buildings, waste recycling and better energy and hydrological systems (Elkin & McLaren 1991).

Cities throughout Europe are becoming ecological innovation workshops (Schmidt-Eichstaedt 1993).

Transport infrastructure has always played a key role in Europe, its states, its regions and its cities: it has the ability to change its geography. Cities connected by high-speed infrastructure are closer to one another with the result that Europe is growing smaller (Delors 1994). Within cities, transport systems are no longer felt to provide the required level of service. The speed at which people travel is falling while air and noise pollution is growing. Congestion represents a loss of 2-3% of the GNP of the EU Member States and transport infrastructure covers 10 to 15% of the urban area (EC 1994a). This infrastructure is like an artery; it should nourish but not dominate the body of the city. Despite efforts to limit superfluous mobility and to promote walking, cycling and public transport, as well as a few timid efforts to introduce urban toll booths (EEA 1995a), the picture is unclear and the prospects are not very encouraging (OECD-ECMT 1994). This is an area in which major innovations are needed, from the point of view of both infrastructure and governance. The stress has gradually shifted away from mobility towards accessibility (ALFOZ 1995).

Good urban governance is crucial in limiting the use of cars (which Pirandello called the “invention of the devil”) which are nowadays felt to be the single most destructive force in towns and cities. A “car-free city” could, according to the European Commission, be made up of several units fully accessible on foot, separated by green areas and connected by ultra-high-speed public transport. Car-free cities do not just seem to be more efficient from an ecological point of view, but even two to five times less expensive, depending on density (EC 1992a). Amsterdam which, following the example of cities like Bologna, recently held a referendum on this issue, also organised the conference “Car-free cities?” (Municipality of Amsterdam 1994). The question mark is important, since it highlights the reservations and hesitance that underpin this whole issue. “Car-sharing”, “car-pool lanes” and electronic transport coordination schemes are being developed. Historic cities have been pioneers here by prohibiting the access of private cars to historic centres (Perugia) and introducing park-and-ride schemes (Evora, Orvieto, Spoleto). This shift from areas occupied by cars to noble areas occupied by citizens requires changes in values and lifestyles (EF 1995c).

No city is unequivocal: they are all places of social challenge. The solidarity of a city has to go together with social justice; otherwise it would be a polysegmented city (M. Moss) or a city of compulsory solidarity (E. Durkheim). Inequalities generate social tensions. Even in the wealthiest European cities, there are urban districts where environmental decay and social exclusion go hand in hand. These are areas of varying size, in crumbling city centres or chaotic suburban areas, where the excluded are concentrated. They are the seedier areas of the city, where the city conceals another city, or sprawling suburbs, i.e. areas of functional and emotional poverty where violence is rife (Jacquier 1991).

These sprawling suburbs, which have nothing to do with E. Verhaeren’s “tentacular cities”, call into question the very notion of the city. This informal and heterogeneous urban growth has



much to do with the way in which industrial production has developed over the century. J.-P. Sartre said that the third world started in the suburbs of European towns and cities, in those outskirts which are necessarily “out”. The suburb is an area of great uncertainty and considerable tension where people do not know whether they are “in” or “out” (Delarue 1991; Touraine 1997). It is in these suburbs that it is most urgent to create living and multifunctional urban areas in which people can live, work and dream. Closing the gap between cities and their suburbs and making these suburbs into plural, multicultural and diversified areas then become worthwhile objectives.

Expressions such as “the martyr city”, symbolising the urban development crisis, or even “urban genocide” are significant, but the city is the only living organism that has the ability to renew itself. The threat of unemployment, from which all its imbalances derive, will make this renewal impossible. The aim of urban renewal is to bring harmony into cities suffering from schizophrenia, from the enormous divide between the historic centre of the traditional city, which is dense and diversified, and its satellite suburbs with dispersed blocks of flats and jobs where cars are essential (EF 1995d; Hall 1995). In the same way as the Renaissance, another urban phenomenon, the aim is to breath new life into Europe through the growth of cities.

The quest for harmony between spaces and functions, traditions and modernity is highly dependent on the creation and distribution of urban wealth (between the classes and between the generations). The unequal distribution of wealth sucks the vitality out of cities and generates both harmful lifestyles and obstacles to cultural change (EC 1994a). European cities, which are the shop windows of financial power, will never be able to become sustainable if they conceal these social micro-jungles. The latter are not solely the price of success, but also undermine this success. Urban renewal must regenerate all these micro-jungles, their spatial fabrics and their social fibres. It has to ensure people’s access to education and qualifications. Social justice has to be seen as a basic prerequisite for sustainable wealth (Harvey 1983).

At a time of globalisation when history is accelerating, many European cities are becoming centres of command and control. Enterprises have a key role to play in this shift from the management of goods to the management of information. Cities need to become more intelligent, more open, more forward-looking, more flexible, more inventive and innovative (EF 1993b, c). Cities have a much longer time scale but a much smaller space than enterprises (Delors 1994). The dichotomy between long-term strategic objectives and short-term economic benefits permeates a number of policy options and each city provides its own solutions. Large enterprises could bring about “leading-edge cities” (Garreau 1991, IFHP 1993), whereas SMEs offer an opportunity to revitalise cities that do not want their life to be organised around commercial megacentres (EF 1995b). The transition from direct interference to indirect or conditional policies (incubation and innovation) is being reflected by partnerships (INTA 1995; World Bank 1995b). Cooperation with the private sector helps to maximise social benefits. Partnerships between the public and private sector should function as a (private) orchestra with its (public) conductor so that urban functions and life can be improved overall (OECD 1994).

Everyone now agrees that an urban mix is needed (EF 1995b, d). “A little of the city throughout the city” is needed so that inhabitants can mix without friction, or without becoming lost in cities where everything is possible. The quest for this mix is connected with the quest for a diversified economic function and for multicultural and multifunctional environments. The concept of urban villages is an important model. According to this model, cities grow by multiplying their vital cells (districts) and not by overexpansion. The urban functions and services needed for daily life, that underpin styles of life in cities, should exist in each urban district in which each inhabitant should be able to find work (EF 1994a). Linking local labour markets with residential areas is therefore a prerequisite for an effective mix.

Housing is a right and a durable good; it provides the living cells that form the framework of the social fabric. Deteriorating habitats tend to weaken the urban fabric. Collective (public and subsidised) housing has often created social tensions in urban suburbs. This type of housing is often paternalist, gigantic, remote, uniform, collective, reactive, anonymous, disorganised and has ended in failure. Many European cities have made it an absolute priority to find a new human face for most of this housing built rapidly and cheaply after the war, almost as though interchangeable people live there. Work must be vital and personal identification possible if habitats are to be inhabited. Housing is starting to become self-regulated, intelligent, personalised, individualised, proactive, with neighbourhood communities and receptive local authorities. Dynamic local communities are starting to replace empty districts. Space and its social meaning needs radical rethinking (Delft Institute of Technology 1992; OECD 1996, EF 1993a, 1996c).

Urban safety is a fundamental right. Crime and road accidents are creating a climate of insecurity which is threatening the quality of life (DIV 1990). In some cases, crime is in a linear relationship with unemployment, or closely linked to drugs and marginalisation. Innovative prevention programmes are being implemented. Danish cities are trying out a set of urban safety measures that build on the feeling of belonging to a district and that mobilise inhabitants to create a better environment. In districts of Barcelona, safety chains have been established by citizens attempting to improve the quality of their daily life. Street mediators, guardian angels and environmental agents are improving the climate of security (EFUS 1997). Graffiti, irrespective of any form of artistic expression, seems to be the post-modernist way of attacking public areas. Public transport enterprises are the worst affected, since transport stations and transport itself are the main targets. The introduction of an anti-graffiti bus in Maastricht is an exemplary initiative which plays on imagination and creativity and manages to prevent such attacks, while promoting artistic integration and employment (EF 1993a).

The city is above all a chronotope. Any action on time is essential, as time is life itself. Like space, time is a rare commodity. Time management is a key factor in the success of sustainable cities and in an “ecology of time”. The “time offices” of Italian local authorities and the reorganisation of public service opening hours, as well as the British “24-hour city” schemes, bear witness to this. People do not have the same times as authorities. Working hours still play a



structuring role and making these more flexible places new challenges in the way of the synchronisation of time budgets. Free time should be time lived to the full.

After all the theories of the 1970s on the “disappearing city” or the “virtual city”, dominated by technology, the intelligent use of the new technologies now seems to be a source of potential. Automated blocks of flats and houses offer new opportunities for cities. Space is no longer a time constraint. Teleworking may disassociate concentration in time from concentration in space. Infostructure and infrastructure should create harmonious links between one another in order to generate a better quality of life. Teleworking may lead to ubiquity and interaction, but is no more than an instrument that will lead to integration or to exclusion depending on its articulation with policy. Scenarios of its impact on urban life and the flexible city will continue to be formulated (EF 1993b, c).

C. From Urban Systems Management to Civic City Governance

“Polis” and politics are closely linked. They form a demanding ethic. Politics is the art of creating cities, essentially urban cities. It is a gyroscopic art, which places balance at the service of movement and which takes place by telescoping points of view and collating knowledge. The city is more than a digest of its history or the simple addition of its individuals and spaces. It is a structural unit and a social event which generates a new identity. It also has its subconscious, and is constituted by relationships and conflicts, convergences and divergences, myths and legends, whose results do not just supplement one another but exist in relationships of synergy (Calvet 1994). The aim of urban policy is to improve quality of life, by maximising and making the most of the potential offered by these synergies. It has to move towards integration and interrelationship, drawing on the unlimited possibilities of human interaction (Jacobs 1969; ENA Recherche 1996; EF 1995d).

European cities are often credited with a democratic tradition. Representative and direct urban democracy is a fundamental factor in the life of cities and their ability to survive as places of civilisation and law. Since the time of Pericles, cities have encouraged open democracies. Demos still means “municipality” in Greek. The true citizen was an active member of a city, where the commitment of some was underpinned by the participation of others. According to the “Epitaphios”, the famous discourse by Pericles, inhabitants who did not participate in the affairs of the city were “not only inactive, but useless” (Thucydides). The Greeks associated the exercise of citizenship with an educational constraint. But democracy may be fragile. Values need to be reaffirmed daily and civic links continually strengthened. It must precede the creation of any visions and plans and touch the very heart of the city. Citizens must become genuine actors and not just spectators, users and consumers (METROPOLIS 1996) and must be partners in accountable political and social regulation (Jospin 1991). Decision-makers, taking Prometheus rather than Machiavelli as their inspiration, need to show the way.

Citizenship is again becoming a key issue. It is the ability to look beyond oneself in order to gain an understanding of the general and to root oneself in the city. It is an indissociable amalgam of

rights and duties (Chevènement 1993), that is dynamic, interdependent and forward-looking. The political maturity of a society is measured by its ability to think in the long term. This is a prerequisite for the construction of the political identity of the European Union. We seem increasingly to be moving towards the shared city (Abbott 1996), just as relationships must now be based less on confrontation than on collective planning. A consensual approach is being sought for most of the major decisions on the future of cities. In Barcelona, the 1992 Olympic Games offered schooling in solidarity and citizenship. In Brussels, planning consultation procedures will introduce new notions of participation. In Reggio Emilia, citizens are involved in the preparation of the municipal budget (EF 1993).

Citizens' participation is an unavoidable feature and the common denominator of projects heralding the new era. It requires time and transparency. It has a profound effect on the incubation of urban projects and their future acceptance. The issue of the "duly constituted" authorities of representative democracy is linked to the "constitutional" issue which is related to the representative role of local groups. In an era of globalisation, democracy is being wired up, promoted by virtual agoras of variable geometry and the electronic citizen surrounded by cybercommunities (EF 1995b, d, 1996b). New models of governance are being sought to recreate the humus of cities in order to provide organisational power and social energy and to enrich institutions. Strategies and structures lacking vision or not based on collective planning are no longer valid. Urban governance does not just stop at municipal management. It requires all the invisible hands of society and is an opportunity forged by all these hands.

Governance is undoubtedly not a panacea and its advent will not resolve all the problems. Citizens are, however, increasingly being invited to participate as partners, rather than as protesters (Abbott 1996; Healey 1997). The success of very different projects, ranging from the improvement of exceptional vernacular architecture in Otranto and Bari, to the routeing of new metro lines in Valencia (EF 1993), has been shaped by the active participation of inhabitants. Cities such as Evora, Sienna and Galway have hundreds of socio-cultural citizens' associations (EF 1994b, 1996a). From Copenhagen to Lavrion, citizens with differing views meet on neutral ground and on equal terms to draw up environmental plans and charters (EF 1996a). Even in Naples, consensual procedures have led to the adoption of an environmental charter (Gillo & Solera 1997). Hundreds of cities are setting up children's municipal councils in order to promote the participation of these future citizens. Housing projects designed, financed and realised by women are making the most of the vision "of the other half of heaven" (O. Elytis).

On the eve of the 21st century, cities are no longer the "self-sufficient microcosms" described by Plato. They are networks of local networks and themselves staging points of world networks. One of the main concerns of a number of cities is to find the optimum level for their governance. Toronto, considered to be the most multicultural city in the world, has long been a melting pot of institutional change, moving from a metropolitan regional government with its six municipal authorities to a single City of Toronto. In Europe, the reverse change was rejected by 92% of the population of Amsterdam in a 1995 referendum. In Amsterdam, consultation of inhabitants is felt to be essential for the future of the city and two referenda were held in 1997. The first concerned the creation of new urban units on the artificial island of Ljburg, and the second



concerned the extension of the underground system to the north of the city. Despite strong opposition to both projects, the statutory threshold for their rejection was not reached. Discussions are now continuing on the implementation of these plans.

All towns and cities are cores of cultural irradiation. Their spirit is created from places, links and symbols. Public areas are the spaces *par excellence* of democracy in exactly the same way as the agora at the heart of the old city states. They are able to stimulate the collective memory, to help people to find their roots. Belonging, by definition, to all, they must be accessible to all. Those described by R. Koolhaas as fortresses of liberty have considerable potential as islands of urbanity in the archipelago of the city. They draw strength from their history and civilisations have left their mark on them. They should be accorded greater importance as nerve centres of awareness. Attractive public areas may provide a forum for social exchanges and promote democracy (EF 1995c). In contrast, degraded public areas, victims of rampant standardisation, readily become areas of confrontation and exclusion. The creation of intelligent cultural spaces and the reinvention of the street should help to rehabilitate urbanity (EF 1993, EC 1997a).

HABITAT II showed that the future of our planet is being played out in towns and cities. Europe, with its constellations and galaxies of cities, offers a whole range of examples and models. Despite their crises and misadventures, cities have much to teach us about those values to be respected, those priorities to be followed and those types of citizenship that need to be established. The potential within all cities makes them into places that are radioactive. Offering a noble framework in which all classes of society, dignified and sovereign, can meet and flourish, is not solely related to the symbolic art of Greek theatre. Just as Pericles made the theatre into a genuine institution and created the “theorikon”, a public fund enabling the least advantaged citizens to attend, and just as the “chorus” expressed public opinion in the plays, today’s cities need to reinvent a whole range of “choruses” and “theorikon”. They must choose, however, from the many routes open to them, those which lead to a future, where the term “city with a human face” will just be a gross pleonasm.



Chapter 1

Lessons of the Istanbul Summit (Habitat II)

The history of European cities cannot be dissociated from the history of Europe. They are to a large extent a single adventure. Born together with Europe, European cities in some ways gave birth to Europe. Despite their obvious diversity, everyone agrees that they have a genuine identity. They have been one of the factors, possibly the main factor, in the emergence of Europe as a historical entity. They have always characterised European civilisation and have on many occasions acted as a model well beyond the European continent. They have also left their stamp on contemporary cities in many parts of the world.

Far-reaching changes are, however, at work in the world. The opening up of frontiers, the internationalisation of trade, the explosion of mobility, incessant advances in transport and the miracles of communication techniques are making the world into a vast system of interconnecting relationships and interdependencies, nourished by continuous flows of information, goods, services and people, where the boundaries between the economic, the social and the political are constantly being reformed.

There is now no escape. Unavoidable and irreversible, this world globalisation is full of promise in the long term, but is not without problems at present. While offering opportunities it also brings about imbalance and conflict. It imposes a duty of vigilance on us and should encourage us, before tackling the specific problems of urban governance in the European Union, to consider the future of towns and cities in the light of the lessons of the Istanbul Summit and at the level of the planet as a whole. It is only in this context that cities are now intelligible.

The United Nations Summit on the future of towns and cities, Habitat II, held in Istanbul in June 1996, was a kind of urban synthesis of the United Nations' cycle of major world conferences

starting in 1992 with the Earth Summit. Rio, Cairo, Copenhagen, Peking and Istanbul, were all staging posts of the same strategy aiming to outline realistic prospects and set out common principles for a responsible world based on greater solidarity.

Habitat II also made people aware of the extent of the global trend towards urbanisation, the importance of issues connected with the future of cities and the need for better collective control of urban development.

1.1 An Unparalleled Trend towards Urbanisation

Before the end of this century, humanity will reach a major turning point in its history: the urban population will, taking all countries together, outnumber the rural population; at the beginning of the century, however, the urban population accounted for less than one tenth of the world population. Within the space of one hundred years, the urban population will therefore have increased twentyfold, while the world population has quadrupled¹. Three billion people now live in cities.

In 1800, the hundred largest cities in the world had an average population of 200 000, whereas the figure had risen to 700 000 in 1900 and over two million in 1950. Nowadays, the hundred largest conurbations have an average population of over five million inhabitants. In the middle of this century, only two cities had a population of over ten million. There are now twenty or so such cities, as well as a further twenty or so conurbations with populations of five to ten million and over two hundred and fifty with populations of one to five million. Cities have now reached dimensions that change the very terms of the relationship between development and urbanisation.

Urban growth has been such that man has constructed as much as in the whole of his past history in the space of the last thirty years. Every year, twenty to thirty million people continue to settle in cities. This means that close on three billion new town-dwellers will have to be accommodated in the coming century, i.e. the equivalent of one thousand cities of three million inhabitants, largely in the countries of the south where urbanisation is rampant. Gigantic concentrations are being formed at great speed in Latin America, Africa and the Far East.

In most of the cities of the south, even the largest, levels of demographic growth, while remaining high, are nevertheless on the decline. Only 3% of the world population lives in conurbations with populations of over ten million. The world will be less dominated than might be expected by these major cities. In most regions of the world, and often within the sphere of influence of major conurbations, networks of medium-sized cities are developing and are often more dynamic than these conurbations themselves. The main feature of the urban landscape everywhere is its extraordinary variety of situations.

¹ 1.5 billion people in 1900; 6 billion today.



Europe is nowadays one of the most urbanised continents. Close on 80% of the European population lives in towns and cities (20% in conurbations with over 250 000 inhabitants, 20% in medium-sized cities with 50 000 to 250 000 inhabitants and 40% in small cities with 10 000 to 50 000 inhabitants). At transnational level, no other part of the world has such an omnipresent coverage of its territory by towns and cities. Europe has the densest spread of cities, 5 717 conurbations over 4.8 million km². The mean statistical distance between two cities is much lower in Europe than in the other continents (16 km, in comparison with 29 in Asia, 53 in America, 55 in Africa and the former USSR and 114 in Oceania). The urbanisation of European society is also continuing, even though the rate at which it is doing so is obviously much lower than in past decades and even though the populations of some cities have declined as a result of a downturn in their economy.

