DE L'INSTITUT D'AMENAGEMENT ET D'URBANISME DE LA REGION D'ILE-DE-FRANCE

Large-Scale Urban Development Projects in Europe

Drivers of Change in City Regions

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INSTITUTE FOR URBAN PLANNING AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE ÎLE-DE-FRANCE REGION

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Bringing in change in City-regions

Bringing about change in the Paris Île-de-France city-region is the ambition that the Regional Council of Île-de-France has set itself in adopting its new Regional Structure Plan.

Three major challenges that are common to most European metropolises need to be taken up:

- reducing social, environmental, and territorial disparities;
- anticipating climate and energy changes; and
- developing jobs and economic excellence in Île-de-France and developing the Region's influence.

Through the Regional Structure Plan, the strategy consists in promoting the Île-de-France as a city-region that is more compact and more dense, that is better structured, and whose infrastructures and facilities impart consistency from the core of the conurbation to the rural areas around it. Underpinned by its spatial organisation, the metropolis can assert its dynamism, which is a source of economic, cultural, and social attractiveness.

Large-scale urban development projects are showcases for that dynamism. Powerful levers for urban regeneration, they must incorporate the requirements of sustainable development, extract added value from our know-how, and reinforce our creativity.

In Île-de-France, Paris Rive-Gauche, la Plaine Saint-Denis *or* Seine-Amont *are, to date, some of the most emblematic projects that symbolise such dynamism.* Others will take up the torch tomorrow, in the form *of major development projects or new sustainable communities.*

Analysis of large-scale urban development projects conducted by other European metropolises, in London, Berlin or Amsterdam, in Milan, Barcelona or Copenhagen, and in Glasgow, Rotterdam, or Genoa, is presented in this issue No. 146 of Les Cahiers de l'IAURIF.

They are so many examples, enriching our knowledge and encouraging us to nurture large-scale urban development projects in our Region that come up to our expectations and that contribute to making Île-de-France an exemplary "eco-metropolis."



Jean-Paul HUCHON Chairman of the Regional Council of Île-de-France Chairman of IAURIF





Large-scale urban development projects in Europe: what lessons can be learnt for the Île-de-France Region?

Paul LECROART Jean-Pierre PALISSE IAURIF

The history of big cities is no more than a succession of adaptations to circumstances (...) used opportunely. It would seem that there are times that are particularly psychologically right for undertaking large-scale urban development operations. These times can be defined as being when asserted needs meet powerful delivery means. At a particular moment, superposed on the opportunism of events, there comes political will or a concerted action plan whose implementation can need to be staggered over a long period of time.

Robert Mallet-Stevens, Georges-Henri Pingusson et al.⁽¹⁾

Launching a large-scale urban development project is considered by large cities as one of the instruments of their planning and development strategies. It is possible to encounter projects without clear strategies, and, less frequently, metropolitan strategies without urban development projects to embody them. This is doubtless because an urban project imparts "visibility," which is crucial in this time of global communication, and offers is a response to major needs. The largescale urban project is itself language of change, in cities and city-regions. And the capacity to adapt quickly to a changing world is, perhaps, a question of survival for European cities.

Shedding light for stakeholders

The starting point for this study is the perception that some neighbouring European city-regions are very dynamic, as expressed in particular through flagship projects which receive high media coverage but whose delivery conditions and results are actually not always very well known.

Through a diverse series of projects that, despite being ambitious and innovative, have debatable results and

^{(1) &}quot;Un stade olympique à Paris" ("An Olympic Stadium in Paris"), l'*Architecture d'aujourd'hui*, issue No. 2, February 1936.

approaches, the object of this issue of *Les Cahiers* is to shed light, for the stakeholders in planning and development in Île-de-France, on the capacity – and the limitations – of urban development projects as instruments for delivering an overall metropolitan strategy⁽²⁾. It attempts to decrypt the logic lying behind their design and their implementation, and, as far as possible, to assess their impact on the city-regions.

