

Discomfort of the Present, Relief of the Future

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1 INTRODUCTION

Nowadays, urban development is experiencing new phases: a territorial widening from the district to the city, from the city to the agglomeration, from the agglomeration to the metropolitan area.

The existence of the metropolitan area is still under question and the answer varies depending on the scale and the governance and economic trends and actors in the different territories.

INTA's Community of competence Metropolisation¹ departing from new understandings on the urbanization processes works together with its members, including urban development actors who are confronted with metropolitan practical experiences, leading a reflection on the following lines:

- (1) Limits of the metropolisation
- (2) From making the city to being the city
- (3) Metropolitan identity and representations

We refer here to recent activities INTA run in the context of urbanisation processes underway. The international seminar "A city for all made by all! The future of social contract in the scattered city" held in France and the International programme In-between metropolitan strategies.

2 THE RIGHT TO THE CITY IN THE SCATTERED CITY

"Making metropolis, it means probably also to allow those who live far away or nearby to keep in touch, to receive information, to keep a voice on the territory which belongs to them. Leaving, coming back, welcoming, staying connected, are images that shape metropolitan identities."²

The shifting of the concept of inhabitant to the one of "territorian" was defined by Nicolas Tixier, professor at the National School of Architecture of Grenoble at the Congress INTA35 where INTA first approached the topic of the intermediate metropolises, their development strategies and alliances drawing new territorial settings. Intermediate cities are facing new governance issues and developing new models of cooperation with their local partners (who are those partners?), the challenge being to have more regional relevance while maintaining significant local connections at the municipal level.

"We do not live in cities anymore, but in territories. [...] Each of us has its own territorial map, on which it draws its own routes. One has his tricks, tactics, strategies to make use of the territory.

Which kind of tools do we have today to explain these practices and routes sudden or intended, sometimes passive but often inventive? A Catalan researcher, Francesc Muñoz, coined for it a neologism, the word "territorian" to complete the word inhabitant and meaning by this that the space where we declare we live, is not obviously the only meaningful space for us.

Shifting from the idea of inhabitant to that of territorian, leads in different places to redefine spaces in which his involvement is legitimate - political involvement as much as physical.

But this also refers more widely to the idea that it is possible to be attached to a territory and its future even if we do not live in it (physically).³

In this new territorial context then Which are the responsibilities of the metropolis towards its neighbouring territories and areas of influence? And what are the relationships between urban and suburban, urban and rural?

The multiple interactions of actors, geographical scales and functions draw the components of a living, productive and cultural space that goes beyond the administrative limits - the metropolitan area.

¹ <http://www.inta-aivn.org/en/communities-of-competence/metropolisation>

² Nicolas Tixier, professor at the National School of Architecture of Lyon, addressing World Urban Development Congress INTA35 in Grenoble during Opening Session "Representation and metropolitan identity"

³ Contribution of Nicolas Tixier at INTA35 in the opening speech titled "Representation and metropolitan identity"

However, this concentration of economic, political and social activities, creating wealth, and economic and cultural influence is also the root of a worsening of social segregation, exclusion and relegation. They are growing to the point of challenging the "social contract" by the juxtaposition of "societies" who oppose or who often prefer to ignore each other.

What emerges today with increasing force are issues that concern the relationship between urban and rural areas. The same issues that call into question the "social contract" are stressed but refer to the relation metropolis/periphery.

These issues are raised in a particular way in the suburban area that, according to the definition given by Eric Charmes:⁴ "... has an essential feature: it is a space of urban dynamics, since its growth is clearly related to the proximity of a metropolis. But at the same time it keeps its own identity, something quite close to the order of the rural."

Those territories between rural and urban dimension are struggling to find their place in the process of metropolisation. It shows a gradual withdrawal of public services and favorable conditions for the development of social relations and activities. We are witnessing there a decline in the "Republican conquest of territory"; territorial solidarity being undermined by the concentration of development and services in the most efficient territories as the metropolitan heart, to the detriment of its periphery.

So we see in these suburban areas different forms of breaks, bursts: a gradual creation of the "scattered city": a political and landscape fragmentation and the social and economic disintegration.

3 WE LIVE TERRITORIES

"Where do you live? How to do you live and to which territory you feel you belong?" This is what INTA asked camera in focus and a map of the daily commuting of the interviewed supporting to discover the habits from the inhabitants of five among European and Latin America cities. This video entitled "The scattered city" opened the 2 days international seminar A city for all made by all ! The future of social contract in the scattered city" we run in France last December in collaboration with the City of Vaulx-en-Valin, ENSAL (National School of architecture of Lyon), ENTPE (National School of Public Works of the State) and the UNESCO Chair Urban policies and citizenship. Open the video a Dutch woman coming from a "big village" ...of 45,000 people!, who moved in the "satellite" of the Randstad where property prices are lower, allowing her to "buy a real home. Although the train is overloaded she takes it every day for work or for shopping. She sees herself as a "suburban". On the other hand, the couple living in the hills around Givors, small town between Lyon and Saint-Etienne (France), did not "feel as living in the suburbs" but still "on the outskirts of Lyon." The husband is used to take his car daily to access the urban services located in the center of Givors ... 10 minutes away. Third witness, the resident of a community located 6 km from the town of Brignoles in Var (south of France), always takes her car to go to the nearby town of Toulon and she feels she "belongs to the Var hinterland." Scale change with the testimonies of people from Latin American. Colombia, Bogotá, the man interviewed is pleased to live "isolated" in the countryside, even if he is confronted with intense traffic jam to reach the city centre for his daily courses. Another one lives in one of the 500 000 houses built without permission on the flanks of mountains overhanging Lima, Peru. In a chain, it takes him daily 2h taxi, walk and a bus trip to reach his work.