1.2 Towns and Cities, Prime Movers of Economic Development

Towns and cities are required to act as the prime movers of development in this new economic context. The internationalisation of trade, the irresistible boom in services and the growing importance of intangible investment which now accounts for close on half of the gross fixed capital formation of enterprises, are all changing development prospects. Dominated by grey matter, economic activity is naturally flourishing in cities whose main vocation is to bring together and structure the whole range of components (financial, institutional, information, etc.) that shape modern forms of production. Today's economy is dependent on cities, as they are the only places able to link output with markets, decision-makers with promoters, principals with subcontractors, training with employment and research with manufacture.

It is not just the results of external dynamics, however, that cities have to manage. They need to lay the foundations, at an earlier stage, for their competitiveness which is increasingly based on locally grown factors of productivity. Development nowadays depends on the density and quality of the mesh between economic actors. It depends more on the relevance of the collective framework for action and the dynamism of projects than on infrastructure and facilities. Software, i.e. organisational capacities, intelligent development, is more important than hardware. The value of public and private institutions does not just lie in providing an adequate range of traditional facilities. Efficiency now lies in relationships.

As areas able to structure the global with the local, where the effects of interaction and proximity can be built on and where learning can be disseminated, cities also offer, in our period of transition marked by recession and many other uncertainties, other advantages for enterprises which have no choice but to operate on the basis of flexibility and just-in-time and have to be able to adapt to a fragmented and changing demand. Towns and cities, especially the largest, provide a degree of security. A varied economic base, a broad portfolio of activities, a diversified population and an employment market containing a wide range of qualifications are all trump

² There were no more than 150 million town-dwellers at the beginning of the century.

cards in managing uncertain situations. In other words, they offer a sort of “comprehensive insurance”.

Urban development also entails specific economic challenges that mobilise production sectors in many fields: transport, communications, management of complex networks, waste treatment, control of pollution, etc. The economic market of towns and cities is valued on a worldwide basis at over 150 billion dollars per annum, the developing countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America accounting for just under half of this figure. For many enterprises, this market therefore plays an essential role in their identity, strategic position and development capacity.

1.3 The Globalisation of the Economy Sustains the Urban Dynamic

Some people, taking as their starting point large-scale trends which seem to be pointing to an eradication of the spatial dimension of economic and social problems, thought that the internationalisation of markets, the development of company strategies, the gradual dematerialisation of production and spectacular advances in communications and transport techniques would gradually obliterate distances and specific local features, and would give enterprises much more freedom in deciding where to settle, would make their locations unimportant and would mean that the concerns of territorial organisation were of little interest.

Events have not borne out this diagnosis. It is a proven fact that globalisation reinforces metropolisation. The opening up of the economy has not made it impervious to local links, but has reinforced urban concentration. The polarisation of growth is a world phenomenon. The largest conurbations tend to concentrate human and material wealth in a cumulative way. The dynamism of these urban areas lies in the fact that they are above all fantastic – current and potential – switchboards for energy, skills and aspirations. It has already been stressed that intangible resources now shape where activities are located and that the logic of proximity tends to win out over any other consideration. Reducing the costs of distance or of increases in external funding are less important than the quality of the human fabric and the density of social, intellectual and cultural relationships. For enterprises, cities have a rich seam of skills, innovation and learning, as well as flexibility in all senses of the term. These are not fixed resources but require ongoing construction within local societies.

Relationships between cities and space are also changing. Since cities have stopped serving external production systems, their operation is no longer based on a gravitational and capillary logic. Their location and their size were determined in the past by the size (and in particular the area) of the region that they served. This is no longer the case. The old model of location in which cities were distributed throughout the territory in finely meshed hierarchies of spiders’ webs is no longer relevant. There has been a gradual but irrevocable shift towards a different logic based on the interaction of urban units. Since they are becoming the main place of production, cities now have other cities as their hinterland. This points to the advent of “star patterns” of urban systems shaped by modern means of transport and communication.



1.4 The Future of Society is Being Played Out in Our Cities

It is the tirelessly sought, but delicate and fragile combination of democracy and efficiency, commerce and social cohesion that should sustain the essential vocation of cities as centres of civilisation.

Politeness, civility, urbanity are all words deriving etymologically from Greek or Latin words connected with the city. Growing inequality, injustice, distress and loneliness should not make us forget this. How can everyone flourish if cities are no longer able to play their fundamental role as places where people can meet and converse? In this respect we are living through difficult times. Cities have often become places of violence. Far from being major urban utopias, today's conurbations, in the north as well as the south, are gradually falling apart. The balkanisation of the urban fabric tends to bolster the existence of antagonistic groups, who, at best, ignore one another but often fear one another and enter into conflict. The image of cities surrounded by worrying suburbs or unacceptable shanty towns is unfortunately a familiar one. Even the developed countries have proved to be incapable, as matters stand at present, of housing all their low-income households. The growing number of homeless people is a worrying trend.

Cumulative processes are at work in some districts and are tending to impoverish and marginalise them. Whether in city centres or suburbs, these districts combining a whole range of handicaps are gradually transformed into prisons with the result that they, in their turn, produce and accelerate exclusion. This risk of permanent detachment, of a slide from inequality into exclusion, raises major and unprecedented problems. Poor districts have undoubtedly always existed and the organisation of the industrial towns of the past gave rise to inequalities that had intense and in some cases brutal effects. Rich city centres, however, needed working class suburbs. This is not the case today. Entire districts are falling by the wayside, not just because they are poor but because they are literally excluded from the fundamental mechanisms which govern our society, or are being forced into parallel circuits. These developments are in no way an intentional result of town planning or ethnic determinism, even though they may lead to genuine ghettos. Town planning methods do, however, play a key role in this respect. Over and above questions of equity and ethics, the stress has been placed on the threat of social breakdown posed by these developments and on the pathological risks that they entail. Some people have gone as far as predicting the advent of "urban savages" brought up outside of any culture and compelled by their circumstances to consider cities as jungles and to invent new ways of surviving in them.

Spatial segregation is not just reflected by the marginalisation of disadvantaged districts. A symmetrical phenomenon is also taking place. Rich districts are closing themselves off. In many conurbations, well-off districts are tending to transform themselves into fortified enclosures taking the form of little island enclaves in city centres or residential suburbs, protected by barriers, guards, sophisticated security devices and draconian internal regulations. The inhabitants of these districts share space, facilities and fully privatised services strictly between one another. In these closed universes, the rich can go about their business without any need for

social communication, without contact with the external world and sheltered from the violence and poverty that surrounds them. Four million Americans already live in these “rich people’s ghettos” leaving little doubt that they wish to cut themselves off from the other social strata and gradually to abandon public spaces to those who are less privileged.

Throughout the planet, the divide between the rich and the poor is becoming increasingly clear-cut even though they remain close neighbours. Vigorous opposition to this kind of urban apartheid is not enough to repair the social breakdown and to remove the inequalities that it entails. While we must fight as hard as we can against this threat for reasons of solidarity, we also have to do so for reasons of economic efficiency since it is difficult to envisage, in the long term, a high-performance economy and high-performance enterprises in a society that has been torn apart, that has broken down, that lacks social cohesion and that has to support the excessive burdens of non-activity. Unless we take care, this dual city, often called a “two-speed city” could very quickly become a “three-speed city”. The globalisation of the world economy is placing many employees in precarious situations and is stepping up levels of uncertainty. It might well be that an unstable and fragile group, paradoxically hostile to current policies of urban solidarity from which they do not benefit, emerges between the excluded and the well-off groups.

1.5 The Ecological Future of Our Planet is Also Being Played Out in Cities

Urban ecology is a further challenge. Urban growth is having a growing impact on natural ecosystems and represents a threat to the environment throughout the world: the greenhouse effect, the ozone layer, deforestation and biodiversity. The fact that the proportion of energy consumed by transport and the habitat is continuing to grow means that cities are using an increasing proportion of world energy. Situations differ, however, and the most unbridled overconsumption goes hand in hand, in our planet, with the most appalling penury. The towns and cities of the north are obviously the most thoughtless. They use 60 to 80% of the total energy consumed in developed countries. Were they to imitate this example, however, the cities of the south would soon catch them up. If events of the last twenty years were to continue through the next twenty years, the growth of consumption in southern countries would by itself double world energy consumption of fossil fuels and the carbon dioxide emissions associated with them. The pollution caused by cities is also having a major impact on their regional and local environment. Large cities in particular are consuming ever greater quantities of water and discarding all sorts of effluents and waste on their outskirts. To assess this impact, use is now being made of the “ecological footprint” technique that consists in evaluating and aggregating those land surfaces whose biophysical capacity needs to be brought into play to mobilise the resources consumed by cities and to absorb the waste that they produce. The larger this “footprint”, the further cities have moved away from the ideal ecological city. All pollution needs to be treated at source, waste needs to be recycled and transport policies that are non-polluting and that consume less energy need to be implemented.



1.6 The Need for Better Collective Control of Urban Development

The worldwide trend towards urbanisation therefore appears to be an important factor for the future of humanity. Nobody can now ignore the risks that it entails and the opportunities that it offers. Habitat II has clearly shown that our future will be played out in cities. Most of our capacity for economic development lies in these towns and cities; it is in these cities that we have to ward off the threat of social breakdown and preserve the ecological future of the planet.

The extent and complexity of the challenges now facing cities leaves no doubt: public action on urban policy is more than ever necessary. The market cannot by itself make cities economically efficient, ecologically prudent and socially harmonious.

An objective of this kind depends in the first instance on the ability of the public authorities at all levels to find links between demands from different but equally legitimate interests, to work out and get people to accept effective compromises and solutions and to find the correct balance between the levies that they impose and the services that they offer.

The major role that local authorities must now play in the area of urban policy was also stressed at the Istanbul Summit. It was felt at the conference that effective coordinated and democratic management skills at conurbation level depend on the existence of an accountable political authority, capable not only of efficient technical operation, but also of providing a framework for a plurality of actors with responsibilities and rights, while retaining the support of the population. It was felt therefore that every country should, within its own legal framework, promote decentralisation and endeavour to strengthen the financial and institutional capacities of local authorities.

It was also felt that changes were needed in the role of the central state which, while retaining major responsibilities (in particular ensuring, in the name of national solidarity, a community of interests between citizens, territories and generations) should not participate so directly in action. The preferred role for the central state was that of “facilitator”. It needs to pool its knowledge with economic and social actors and create the conditions needed for the success of their initiatives in particular by ensuring that markets are fluid. It has in some ways to become a state offering leadership and regulation that creates and controls the rules of socio-economic conduct.

Habitat II lastly confirmed that coordination between public authorities, the private sector and civil society has become one of the main prerequisites for efficient urban development that is balanced and viable in the long term. A whole range of institutional arrangements are obviously needed if this partnership is to be adapted on a case-by-case basis to very different situations involving very different partners.



Chapter 2

The Challenges Facing European Cities

Like all cities in the world, European cities are directly concerned by the far-reaching trends that have been discussed above and are obviously subject, in their own way, to the same economic, social and environmental issues. Some challenges, however, are of very particular importance to them: adapting to changes in the production system, controlling suburban sprawl, regenerating urbanity and taking account of the requirements of sustainable development.

2.1. Adapting to Changes in the Production System

European towns and cities have turned the major boom in the service sector to their profit; the service sector now provides 60 to 80% of their jobs and has in most cases made it possible to offset job losses in industry.

These changes have had a direct and twofold impact on the urban fabric: not only the construction of a substantial volume of office buildings³, but also the creation of industrial wastelands: disused buildings and abandoned open spaces⁴.

The globalisation of the economy and the gradual replacement of industry by the service sector have also had a major impact on the European urban fabric. The best situated and best equipped conurbations are becoming more important than other more remote and less well-equipped conurbations. Cities such as Athens, Valencia, Palermo, Thessaloniki, Belfast, Lisbon and Seville, and industrial cities such as Turin, Glasgow and Bilbao, that are furthest from the centre of gravity of the European territory are at a disadvantage in comparison with cities occupying

³ In some cases, for instance in France and the United Kingdom, these buildings took a speculative turn in the ten years between 1985 and 1995.

⁴ It is estimated that industrial wastelands of this type cover an area of 20 000 hectares in France.

more central positions, such as Antwerp, Bremen and Rotterdam or other cities such as Hanover, Lyons and Vienna that are readily accessible and possess a diversified range of activities.

The draft European spatial development perspective (Noordwijk, June 1997) briefly reviews the strengths and weaknesses of European urban structures and gives a broad outline of the potential consequences of changes likely to affect the economic potential of towns and cities (see boxes on following pages).

The changes under way are making it necessary for every conurbation to evaluate its own potential and then to implement an appropriate development strategy, taking account as far as possible of its own specific features and making sure that its ambitions are in keeping with its

SWOT analysis: Urban structures

	Strengths/Opportunities	Weaknesses/Threats
A1	<p>Emergence of city clusters, in regions with high-level territorial cohesion.</p> <p>Emergence of networks of cities at continental, transnational or regional level (but at an embryonic stage, limited to exchanges of experience and without a genuine strategic dimension).</p> <p>Regions with relatively balanced city systems.</p>	<p>In regions with small populations and/or with little territorial cohesion, problems in forming the clusters/networks of cities needed to obtain a critical mass of facilities and investment. Cities on some frontiers “are turning their back” .</p> <p>High level of competition between cities, entailing the risk of over-provision of facilities and wastage of resources.</p> <p>Imbalances in the urban fabric in some regions: through polarisation around a very influential city, or excessive coastal settlement to the detriment of the interior of the country.</p>
A2	<p>World influence of competitive global cities such as London and Paris.</p> <p>Development of mobile investment in some attractive outlying regions (but need to ensure that benefits spread to neighbouring regions).</p> <p>Links between “gateway cities” and some parts of the world, helping to build up the EU’s international influence and to rebalance its metropolitan functions + similar phenomenon: high-level links between some EU cities and neighbouring non-EU countries.</p>	<p>Old industrial cities, facing major problems of economic redevelopment and diversification and lacking social cohesion.</p> <p>Other cities dependent on economic bases that are too narrow (port and tourist industries, public authorities, etc.).</p> <p>Problems in making some rural towns economically dynamic.</p>
A3	<p>Attraction of the urban fabric for some categories of households (single parents, the elderly, etc.) which could help to repopulate city centres.</p> <p>Success of “compact city” policies in some regions.</p> <p>Pilot strategic and multisectoral planning programmes for urban regions, incorporating economic, social and environmental dimensions.</p> <p>New methods of managing the cycles (waste, water, energy) of urban ecosystems.</p> <p>New settlement and mobility policies in some urban regions.</p>	<p>Uncontrolled spread of cities in many regions.</p> <p>Social segregation, urban districts in crisis, industrial and other urban wastelands. Lack of a mix of functions (residential, business, green areas) in some districts. Problems caused by land and property speculation.</p> <p>Production of urban waste and in many cases excessive consumption of energy and water.</p> <p>Increase in urban nuisance (noise, pollution, traffic congestion).</p>

Source: *ESDP, first official draft (Noordwijk document)*



resources. Towns and cities that are too dependent on some sectors of activity will need in particular to diversify their economic base.

These changes to cities and their mutual relationships will undoubtedly have a significant impact on the balance of the European territory, the structure of the polynuclear system of European cities and the functional links between cities. Finding the best possible urban organisation of the European territory will depend on finding more efficient methods of cooperation, with the emphasis on networking, of reducing imbalances and of strengthening links between cities and their hinterlands.

Changes in the economic potential of European towns and cities

The single market, the opening up of central and eastern Europe, demographic and political pressures from non-EU Balkan and North African regions, continuing liberalisation of trade and movement, the globalisation of the economy and rapid technological advances are all helping to open up new economic prospects for many European cities. A review based on the city and city classification used for the Strasbourg ESDP scenarios suggests three main categories (the reality is obviously much wider-ranging and not as clear-cut).

International urban entities combining international and other functions are well equipped to tackle competition, but have to deal with their overcrowding:

- “global cities” – London, Paris, possibly Berlin, and one or two others – will continue to attract high-level functions such as the head offices of multinationals, international financial establishments and other commercial services;
- “metropolitan regions” – like the Randstad, the Flemish “diamond” and the network of central Belgian cities and the Rhine-Ruhr, Rhine-Main, Hamburg and West Midlands (United Kingdom) regions – are stepping up their international position by developing specialisations that complement one another in the various centres of the conurbation and are endeavouring to overcome the handicaps that they have inherited from their industrial past;
- “capital cities”: most have their own potential (particularly capitals such as Copenhagen, Stockholm, Lisbon, Helsinki, Madrid, Rome); some face particular challenges connected with their function as gateways to the Union (Vienna, Helsinki).

National cities form a diverse category. Some have a relatively healthy base, others face problems; this is true of:

- “outlying cities having a low-level urban function”, threatened by declining development prospects, in view of the long distances involved, their dependence on traditional activities, demographic decline, climatic problems, etc. There is nothing inexorable, however, about this trend, and cities such as Bari, Oporto, Valencia, Rennes, Seville and Edinburgh have

implemented innovative development strategies showing that they can lessen the burden of their specific structural constraints;

- “old industrial cities”, able to deploy new economies, but for which a great deal will depend on their new relative location especially in relation to the economic core zone.

The economic performance of **regional** cities will depend a great deal on their geographical position:

- “regional cities at the heart of Europe” generally have favourable growth prospects particularly in the service sector;
- “regional cities outside the heart of Europe” will be dependent on their geographical position; some will profit from the fact that they are in a development corridor or an attractive and influential zone (Toulouse, Grenoble, Salzburg);
- “medium-sized cities in predominantly rural areas”, for which a great deal will depend on their geographical position, may profit from their natural environment, in view of the growing awareness of the benefits offered by a high-quality rural environment.

Source: *ESDP, first official draft (Noordwijk document)*

2.2. Controlling Urban Sprawl

A number of cities are hardly worthy of the name. Many conurbations – the use of this term is significant – are immense conglomerations, lacking and looking for organisation, that are invading the ever more extensive suburbs of large cities, river valleys and coastal regions, and eating up former agricultural areas. Long connected with modes of industrial production, this loose and heterogeneous urbanisation is based on the belief that progress lies in infrastructure and sophisticated technical, tangible or intangible, networks. It is also a result of the Taylorist approach which has continued, in city planning as well as in enterprises, to divide, segment and fragment. It is even more the result of differences in the price of land, too expensive on the outskirts of centres, and affordable only in far-flung suburbs. The picture offered by most of today’s conurbations is one of great contrast and is often not very auspicious: decaying or disinherited centres or, at the other extreme, centres revived by speculation and transformed into havens, and disparate, sparse and fragmented suburban districts.

Most urban regions in Europe are faced by the problem of urban sprawl. It seems that Europeans need more and more space. Land consumption by inhabitant is increasing. “The fewer inhabitants there are per dwelling, the more homes there are; the more mobility there is, the more infrastructure there is; the more wealth there is, the more ownership there is⁵.” In France, for instance, the distance between home and work has doubled over the last fifteen years and the urbanised area tripled between 1954 and 1990, whereas, at the same time, the urban population

⁵ Draft European spatial development perspective (ESDP).



merely doubled. Urban suburbs are therefore continuing to develop “like oil slicks” and often in an anarchic way. This sprawl increases the cost of servicing towns and cities, aggravates mobility, cuts down leisure time and threatens suburban balance. Urban sprawl runs completely counter to concerns of sustainable development and seems to be out of kilter with the very notion of the city.