The idea is not to identify "good practice", but rather it is to observe how France's neighbours approach designing and implementing projects that are in tune with their development strategies and how those projects change the strategies in return. It is a question of seeing what original answers do other cities find for our common problems, of identifying new practices in cultures that are close to ours, but that are, perhaps, becoming "globalised" more rapidly.

Finally, and above, all, the idea is, by looking through the mirror of foreign projects, to see our own Île-de-France strategies and practices differently. Beneath the comparison, it is also possible for us to see our specificities and our strengths: an urban project culture (*le projet urbain*) based on the good design of public spaces –" urbanism" come from the French – and on a range of public planning & delivery instruments and structures that have been successfully tried and tested.

But the mirror also reveals some weaknesses of the Île-de-France metropolis. In view of the region's institutional fragmentation and of the lack of public resources for investment, one might wonder whether it is really capable of hatching and steering ambitious and innovative projects, capable of taking





up the multiple challenges involved in developing Île-de-France.

This issue of *Les Cahiers* also reveals the structural transformations under way in most European cities, some of them being our economic and cultural competitors, but all being sources of inspiration, of exchange, and of cooperation.

What's a "large-scale urban development project?"

Firstly, it is an "urban" project, i.e. it involves a relatively concentrated public action both in space and in time, and whose end purpose is to develop a chunk of city through renewal, intensification, or new development from scratch. It is also an "integrated" project that combines several different urban functions and that incorporates several different dimensions of urban planning and development (economic development, social issues, environmental sustainability, mobility managment, and other dimensions) within a unified frame of reference.

A linguistic convenience

The notion of "large-scale" project is a convenient term for designating a very wide range of realities. The project can be "large-scale" through the ambition imparted to it by its initiators, through its physical size (sites covering several hundreds of hectares), through the scale of its programme (thousands of jobs and thousands of inhabitants targeted), or indeed by the extent of the resources committed (investment, commitments from major public or private stakeholders,

(2) This issue of *Les Cahiers* is supplemented by an economic approach to the projects in European city-regions that IAURIF is publishing in parallel: "Between projects and strategies: the economic wager of six European city-regions." cf. further Reading. use of the holding of a major event, etc.). And of course "large-scale projects" are not quite as large in Europe's historic cities than in fast growing cities of, lets say, China or the Middle-East... A "large-scale urban development project" can be a "unitary" project involving a single, well-defined area and sometimes a single developer. But it is rarely only a single delivery operation: it generally breaks down into several more or less independent projects that fit together in space and in time. The term "mega-project" can be used for monolithic very large projects, but that term is generally reserved for infrastructure-based projects.

A combination of small-scale projects

A "large-scale project" is often a combination of independent and diverse "small-scale projects" brought together under an "umbrella project" with a united strategic steering: this approach offers the advantage of visibility and consistency. Some umbrella projects fit into broader "spatial strategies" forming an embedded system with several levels. The term "strategic area project" can then be used.

Such a project is often "strategic" for the metropolis in question: an opportunity not to be missed to reinforce its comparative edge in global competition, to remedy its weaknesses, or to take up major metropolitan challenges.

A flagship project

It is sometimes "flagship" project: in a world of global communications, image has indeed become a powerful instrument of attractiveness, of influence, and of development for the cityregions.

It is often a potentially "structuring" project: it seeks to influence the spatial organisation of the metropolis (socioeconomic balancing, extension or

The European city-regions



Metropolitan European Growth Areas (MEGAs)

- Transnational / National Functional Urban Areas (FUAs)
- Regional / Local Functional Urban Areas (FUAs)



Incorporating the Olympics project into Thames Gateway, an ambitious urban regeneration strategy, contributed to the success of London's bid for the 2012 Olympic Games.