Journey that might be improved with the creation of a cable line that also might provide many other socio-economic changes.

How do we give a representation to this reality? How to build solidarity within the scattered city ? With these many small towns beyond the suburbs, we should come up with new governance models".⁵

The parallel raising of both metropolitan and local scales (globalisation and decentralisation) facing each other, competing and sometimes mixing, recompose territories and powers.

Moving and overlapping borders are putting into question planification tools, plans, programmes and projects and governance systems.

⁴ Eric Charmes, RIVES lab Director, ENTPE

⁵ Eric Charmes, RIVES lab Director, ENTPE

4 IS THE METROPOLITAN LEVEL THE ANSWER?

Mobility, according to our members experience is one key element of the debate on periurbanity and able to make solidarity among territories effective and thus one key factor on which the metropolitan level can be built.

In the Netherlands, the Randstad, the metropolitan area is made by hundred of small towns, four main cities, counting some 7 million inhabitants. " Everything takes place at a small scale, says Paul Gerretsen, director of Deltametropolis Associaton, which focuses on the metropolitan development of the Randstad. Mobility and multimodal commutings structure the territory. "Many people have chosen to live in small towns and take the train every day to go to work. "They made a compromise that is built around the mobility system."

But the integration of mobility it is enough to build political solidarity across the metropolis?⁶

The answer is difficult for the Netherlands where the level of the Randstad is not politically represented. Although there is no official metropolitan governance for Randstad Holland, it does continuously work as a metropolitan system in reality. The mobility flow between the four cities is increasing more rapidly than the mobility between the cities and their own region.

In Medellin, the urban integrated programme for the metropolitan region AMVA (Area Metropolitana Aburrà Valley) including all modes of urban transportation also plays a fundamental role in "building a territorial equity."⁷ It is in this framework that was created a line of "metro cable." Passing through the "illegal/not planned" neighborhoods, it enables them to develep socially and economically. In fact along its way has emerged a library, colleges and pedestrian paths.

In Bordeaux Urban District major projects and infrastructures representing public and private investment have been undertaken (Bordeaux's decade 2010-2020) strengthening the exceptional features of exchange, innovation and quality of life of Bordeaux among which the tramline system that has unified territories, in physical terms, giving space to multiple occasions of movement within the metropolitan area.

Whether you're in Medellin, in the Randstad or Bordeaux, mobility and transport infrastructure are essential to solidarity between territories, " especially because those peri urban territories go far beyond the municipal limits". Territories whose representation is still missing.⁸

The examples we got from our members show how difficult and complex are processes of construction of metropolitan governance and its capacity to adapt to global and local changes. Metropolitan strategy means that there is a metropolitan governance that can take decisions. How those processes work, who are the actors and what makes them very sensible models?

5 BUILD ON YOUR STRENGTHS

Apart from the major metropolises worldwide, the creation of the metropolitan areas rely on governance strategies and alliances among surrounding territories⁹ to achieve the objectives of resources management, urban quality or attractiveness. Creating networks of cities and agglomerations with their suburban territories, metropolises make different patterns of alliance to implement policies and projects to enhance their development. These diverse modes of cooperation allow, depending on the case, to associate additional resources, to create mass effects, to define and manage the "values of the metropolis" that are the natural resources, water, energy, know-how, the driving forces for the economic activity or for the livability of the territory.

In a complex institutional landscape, marked by multiple levels of competence, territorial co-operations exist as "spaces" for debates, coordination and projects enabling public actors to overcome the institutional barriers, while maintaining their legitimacy with their level of competence.

⁶ Eric Charmes, RIVES lab Director, ENTPE

⁷ Medellin metropolitan, interview with Françoise Coupé

⁸ Eric Charmes, RIVES Lab

⁹ INTA first approached this topic at its 35th Congress in France (Grenoble and Lyon) focused on metropolitan development strategies and alliances worldwide

Who benefits from the resources and public services, and who is excluded? The issue of social choices, for those who are governed and those who are not, is a key point to understand the metropolitan process (Le Galès 2011).¹⁰

This scaling has not only morphological or territorial consequences, it raises also other dynamics. First, the transformation of socio-technical infrastructures necessary to ensure the robustness of these conurbations then flows of huge investment and financing projects to be realised (the case of the Bordeaux's decade can be mentioned here), and most importantly, socio-territorial inequalities (as the role of the city of Medellín within the AMVA, Metropolitan Area of Aburrà Valley or the role of Amsterdam in the Randstad), visible or insidious, exacerbated by powerful metropolitan dynamics.