2.3. Regenerating Urbanity

Cities that are spread out and chopped into bits are no longer cities. The spread of these forms of urbanisation is calling into question the traditional and more than ever necessary role of cities as meeting places and focuses of identity. It is leading to the disappearance of what forms their very essence, i.e. urbanity or “the relationship that binds, on the one hand, a developed place and its spatial configuration and, on the other hand, the ability of the group occupying it to generate social and convivial links”⁶. Even though it is necessarily based on a complex formula, urbanity always requires a minimum of mix, compactness and diversity. In order to tighten up the links of urbanity, to strengthen their vigour and their continuity, it is therefore necessary to revive the values that gave European cities their specific features: the exercise of local democracy, a balanced urban fabric combining density and mix, local public services, well thought-out public areas and green spaces and respect for and upgrading of the heritage. Opportunities for interaction need to be promoted (by providing a denser mesh of meeting places, improving public transport, promoting genuine public areas, etc.) and employment markets and cultural output decompartmentalised by building on local identities.

If the quality of life is to be improved, efforts also need to be made to promote the environment as, despite the considerable efforts that have already been made in this area, there are still many problems. A study carried out in 1995 by the European Environment Agency showed, for instance, that close on 80% of European cities with over 500 000 inhabitants were not complying with the air quality standards laid down by the World Health Organisation. The urban environments of European cities face other serious problems such as the processing of solid waste and waste water. Care also needs to be taken to prevent and manage major urban risks, whether they are brought about by human activities or natural phenomena.

The concept of environment has to be extended to urban landscapes and the urban architectural heritage which is, at one and the same time, a collective memory, a social issue and a tangible economic reality. It is crucial for European cities which have particularly rich heritages to protect them. This protection is one of the key ways in which these cities can be upgraded. It goes without saying, however, that this heritage should not be mummified, made into a kind of nostalgic cult or reduced to no more than a cultural gadget. The aim should rather be to breathe new life into it. The notion of “integrated conservation”, forged some twenty years ago by the Council of Europe and included in the Granada Convention, rightly stresses that the old heritage must be integrated into contemporary planning and made into a major component of development policies.

⁶ According to Françoise Choay.

Lastly, there can be no urbanity without social cohesion. This social cohesion is being endangered in many European cities which have disadvantaged districts, threatened by impoverishment and marginalisation, that tend to combine handicaps and to become prisons and accelerators of exclusion. Whether this threat has been shaped by economic liberalisation or is an involuntary result of immigration and habitat policies that have wrongly promoted residential segregation, it seems to be worsening. These disadvantaged districts are not a microcosm of “society at its poorest”. Their profiles are very distinct. If some turning points are reached, very rapid and damaging developments in the area of both behaviour and actual circumstances could, moreover, take place in these districts. It is essential that this development be stopped and that these disadvantaged districts be brought back into cities. Most of the European countries have implemented concerted and specific measures that attempt to do precisely that.

2.4. Taking Account of the Requirements of Sustainable Development

The concept of sustainable development has emerged from an awareness of the impasses and contradictions to which many of the trends currently at work could lead. The way in which issues are perceived and the world is considered has now changed. It is now widely accepted that a more responsible attitude based on greater solidarity, and laying the foundations for a better future, is needed. The concept of sustainable development has met with incredible success within the space of less than ten years. The Brundtland report came out as recently as 1987 and, only a few years after the Rio summit whose crowning glory was sustainable development, the term has invaded reports and speeches, even though it has not as yet had much impact on public policy. The adjective “sustainable” is now ubiquitous and on all the menus – which leads to a degree of ambiguity. A very wide range of definitions have been proposed for sustainable development, but the general consensus nowadays is that sustainable development is an attempt to reconcile economic growth and social progress without squandering non-renewable resources and without threatening the ecological balance.

Sustainable development is an ambitious goal and will not just come about by itself. Sustainable development strategies are unlikely to arise simply from a spontaneous reconciliation of differences. They will require major changes in behaviour at all levels and a determined approach, the initiative for which will have to be taken above all by the public authorities. Each problem must be dealt with at the “correct level” and the relevant territorial area pinpointed theme by theme⁷. It is for this reason, for instance, that ecological constraints in the strict sense have meaning only at a global level. The issues raised by the greenhouse effect or the ozone layer must be considered – and can only be effectively tackled – at a global level. Most of the issues raised by sustainable development can be dealt with most effectively, however, at the level of the urban conurbation.

⁷ Especially as sustainable development has particular properties as regards territory. It is not cumulative, as what is good for one territory is not necessarily good for the region surrounding it. Nor is it easily transferable since reasoning that is valid at one level cannot always be transposed wholesale to another level.



The combination of the various challenges that they face means that towns and cities are very good places for the formulation and implementation of a realistic policy of sustainable development. Not only because they contain the majority of people and activities, but also because the only places in which the changes in behaviour that sustainable development requires, from the point of view of both modes of consumption and production processes, can take effect are cities, bearing in mind the predominance of urban lifestyles and the extent to which urban values have penetrated territories as a whole. Urban growth has not only changed scale, it has also changed nature. Moral standards have become increasingly urbanised and it may well be that urban values ultimately spread to the planet as a whole.

There is, however, another even more crucial reason: the urban conurbation seems to be the most appropriate level at which development strategies that are genuinely global and integrated and that take a genuinely systemic approach to problems can be implemented in a concrete and credible way.

Social issues, economic issues and environmental protection not only have to be tackled at the same time within the conurbation, but must also be tackled through an enlarged strategy. They have to be seen for what they are: connected by causal links like the pieces of a jigsaw puzzle.

If towns and cities are to be economically efficient, able to move towards balanced social development and able to perform well from the ecological point of view – a good definition of sustainable urban development or of the part that cities can play in sustainable development policy – ambitious and global strategic planning, covering urbanisation prospects, transport policies, infrastructure, the protection of sensitive areas and natural resources, social solidarity and local economic development, and making use of the combined efforts of the various partners concerned, needs to be developed at conurbation level.

A sustainable development approach should also make us call into question policies of mobility that are costly in terms of time and have an adverse external impact and think about better ways of organising the urban space and by what kinds of individual and public transport charges this can be promoted. It is clear from past experience that these problems cannot be resolved solely by technical progress. Calling into question consumption habits, production mechanisms and lifestyles is of crucial importance. The city itself must be seen as a fragile ecosystem in which a certain number of balances have to be respected. It is this complex play of interactions, both territorial and functional, that needs to be preserved to ensure that cities develop in sustainable and harmonious ways.

Applied to cities, the concept of sustainable development can therefore be split into a range of realistic objectives geared towards more economic and efficient urban management: reducing the consumption of water, energy and space, shortening circuits for the treatment and recycling of refuse, waste water and demolition materials, dispensing with unnecessary movements of people and goods, improving social cohesion and geographical solidarity, etc.

This should be the goal of the local Agendas 21 whose systematic formulation was recommended at the Rio and Istanbul conferences but which, because of insufficient definition, information and promotion work are still, in some European countries, at a latent or experimental stage, even though, fortunately, there is growing interest in them.



Chapter 3

A Particularly Difficult Context

Public action is having to take place in an increasingly difficult context in which its efficiency is being affected by a whole range of factors.

3.1 The Impact of the Globalisation of Trade

Even though our western economies are still not very integrated in many respects, the globalisation of finance and the internationalisation of enterprises are realities that are having an increasingly substantial impact. For instance, international security transactions accounted for less than 5% of the GDP of the main industrialised countries in 1975. Twenty years later, they accounted for 100 to 200% in France and Germany and up to 1000% in the United Kingdom. Another example: the developing countries and countries in transition which received only 17% of the global flow of direct investment in 1990 received 44% of it in 1994.

The globalisation of trade is stimulating the economy. The global production of goods is increasing more rapidly than the population. The average standard of living may well be increasing but, at the same time, there is a rapidly growing gap between the wealthiest and the poorest both internationally⁸ and within each country. Unemployment levels have soared in the countries of the North. People are being thrown back into situations of abject poverty.

Several major challenges are emerging from these far-reaching trends:

- the social cohesion of developed countries is a problem in a world where performance matters more than force of numbers, where the rich have increasingly less need of their poor. Calling equal opportunities into question saps the very foundations of democratic life;

⁸ Over the last thirty years, global GDP has increased sixfold and the average per capita income has tripled, but at the same time, the income gap between the industrialised and developing countries has tripled.

- citizenship is in disarray because globalisation, which seems to be a faceless and unaccountable process, is overturning the accepted frameworks of belonging around which our European societies have long been organised: the enterprise and the territory. Current dependencies are now at play in a framework that is very mobile and introducing increasingly worrying contradictions. A Renault trade unionist, for instance, is “European”, but negotiates as “French” or “Belgian”;
- these growing inequalities would seem to make it necessary to strengthen the nation state which is the natural space for solidarity. Redistribution is, however, more difficult than ever, at a time when there is an increasing gap between the economic power of the state and that of financiers, central banks and the markets. The emergence, moreover, of decision-making processes that come within the remit of international bodies, in particular the European Union, obviously places limits on the margins of manoeuvre of nation states;
- the social costs of globalisation are still being borne by the local authorities that existed before frontiers were opened up, whereas these costs are now on a completely different scale.

3.2 An Increasingly Complex Urban Society

People’s increasing autonomy and the diversification of the social corpus both mean that urban society is constantly becoming more complex. Every citizen’s relative autonomy with respect to the groups from which they came and which shape their social life is growing. This trend is not the same as desocialisation, but is more the starting point of a permutation of society. Differences are proliferating, there is a growing range of inequalities and the variety of relationships is being amplified. Urban societies nowadays include several population groups in unprecedented situations, with few or no references and increasing in number: lone-parent families, young people trying to find work, the long-term unemployed, people who have taken early retirement, etc.

Moreover, institutional partners have proliferated. There are increasing numbers of decision-makers whose value systems differ and in some cases conflict. There is no certainty about the application of the principle of subsidiarity. Torn between these different points of view, the notion of the general interest is constantly being diluted. The decision-making context is itself ambivalent and elements of choice influence one another. Awareness of this complexity is bringing about a growing sophistication of methods of anticipation and decision. Public action is increasingly transparent. There is growing controversy about the best solutions to be chosen. These choices are increasingly based on a laborious process of dialogue, discussion, checks and counter-checks, complicated by the need to arbitrate between values that have nothing at all in common and the problems that such arbitration raises.

3.3 Politics in Crisis

The lack of a convincing political discourse is sorely felt. Citizens do not want to live in the uncertain and the unexplainable. They deplore the impotence of their political leaders. There is a growing feeling that governments no longer have any control over economic trends and their



consequences. The inability of public policies to stem the tide of unemployment and exclusion has played a major part in the awareness, widely shared nowadays, that “economic growth” and “social progress” may not go hand in hand. What provided a link in our societies was the shared myth of progress, the collective belief in the future, dreams that gradually become reality through social advancement. Questioning the viability of this path opens up a period of collective interrogation and doubt involving a whole range of people and not just those who are unemployed, in precarious situations or excluded, i.e. facing the insecurity of the here and now.

Although compulsory contribution levels are very high and the regulation efforts of public authorities have never been so substantial, a number of citizens now feel that nobody is actually governing them. There is a crisis of confidence in politicians and the political parties, especially as some of them have seemed, in recent years, to pay more attention to their own interests than to the duties of their office.

3.4 An Uncertain Future

The crisis in politics is coupled with a crisis in citizenship. The collective subconscious is experiencing, in a confused way, a feeling of being cut off from a lost past and of insecurity about an unknown future. In many cases, the focal point of this nebulous threat is the insecurity of daily life, although the distress that is being felt has much further-reaching and wider causes.

We have entered a period marked by an uncertain or even random future. It is difficult to make any forecasts because the same causes do not always produce the same effects.

It is true, for instance, that the options for action on urban patterns are no longer what they were. The ways in which cities are envisaged and constructed have undergone few changes and they are proving, in a context of financial hardship, unable to meet the new urban challenges represented by changes in lifestyles that are diversifying demand, increased mobility and individualism that are having an impact on the ways in which property is used, dilution of responsibilities and loss of collective meaning. A major turning point has been reached from the point of view of urban planning. Plans can no longer be seen solely as means to an end. Priority has to be given to an evolutionary logic. Decision-makers must now pay more attention to processes than to goals, to the path rather than the target. Firm priority must be given to flexibility and the ability to adapt by promoting mix, reversibility, transparency and an internalisation of external factors that is as systematic as possible.

Another major question mark. We do not know what impact information and communication techniques will have on urban organisation and management, even though we feel that it may be considerable. Increasingly sophisticated and easy to use, will they bring into play settlement practices and choices that make it possible to dispel distances and any need for physical proximity, will they free where people settle from any constraints and promote the dispersion of these settlements throughout the territory? Can they counterbalance, or even counter those forces working in the direction of metropolisation? Some people think or hope so. Nothing, however, is

less certain. It is even possible to put forward the reverse hypothesis: since they make some travel unnecessary, they make other travel more necessary. Their main users, moreover, are those who travel most, as well as those who live and work in the largest cities, who are making good use of these efficient arms for labour division, economic concentration and therefore urban expansion. Is it not true that the first people to profit from technical progress have always been those best able to put it to use?

3.5 Finding the Link between Different Time Scales

Urban action must be resolutely linked to time. The structures of cities can be transformed only by prolonged, continuous, determined and opinionated action, that can be supported by those to whom it will be of benefit.

This does not mean that short-term action can, as in the past, be locked onto pre-cut segments of a long-term plan. Just as a sailing boat tacks in order to adapt to changing winds, we must, while keeping on course, be able to adapt action to a moving context.

Neglecting the importance and the requirements of the future on the pretext that decision-makers are increasingly aware of their inability to forecast, even in the medium term, would be just as regrettable. The burden of current interest rates limits the debts that they can incur and shrinks their horizon. The introduction of high discount rates into economic calculations all too often means that the long term is neglected. Action by public authorities is all too often limited to small areas and the short term.

The ability to combine, in any circumstances, the effects of actions conducted simultaneously but with very different time scales, and to control, at all times, the management of different time scales, is now essential.



Chapter 4

City Government and Urban Governance

The issues connected with the future of our cities, the challenges that they are facing and the problems being raised by the socio-political context all point to an urgent need for the return of politics, the need to develop a collective ability to manage interrelationships, to make the instruments of public action more effective and to improve the circumstances in which they are used. Even though the situation is limiting margins of action, at a time when a whole set of inadequacies, mismatches and dysfunctions are being sorely experienced, better control and better direction of the development of our cities, in terms both of territorial organisation and urban management, is crucial. Public decision-makers are earnestly being invited to prove, in this particularly difficult context, that they are genuinely efficient. What is needed is more *Ordnungspolitik*, to use the German term, and fewer makeshift repairs.

The same demands are also being imposed on private decision-makers. A great deal has been written in the last few years on enterprise governance (1992 Cadbury report on corporate governance). The more complex and rapid a machine is, the more efficient it is intended to be, the more the question of its control and direction is raised. Who is at the helm and how is the course chosen? A wide-ranging debate, set in motion by the owners of capital as a reaction to the errors of managers and the defects of control systems, is now taking place on the means by which share companies can be made to operate in the best interests of the community of shareholders, with reference to the clear-cut (and therefore measurable) objective of wealth creation.

In the field of public action, matters are naturally more complicated and will become even more so. How can we meet this imperative of efficient urban governance?

4.1 Independent Urban Governance: Paradise Lost or Utopia?

Over the centuries, cities have dominated institutional relationships and territorial organisation. Each city polarised a certain portion of territory that it drew on, nourished, embodied and placed in relation to other territories. From antiquity to the Middle Ages, there is clear evidence of this urban control function in Europe. It is borne out by the persistence of the conglomerating model and a centralism that has always provided a focus for power. It is reflected by the close geographical interlinkage, in small areas, of the secular or symbolic attributes of authority, whether political, religious, economic or financial.

It is possible to envisage, in this system of interlocking and hierarchically organised areas, structured by cities operating on the basis of a gravitational and capillary logic, the possibility of an independent, clearly established and unquestionable urban government of whose identity and presence all its citizens are aware, capable of making decisions and applying them, having legitimate means of coercion, sovereign within its own territory, able to exert its authority on movements of goods and people, able to abstract resources, incur expenditure, produce public goods, regulate private activities, resolve conflicts, and so on.

In European medieval society⁹ “good” urban government is a basic theme of political ideology as can be seen from the magnificent frescoes in the town hall of Siena¹⁰. In the room in which the independent government of the Republic of Siena met, this monumental fresco celebrates “good government” in the form of an allegory containing personalities representing justice, peace and other symbolic figures of Sienese democracy. Two protagonists occupy a particular place: an old wise man embodying the public good and a majestic woman symbolising concord. The large plane that she bears on her knees is the symbolic tool needed to achieve the objective of equality of citizens before the law. A rope is stretched between these two personalities and held by representatives of the people of Siena involved in the running of their town: bankers, traders and craftsmen. This allegory is completed by another fresco offering a pleasing illustration of “the effects of good government”.

Paradise lost or utopia? While this type of urban, sovereign and independent government seemed desirable and practical in the past, and while it proved effective for a long time, there are a good many reasons why it can no longer be envisaged in any form today.

The equation that controls this model of government – a power capable of acting alone, completely independently and exercising its authority over a limited territory, which is more or less self-sufficient – has not applied for a long time to our European towns and cities and will become increasingly less applicable.

There have in effect been three major changes. The first is connected with the progressive and spectacular extension of urban conurbations that has resulted in the juxtaposition and co-

⁹ The medieval town was, more than today, an arena for social and political experiment.

¹⁰ Painted by Lorenzetti in the 14th century.



existence of various local authorities, increasing in number with the size of the conurbation, within these conurbations. Holding powers that are general, but limited to a portion of the urban territory, these local authorities are therefore unable to take an overview of the problems of their city. The fragmentation of local power places substantial curbs on its impact.

The second has to do with trends in political structures and with the distribution and sedimentation of the various levels of public power. Several superimposed public authorities are now involved, some more directly than others, in towns and cities, alongside the local authorities. They include the central state itself, as well as powers established at intermediate levels (*Land*, region, department, etc.). These supra-local authorities take vertical approaches and organise sectoral programmes. The splitting up of the functions of supra-local powers is therefore additional to the fragmentation of local power.

The third is connected with the emergence on the urban policy scene of a whole range of socio-economic actors, whose areas of action, themselves variable, coincide only partially or temporarily with the area of local power. People and activities, installed within a given conurbation, are increasingly connected to a whole range of tangible or informal networks and in some cases have more intense relationships with remote territories than with their immediate environment. This is changing the nature of the concept of hinterland.

All this has a very far-reaching impact on the territorial jurisdiction of local authorities, their institutional forms and the very mechanisms of good city government.

4.2 The End of the Myth of “Pertinent Territory”

Economists, like geographers, like to consider the territory as a system, i.e. a “frontier” incorporating a set of factors that have more relationships with one another than with outside factors. The notion of territory implies the notion of autonomy, i.e. the ability to maintain itself and evolve under external influences. The concept that arises from this view is inevitably multiform:

- some people give priority to the perceived area and define a territory on the basis of the limits suggested by an analysis of attitudes and perceptions. From this point of view, the dimension of identity defines a territorial system’s autonomy;
- other people start by observing socio-economic phenomena and physical flows in order to pinpoint an “objective” territory. Local labour markets, residential areas and areas of infrastructure are all areas that are polarised with respect to certain relationships such as travel between home and work, market radius, etc.;
- other people give priority to the territory covered by administrative action and its constituencies;
- a fourth approach focuses on the political territory shaped by people’s voting habits.