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development from scratch of an urban centre, etc.) and to meet metropolitan needs in terms of hosting various functions (housing, offices, major infrastructure and facility, etc;) and/or of long-term regeneration (social, economic, physical and symbolic) of a blighted area.

It is necessarily a "long" term project: at least twenty years, and more often thirty years or more, separate the idea of the project from its actual delivery. Finally, it is generally a "complex" project: firstly because site transforming requires combining technically or politically delicate actions; and then because it requires co-ordinated involvement of a very large number of public and private players and stakeholders over a long period of time.

A selection of case studies

The choice of the fifteen or so case studies presented (see table 1 page 10) was dictated by concern to bring together projects that made it possible to draw parallels with Île-de-France's challenges and issues: renewal of large deprived territories, land-use intensification in strategic locations such as high-speed train stations, new "innovation districts", new urban "sustainable districts", etc. A balance has been struck between projects well on the way to completion (which offer more experience feedback possibilities) and projects that are more recent (which give an insight into current and emerging practices).

Two kind of projects

Spatially, the projects presented in the following pages fall into two general categories:

 - firstly, "single-site urban projects": Amsterdam Zuidas, Barcelona Forum-Besòs, Barcelona 22@bcn, Copenhagen Ørestad, Genoa Porto Antico, Malmö Västra Hamnen, Berlin Potsdamer Platz, Berlin Adlershof, or even Rotterdam Stadshavens (CityPorts); and

- secondly, "strategic area projects" that bring together - or attempt to - several independent projects within a large area into a common strategy (London and Greater South East Thames Gateway, Milan region Milano Nord, Berlin Innenstadt or Südost, or Glasgow Clyde Waterfront). The projects cover a varied range of sites and situations. They are located in city-regions that are different in terms of their size and of their rank in the urban hierarchy: London is the only global city, Amsterdam, Milan, Barcelona, Berlin, and Copenhagen-Malmö are major European cityregions, and Glasgow, Rotterdam and Genoa are more specialised metropolises. The city-regions also differ as regards history, morphology, and level

of development. The countries in which they are located each have their own political and legal frameworks, technical instruments, and urban planning and design cultures.

Common denominators

But common denominators exist between the strategies followed by large city-regions, forming points of convergence between the way to develop or redevelop these large chunks of city and between the kind of urban spaces they generate.

These convergences bear witness both to the increasingly rapid circulation of urban models around the world, and also to a common history that the European institutions are increasingly reinforcing, through their rules for competitive bidding and for funding, and through their experience exchange programmes. Despite these generally convergent dynamics, it is striking to



Zuidas, the ambitious but risky project for a new metropolitan centre for Amsterdam... and for the Netherlands. © Gemeente Amsterdam

Location of projects in each city Same scale for all maps (except Thames Gateway)

Porto Antico in Genova





Projects

for the Innenstadt and Südost sectors in Berlin

> Västra Hamnen in Malmö

Stadshavens in Rotterdam





Zuidas in Amsterdam



Thames Gateway in London and Greater South East



diaspree

Milano Nord in Milan

















The cases presented: urban development projects and strategies

- Thames Gateway is a vast and ambitious "strategic area project" for the urban regeneration of a blighted area: the Thames corridor to the east of London. It is based on largescale development projects such as *Stratford City, Lower Lea Valley* (site of 2012 Olympics) or *Ebbsfleet Valley*.
- The projects for the Innenstadt of Berlin (*Potsdamer Platz, Alexanderplatz, Mediaspree,* etc.) and for the Südost sector (*Adlershof,* etc.) which are key sites for the attractiveness strategy of the city-land.
- Zuidas ("South Axis") has the ambition of becoming the future main tertiary and urban centre of Amsterdam – and of the Netherlands – around a new high speed train station.
- Forum-Besòs is an operation for transforming a run-down space along the seafront in Barcelona into a business and leisure oriented urban centre.
- Ørestad is the flagship project of Copenhagen designed, just off the link to Sweden, as a mixed-use urban centre blending innovative industry with housing.
- Porto Antico ("Old Harbour") is a project to reclaim the

inner harbour of Genoa for hosting major structuring facilities and infrastructures.