Although scales and conditions are different from country to country, the work undertaken by local authorities pose the question of the "good" level of governance. On the topic of new territorial dimensions, several interviews have raised the issue of the regional dimension and its meaning, its identity, its ability to be identifiable.

Paris Region is trying to work on a territory that includes the metropolitan level (now concerning only the built urban areas and run by Paris Métropole created in 2009).

Currently there's not a proper regional identity as the Region, as this administrative entity is quite new but the debate ongoing is exactly on which should be, in this case, the right perimeter for the metropolitan level to be managed.

In this regard, the question of adaptation of the planning instruments to the new condition, the importance of coordination, organization and linkage, is as decisive as the central role of political guidance.

Completely another case, Bordeaux Urban District, driving the construction of the metropolitan project, asked itself and all local actors involved the following question: "What kind of city do you want in 2030?". The dialogue has been adopted as a key tool to intertwine scales. The small-scale heart of the Bordeaux Urban District (la Cub) is acting to build the metropolitan vision on a wider level. The metropolis is already a spatial (geographic) reality because there are people who live together and have daily metropolitan practices (they commute every day from one town to another for their work, recreational activities etc.). The metropolitan area is made thus by flows, mobility functions, projects and a multiplicity of actors who interact, however today Bordeaux metropolitan has no institutional basis (no metropolitan status). There are not elected representatives.

Building a strategic vision based on the mobilization of local actors and citizen participation has emerged a collective and shared representation of the metropolis, "a metropolitan consciousness" that does not stop at the borders of the 27 municipalities.

As part of the development of the metropolitan strategy, the 27 municipalities of the CUB have been involved, as well as the County of Gironde, Aquitaine Region and the State, to help drawing this common destiny. Through the metropolitan project, policy makers agree on the path of cooperation with municipalities, major institutional partners, neighbouring districts, businesses, and all the metropolitan actors. The metropolis does not deny what exists already and it seeks to understand the issues in a systemic logic, combining actors, ambitions and territories, over passing all notions of contrasts and competition. However, some municipalities may continue to be frightened by the metropolitan process in which they can see a loss of autonomy and the weakening of the municipal level.

The Urban Community of Bordeaux has adopted a metropolitan project, whose principles and objectives are ambitious: to affirm the metropolitan dimension of Bordeaux while avoiding the dangers of an unbridled urban growth. This is likely making a metropolis, but respectful of the identity and diversity of the different municipalities, mindful of the inhabitants' future and with consideration for the environment. Because this goal can be achieved only with the involvement and permanent support of the population and with a constant dialogue between the partners based on trust and mutual respect, this metropolitan project will be implemented as it was developed: in a spirit of cooperation and consensus.¹¹

¹⁰ Quel pouvoir pour les territoires métropolitains? Par Frédéric Gilli, Christian Lefèvre, Nathalie Roseau and Tommaso Vitale, 19/12/2012

¹¹ La Fabrique Métropolitaine de la CUB

In Jakarta the most visible phenomena of the most recent urban development initiatives is the leadership took by the private sector in developing new economic clusters (new housing, new-towns, industrial estates, leisure, commercial, health & institutional facilities) as well as infrastructure (toll-road, public-transport, water & sanitation) and even urban services. There is a booming of young and a more consumptive middle-class that has a voracious appetite for international-standard urban goods, services and lifestyles.

This trend has meant that governments have to adopt a new role and thus be able to change their habits which means better service-delivery abilities and optimizing infrastructure to create better business climates.

The increasing competition for private investments has meant that public goods management has to be more effective. A request of change moving from an old vertical political hierarchy towards a innovative and accountable territorial governance.

Complementarity, solidarity, cooperation together with consensus and participation are key elements to build upon a metropolitan strategy. This the case of the Coastal Development Territory (Cotonou-Porto Novo, Benin) or in the Randstad (NL) where the four main cities used to cooperate, to increase their chances of being more competitive in the context of a globalised economy and receiving more funding from the central government. But locally it translates in informal cooperations between cities, coperations of very dynamic nature and depending on the economic and political conditions. Although there is no official metropolitan governance for Randstad Holland, the cities recognised that global competition lay in the larger Metropolitan regions.

To conclude the metropolitan dimension implies coordination between actors of different kinds, relies on their ability to make decisions together, the heterogeneity and inequality between powers and new ways in which public and private actors interact. Metropolises do not just think of themselves as cities extended: they require to conceive horizontally and transversally the relations between territories, actors and institutions related to the same space. Uniquial access to services, lack of resources to implement comprehensive plans, difficulties to modernize and equip the infrastructure, emphasize the vulnerability of a metropolitan governance to be built. All these questions, too often considered strictly at a local level should be addressed at the metropolitan scale.