The same division is rarely obtained when the focus is changed and different relationships examined. The premise of the modernist and rationalising vision of public action has up to now been that these different divisions can be caused to converge and it has been assumed that it is possible to construct an optimum territory for the organisation of public policies.

Trends in the world socio-economic context now make it necessary to stop trying to pinpoint a pertinent territory that can be superimposed on all territorial configurations. Even if flows do not ignore places, territory is now perceived as an immense mesh of intersecting networks. The performance of a territory is shaped, much more than in the past, by its intrinsic assets. It is increasingly dependent on what takes place between local actors and on the processes of organisation, communication and cooperation which bring them together.

The boundaries to be taken into account have a variable geometry. They depend on the nature of the problems to be tackled. There is no optimum territorial level at which development can be fostered or social innovation promoted.

4.3 The Established Forms of Local Power: from the Municipality to the Conurbation

Organisational factors (such as the ever-increasing complexity of the tasks of the public authorities) or political factors (such as the growing desire of citizens to be associated with the management of public matters) have long been prime movers in the emergence of local power. This rise in local power is one of the striking institutional developments of contemporary political development, in a Europe which is marked, moreover, by intense thinking and research on the nature of the central state and the diversification of state structures through decentralisation, greater autonomy and regionalisation.

Founded on the guiding principle of subsidiarity, rules on the division of powers have been devised, clarified and then codified in the various national legislations, and in the European Charter of Local Autonomy¹¹.

It has already been noted that the world summit on towns and cities – Habitat II – had itself emphasised the importance of the local level, stressing that dynamic local authorities that have been democratically elected and are accountable to their population are a key factor in balanced and sustainable urban development. It is therefore necessary to promote an effective decentralisation of powers, genuine local democracy and, in order to ensure the operational efficiency of urban policies and their acceptance by citizens, good skills in coordinated and democratic management at the level of each conurbation.

Political territories made legitimate by elections are, however, what they are and rarely correspond to the operational needs of the moment. Situations change, moreover, with the result

¹¹ The European Charter of Local Autonomy is a convention formulated within the Council of Europe and ratified by some 15 or so countries.



The vertical articulation of urban policies: converging problems

There are many differences between European countries – and even within federal countries – in the ways in which planning, regulatory and operational powers, powers of legislation and regulation, initiative and decision-making powers and financial resources are divided between the different levels of public power. However, a comparative analysis of trends in institutional frameworks shows that the various countries are tending to face the same three problems as regards the vertical articulation (i.e. between the different levels of public power) of responsibility for urban policies.

- In the first instance, everyone now agrees that urban policies must have a local dimension, with the result that initiative and decision-making are being decentralised to local authorities.
- At the same time, people also agree that national powers have certain prerogatives (supervision, arbitration, coherence, solidarity, implementation of national policies on transport, energy, the environment, etc.). These two factors are leading to certain similarities in the balance of institutional relationships between the national and local powers of the different countries, although this balance is moving in the direction of decentralisation in some cases (Italy, Spain) and in the direction of re-centralisation in others (United Kingdom).
- The emergence of the intermediate level (in some cases two intermediate levels: the French regions and departments, the German *Länder* and *Regierungsbezirke*, etc.), operating between the central or federal level and the local level, in the coordination of urban policies and the implementation of decentralisation often provides a good forum for contact and dialogue between devolved services and decentralised powers.

that structures are almost always out of kilter with citizens' needs and aspirations. The conurbation and the district, as two of the most pertinent levels for public action, are nowadays often political deserts. The territory of the municipality is often too large for the management of the problems of districts, and is always too limited to take account of sectoral interdependencies. Its boundaries are increasingly obsolete with respect to contemporary urban reality. Even though, as stressed in the previous paragraph, seeking an optimum territorial dimension, whether geographical or managerial, appears to be of little value and increasingly lacking in sense, the issue of the space in which local power should be deployed, so that it can be fully effective, is an ongoing issue that raises a permanent question for the politicians.

There is a fairly wide range of views in this area. Supporters of "public choice" are satisfied by the division of conurbations into concurrent municipalities, giving the urban space highly contrasting aspects, in terms of both type of population and activities and the way in which local power is exercised. They feel that the rivalry that inevitably arises between these municipalities makes it possible to think up original solutions that are more rational and better in keeping with needs. They point out that discontented citizens can always vote with their feet and opt for that part of the conurbation that best suits them.

Others, larger in number, advocate the solidarity of the conurbation and increased autonomy for large towns and cities, on the widest possible scale. They would like these urban areas to have a single political authority, based on universal suffrage and combining general powers that are as extensive as possible. They feel that a supreme conurbation authority is unavoidable on functional and democratic grounds, but are aware that this may widen the gap between citizens and local power.

In most European countries, the situation is halfway between these two extremes. Since necessity is the mother of invention, one-off or ongoing forms of cooperation, targeted on specific objectives or with a more general vocation, are being developed between local authorities at the same level and are playing a regulatory role in conurbation systems that are still very fragmented.

Despite the mergers of municipalities that took place in the 1960s and 1970s and as a result of their varying degrees of success, the number of basic local authorities in urban areas (local authorities in Germany, municipalities in Spain, districts in Ireland and the United Kingdom, communes elsewhere) has remained larger than might have been expected in the European countries. These countries can be divided into three groups:

- those in which municipal reform has been wide-ranging enough to have an impact on urban areas and even metropolitan zones (United Kingdom, Denmark, Sweden);
- those in which municipal reform has been successful but has left, even in medium-sized urban areas, a substantial number of municipalities (Germany, Austria, Belgium, Finland, Portugal);
- those, such as France, where municipal reform has not met with any success or has not even been attempted.

The fact that there are often very large numbers of these basic local authorities creates a need for horizontal coordination – capable of providing a better match between the institutional and the functional territory – with an intensity that depends on three main dimensions that vary, moreover, even within the same country: the total number of municipalities in the urban area in question, their degree of independence in decision-making and their financial power and the extent to which their urban policies diverge, whether this divergence is due to a geographical (between municipalities in the centre and municipalities in the suburbs) or political divide.

A whole range of systems have been introduced in recent years to provide this indispensable horizontal coordination at local level, in particular – but not only – in the federal countries. While their formulation has in some cases been at the initiative of local powers (such as Helsinki's Metropolitan Delegation for Cooperation), in most cases it has been at the initiative of national government (in the United Kingdom) or intermediate levels of government (in Germany and Italy). These systems have in some cases been imposed (for instance the metropolitan counties in the United Kingdom between 1972 and 1986), but have in most cases been encouraged, in particular by financial incentives.



The systems implemented generally bring together – whether on a contractual or statutory basis – only local public powers, although national and/or intermediate public powers are also involved in some cases (such as the Special Commission for Oslo, bringing together representatives of the state, the county area of Oslo and the neighbouring county of Akershus). In some cases they are solely functional and in others more political in nature, but are only very rarely elected by direct universal suffrage. In some cases they draw their main resources from operating income, although these resources come, in most cases, from subsidies or contributions from municipalities and very rarely from their own taxation.

The classic concepts of inter-municipality (establishment of an urban area authority that is no more than the product of basic local authorities, from which it draws its political legitimacy – election by direct universal suffrage – its technical and human resources and its financial resources) and supra-municipality (establishment of an urban area authority which is independent and has its own political legitimacy – election by direct universal suffrage – and its own fiscal resources), are proving to be too narrow and not very good at covering this great variety of systems.

It should also be noted that genuine government at the level of the urban area (i.e. the introduction of a genuine supra-municipality) has not been established in any country, apart from possibly the United Kingdom (the experiment with the metropolitan counties, now discontinued).

All these horizontal coordination systems are coming up against varying degrees of hostility or inertia shaped by the historical, political and social legitimacy that the basic local authorities feel that they possess.

They are also coming up against some limits. Their territory rarely includes the functional territory of the urban area. They are not very accountable to electors. Most of them have only restricted powers, and often have a limited vocation, such as the Italian *consorzi*, the British joint boards and the French inter-commune unions. Urban communities along French lines remain the exception.

4.4 An Unavoidable Trend: from City Government to Urban Governance

The government of a city is, in the strict sense, the political power that directs it, in other words the local authorities which, through their election and output of public policies, share the legitimate right to organise, supervise and manage urban societies with the central state.

The duties and responsibilities incumbent upon them are those of all governments. They have in particular to demonstrate, in all circumstances, their twofold ability to:

- resolve problems and, thereby, demonstrate that they are efficient,

- to satisfy the demands placed on them while retaining their democratic effectiveness and accountability.

Paragraph 45 of the world action plan adopted in Istanbul (Chapter III, “Commitments”), states:

We further commit ourselves to the objective of enabling local leadership promoting democratic rule, exercising public authority and using public resources in all public institutions at all levels in a manner that is conducive to ensuring transparent, responsible, accountable, just, effective and efficient governance of towns, cities and metropolitan areas.

Chapter IV on “Strategies for Implementation” contains, among its various subheadings, a relatively detailed explanation of the lines of action to be taken in this respect.

It is interesting to note that the official French version of this document translates “governance” by “gestion”. The term “urban governance” is therefore being used incorrectly here to designate “city government”.

A symposium on the topic of urban governance was held in parallel with the last meeting of the United Nations Commission on Human Settlements (April 1997 – Nairobi), during which it was stressed that “there seems to be general acceptance that governance is concerned with the “quality” of government, with the relationship between the people (the governed) and the authorities (the governance) involving questions of transparency and accountability”. The register is very similar here too. “Managerial efficiency” is again paired with “democratic legitimacy”.

The problem nowadays is that it is proving increasingly difficult to reconcile the many demands emanating from a society that is increasingly pluralist and therefore contains increasingly diversified interests. The governed overload the governance with conflicting demands which it finds difficult or even impossible to reconcile.

Moreover, after having “demanded more in order to offer more”, the governance, which is now having to resolve very difficult problems within a context of scant resources and upwardly moving real interest rates, no longer has any alternative. It has to take on the challenge of “offering more while demanding less”.

This is not, however, the whole of the story. The logic that underpins the economy and society changes more rapidly than types of activity and lifestyles. The new and winning approach is no longer one of rationalisation – doing the same thing more efficiently for less cost – but one of innovation – discovering and introducing other activities – which requires far-reaching changes in the way in which our institutions are run. Innovation can prosper only if a large number of individuals are personally committed to the adventure entailed by development. The problem is no longer one of making the most rational decision, but one of making decisions to which the largest possible number of people can commit themselves.



In order to meet this challenge of innovation, to enable the local power more effectively to carry out its dual task of reconciling demand and devising an appropriate supply and to enable this local power to meet the challenges arising from contemporary changes in the relationships between society, the economy and politics, far-reaching changes are obviously needed in the forms and methods of city government:

- more concerted, better negotiated and better located approaches need to be implemented, in which sectoral policies have more of a key position and are combined with strategies that are geared to better-defined territories;
- a space management relationship needs to be replaced by an approach based on territories as political products;
- priority needs to be given to approaches that are global, i.e. multidisciplinary and based on partnerships, and that unite the efforts of all the parties involved, at each level and between the different levels.

To achieve this, there is no need to create entirely new institutions. It is merely necessary gradually to establish new relationships between public authorities, in particular local authorities, and civil society.

This is what is meant by the concept of urban governance¹² which in practice designates, as Jan Kooiman writes, “the framework that emerges from the governing activities of local, social, political and administrative actors”. This means that as the city is produced by a set of actions, decisions or abstentions (taking place, however, at different levels and coming under the responsibility of various actors, but generating their effects in the same urban framework), urban governance has to reflect and include all those interactive forms of government in which private actors, the various public organisations and groups or communities of citizens or other types of actor take part in the formulation of policy.

The concept of urban governance therefore brings together all the institutions of government and all those communities (civil, economic, professional or other) taking part in urban development, as well as the combination of structures and roles to which they give rise in the urban space.

If a single local authority, assumed to be omnipotent, can no longer take on all the choices, conflicts and responsibilities that the management of a conurbation entails, the responsibility for urban development then has to come from the interaction of a plurality of governing “actors” not all of whom are local or even public. The term “urban governance” must therefore be used to define a dual capacity: that of integrating and giving shape to local authorities on the basis of their relationships with social organisations and groups and the ability on the part of these authorities to formulate concerted strategies with the State, other cities, other levels of government and public or private economic actors.

¹² The concept in French, *gouvernance urbaine*, has yet to be included in French language dictionaries. Although they contain the term *gouvernance*, the only meaning given is that of a district which is historically dated (the bailiwicks of Artois and Flanders) or which has geographical connotations (Senegal).

Making the transition from conventional public action to governance therefore makes it necessary to adopt new methods for action and decision-making, based more on partnerships and more interactive and flexible. In this way it is possible to create a local awareness of collective interests and the concrete resources to manage them.

Urban governance lastly requires an ability to plan in a jointly responsible way and the formulation of a collective framework of action based on solidarity and strategic thinking through which the main actors can be involved in political decision-making. Successful cities will be those in which synergies have been found between people from a whole range of backgrounds. We need to be aware, nowadays, that plans increasingly construct territories. At each level, it must be possible to forge a concrete partnership around a common strategy, a collective framework of action that provides urban action with meaning and a plan that is sufficiently mobilising to motivate all those concerned.

The challenge is one of bringing about a local solidarity that has a cohesive effect and generates links between all the individuals taking part in a political community that has meaning. In order to be efficient a public policy must therefore be transparent. It must make it possible for citizens to support it because they consider that it is fair and useful. It is this plan that can restore a place's ability to integrate, produce proximity in dependence, and give rise to a territory which is not merely a space for economic competition after having been a place of distribution of production factors.

Habitat II confirmed, from this point of view, the benefits connected with the establishment of the local Agendas 21 whose implementation had been advocated at the Rio conference. These tools for sustainable urban development must combine the efforts of local authorities, enterprises, associations and inhabitants in a strategy that is concerted and based on partnership and is intended to reconcile economic development with the preservation of the social fabric and the respect of ecological balance.



Chapter 5

Ten Keys for Good Urban Governance

What concrete steps can be taken to achieve good urban governance that is in keeping with the requirements of our times? How can its many and ambitious objectives be reconciled? It would seem that ten main lines of action all have a useful part to play, although the ways in which they are implemented will obviously differ from one country to another in order to take account of different local situations.

5.1 Strengthening the Prerogatives and Resources of Local Authorities

Urban governance does not call into question the primacy of representative democracy and the role of local authorities. Although the era of complete public control has come to an end, and even though they now have to combine their efforts with those of their partners from the private and public sectors and from associations, local authorities must obviously continue to be at the helm of this new practice of city government. They embody legitimacy and are able to integrate and provide cohesion. It is up to them to take initiatives, to trigger dynamics and to rally their population. The more the number of partners involved in public action increases, the more it is necessary to lead and coordinate their contributions. Strong and enterprising local authorities are undoubtedly the leading actors in good urban governance.

They must also be in a position to discharge their responsibilities and draw upon managerial and technical resources that are in keeping with their ambitions. A number of mayors can nowadays perceive the effects of socio-economic change without being able to analyse them and consequently to adjust their decisions, actions and practices to the changes that are under way. The complexity of urban issues and the policies to be implemented requires technical skills and expertise that many local authorities are unable to find within their own small territories.

Priority therefore needs to be given to modernising territorial divisions and adapting them to the realities of the trend towards urbanisation. Horizontal cooperation at local level, which is still too often mono-functional, needs to be developed to cope with the new needs of conurbations, those responsible for and those benefiting from collective action need to be mobilised and economic, social and identity-based solidarities need to be forged at the level at which they are necessary. It is local authorities that continue to be the vectors of citizenship and national integration. Without calling into question the relationships of proximity between citizens and their elected politicians, it is necessary to promote the creation of democratic steering and management structures whose absence continues to be sorely felt in the major conurbations.

Strengthening local authorities also means, more generally, strengthening their prerogatives by ensuring that there is appropriate decentralisation, wherever it is necessary. It also means providing them with the resources that they need for the successful discharge of their duties, even though many local politicians, leaving aside differences linked to their particular situations, have for some years been reproaching their governments for passing on to them tasks that are more the responsibility of national government, especially as regards the social treatment of the economic crisis. Local authorities must therefore be able to meet their financial responsibilities normally and without untenable constraints in exactly the same way as their operational responsibilities.

The extreme diversity of structures of local finance in the various European countries (see following table) provides food for thought. It might have been expected, even though local situations differ and have specific features, that the European dynamic would have led to some degree of similarity in the financing mechanisms of decentralised local authorities. It is difficult at present to assess the economic and social efficiency of each of the systems in force. It is even more difficult to pinpoint the constituents of a system that might be turned into a “European model”.

In order, however, to achieve a balanced system that respects everyone’s powers and is in keeping with the operating conditions of a market economy, current mechanisms need to be modified so that local expenditure accounts for a larger proportion of total public expenditure, by improving the level of financial autonomy¹³ of local authorities, diversifying local taxes¹⁴ and modernising financial transfers¹⁵ from the state to local authorities.

5.2 Changing the Role of Central Government

Central government is more than ever the guarantor of national solidarity in three major areas: solidarity between individuals, between territories and between generations. Its particular tasks in this respect are to ensure that the least privileged are catered for, that disadvantaged districts are reintegrated into towns and cities, that all forms of urban delinquency are prevented, and that

¹³ That proportion of their total financial revenue (local taxes and dues) over which local authorities have direct control.

¹⁴ Several taxes at a moderate rate are better than a single tax at a high rate.

¹⁵ It is hardly conceivable that resources drawn from other local taxes could entirely replace these national transfers, as it would be very difficult to localise the fiscal arrangements on which “good” national taxes (such as valued added tax, corporation tax, personal income tax, etc.) are based without generating serious territorial distortions.



The structures of local finance

Local finances differ substantially in the Member States of the European Union; this can be explained by the fact that financing structures have been shaped by each country's specific political and economic history. This lack of comparability is reflected, in terms of public accounting, by nomenclatures and definitions that are specific to each country. Eurostat, the Statistical Office of the European Communities, harmonises national sources, however, and publishes local public authority accounts using a single nomenclature. These comparable data make it possible to assess their respective situations, although it should be borne in mind that the revenue of local authorities is much easier to pinpoint than their expenditure.

This expenditure, expressed as a percentage of GDP, varies substantially (see column 2 of the table above) and depends on the powers devolved to local authorities in the various countries. Countries in which local budgets account for less than 10% of GDP are therefore those in which local authorities are not responsible for teachers' pay (Germany, Belgium, France). In contrast, Denmark is the only country in which local budgets now account for 30% of GDP and for over 50% of total public expenditure: decentralisation is very advanced in Denmark and local authorities are in particular responsible for administering social security systems.

The resources of local authorities (see columns 4 and 5) are themselves varied. The proportion of total taxation for which local taxes account is generally low. The proportion of total local authority revenue for which local taxes account, which gives an idea of the financial autonomy of local authorities, varies enormously from one country to another. Lastly, the financial margin of manoeuvre of local authorities is limited in all countries by the constraints and controls imposed by central government which fixes rates, authorises borrowing and determines the amounts of the transfers to local authorities from the state budget.