- 22@bcn in Barcelona is the code name of a project to transform former industrial fabric into a mixed-use district dedicated to economic innovation.
- IJburg is a sort of new town being developed on a string of artificial islands to the east of Amsterdam.
- Västra Hamnen ("Western Harbour") is the large-scale project for converting the industrial port of Malmö into an innovative eco-community.
- Clyde Waterfront is an economic and urban regeneration project for the industrial corridor of the Clyde in Glasgow and beyond.
- Milano Nord is an original economic regeneration strategy for industrial municipalities of the suburbs of Milan and it is not based on an urban development project.
- Stadshavens ("CityPorts") in Rotterdam is a project for progressively reclaiming spaces from working dockland areas and it anticipates restructuring them in the long term.

City	Urban project	Area (hectares)	Future use profile of site	Type of project	Target figures	Programme (gross floor area in sq.m or units)	Icons or symbols
Amsterdam	IJburg (1997-2020)	400 ha	Predominantly housing-use urban district	Urban extension from scratch	45,000 inhabitants 12,000 jobs (2020)	Housing (18,200 units) Offices & Facilities (237,900 sq.m) Retail (17,700 sq.m)	(temporary beach)
Amsterdam	Zuidas (1998-2030)	275 ha	Metropolitan urban centre	Urban intensification	60,000 jobs 30,000 researchers & students 15,000 inhabitants (2020)	Office (1,171,700 sq.m) Housing (1,091,700 sq.m) Facilities (485,000 sq.m) Total: 2,748,400 sq.m	ING House Mahler Building
Barcelona	Forum Besos (1996-2010)	216 ha	Predominantly office and leisure use central district	Urban reclamation	14,100 jobs 4,900 housing units	Office-Hotels-Retail (225,000 sq.m) Infrastructures (140,000 sq.m) Housing (150,000 sq.m na La Mina) Total: 515,000 sq.m (public space: 45 ha)	Forum Building
Barcelona	22@bcn (2000-2020)	198 ha	Mixed-use district	Regeneration/ urban intensification	130,000 jobs 40,000 inhabitants	Office-Industry (3,200,000 sq.m) Housing (4,000 units) Facilities (400,000 sq.m) Total 4,000,000 sq.m (green space: 7.5 ha)	Audiovisual Campus Agbar Tower
Berlin	Potsdamer-Leipziger Platz (1991-2010)	48 ha	Predominantly office and leisure use central district	Urban restructuring	No target figures	Office-Facilities-Housing Total: 1,100,000 sq.m	Daimler Tower Sony Center
Berlin	Adlershof (1991-2012)	420 ha	Predominantly R&D urban district	Regeneration/ urban intensification	20,000-25,000 jobs 10,000 students 10,000 inhabitants	Industry-University (1,000,000 sq.m) Housing (7,000 units)	(TechnoCentre)
Copenhagen	Ørestad (1992-2020)	310 ha	Predominantly office and R&D central district	Urban extension	20,000 inhabitants 52,000 jobs 20,000 students (2020-30)	Offices-Retail University Housing Total: 3,100,000 sq.m	Overhead Metro Ferring Tower Concert Hall
Genoa	Porto Antico (1991-2010)	55 ha	Predominantly leisure and tourism use space	Regeneration/ urban intensification	No target figures	Porto Antico (incl. Facilities 130,000 sq.m) Ponte Parodi (incl. Retail 40,000 sq.m)	Bigo Aquarium Ponte Parodi
Glasgow	Clyde Waterfront (2001-2015)	660 ha	Multiple sites with various uses	Regeneration/ urban intensification	15,000 housing units 33,000 jobs (2020)	Office (531,000 sq.m) Retail-Leisure (214,200 sq.m) Housing (19,940 units)	Scottish Exhibition Center Glasgow Science Center
London	Stratford City Lower Lea (1997-2020)	1,450 ha	Metropolitan urban centre, housing and industry	Regeneration/ urban intensification	35,000 housing units 50,000 jobs (2020)	Stratford City: Office-Retail (770,000 sq.m), Housing (5,100 units) Olympic Park: Office, Housing (6,300 units), Park: 8.5 ha	Stratford International Station Olympic Park
Malmö	Västra Hamnen (1995-2013)	140 ha	Predominantly housing and R&D use urban district	Urban reclamation	10,000 inhabitants 20,000 jobs & students (2013)	University-Housing-Industry (no programme figures)	Bo-01 District Torso Tower
Rotterdam	Stadshavens (2005-2030)	1,500 ha	Multiple sites with various uses	Urban reclamation	10,000 jobs 15,000 housing units (2030)	Housing-Industry-Facilities (no target figures)	-