Member State	Expenditure as % of GDP		Compulsory levies respective shares (%)		Proportion of local authority resources for which fiscal resources account
	State	Local authorities	State	Local authorities	
Germany	23.6	5.9	87.1	12.9	48.7
Belgium	33.6	6.1	93.0	7.0	35.8
Denmark	39.4	29.8	67.7	32.3	50.6
Spain	24.8	10.8	82.1	17.9	41.9
France	23.1	7.7	83.2	16.8	52.0
United Kingdom	31.2	10.4	96.1	3.9	10.4
Ireland	35.2	11.1	96.6	3.4	9.3
Italy	39.2	14.1	92.7	7.3	14.3
Luxembourg	31.2	7.8	83.5	16.5	81.9
Netherlands	33.9	14.9	96.3	3.7	6.6
Portugal	45.1	3.3	97.8	2.2	20.6

Source: Eurostat 1990

major urban areas develop in ways that are coherent with their hinterlands. It is also responsible for managing major urban risks resulting from natural phenomena or human activities. Alongside these active policies of solidarity, it also retains the initiative for policies to ensure long-term wealth.

The central state must give up, however, any notion of systematic operational sovereignty. The objective is to move from a highly interventionist conception of public power towards the state as facilitator, strategist and regulator and as the leader of partnerships, drawing up rules of good conduct and supervising their application, paving the way for the effective operation of markets and providing an environment favourable to the initiatives of its various partners in which they can all achieve their optimum production capacity.

Making fewer decisions, making better decisions and allowing all the economic and social actors to make better decisions should be the role of this facilitating State that endeavours to disseminate information and know-how as widely as possible, that takes account first and foremost of the long term, that is more careful to encourage and mobilise than to prescribe, that tries to formulate coherent and concerted objectives and that is able to give meaning to collective action.

Central government now has to be seen as an – essential – link between various levels of governance. Its ability to structure information and to lead a cybernetic process of exchanges is becoming a key aspect of the national function. More important than hierarchical power, it is becoming one of the prerequisites for collective efficiency in an open society.

There are major differences in the ways in which the central structures of the state, as well as its departments throughout the territory, take account of the territorial impact of its own policies and its ability to support urban integration and city development. At national level or at the level of intermediate territorial authorities, the territorial effects of sectoral or operational policies and methods of ensuring that these effects are consistent should be a permanent concern since this is a genuine imperative. Appropriate and temporary configurations of state or intermediate authority departments – for instance the appointment of “project leaders” – could also be usefully implemented in order to make it easier to coordinate policies and dialogue with local authorities and their partners.

5.3 Implementing New Forms of Public Action

Conventional methods of public action and control are not on the way out. They are, moreover, irreplaceable. New methods of intervention are gradually emerging, however, and will have to be developed at all levels in order to provide a basis for the collective learning that is likely to guarantee good urban governance. Public action must therefore be increasingly based on the following.



- **Forward thinking** is indispensable, even if the future is more uncertain than ever. By pinpointing major future developments, far-reaching trends and long-term dynamics, the designers of public policy can, each in their own area, gain a better grasp of the responsibilities incumbent upon them and be prepared to cope with any eventuality. Similarly, they can lucidly assess the margins of manoeuvre that they have to shape these trends so that they are in keeping with the objectives that they are pursuing. Forward thinking may also help to bring about a culture that is common to all decision-makers which may well improve the coordination of the various components of public action.
- **Concerted action** is intended to lay the foundations for future political decisions, pragmatically to pinpoint the conditions that are needed and to help opinions to mature. It consists in organising, through systematic exchanges between all the parties involved, processes of comparison and clarification of points of view, seeking out common problems and gradually building up a consensus before giving concrete shape to proposed decisions. Concerted action, which is in no way a substitute for democratic deliberation, is an attempt to pave the way for agreement about what is possible and to help people to gain an awareness of the links between objectives, their anticipated consequences and the resources that are needed.
- **Contractual relationships**, which are the logical outcome of concerted action, give concrete shape to partnerships and embody them in action. The objectives of common interest that the partners jointly propose to achieve and the multi-annual programmes that need to be implemented for this purpose can be clearly detailed in these contracts. Whatever the geographical coverage of the contract, the signatory public authorities, by selecting the political commitments into which they intend to enter, give a solemn undertaking that they have reached a consensus and that they wish to establish a collective framework of actions able to mobilise, above and beyond these signatories themselves, all the actors concerned.
- **Regulation** is a specific and ongoing form of control through which the correct and balanced operation of a complex system can be ensured. In the case of activities of collective interest, regulation requires permanent intervention by the public authorities in order to remedy market shortcomings, allow the free play of competition, ensure that information is circulated, ensure that resources are better allocated and promote the implementation of policies. Far from hampering the initiatives of the various socio-economic actors, regulation is indispensable for the deployment and success of these initiatives. It has to be intensified if these initiatives increase in volume. A referee who ensures that rules are observed is as important as a player, although in a different way.
- **Experimentation and research** are more necessary than ever. The fact that urban systems have become particularly complex means that more knowledge and more understanding are needed if action is to be improved. Urban policies must be based on a better grasp of what is actually happening. Monitoring of local situations and the trend towards urbanisation, which is still very fragmentary, has to be systematically developed. Research into each of the major dimensions of the city – economic, social, ecological, planning, institutional, organic, etc. – must be intensified, then placed in perspective and reconstituted in order to forge tools that can provide a link between observation and decision.
- Few attempts are currently being made to **capitalise on specific knowledge and know-how**. Research findings and knowledge drawn from experience continue to be piecemeal and are not

very accessible. They have to be pooled and then built on so that all decision-makers can make the best possible use of them. This is the only way in which innovation in all its forms can be fostered. Exchanges of information and experience on cities should be promoted at all levels by setting up partnership resource centres that collect, validate and redistribute information on a very wide scale, like the Deutsches Institut für Urbanistik (DIFU). These regional resource centres must themselves be networked and connected, whenever necessary, to other networks so that information can be disseminated in the best possible way.

The DIFU

When the Deutscher Städtetag (Assembly of German municipal authorities) founded the Deutsches Institut für Urbanistik (DIFU – German city planning institute) in 1973, the aim was to help municipal authorities to solve their problems by offering expert advice and deciphering the prospects for urban development in the longer term.

The DIFU brings together close on 140 towns and cities and three German municipal associations (updated to 1/96). Its research is shaped by the needs of cities, which are offered a wide range of services. Research work, reports, consultancy, training seminars, information and documentation services and a range of publications help to disseminate scientific data in a targeted way, promote exchanges between municipalities and help municipal authorities to achieve planning objectives.

Since German unification, DIFU services have also been available to the cities of the former German Democratic Republic. The DIFU studies the topical issues of municipal policy, carries out interdisciplinary research on the main problems that municipalities encounter and offers municipalities methodological support for their planning and administration. Membership of the DIFU is open only to cities that are directly or indirectly members of the assembly of German municipal authorities. They receive the services offered on a regular basis by the institute, either free of charge or at preferential rates. In addition, the DIFU may make the problems that they encounter into research topics. The Association for Municipal Sciences is the DIFU's supervisory body.

The DIFU organises fifteen seminars every year on municipal policy. These training cycles are aimed at managers, senior administrators and members of representative bodies.

Information and documentation services help to develop exchanges between municipalities. They include the formulation of databanks, open to individuals, and the publication of documents.

The DIFU employs 90 people, including 40 researchers. Its total budget is some DM 12 million. Funding comes from member cities (23%), the Association for Municipal Sciences (13%), the *Land* of Berlin (12%) and the federal government (12%). It has its own resources, i.e. funds allocated to projects and income from seminars, publications and other services (40%).



- **Evaluation** has for some years been seen as the best way of making public action more efficient and more accountable. It is based on the idea that systematic observation of the effects of collective action will make this collective action more efficient in the future, since more will be known about the relationships between objectives, resources and results. The improved knowledge that this evaluation should provide must be used by both decision-makers and users. It is not just a question of pinpointing the effects of public action and looking for ways of improving their management. Its starting point is a modernising trend that replaces steering by principles by steering by consequences. It is more in keeping with democratic aspirations for more accountable public authorities.

Experience has shown that evaluation strategies cannot be based on purely scientific approaches, however sophisticated they may be, conducted from outside. If it is to be efficient, evaluation requires ongoing interaction between evaluators and practitioners. It should help those actors that are most involved to build on their collective experience through a critical examination of all their actions from which lessons can be drawn. If well conducted, evaluation may make it possible to better pinpoint the growing complexity of urban policies, make public action more transparent, help citizens to form opinions and nurture the democratic debate. It is a strategy through which the meaning and practices of collective action can be progressively clarified. By offering a space for explanation and an arena for public debate about collective choices, it is a prime and constructive mover of new forms of urban governance.

5.4 Linking the Work of the Various Levels of Public Authority in Better Ways

The simultaneous intervention of public decision-makers at different levels in urban policy is in the nature of things. Little can be done about the intrinsic complexity of problems. The imperatives of solidarity require direct intervention from higher levels. Relationships between the institutional levels responsible for financial, social, economic and technical solidarity in the urban area need therefore to be rethought.

These relationships are currently based, for the most part, on a sharing out of responsibilities between these different levels. The way in which these levels are currently interlinked shows that the main problem lies elsewhere. As the various territorial levels are required jointly to share responsibility, policy articulation and pooling of efforts are issues of paramount importance.

Meeting points and synergies need to be found between national priorities and local initiatives, just as “bottom-up” and “top-down” approaches need to join together and nurture one another. It is therefore important to provide resources, places and procedures through which informal and institutional opportunities can be created for confrontation, articulation and connection.

In order to lay the foundations for coherence, the principles governing the relations between the different levels of public authorities also need to be rethought. Since the efficiency of urban policies is provided by simultaneous and coordinated action, negotiation of the results to be

achieved and the conditions that are needed to achieve them needs to be the very basis and prime mover of the relationships between these policies.

Instead of relying, as has most often been the case up to now, on standards, financing ratios or commitments of resources, these relationships should now be deliberately based on the appropriation of common objectives, shared paternity for projects and the joint affirmation of the results that are being pursued and the reciprocal obligations that they entail.

5.5 Improving Cooperation between Public Authorities and the Private Sector

Cities and enterprises have a long history in common. They are naturally connected, and cannot but live in symbiosis. Public-private partnerships are inevitable and are here to stay. The public authorities have regularly cooperated in a whole range of ways with the private sector on urban development and planning. Private actors – enterprises, banks, providers of urban services, etc. – have become essential partners in local urban policies.

The circumstances of these partnerships and the logics that underpin them have, however, changed. While the project-based culture has helped to integrate economic development tools in much better ways into local public policies, reconciling the respective approaches of politicians and heads of enterprises, who have neither the same horizons, nor the same mechanisms of action, has been made even more difficult by the worsening economic situation, shorter economic cycles, less faith in the long term on the part of investors and the volatile nature of all the aspects of traditional urban management.

The new balances and the new compromises to be found between market-based and political approaches consequently need to be thought about, given that the relationships between the public and private sector are organised in very different ways in different countries just as there are different national practices in the areas of housing, urban development, property transactions, public transport or commercial services. New forms of partnerships must be conceived, tested and implemented not just from the point of view of the financial and technical aspects of projects but also from the point of view of the conduct of operations and the management of infrastructure.

Old-fashioned customs and practices, inflexible procedures and attitudes dominated by ideology must be left behind so that common projects able to trigger urban dynamics, promote strategies to increase wealth and set in motion cumulative processes for the rehabilitation of disadvantaged districts can be jointly formulated before any decisions are made.

It goes without saying that particular precautions must be taken in this kind of area to ensure that the financial relationships between enterprises and public authorities are transparent, to forestall any confusion of roles, to prevent public actors from being drawn, despite themselves, into



market-based approaches and to confirm the particular role that political decision-making has to play.

Public authorities should also tackle external factors that condition whether or not economic activity can be successfully carried out: removing certain legal obstacles, improving public services, breaking down barriers, and making urban forms more flexible, since economic initiative is more likely to take root in the complexity and porosity of diversified urban fabrics.

5.6 Constructing Concerted Territorial Development Projects

More so than in the past, local initiative is the key to territorial development. The economic and social growth of every urban area has to be based on the construction of a collective framework of linked actions that imposes coherence on the initiatives taking place within this framework and allows them to make the most of any synergies. Links need to be found between the main local actors and the political decision-making level so that they can be brought into and mobilised around a dual strategy for the urban area, the first stage of which is to make a diagnosis and identify issues and the second stage of which is to formulate a development project based on consensus. A strategy of this type is not just a prime mover of local dynamism but also provides a structure for the urban area, since the project helps to construct the territory.

This diagnosis cannot take the form of a simple inventory. If strengths and weaknesses, key medium-term issues and possible paths for action are to be identified and strategic policies formulated, an in-depth diagnosis has to be made so that the area's life forces can unreservedly support its findings. These findings must provide concrete answers to the questions raised by local actors and help them to make the difficult choices involved in the formulation of a collective development project.

The first step that has to be taken is to question local personalities. Representatives of public authorities and economic and social circles need to be brought together to debate the local situation, the objectives to be pursued and the resources to be implemented so that everyone can include a reference to the prospective canvas that they have mutually constructed in their own programmes of action. This participative planning strategy does not just provide an opportunity for a global approach to the problems of the urban area. It also encourages people to think about the consequences that the developmental choices of the public authorities will have on the decisions of private actors, i.e. the impact of macro-economics on micro-economics.

Success here will obviously depend on finding the right methods. There is, in this case, no standard approach nor even a recommended model. The golden rule of any strategy of this type is that specific local features must be taken into account and built on. Setting this collective thinking in motion tends, moreover, to be more laborious than might be expected. The incentive funds made available in this respect to local authorities, some of which come from Community funds, are very rarely used up.

Method guides have been drawn up from actual cases in order to help the territorial authorities concerned, without placing any constraints on them, to clarify what stages are desirable along the route, to illustrate how working groups that are in keeping with local situations can operate and to give orders of magnitude for timescales and the resources needed. These tools should be seen as no more than guides and have to be adapted, where appropriate, by local officials on the basis of their experience, practices and environment.

The synoptic table on page 51, based on one of these guides, shows, by way of example, the various stages of a process that could be used to formulate a project of this kind.

5.7 Developing Strategic Planning for Major Urban Areas

Despite uncertainties as to what the future holds, strategic planning is absolutely essential for major urban areas. It is only through a commitment to long-term decisions that it is possible to prepare for future opportunities. Resolute general policies are perfectly compatible with the flexibility needed for short-term management and medium-term adaptation.

Strategic planning, when conducted at the right level, i.e. that of the extended urban area, and involving all the parties concerned, whatever their area of competence, is the only type of planning that can integrate, in an overall and coherent plan, long-term prospects relating to population policy, travel, economic development, the development of services for citizens, solidarity with the least favoured, water supplies, the treatment of effluents and waste, upgrading of the heritage and space saving.

These planning strategies have another virtue over and above their intrinsic results: by dissociating those levels in charge of day-to-day management from those which have a strategic vocation and by closely associating institutional officials and officials from civil society, they provide a genuine learning area for cooperation between municipalities. They promote an awareness of territorial solidarity and the emergence of the urban area as an effective economic actor. From this point of view the planning strategy is undoubtedly more important in itself than the results to which it leads. It is therefore an important tool for good urban governance.

European practices show that territorial planning provides a solid mooring point for systems of horizontal coordination within urban areas and often provides an opportunity to set up a new institution at the level of the urban area. The key role of urban planning, as well as the role that intermediate levels of public authority can play in clearing the way for cooperation between municipalities, can be seen from the experience of Barcelona. Milan and Stuttgart can also be cited as examples in this respect.

In Milan, the “metropolitan city” established in 1961 in order to comply with the law on local planning was transformed into a *comprensorio* in 1977. One hundred and one communes and the province have now been involved in the project to convert the hierarchical space dominated by the city centre into a polycentric space made up of independent and complementary entities. The



Formulating a territorial project¹⁶

Phase 1	Phase 2	Phase 3	Phase 4	Phase 5	Phase 6
Setting the project in motion	Identifying actors to be consulted and involved	Consulting these actors to identify issues and uniting projects	Ranking these issues and uniting projects	Producing a diagnosis of issues and projects	Placing the findings of the diagnosis before the actors
Diagnostic team 1 month	Diagnostic team + possible expert 1 one-day session	Diagnostic team + possible expert 1 month	Diagnostic team 1 one-day session + checking back + steering committee 1 month	Diagnostic team + resource persons 3 to 4 months	Diagnostic team + steering committee 2 to 3 months
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Impetus given by a small group of actors - Appointment of a diagnosis "steering committee" - Validation of the idea, official launch of the diagnostic strategy - Appointment of a "diagnostic team" 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Identification of a sample of actors to be consulted - Design of an interview guide (possibly with the help of an external expert) - Distribution of interviews to be conducted between the members of the diagnostic team 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Conduct of interviews (possibly with the help of an external expert) - Summary of the findings of the interviews by each interviewer 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Analysis of the substance of the interviews; identification of the "issues to be tackled" and "uniting projects" on which the diagnosis should focus - Ranking of these issues and uniting projects - Checking of this selection with the actors - Validation of this selection by the steering committee: formulation of specifications for the diagnosis 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Construction of the broad outlines of the diagnosis (one chapter per issue or project adopted) - Choice of questions to be tackled to clarify each issue and project 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Organisation of joint meetings - Improvement of qualitative aspects of the diagnosis, analyses and action paths - Commitment to shared strategies by the actors and decision-makers - Selection of the key areas of the territorial development project - Appointment of "project groups" to formulate plans of action around these key areas

¹⁶ Based on the guide *Construire un projet de territoire - du diagnostic aux stratégies* [Constructing a territorial project - from diagnosis to strategy] prepared by the French liaison committee of local labour market committees with the help of the Ministry of Infrastructure, Transport and Housing, the Ministry of Employment and Solidarity and the Delegation on territorial planning and regional action.

aim is to move towards an integrated system with new and innovative responsibilities (strategic planning and major urban functions) and for individual communes to retain all other responsibilities.

In Stuttgart, intervention by the *Land* authorities made it possible, during the review of the regional plan, to remove those obstacles in the way of cooperation between municipalities by extending the study to cover a vast urban area formed by three hundred municipalities.

5.8 Paving the Way for Participative Democracy Rooted at Local Level

The city is not just an accumulator of goods. It is also, and even more so, a melting pot for citizens' values and a focus for democracy. It is the exercise of citizenship that creates the conditions on which the legitimacy of political action is based. Citizens must play a full part in the future of their cities, at a time when partnership strategies are giving rise to new relationships and a new interplay between local political and administrative officials, on the one hand, and inhabitants and the fora that bring them together, on the other hand. Inhabitants' support for the urban projects that concern them is essential, but makes it necessary to resolve the very difficult problem of their "representation".

Without in any way harming the essential and hard-fought bases of representative democracy, steps need to be taken to promote participative democracy, to find finer mechanisms for involving citizens, to try out and then to disseminate ways in which citizens can intervene more directly, to provide opportunities for discussion and to involve citizens more closely in decisions. This is not just a question of physical proximity but also of political proximity. Public debate is the very foundation of democratic accountability and the only way in which public officials can be made to take concerted action with the actors of civil society, whether they come from the worlds of associations or enterprises.

Urban planning is not just about specific problems to which answers need to be found, but is increasingly opening up questions about society, and the fact that there is rarely a forum for the discussion of these questions makes them even more crucial. Public spaces for the design of projects, which are not just spaces for managing or implementing policies designed without taking account of their users, need to be created. Their personal participation¹⁷ has to be sought especially as NGOs and trade unions, through their vocation, are more willing to enter into pragmatic short- or medium-term sectoral approaches than into more strategic actions concerning the long-term development of cities. Finding ways of articulating their actions with those of local politicians is nowadays a very important issue.