Urban development projects (key data)

Other references of projects in Europe

City	Urban project	Area (hectares)	Future use profile of site	Type of project	Target figures	Programme (gross floor area in sq.m or units)	Icons or symbols
Berlin	MediaSpree (1996-2025)	320 ha	Mixed-use district with a multimedia-leisure use profile	Regeneration/ urban intensification	No target figures	Office-Industry-Facilities-Housing Total: 1,750,000 sq.m	Trias building O ₂ -Arena
Bilbao	Ria 2000 (1989-2010)	100 ha	Multiple sites with various uses	Regeneration/ urban intensification	No target figures	Office-Housing-Facilities Total: 1,000,000 sq.m	Guggenheim Museum Music Palace
Birmingham	East Side (1996-2015)	170 ha	Urban district	Regeneration/ urban intensification	12,000 jobs (2015)	Total: 700,000 sq.m Park: 3.2 hectares	Millennium Point
Dublin	Docklands (1986-2015)	520 ha	Predominantly office and housing use central district	Regeneration/ urban intensification	25,000 inhabitants 51,000 jobs (2012)	Housing (12,500 units) Office-Retail-Facilities Total: 1,400,000 sq.m	International Financial Centre
Kent Thameside	Ebbsfleet Valley (1999-2020)	420 ha	Regional urban centre & housing neighbourhood	Extension/ urban recycling	10,800 housing units 20,000 jobs (2020)	Office-Industry (790,000 sq.m) Housing units (10,200) Others (380,000 sq.m) Total: 1,580,000 sq.m	Dartford International Station
Lisbon	Park of Nations (1994-2010)	340 ha	Metropolitan urban centre	Regeneration/ urban intensification	25,000 inhabitants 22,000 jobs (2010)	Office: 610,000 sq.m Retail-Facilities: 470,000 sq.m Housing: 1,240,000 sq.m Total: 2,500,000 sq.m	Oceanarium Expo Park Oriente Station
Stockholm	Hammarby Sjöstad (1990-2010)	200 ha	Urban eco-community	Regeneration/ urban intensification	20,000 inhabitants 30,000 jobs or users	na	GlasshusEtt
Turin	Spina Centrale (1995-2012)	200 ha	Multiple sites with various uses	Regeneration/Ur- ban restructuring	No target figures	Offices-Housing-Industry- Facilities Total: 829,000 sq.m	Porta Suza Station
Vienna	Erdberger Mais (1998-2015)	250 ha	Predominantly office and R&D use urban district	Regeneration/ urban intensification	53,000 jobs	Office Housing (2,400,000 sq.m) Facilities	Gasometers