No invention is needed. These systems (local commissions, district committees, etc.) already exist in most countries. They make it possible to go beyond the "dispute-power" dialectic, to

¹⁷ The Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen of 1789 stated that "the law shall be the expression of the general will. All citizens shall be entitled, either personally or through their representation, to play a part in its formation".



make public decision-making more transparent and to lay the foundations for the genuine support of processes. They promote the emergence of projects that innovate, mobilise and integrate.

It is high time that citizens were brought into the limelight through the provision of a whole range of local spaces and times for dialogue and the promotion, at local level, of day-to-day mediation and conflict resolution practices.

5.9 Promoting the Role of Women in Cities

Future urban policy developments involve both men and women. Both genders are equally indispensable for the development of balanced urban life.

The particular circumstances of many women citizens mean that attempts need to be made, out of a concern for parity and equality, to promote the role of women in cities, to help them to gain all the rights to which they are entitled and to seek ways of developing housing, quality of life and urban services that are more in keeping with women's needs. Women suffer more than men from the drawbacks arising from the defective design of certain types of housing and the dysfunctions brought about by bad urban planning choices.

In addition to the direct functional consequences of these shortcomings and defects, women are also, and perhaps in particular, victims of the segregating effects to which they lead. The isolation and enclosure due to the out-of-centre location of some types of habitat is a very harsh experience for women.

Changes in lifestyles¹⁸ cannot but, moreover, reinforce the extent and acuteness of these disadvantages. These handicaps therefore need to be removed and action needs to be taken for women by tackling these disadvantages and bringing housing and city planning into line with their legitimate aspirations.

There is, however, a second less evident but undoubtedly no less important reason for looking at the role of women in towns and cities. Because women are particularly concerned by human values and the concrete way in which things function and because they prefer alternative solutions to relationships of force, they have a different view of cities and the ways in which they are planned and managed. They can therefore enrich these cities and provide them with new dimensions and a better balance. This potential contribution by women to the improvement of housing as well as urban forms has not been sufficiently mobilised. It is therefore high time to work, not just for women, but also, and especially, with women, for the greater benefit of all inhabitants.

¹⁸ In France, for instance, 42% of women are in the active population, one million of the ten million mothers living in towns are single mothers, one million single mothers responsible for children have an income of less than half the average income and 56% of women aged over 75 are single and live in towns.

Better mobilisation of the seam of social and cultural creativity and of know-how and experience that women possess, that has been so badly exploited up to now, makes it necessary in the first instance to promote women's active and willing participation in collective projects that concern them directly.

In disadvantaged districts, for instance, women inhabitants whose own path has been one of successful social or professional integration have been usefully charged with advising women and helping them in their relationships with authorities, schools, and so on. Experience shows that these "women relays" play a crucial role in reinforcing social ties, restoring parental authority and involving inhabitants more closely in decisions that shape the quality of their day-to-day lives.

It seems just as essential, however, in order to speed up changes in structures and to give concrete shape to their ideas, that, over and above the initiatives in which they are engaged at local level, many more women should gain access to genuine responsibilities in both public and political life and in the professional environments of urban development.

5.10 Better Integration of the Younger Generations into Urban Life

In our relatively ageing societies, it is increasingly difficult for young people to find their place in cities, since they are largely excluded from the labour market and the political system.

Young people are, however, the force of the future and the prime movers of dynamism and creativity. Everyone now agrees that the generation that is knocking on the doors of working life must be integrated into those processes that create wealth and social cohesion, even though the efforts that have been made in this direction have as yet had only limited results. People agree, moreover, that the upcoming generation could face greater difficulties than previous generations. Increasing numbers of today's pre-adolescents are rejecting parental authority, coming into conflict with adult society and plunging headlong into delinquency.

Towns and cities are nowadays failing to play their traditional role as places of exchange, learning and integration for young and younger people. There are few quality spaces for play, learning, fulfilment and self-realisation between infancy and adolescence. Urban organisation, housing and transport systems must be designed and managed in ways that offer high-quality opportunities for families, children and young people.

The specialists' seminar organised in New York in February 1996 by UNICEF and the UNCHS, as well as the working meeting held as part of Habitat II in Istanbul in June 1996 on the same topic, led to recommendations likely to make cities "children friendly" and more welcoming for young people¹⁹.

¹⁹ See pamphlet "Children's rights and the habitat" - UNICEF - February 1997.



It is essential that they are disseminated and implemented as quickly as possible. Every effort must be made to help towns and cities to give young people back their equanimity and motivation and to reconcile them with adult society and institutions. It is necessary, in particular and in the first instance, to look for ways of fostering the initiative of young generations and helping them to gain a foothold in public life. Some 940 municipalities in France, for instance, have young people's municipal councils that bring together children and adolescents aged from 8 to 18 elected by their age-groups. (The first of these dates back to 1979, and there were just under 40 ten years ago.) A national association of children's and young people's councils collects and capitalises on their experience. Another example is provided by the "Youth challenge" scheme through which the public authorities provide young people aged 15 to 28 who have designed projects with financial assistance and educational and technical back-up in liaison with a network of local partners (local authorities, associations, enterprises, etc.). Support has been provided in this way for close on one thousand projects every year since 1987.



Chapter 6

Conclusion: Towards a European Observatory of Innovative Practices of Urban Governance

European towns and cities, present throughout the history and geography of Europe, are now one of this continent's major assets, in a world that is facing far-reaching changes and in a context where public action is becoming increasingly problematic.

Europe's ability to develop, the stability of its social cohesion and the control of its ecological balance will be largely played out in the very near future in cities which must be made more welcoming and more efficient so that they become both more pleasant to live in and even more competitive.

Aware and determined Europeans must now view towns and cities, since they are undoubtedly the door to their future, with hope and not simply as the cause of the vague fears that some people continue to feel. They must therefore be perceived as a priority objective of collective action. Public authorities at all levels must take on the urban challenge and be in a position to meet this challenge. The city is becoming a genuine issue of government in all of our countries and in the European Union itself.

This is not all. High-quality urban organisation and management does not merely involve resolute action by the public powers in each urban area. It also requires an open and partnership-based approach through which the problems that the various socio-economic actors have to solve can be efficiently identified so that a far-reaching dialogue and shared project dynamic can be set in motion with them.

Determination, pragmatism and innovation. These are the three main ingredients of this new urban governance. Exchanges of experience are essential in promoting its development.

Accepting the truth of this does not lead to a loss of identity, quite the contrary. Profiting from other people's experiences and drawing lessons from their success does not mean selling one's soul, but rather nurturing one's creative capacity. Comparing practices and points of view helps us jointly to discover how success can be achieved and brings about a shared comprehension of the problems to be solved. This does not mean that we should simply copy the solutions of the here-and-now, but should establish a bridge between action and thought by pinpointing long-term constants and guiding principles from the examination of concrete situations.

Exchanges of experience may therefore be an effective prime mover of good urban governance. In order to promote such exchanges, European local authorities need to be mobilised and shown that, in this respect, meaning and knowledge can be constructed from local action as well as from exchanges organised around this local action.

Being persuaded that this cooperation is rich and instructive in every respect is not enough on its own. It is also necessary to know about practices that are being tried out and to pinpoint the most innovative. Transfers of experience from one European country to another are still uncommon and always very piecemeal²⁰. From the point of view of the institutional coverage of territory, the fact that European problems are tending to converge has yet to be fully grasped and countries tend to know very little about practices in other countries. This provides little inspiration for the changes that are taking place here and there and that continue for the most part to be based on local practices.

A European observatory of the most significant practices in the area of good urban governance is consequently urgently needed. The task of this observatory would be to pinpoint the most interesting strategies, to identify their causes and effects and to draw operational typologies from them. It would offer a genuine stock of concrete ideas from which politicians could advantageously draw inspiration and around which experts and researchers could usefully work.

The Community institutions should therefore take the initiative and provide this resource centre with enough financial resources to collect information, ensure that this information is followed up, carry out specific analyses, conduct comparative studies and capitalise on findings. Without a system of this type, it will be impossible to provide, at this same European level, leadership and stability for the permanent network of exchanges of experience focusing on practices of urban governance that is, as has been stressed above, urgently needed.

²⁰ For instance, the 1990 Italian law, based on the British reform of 1972, that was intended to create "metropolitan cities" as a replacement, in the long term, for provinces. There have been other one-off transfers of experience during strategies of cross-border cooperation between local authorities in neighbouring European countries.



Annex

Cities, Conurbations and Urban Regions in the European Union: Definitions and Concepts

What is urban is defined in extremely different ways in different countries. Any comparison of cities or urban areas obviously requires appropriate statistical concepts and tools. Perceptions differ, however, in this area and national definitions are still the only ones that can be used. It is for this reason that it seemed useful to review here, for information purposes, the main interpretations used to characterise urban entities in the European Union.

I. Cities and Agglomerations

The notion of urban is based on the notions of “city” and “agglomeration”, all of which form what can be called “urban areas”. This is generally what shapes the notion of urban population. These notions of city and agglomeration cover, however, very different situations in different countries that have been shaped by the history of their population.

The adjective “urban” is generally applied to a whole administrative unit whose urban nature is provided by its administrative functions or status (the German *Städte*), or by its concentration of population (municipalities of over 10 000 inhabitants in Switzerland, Spain and Italy). This type of definition takes no account of the structure of the habitat, and units defined in this way may include both zones of seemingly rural dispersed habitat and zones of concentrated habitat.

In order to facilitate international comparisons, the UN’s Statistical Office recommends the use of the notion of “population agglomeration” (or “localities”), based on the continuity of the built-up area as a basic criterion for defining urban areas in censuses.

This recommendation is based on the principle that the largest proportion of urban functions and employment is located in the built-up area. An administrative unit will therefore be classed as urban if it possesses a population agglomeration within its territory.

This kind of approach corresponds to a morphological definition of the agglomeration. This is used as a basic criterion in most European countries, either on its own (for instance in France since the 1950s or in the United Kingdom since 1981) or associated with other types of criterion such as population growth, density, percentage flows of travel between home and work (Austria).

The addition of functional or socio-economic criteria of this type reflects a perception of the agglomeration that is broader than the simple urbanised space. Administrative units located beyond the built-up area that are highly dependent on this area for jobs (for instance dormitory towns) or for the services that it provides may also be attached to the agglomeration. Austria defines its agglomerations as “functional urban regions” and combines criteria of continuity of the built-up area, population density and flows of travel between home and work.

Agglomerations defined as continuous built-up areas: France, Belgium, United Kingdom, Denmark, Greece

The method used to define morphological agglomerations generally has two stages: the first consists in pinpointing zones of continuous habitat by field surveys and the second in translating these zones in terms of administrative units; for this purpose, the starting point is to define, by reference to criteria of distance between dwellings, surface area or minimum population, a “core of elementary habitat or elementary built-up area” which acts as a basic unit. The addition of a minimum population threshold provides it with an urban nature.

According to the international rule, the agglomeration is formed by a population group living in neighbouring constructions. When dwellings do not form a clearly identifiable compact built-up area, the maximum distance separating them must be less than 200 metres. The agglomeration is urban if it has at least 2000 inhabitants.

Different interpretations

Although similar in principle, the definitions of the urban area used in France, Belgium, the United Kingdom, Denmark and Greece are interpreted in different ways. Distance criteria are not always the same. The United Kingdom defines “urban land” as a space possessing urban infrastructure with a minimum area of 20 hectares. The 200-metre distance rule is then applied to connect two areas of this type to one another.

France adds a population threshold (50 inhabitants) to define the basic agglomeration. In other countries, an agglomeration is simply pinpointed from field surveys (Belgium).

The population threshold – which provides the core of habitat with its urban nature – also varies in different countries. It is 2000 inhabitants in France, 1000 in England and Wales, 500 in Scotland, 200 in Denmark, but 10 000 in Greece. In France, there is no agglomeration with less



than 2000 inhabitants, whereas there are 1135 such agglomerations in Denmark and 409 in Great Britain²¹.

Urban units

Urban units are generally defined by expressing zones previously defined as morphological agglomerations in terms of administrative units. The method used depends, however, on each country's administrative divisions.

In France, where communes are relatively small in size (15 km² on average, in comparison with 52 in Belgium and 157 in Denmark), urban units are defined as a whole number of communes.

Greece uses a commune network. In some cases, when the administrative mesh is less close, it is necessary to use a smaller unit.

In the United Kingdom, the "enumeration district" – 800 inhabitants on average – is used as the basic element. As a result, the agglomeration (urban area) does not match the borders of counties and districts. In the case of London, however, the agglomeration is generally assimilated with the county, since their respective limits are very close because of planning policy that limits the extent of urbanisation.

In Belgium, the statistical sector – 500 inhabitants on average – is used to define the borders of the morphological agglomeration. This is then adjusted to the boundaries of the commune to form the functional agglomeration.

In Denmark, urban areas are defined from parishes (*sogne*).

National definitions:

France

The first demarcation of urban units was carried out in 1952. This was used in the 1954 census. Updates have been carried out at the time of each subsequent census.

In France, urban units are separated into multi-commune agglomerations and isolated towns when they have a "population core" of at least 2000 inhabitants in their territory. If this core includes two or more communes, the term multi-commune agglomeration is used. 892 multi-commune agglomerations, including 4301 communes, and 999 isolated towns were demarcated for the 1990 census. At the same date, France had an urban population of 74%. Seven agglomerations have over 500 000 inhabitants. The urban unit of Paris has 9.32 million inhabitants and includes 379 communes. Lyons and Marseilles have 1.26 and 1.23 million inhabitants respectively.

With 960 000 inhabitants, Lille is the fourth French agglomeration. This figure relates, however, only to the French part, as the built-up area extends into Belgium. The case of Lille is not unique.

²¹ England + Wales + Scotland.

A total of 21 French agglomerations are international agglomerations and the urban regions (ZPIU)²² of which they form part are also international urban regions.

United Kingdom

Prior to the administrative reform of 1974, administrative units that were administered by a council (county council, city council, borough council) were classed as urban. Each urban territorial unit was classed as a town or, in the case of larger units, as a city.

The 1974 administrative reform completely modified this arrangement. Some 370 new districts were created in England and Wales. Many previously rural districts were merged with urban administrative entities. Only 44 urban districts and boroughs kept their existing boundaries.

These new administrative boundaries provided no more than an urban/rural distinction that did not really reflect the actual situation.

In 1981, the notion of “urban area” based on the international model was therefore introduced into censuses to define what was urban. The new definition increased the urban population of the United Kingdom from 76.9% to 89.7%.

Some 2231 urban areas were thus defined in the 1981 census in Great Britain: 1852 in England and Wales and 379 in Scotland.

Ten of these, including one in Scotland, had over 500 000 inhabitants. Four had over one million inhabitants: London (7.7 million inhabitants), Greater Manchester and the Midlands agglomeration (Birmingham and its suburbs), each with 2.35 million inhabitants, and lastly the West Yorkshire agglomeration (Leeds, Bradford, etc.), which had 1.5 million inhabitants.

The Greater London, Greater Manchester, West Midlands and West Yorkshire agglomerations were often identified with the counties of the same name, of which they were the main component. These four counties formed, together with the counties of Merseyside in the North-West region, Tyne and Wear (in the Yorkshire and Humberside region) and South Yorkshire, the metropolitan counties created after the administrative reform of April 1974 to replace the former conurbations. Their population was almost entirely urban: ranging from 96% in West Yorkshire to 100% in London and the Midlands.

The metropolitan counties were established by the administrative reform of 1974 as a replacement for the former “conurbations”. Prior to this administrative reform, these were aggregations of whole local units. There were six in England (Greater London, Tyneside, West Yorkshire, South East Lancashire, Merseyside and West Midlands), one in Scotland (Central Clydeside) and they were used in the 1951, 1961, 1966 and 1971 surveys. In 1974, the boundaries and structure of these conurbations were modified and they were replaced by seven

²² Zone de peuplement industriel et urbain (Industrial and urban population zone).



metropolitan counties each having a Metropolitan Council (known as the Greater London Council (GLC) in the county of Greater London). These councils were abolished in 1985 and their tasks distributed between local councils (borough and district councils).

The metropolitan counties, however, have retained their name. All the statistics continue to be produced for each of them as well as for the districts making them up. Despite the introduction in the United Kingdom in 1981 of the notion of urban area based on the international model, administrative definitions of what is urban are still widely used by the various ministries for their policy needs.

In 1989, therefore, the Department of the Environment considered 103 districts to be urban, including:

- the 33 boroughs of Greater London;
- the districts of the six metropolitan counties: West Yorkshire (5 districts), South Yorkshire (4 districts), Greater Manchester (10 districts), Merseyside (5 districts), West Midlands (7 districts) and Tyne and Wear (5 districts);
- all other districts with over 15 000 inhabitants in 1981 or which were subject to an urban plan (56 in 1989).

Belgium

Belgian agglomerations were redefined on the basis of the 1981 census. The 17 largest agglomerations form part of urban regions and urban residential complexes. In 1988, however, only two of these had over 500 000 inhabitants: Brussels (1.3 million inhabitants) and Antwerp (671 000 inhabitants).

The Belgian census distinguishes the morphological agglomerations (or cores of urban habitat) that define the strict limits of the built-up area from the functional agglomerations obtained after adjusting the former to commune boundaries. The “morphological agglomeration” is organised around a central city, which comprises an urban core in which decision-making functions and densely constructed urban districts are located. The urban belt, made up of a single urban fabric but of lower density, extends around this central zone. The suburban area commences after this space.

The criteria by which these various components are demarcated have not been modified since 1970: commercial functions and concentration of services for the urban core, population density and housing characteristics for the central city.

In 1981, the Brussels agglomeration covered 36 communes and had 2360 inhabitants per km². It is made up of Brussels-capital and the 18 other communes of the Brussels-capital district and by 17 outlying communes.

Its morphological part (i.e. the urban core of Brussels) covers 55% of the functional agglomeration and accounts for 96% of its population.

Denmark

The definition of the urban area (*by*) was introduced in 1960. Up to 1981, its boundaries were revised at the time of each census; since then, they have been revised annually. On 1 January 1986, there were 1389 urban areas. As a result of the low population threshold used (a minimum of 200 inhabitants), 80% of urban areas have less than 2000 inhabitants: 208 have between 1000 and 2000 inhabitants and 927 have less than 1000 inhabitants. These urban areas would be considered to be rural areas in France.

The largest urban zone, the metropolitan area of Copenhagen (*Hovedstadsområdet*) has just over 1 350 000 inhabitants and covers 28 communes. It is made up of the municipalities of Copenhagen and Frederiksberg, the entirely urban county of Copenhagen and eight other municipalities located in the neighbouring counties of Frederiksberg and Roskilde. The Copenhagen region is formed by the municipalities of Copenhagen and Frederiksberg, the two counties of the same name and the neighbouring county of Roskilde.

Greece

Communes are the basic building blocks of agglomerations. They are classified into three categories: urban, semi-urban and rural. Urban communes are those with a core of habitat (or locality) having a population of over 10 000 inhabitants in their territory. Agglomerations are formed by the combination of several communes of this type.

Thirteen agglomerations were defined in this way in 1971. Their boundaries were revised in 1981. The largest are Athens and Thessaloniki. There are semi-urban communes as well as urban communes. These are communes whose least-populated locality has between 2000 and 10 000 inhabitants. Rural communes have less than 2000 inhabitants.

In 1981, 58% of the Greek population lived in urban areas, and 12% in semi-urban areas.

Spain

This type of classification (urban/semi-urban/rural) is also used in Spain. In contrast to Greece, however, Spain does not officially define its agglomerations.

Agglomerations conceived as functional units: the case of Austria

An agglomeration identified by a built-up area does not form a closed core. It has flows of exchanges with its surrounding areas which are dependent on it for the activities, employment and services that it offers. This notion has led some countries to include territorial units that are not linked to the built-up area, but that send a substantial proportion of their population to work there, in their agglomerations.



This type of definition involves the notion of the “functional urban region”, itself derived from the notion of “urban region” used by three countries of Europe (France, Belgium and Luxembourg) to supplement their concept of agglomeration.

In this model, the agglomeration is broken down into a central area (or core) and a peripheral area. The core is generally formed by the compact central built-up area (made up of one or more administrative units). The continuity of the built-up area and the extent of daily flows between home and work are the main criteria used to quantify the links of dependency between peripheral units and the central area. Austria bases its definition on this model.²³

Austrian agglomerations (*Stadtregion*) are functional socio-economic zones, based on the spatial distribution of the labour market, whose basic units are communes. It is made up of a core (*Kernraum*) and outer suburbs (*Aussenzone*).

The core (*Kernraum*) is formed by a compact built-up zone with at least 10 000 inhabitants or several zones of this type linked either administratively, by the continuity of the built-up area, or by the extent of daily travel flows.

The suburbs (*Aussenzone*) are formed by all those communes that send at least 25% of their workers to work in the “core”.

In the 1981 census, the core of the six largest agglomerations was itself divided into two zones:

- a central administrative unit (*Kernstadt*);
- a zone of peripheral communes forming the inner suburbs (*Ergänzungsgebiet*).

The commune of Vienna formed, in the 1981 census, the core (*Kernstadt*) of the Viennese agglomeration. Its suburbs included a total of 145 communes, 31 of which formed its inner suburbs (*Ergänzungsgebiet*).

Agglomerations are an important starting point for the comparison of towns and cities. 42 agglomerations were defined in this way in 1986 from the 1981 census; 39 broke down into a core and suburbs and three had only a core. A total of slightly over 5 million people lived in these agglomerations in 1981, i.e. two thirds of the Austrian population. The six main agglomerations accounted for 3.5 million people.

Data from the 1981 census on the individual characteristics of the population and on households, housing, families, the active population and alternating migration were published for each commune making up the agglomerations and for the core and the suburbs.

²³ Switzerland also uses a definition based on this principle, but involving a larger number of criteria.

II. From the Agglomeration to the Urban Region

There is no clear-cut frontier between cities and rural areas – as can be seen from the problems that definitions of the boundaries of urban zones raise. Better transport and the quest for a better standard of living have encouraged many citizens to go and live in outlying rural or semi-rural areas, while remaining dependent on cities for their jobs and the services that these cities offer.

In order to take account of these phenomena and to study the planning needs that they entail, several Member States have formulated official definitions of urban regions in addition to agglomerations: France, Belgium, Luxembourg and the Netherlands.

The principle

An urban region is in principle defined along the lines of the functional urban region:

The “functional urban region”

A “functional urban region” is a notion deriving from the notion of “urban region”. Ideally, a functional urban region – or FUR – is a closed system, in the sense that all the people who live there also have a job there. The core of the region is defined by the concentration of jobs. The links of dependency between outlying communes and the core are quantified by levels of migration between home and work. This approach was used in a study conducted in 1988 on behalf of the European Commission for the implementation of policies to assist regions threatened by urban decline. This study reviews official definitions when they exist and unofficial definitions. In this study, functional regions are considered to be all urban agglomerations populated by at least 330 000 inhabitants, whose core offers at least 20 000 jobs. These urban regions are then classified into two groups:

- those whose core has at least 200 000 inhabitants;
- those whose core has less than 200 000 inhabitants.

229 regions were identified in this way, 122 of which belonged to the first group.

This approach goes beyond the framework of the agglomeration in the sense that we normally understand it.

Source: *Urban problems and regional policy in the European Community*. European Commission.

It is composed of a core (city centre or agglomeration) and a peripheral zone whose size may vary and is determined by the extent of daily flows between home and work. It is awarded its status on the basis of a minimum population threshold. Other criteria are also used, such as the proportion of workers in agriculture or demographic growth.

The notion of urban region is probably more important in the Netherlands and Belgium than in France. The urban/rural dichotomy is less marked in France. Cities are smaller in size and the



urban fabric is more dispersed. 21 urban regions have been defined in the Netherlands, 17 in Belgium and over 800 in France. These differences can be explained by differences in definition criteria.

The minimum population threshold is 80 000 inhabitants in Belgium and 100 000 in the Netherlands, but only 2000 in France. The centre of the urban region is a functional agglomeration in Belgium, whereas it may be an agglomeration, an urban commune or a rural commune exerting an attraction in France.

France: the ZPIU (industrial and urban population zones)

French urban regions correspond to the *zones de peuplement industriel et urbain* (ZPIU – industrial and urban population zones). These are assemblies of at least 2000 inhabitants organised around an agglomeration, an urban commune or a rural commune exerting an attraction.

In order to act as a pole, a commune must be classified as industrial, i.e. it must have one or more industrial, commercial or administrative establishments with at least 20 employees and these establishments must employ a total of at least 400 employees.

These outlying communes are linked together by a mathematical method that imposes certain constraints on the proportion of the resident active population working outside the commune, the proportion of households dependent on agriculture and the level of growth of the population since the previous census.

Like the agglomeration, the ZPIU is a framework for statistical output and studies but is not a legal entity.

With over 10 930 000 inhabitants at the 1990 census, the ZPIU of Paris is by far the largest: it covers most of the Ile-de-France region, 176 communes of the Oise department, 35 communes of the Loiret department and 33 communes of the Eure department. Its centre is the Paris agglomeration. It is followed by Lyons and Marseilles.

Fifteen of the ZPIU are international, including Lille (1 192 196 inhabitants, 143 communes) and Strasbourg (890 810 inhabitants, 474 communes).

The ZPIU will be redefined at the next census.

Belgium: urban regions and urban residential complexes

17 urban regions have been demarcated on the basis of data from the 1981 census (there had been 15 in 1979 on the basis of 1970 data).

The criteria used were slightly modified between these two demarcations. The urban region is composed of the agglomeration and its suburbs and is itself part of a larger entity called an urban residential complex.

Urban regions in Belgium are clusters of at least 80 000 inhabitants centred on functional agglomerations (morphological agglomerations adjusted to the boundaries of communes).

They are spatial entities that go beyond the boundaries of the built-up area and within which most of the basic activities provided by the urban community are located. Belgian urban regions are made up of the functional agglomeration and a suburban belt that seems rural, but whose functions make it urban.

At the 1981 census, the boundaries of urban regions were defined by applying a set of demographic, economic and functional criteria to peripheral communes in order to measure the attraction that the agglomeration exerted on these peripheral communes and their degree of urban function, each of these criteria being given a certain weighting.

The urban region is itself included in the urban residential complex; this includes communes outside the urban region which send at least 15% of their resident working population to work in the agglomeration.

The five largest urban regions (Brussels, Antwerp, Liège, Charleroi and Ghent) each have over 350 000 inhabitants. Together they account for 40% of the Belgian population; the urban region of Brussels has 1.6 million inhabitants and accounts for 30% of the Belgian population and territory. It covers 59 communes, 24 of which form the suburban area.

The urban residential complex of Brussels accounts for over one quarter of the Belgian population and occupies one quarter of national territory. Its population is 2.6 million inhabitants.

The Netherlands

In the 1992 Statistical Yearbook, the Statistical Office uses the term urban agglomeration to designate the clusters formed by a central city exerting an attraction and peripheral units sending 50% of their daily migrants to work there. These migrants must also account for at least 15% of the active population working in the core.

21 “agglomerations” of over 100 000 inhabitants, forming the official urban regions, have been identified in this way. They account for 46% of the Dutch population. Two of them (Amsterdam and Rotterdam) have over 1 million inhabitants. In contrast to France and Belgium, the agglomeration, in the morphological sense defined in the 1971 census, does not seem current at present. There is, however, a classification of municipalities according to their degree of urbanisation.

The case of the *Randstad*

The *Randstad*, also known as the “conurbation of Holland”, is a unique case of urban planning in Europe.



This model does not correspond to the urban region in the sense in which we have defined it here. It is rather a structured network of cities each having their own functions or a polycentric urban region.

The term *Randstad* means “peripheral city”. It occupies the northern and western half of the Netherlands, but has no legal basis. 45% of Dutch people live there. Urbanisation has been continuing there since the Middle Ages and has spread out from several urban centres, the largest of which are Amsterdam, Rotterdam, The Hague and Utrecht. These agglomerations have finally joined up and form a sort of urban ring around a central zone which has kept its rural nature. The cities of the *Randstad* have all retained their own particular nature.

III. A Particular Case: Germany

Germany has long been a highly urbanised country: in 1989 it had a population density of 220 inhabitants per km² (250 inhabitants per km² in the former German Federal Republic).

The Germans therefore took a keen interest in the management and planning of their cities at a very early stage: 50% of German cities had a city plan at the beginning of the 20th century; in France, the first of these plans was drawn up for Paris in 1933.

It therefore seems very surprising that, despite this, Germany has no single statistical concept of the agglomeration that has been followed over time. The body that is most involved with zoning of this type in Germany is not the Statistical Office, but the Institute for Territorial Sciences and Planning (BFLR – *Bundesanstalt für Landeskunde und Raumordnung*). The fact, moreover, that there was no population census in Germany between 1970 and 1987, and the far-reaching administrative reform of the commune network in the 1970s, has further complicated the work of statisticians.

Urban regions (*Stadtregion*)

The concept of urban region (*Stadtregion*) was used during the 1950, 1961 and 1970 censuses. This concept has since been abandoned because of the problem of correctly defining these zones. Account needed to be taken not just of population density and the relative volume of daily migrations between home and work, but also of the proportion of these destined for the city centre. Several suburban areas were defined around the city centre. 72 *Stadtregion* were demarcated, covering 21% of the territory.

City regions (*Verdichtungsräume*)

In 1968, 24 “city regions” were defined from the commune network in order to find out more about the major urban regions. This work was carried out at the initiative of the Conference of Ministers for Regional Planning (MKRO). The key criterion used to determine the core was: a density of over 1250 inhabitants/non-agricultural jobs per km². Zones had to have a minimum area of 100 km² and a minimum of 150 000 inhabitants, with a population density of over 1000 inhabitants per km². A commune can belong to the periphery of the city region in two possible cases:

- if its population and employment density is between 750 and 1250 inhabitants-jobs/km², its population density must be greater than 50 inhabitants/km² and its rate of demographic growth must have been 10% between 1961 and 1967;
- if its population and employment density is between 330 and 750 inhabitants-jobs/km², its population density must be greater than 100 inhabitants/km² and its rate of demographic growth must have been 20% between 1961 and 1967.

If its population density is below 50 inhabitants/km², however, a commune cannot form part of the peripheral zone.

The “city regions” form part of the “planning zones” (*Ordnungsraum*). The *Ordnungsraum* includes the city region plus suburbs (*Randgebiet*), but is not precisely defined.

The criticism of the city regions is that they are constructed from structural, but not functional, criteria. These zones are being redefined on the basis of data from the 1987 census.

A typology of zones by urban structure (*Siedlungsstrukturelle Gebietstypen*)

A sufficiently flexible integrated hierarchical system able to represent the various spatial problems has been designed for ongoing observation of the territory. This system is based on a division of the territory into 75 planning programme regions.

This system has much to do with the theory on central localities put forward by Walter Christaller in 1933 which has become one of the practical foundations for regional planning in Germany; from his observation of the south of Germany, Christaller concluded that there is a genuine urban hierarchy in a given geographical environment. Small urban centres exert a modest influence around them, through a certain number of simple functions (market, post, etc.); larger centres, with middle-ranking facilities (university, hospital, etc.) have an influence on a much larger area. Major cities, with middle centres, have a “controlling” influence on very large areas through their high-level functions.

Maps of central localities have been drawn up by various researchers: Borchardt in Baden-Württemberg, Blotvogel in 1980 at federal level. These maps pinpoint large centres which all have regional capital functions, medium-sized centres which lack certain functions, and small centres which possess only a few basic functions. A typology of regions by degree of urbanisation, measured by criteria of centralisation and concentration of functions, was drawn up in the 1980s on the basis of this classification. It pinpoints three types of region from the district (*Kreis*) division:

- regions of high urban concentration (type 1) (*Regionen mit grossen Verdichtungsräumen*);
- regions where urban concentration is starting (type 2) (*Regionen mit Verdichtungsätzen*);
- rural regions (type 3) (*Landlich geprägte Regionen*).

These three types of regions are divided into 6 types of district (*Kreis*) and 25 types of commune.



The Ruhr and Frankfurt through different approaches

Depending on the division used, the Ruhr region, which forms a triangle, each side of which is some 100 km, and includes some 10 million inhabitants, can be defined in very different ways. Depending on the point of view adopted, it corresponds to:

- 1 *Stadtregion Rhein-Ruhr*
- 1 *Verdichtungsraum*
- 1 *Städtische Gebiete*
- 2 *Grossstadtregion* for the Association of Municipal Statisticians
- 3 *Agglomerationräume* North-Central-South
- 11 *Raumordnungsregion* (planning regions)

The region of Frankfurt also seems to be defined very differently:

- the Rhin-Main *Agglomerationraum* has 3 340 000 inhabitants, including 1 107 000 in the urban core;
- the *städtische Gebiet* of Frankfurt has only 754 198 inhabitants in only two communes: Frankfurt and Offenbach-am-Main;
- the region with the highest urban concentration – planning region 36, the *Unterrhein*, situated around Frankfurt, had 2 138 454 inhabitants in 1990.

Agglomerations (*Agglomerationräume*)

Agglomerations have recently been defined by the territorial planning body. They are made up of the districts (*Kreis*) of regions of high urban concentration which have a minimum population density of 150 inhabitants/km². They are therefore included among zones of type 1 in the typology of zones by urban structure. Fifteen agglomerations have been defined in this way (in the former German Federal Republic). They are then broken down into urban cores and suburbs.

Agglomerations are units that are larger than the city regions (*Verdichtungsräume*) whose framework is formed by communes. Neither of these two types of zoning are used for policy implementation purposes.

Urban zones (*Städtische Gebiete*)

Division into urban zones has been developed by a research group at the University of Reading in the United Kingdom at the request of the European Commission, in order to allow for a comparison of results that are coherent within the Community (see box on functional urban regions).

Some 74 urban zones have been defined overall. No breakdown between urban core and suburbs has been envisaged. The main criteria used to define these urban zones are population density (a minimum of 10 people per hectare) and land occupation (a minimum of 50% of urban use).

All communes that are closely linked to the core are included in the zones defined in this way, irrespective of whether or not they satisfy the 50% threshold. In addition, some communes not located in the vicinity of the city are included when they have a highly built-up area, without taking account of the level of urban use.

Other types of zoning

The Association of Municipal Statisticians has also defined ten city regions (*Grosstadregion*) (plus Berlin). These zones are similar to the *Agglomerationräume*.

A further type of zoning defined in 1975 has been widely used by city planners and geographers: zones of very high urban concentration (*Ballungsgebiet* or *Ballungsraum*). These are based on districts and have more to do with practice than with precise criteria. They include the 11 German agglomerations with over one million inhabitants (including Berlin).

Data on urban zones

Figures on certain of the types of zoning discussed above can be obtained from two main sources:

The census

Two volumes on non-administrative divisions were published on the basis of the 1987 census. Four types of breakdown are used:

- territorial planning zones (*Raumordnungsregionen*);
- the typology of zones by urban structure (*Siedlungsstrukturelle Gebietstypen*);
- urban zones (*Städtische Gebiete*);
- commune size classes (by number of inhabitants).

Moreover, the urban-rural division used in the census is based on the administrative definition of the city.

A commune may become a legally recognised city at the request of the government of the *Land*. A district city may be formed if the commune reaches a certain size (depending on the order of magnitude of communes and districts at that time), or possibly by a law at *Land* level.



Thirteen towns and cities had over 500 000 inhabitants in 1991

1 Berlin	3 437.9 (<i>Land</i>)
2 Hamburg	1 660.7 (<i>Land</i>)
3 Munich	1 236.5
4 Cologne	955.5
5 Frankfurt	647.2
6 Essen	626.1
7 Dortmund	599.9
8 Stuttgart	583.7
9 Düsseldorf	576.7
10 Bremen	552.3 (<i>Land</i>)
11 Duisburg	536.7
12 Hanover	514.4
13 Leipzig	507.3

(Source: Yearbook of unified Germany 1993)

Current data on territory

The Territorial Planning Office's (BFLR) end-of-year publication reviews selected indicators²⁴ that have been followed over time for the following divisions: federation – *Länder* – type of region as a function of urban structure – type of district as a function of the urban structure to which it belongs – regional planning region – and in 1989 the agglomerations (*Agglomerationräume*) broken down into cores and suburbs. In 1991, no data were published on agglomerations. The BFLR gives priority to zoning by degree of urbanisation for territorial research.

The urban population of Germany is the population living in towns (*Städte*). Towns are defined in a purely administrative way in Germany. They include:

- the *Stadtländer* or “city-states”: Berlin, Bremen, Hamburg;
- the *Kreisfreie Städte* or “district towns”;
- the *Städte* or “single communes”.

From “Sources et concepts statistiques en Europe”, “Dossiers Ile-de-France”, No. 14, May 1996.

²⁴ Information zur Raumentwicklung.




Bibliography

- Abbott, J. 1996. *Sharing the City: Community Participation in Urban Management*. London: Earthscan.
- Alberti, M., Solera, G. & Tsetsi, V. 1994. *La Città sostenibile*. Milano: Franco Angeli.
- ALFOZ. 1995. *La Ciudad accesible*. No. 109. Madrid.
- Ansary, P. & Schoonbrodt, R. 1989. *Penser la ville*. Brussels: AAM.
- Ascher, F. 1995. *Metapolis ou l'avenir des villes*. Paris: Odile Jacob.
- Australian Commonwealth Department of Housing and Regional Development. 1995. *Urban Futures*. Canberra.
- Autes, M. 1996. De la gestion de l'espace à la production du territoire, le resistible retour du politique. In "Pouvoirs Locaux", n°29.
- Bartone, C. et al. 1996. Towards environmental strategies for cities, policy considerations for urban environmental management in developing cities. In "Urban management programme", discussion paper n°18. Washington DC: World Bank.
- Berque, A. 1994. *La Maîtrise de la ville*. Paris: Ed. de l'EHESS.
- Burtwitz et al. 1991. *Vier Wochen ohne auto*. Bericht über ein freiwilliges städtisches Abentaur. University of Bremen.
- Cadbury, (Sir) A. 1996. Corporate Governance. In "Les Cahiers de l'Institut de l'Entreprise", n°22. Paris.
- Caillosse, J. & Le Gales, P. 1997. *SEML et la gouvernance urbaine*. Paris: PIR-VILLES/CNRS.
- Calame, P. & Talmant, A. 1997. *L'État au coeur, le mecano de la gouvernance*. Desclée de Brouwer.
- Calvet, L.J. 1994. *Voix de la ville*. Paris: Payot.
- Car-Free Cities Club. 1994. *Car-Free Cities Charter*. Brussels.

- Castells, M. & Hall, P. 1994. *Technopoles of the World. The Making of Twenty-first Century Industrial Complexes*. London: Routledge.
- CEMR. 1996. *Local Agenda 21*. In Documents of XXth General Assembly, Thessaloniki.
- Chévenement, J.P. 1993. *Le temps des citoyens*. Paris: Ed. du Rocher.
- CLPN (Conférence des Lauréats du Prix Nobel). 1988. *Promesses et menaces à l'aube du 21^{ème} siècle*. Paris: Odile Jacob.
- Comité de liaison des comités de bassin d'emploi (en collaboration avec les ministères de l'Équipement, des transports et du logement, le ministère de l'Emploi et de la solidarité et la délégation à l'Aménagement du territoire et à l'action régionale). 1997. *Guide méthodologique, "Construire un projet de territoire: du diagnostic aux stratégies"*. Paris.
- Commissariat Général du Plan (Groupe de Travail présidé par J.P. Delevoe). 1997. *Cohésion sociale et territoires*. Paris: La Documentation Française.
- Conseil général du génie rural, des eaux et forêts. 1997. *Identification et structuration des territoires, recueil de recommandations méthodologiques*. Paris.
- Council of Europe. 1992. *The European Urban Charter*. Standing Conference of Local and Regional Authorities of Europe. Strasbourg.
- Davey, Kenneth J. 1993. Elements of urban governance. In "Urban management programme", discussion paper n°11. Washington DC: World Bank.
- Delarue, J.M. 1991. *La Relégation*. Rapport au Ministre de la Ville. Paris.
- Delfau, G. 1994. *Le retour du citoyen, démocratie et territoire*. La Tour d'Aigues, DATAR. Paris: Editions de l'Aube.
- Delft Institute of Technology. 1992. *European Cities: Growth and Decline*. Conference papers, April.
- Delors, J. (introd.). 1994. *En quête d'Europe*. Rennes: Apogée.
- Dillinger, W. 1994. Decentralization and its implications for service delivery. In "Urban management programme", discussion paper n°16. Washington DC: World Bank.
- DIV. 1990. *Les Villes contre la délinquance*. Paris.
- DIV. 1995. *Territoires urbains et exclusion sociale*. Paris.
- Doxiadis, C. 1974. *Anthropopolis*. Athens Publishing Centre.
- Doxiadis, C. 1975a. *Building Eutopia*. Athens Publishing Centre.
- Doxiadis, C. 1975b. *Action for Human Settlements*. Athens Publishing Centre.
- Doxiadis, C. & Papaioannou, J. 1974. *Ecumenopolis, The Inevitable City of the Future*. Athens Publishing Centre.
- Elkin, T. & McLaren, D. 1991. *Reviving the City*. London: Friends of the Earth.
- ENA Recherche. 1996. *La Ville et ses usagers*. Paris: La documentation française.
- (L)Esprit. 1991. *Citoyenneté et Urbanité*. Paris.
- European Commission, DG XI. 1992a. *The Car-Free City*. Rome: Tecnosser.
- European Commission, DG VII. 1992b. *Green Paper on Transport (Sustainable Mobility)*. Brussels.
- European Commission, DG XI. 1992c. *Towards Sustainability*. Brussels.
- European Commission, DG XVI. 1992d. *Europe 2000*. Brussels.
- European Commission, DG XI. 1993a. *Towards a New Development Approach*. Conference papers. Brussels.

- European Commission. 1993b. *White Paper on Growth, Employment and Competitiveness*. Brussels.
- European Commission, DG XI. 1994a. *First Report on the Sustainable City*. Brussels.
- European Commission, DG XI. 1994b. *For a New Development Approach*. Workshop papers. Brussels.
- European Commission, DG XVI. 1995a. *Europe 2000+*. Brussels.
- European Commission. 1995b. *Local Development and Employment Initiatives*. Brussels.
- European Commission, DG XI. 1996. *European Sustainable Cities*. Brussels.
- European Commission. 1997a. *L'Europe des villes*. Brussels.
- European Commission. 1997b. *The Future of North-South Relations*. Cahiers of the Forward Studies Unit 1. Brussels.
- European Commission, DG XVI. 1997c. *Towards an Urban Agenda*. Communication to the Council. Brussels.
- European Commission, DG XVI. 1997d. *European Spatial Development Perspective*, first official draft. Brussels.
- European Environment Agency. 1995a. *Europe's Environment: The Dôbris Assessment*. Copenhagen.
- European Environment Agency. 1995b. *Environment in the European Union 1995*. Copenhagen.
- European Forum of Urban Safety. 1997. *New Urban Safety-Related Jobs*. Conference documents. Châtelleraut.
- European Foundation for the Improvement of Living and Working Conditions. 1993a. *Innovations for the Improvement of the Urban Environment. A European Overview*. Dublin.
- European Foundation for the Improvement of Living and Working Conditions. 1993b. *L'Impact de la domotique sur les fonctions urbaines*. Dublin.
- European Foundation for the Improvement of Living and Working Conditions. 1993c. *Teletifestyles and the Flexicity*. Dublin.
- European Foundation for the Improvement of Living and Working Conditions. 1994a. *European Conference on Urban Innovations*. Dublin.
- European Foundation for the Improvement of Living and Working Conditions. 1994b. *Visions and Actions for Medium-sized Cities*. Dublin.
- European Foundation for the Improvement of Living and Working Conditions. 1994c. *Urban Innovation and Employment Generation*. Dublin.
- European Foundation for the Improvement of Living and Working Conditions. 1995a. *Urban Eco-auditing and Local Authorities in Europe*. Dublin.
- European Foundation for the Improvement of Living and Working Conditions. 1995b. *Les PME et la revitalisation de la ville européenne*. Dublin.
- European Foundation for the Improvement of Living and Working Conditions. 1995c. *Transport and Public Spaces: the Connective Tissue of the Sustainable City*. Dublin.
- European Foundation for the Improvement of Living and Working Conditions. 1995d. *Esthétique, fonctionnalité et désirabilité de la ville durable*. Dublin.
- European Foundation for the Improvement of Living and Working Conditions. 1996a. *Intermediary Cities in Search of Sustainability*. Dublin.

- European Foundation for the Improvement of Living and Working Conditions. 1996b. *What Future for the Urban Environment in Europe: Contribution to HABITAT II*. Dublin.
- European Foundation for the Improvement of Living and Working Conditions. 1996c. *Innovations for the Improvement of the Urban Environment: Austria – Finland – Sweden*. Dublin.
- European Foundation for the Improvement of Living and Working Conditions. 1997a. *Perceiving, Conceiving, Achieving the Sustainable City*. Dublin.
- European Foundation for the Improvement of Living and Working Conditions. 1997b. *European Cities in Search of Sustainability*. Dublin.
- European Foundation for the Improvement of Living and Working Conditions. 1997c. *Utopias and Realities of Sustainable Urban Development*. Dublin.
- European Foundation for the Improvement of Living and Working Conditions. 1997d. *Medium-Sized Cities in Europe*. Dublin.
- European Foundation for the Improvement of Living and Working Conditions. 1997e. *Redefining Concepts, Challenges and Practices of Urban Sustainability*. Dublin.
- European Sustainable Cities and Towns Campaign. 1994. *Charter of European Cities and Towns: Towards Sustainability*. Brussels.
- Eveno, E. & Weissberg, D. 1997. *Gouvernance urbaine et technostructures informationnelles*. Paris: PIR-VILLES/CNRS.
- Fortier, B. 1995. *L'Amour des villes*. Liège: Ed. Mardaga.
- Friends of the Earth. 1995. *Towards a Sustainable Europe*. Amsterdam.
- Garreau, J. 1991. *Edge City. Life on the New Frontier*. New York: Doubleday.
- Gelford, P., Jaedicke, W., Winkler, B. & Wollmann, H. 1992. *Ökologie in den Städten*. Basle-Boston-Berlin: Birkhäuser Verlag.
- Gillo, B. & Solera, G. (ed). 1997. *Sviluppo sostenibile e città*. Napoli: Clean Edizioni.
- Girardet, H. 1992. *Cities: New Directions for Sustainable Urban Living*. London: Gaia Books.
- Godard, F. 1996. *Des partenariats dan nos villes pour l'innovation urbaine*. Introduction au débat des troisièmes rencontres, Nantes-Ecopolis.
- Godard, F. (ed). 1997. *Le gouvernement des villes*. Paris: Descartes.
- HABITAT II. 1996. *An Urbanizing World, Global Report on Human Settlements*. Oxford: University Press.
- Hall, P. 1988. *Cities of Tomorrow*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell.
- Hall, P. 1995. The European City: Past and Future. In “*The European City: Sustaining Urban Quality*”. Conference papers. Copenhagen, 24-28 April.
- Harvey, D. 1983. *Social Justice and the City*. London.
- Healey, P. 1997. *Collaborative Planning: Shaping Places in Fragmented Societies*. London: Macmillan.
- IFHP. 1993. *Cities for Tomorrow*. Working papers of the 80th International Congress. Helsinki.
- Indovina, F. 1993. *La Città occasionale*. Milano: Franco Angeli.
- INTA. 1995. *Strategies for Cities of the 21st Century*. Working papers. Vienna, September.
- Jacobs, J. 1969. *The Economy of Cities*. London: Penguin.
- Jacobs, J. 1985. *La Ville et la richesse des nations. Réflexions sur la vie économique*. Quebec: Boréal.

- Jacobs, J. 1992. *Systems of Survival*. New York : Random House.
- Jacquier, C. 1991. *Voyage dans 10 quartiers européens en crise*. Paris.
- Jospin, L. 1991. *L'invention du possible*. Paris: Flammarion.
- Kazancigil, A. 1997. La gouvernance, de quoi s'agit-il? In "MOST newsletter" n°8. Paris: UNESCO.
- Kooiman, J. 1993. *Modern Government Society Interactions*. London: Sage.
- Koolhaas, R. 1995. *Whatever Happened to Urbanism?* S.M.L.XL. Rotterdam: 010 Publishers.
- Koppes, R.H. 1997. L'évolution du gouvernement d'entreprise. Tendances actuelles et orientations futures. Dans "Les Petites Affiches", n°55. Paris.
- Landry, C. & Bianchini, F. 1995. *The Creative City*. London: Demos/Comedia.
- Leca, J. 1994. L'État creux. In "La France au delà du siècle". DATAR / Paris: Ed. de l'Aube.
- Leca, J. 1996. L'État entre globale et local: les enjeux de la gouvernance. In "La France en perspectives". Paris: Odile Jacob.
- Lefevre, C. 1997. *De nouveaux modèles d'action publique locale*. Paris: PIR-VILLES/CNRS.
- Le Gales, P. 1995. Du gouvernement des villes à la gouvernance urbaine. Dans "Revue française de sciences politiques", vol. 45, n°1.
- Le Goff, J. 1997. *Pour l'amour des villes*. Paris: Textuel.
- Marcou, G. 1995. *Metropolitan governance: Patterns and Leadership*. New York: United Nations Press.
- Marcou, G. et al. 1997. *Le gouvernement des villes et les relations contractuelles entre les collectivités publiques*. Paris: PIR-VILLES/CNRS.
- Martinotti, G. 1993. *Metropoli: la nuova morfologia sociale*. Bologna: Il Mulino.
- Mastrantonio, C. (ed.) 1991. La Città amica. Rapporto sulle esperienze più avanzate di gestione dei servizi municipali. Suppl., *La Nuova Ecologia* 84, Roma.
- McCarney, P. & Stren, R. 1996. *Cities and governance. New directions in Latin America, Asia and Africa*. Toronto.
- Mega, V. 1994a. Les Fronts de l'Innovation Urbaine en Europe. Interview in "Urbanisme", No. 276-277. Paris.
- Mega, V. 1994b. Le Innovazioni Urbane e le Sfide Europee. In "VIA" (*Valutazione Impatto Ambientale*), No. 28/29. Milano.
- Mega, V. 1995. City and Innovation: The European Challenge. In "Sociedade e território", No. 22. Lisbon.
- Mega, V. 1996. Innovazioni per il Miglioramento dell'Ambiente Urbano: Una panoramica europea. In "La città sostenibile". University of Parma.
- Mega, V. 1997. European Concepts and Actions Towards the Sustainable City. In "Urban Nature", Vol. 3, Autumn 1997.
- METROPOLIS. 1996. *Metropolis for the People*. Conference documents. Tokyo.
- Ministère de l'Équipement, des transports et du logement. 1996. France 2015 : quels enjeux pour le territoire français dans l'Europe de demain? Dans "Techniques, territoires et sociétés, prospective sciences sociales", n° 33. Paris.
- Ministère de l'Équipement, des transports et du logement / centre de documentation de l'urbanisme. 1997. *Coopération intercommunale – dossier bibliographique*. Paris.

- Mitterand, F. 1997. *Les forces de l'esprit: messages pour demain*. Paris: Fayard – Institut Français Mitterand.
- MOPTMA. 1995. *City: Place of Problems and Opportunities*. Working papers. Madrid.
- Moscovici, P. 1997. *L'Urgence. Plaidoyer pour une autre politique*. Paris: Plon.
- Mumford, L. 1961. *La Cité à travers l'histoire*. Ed. Française. Paris: Le Seuil 1964.
- Municipality of Amsterdam. 1994. *Car-Free Cities?* Working papers.
- Municipality of Athens. 1994. *From the Organic City to the City of Citizens*. Athens.
- Nijkamp, P. & Perrels, A. 1994. *Sustainable Cities in Europe*. London: Earthscan Publishers.
- OECD. 1994. *Cities for the 21st Century*. Paris.
- OECD. 1996a. *Innovative Policies for Sustainable Urban Development*. The Ecological City. Paris.
- OECD. 1996b. *Stratégies pour le logement et l'intégration sociale dans les villes*. Paris.
- OECD-ECMT. 1994. *Urban Travel and Sustainable Development*. Paris.
- OECD – Groupe de Travail sur la gouvernance urbaine. 1997-1998. Rapports préparatoires et contributions, séminaires de Stockholm, Toronto et Athens (documents de travail). Paris.
- OECD-Sweden. 1995. *Urban Policies for an Environmentally Sustainable World*. Stockholm: Swedish Council for Planning and Co-ordination of Research.
- Owens, S.E. 1986. *Energy, Planning and Urban Form*. London: Pion.
- Piveteau, V. 1997. Prospective des territoires, quelles questions pour la recherche? Dans “*Bulletin du conseil général du GREF*”, n°47.
- Prince of Wales Institute of Architecture. 1996. *Action Planning*. London.
- Putnam, R. et al. 1993. *Making Democracy Work: Civic Traditions in Modern Italy*. New York, London, Tokyo. Princeton University Press.
- Rautsi, J. 1993. *The European City Today*. The Helsinki Round Table on Urban Improvement Strategies. Helsinki: Ministry of Environment.
- Rueda, S. 1995. *Ecologia Urbana*. Barcelona: Beta Editorial.
- Sansot, P. 1973. *La poétique de la ville*. Paris: Klincksieck.
- Sassen, S. 1991. *The Global City: New York, London, Tokyo*. Princeton UP.
- Sassen, S. 1994. *Cities in a World Economy*. London, New Delhi: Pine Forge Press.
- Schmidt-Eichstaedt, G. 1993. *Schwabach, Modell-Stadt-Okologie*. TU Berlin: Institut für Stadt und Regionalplanung.
- Schoonbrodt, R. 1987. *Essai sur la destruction des villes et des campagnes*. Liège: Pierre Mardaga.
- Schubeler, P. 1996. Participation and partnership in urban infrastructure management. In “*Urban management programme*”, discussion paper n°19. Washington DC: World Bank.
- Schumpeter. 1976. *Capitalism, Socialism and Democracy*. New York: Harper and Row.
- Short, J. 1989. *The Humane City*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell.
- Spector, Therese. 1997. La prospective et la ville. Dans “*Notes du centre de prospective et de veille scientifique*”, n°7. Paris: Ministère de l'Équipement, des transports et du logement / direction des affaires scientifiques et techniques.
- Tagliaventi, G. & O'Connor, L. 1992. *A Vision of Europe*. Firenze: Alinea.
- Touraine, A. 1997. *Pourrons-nous vivre ensemble (Egaux et Différents)?* Paris: Fayard.
- UNESCO. 1988. MAB, *Towards the Sustainable City?* Paris.

- UNESCO. 1995. *Les Libertés de la ville*. Passages. Paris.
- United Nations. 1997. *International colloquium of mayors on governance for sustainable growth and equity* (conference material). New York.
- United Nations Centre for Human Settlements. 1997. *The urban management approach to facilitating improved urban governance in city authorities in developing countries*. Nairobi.
- United Nations Centre for Regional Development. 1996. *Local Governance and Local Economic Development: Capacity Building*. Nagoya, Japan.
- Veltz, P. 1996. *Mondialisation, villes et territoires*. Paris: PUF.
- Warin, P. 1997. *Gouvernance, peau de chagrin, point de vue sur la mise en oeuvre de la politique de la ville*. Paris: PIR-VILLES/CNRS.
- WHO-OECD. 1996. *Our Cities, Our Future*. First International Congress on Healthy and Ecological Cities. Copenhagen.
- World Bank. 1994. *Making Development Sustainable; From Concepts to Actions*. Washington DC.
- World Bank. 1995a. *The Human Face of the Urban Environment*. Washington DC.
- World Bank. 1995b. *The Business of the Sustainable Development*. Washington DC.
- World Bank. 1996. *Livable cities for the 21st century*. Washington DC.
- Wulf-Mathies, M. 1996. *Habitat II* (intervention de la commissaire européenne au Sommet des Villes, Istanbul).
- Young, I.M. 1990. *Justice and the Politics of Difference*. Princeton UP.

European Foundation for the Improvement of Living and Working Conditions

Challenges for Urban Governance in the European Union

Luxembourg: Office for Official Publications of the European Communities

1998 – 96 p. – 21 x 29,7 cm

ISBN 92-828-4273-8

Price (excluding VAT) in Luxembourg: ECU 24

Challenges for Urban Governance in the European Union

As in the rest of the world, towns and cities in Europe are directly faced with the triple challenge of globalisation, citizenship and sustainable development. It is essential that they adapt to ecological constraints. The Istanbul Summit in June 1996 (Habitat II) demonstrated that public authorities must, to prove that making best use of local situations is the most efficient approach, adopt a firm policy of cooperation with the private sector and civil society and engage in partnership projects on a local scale. It is in the spirit of this new "urban governance", which seems to come so easily to European towns and cities, that they have always been able to maintain a good balance between public authority control and individual initiative.

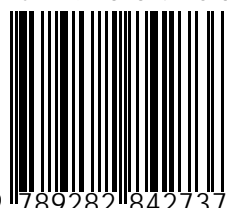
What concrete steps can be taken to achieve a form of urban governance that is in keeping with the requirements of our times? How can its many and ambitious objectives be reconciled? Following an in-depth analysis, this report suggests ten main lines of action which could play their part and proposes the creation of a European network for the exchange of experiences centred on innovative practices in urban governance.

Price (excluding VAT) in Luxembourg: ECU 24

 OFFICE FOR OFFICIAL PUBLICATIONS OF
THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITIES

L- 2985 Luxembourg

ISBN 92-828-4273-8



9 789282 842737