Strategic area projects in Europe and in Île-de-France

City and region	Strategic area project	Area (hectares)	Current population and job figures	Type of project	Target figures	Social data	Icons or symbols	
London Greater South East	Thames Gateway (1995-2020)	100,000 ha [including 3,150 ha. transformable]	1.45 million inhabitants 637,000 jobs (2005)	Economic & urban regeneration	160,000 housing units 180,000 jobs (2016)	Unemployment rate: 6% (2006) (regional average: 5%)	Stratford & Dartford Stations Thames Gateway Bridge	
Milan Province	Milano Nord (1996 +)	3,600 ha [including 250 ha. transformable]	237,000 inhabitants 62,000 jobs (1996)	Economic & urban regeneration	No target figures	Unemployment rate: 12% (1996) (regional average: 6%)	Business Innovation Center	
Paris Île-de-France	Plaine de France (2000-2020)	23,000 ha [including > 2,000 ha. transformable]	908,800 inhabitants 310,000 jobs (1999)	Economic & urban regeneration	160,000 housing units 180,000 jobs (2020)	Unemployment rate: 16% (2002) (regional average: 10.7%)	(Stade de France) Air Museum?	20
Paris Île-de-France	Massavsky* (2005-2030)	36,800 ha [including > 2,200 ha. transformable]	650,000 inhabitants 350,000 jobs (1999)	Economic centre and housing development	150,000 housing units 100,000 jobs (2030)	Unemployment rate: 8% (2002) (regional average: 10.7%)	(Synchrotron)	© laurif, 2007

*Massavsky : Massy Saclay Versailles Saint-Quentin-en-Yvelines

References of projects in Île-de-France

		Area				Drowramme	
	Urban project	Area (hectares)	Future use profile of site	Type of project	Target figures	Programme (gross floor area in sq.m or units)	Icons or symbols
Plaine Commune	Plaine Saint-Denis (1991-2020)	750 ha	Predominantly office and industry use urban districts	Economic & urban regeneration	No target figures	Office (> 600,000 sq.m) Housing-Industry-Facilities Total: > 2,000,000 sq.m	Stade de France Stadium
Paris	Paris Nord-Est (2004-2020)	200 ha	Mixed-use urban space	Brownfield reclamation and urban restructuring	31,700 jobs 8,300 inhabitants	Office-Industry-Facilities (60%) Housing (40%) Total: 1,100,000 sq.m	(to be defined)
Nanterre	Seine Arche (2000-2015)	320 ha	Urban districts with various uses	Brownfield reclamation and urban restructuring	No target figures	Office (210,000 sq.m) Facilities-Retail (101,000 sq.m) Housing (292,000 sq.m) Total: 610,000 sq.m (park: 14.5 hectares)	Les terrasses
Saint-Ouen	Les Docks (2007-2020)	100 ha	Mixed industry and housing use urban district	Regeneration/ urban intensification	No target figures	Office-Industry (300,000 sq.m) Facilities-Retail (62,000 sq.m) Housing (280,000 sq.m) Total: 708,000 sq.m (park: 12 hectares)	(to be defined)
Boulogne	Seguin Rives de Seine (1995-2015)	74 ha	Mixed-use urban district	Urban renewal (brownfield site)	12,000-13,000 inhabitants 10,000 jobs	Housing (420,000 sq.m) Office (247,000 sq.m) Industry-Retail-Facilities (175,000 sq.m) Total: 842,000 sq.m	(to be defined)

The scale of selected project Same scale for all maps







Clyde Waterfront - Glasgow



Porto Antico - Genova



Potsdamer Platz -



Västra Hamnen -Malmö



Ørestad -Copenhagen



22@ - Barcelona





Forum-Besòs - Barcelona



see the peculiarities of solutions that each country and each conurbation develops, based on their heritages and in the face of similar problems. As we will see, the originality of the responses is as interesting to observe as the convergences.

Projects seen from different perspectives

This issue of *Les Cahiers* looks at the projects from two angles: the first chapter examines the way in which they fit into – and interact with – the economic, social, environmental, and spatial strategies of the city-regions, or at least of the public authorities who nurture a metropolitan ambition. The second chapter is about how the projects are implemented, i.e. the way they are planned, and managed, and delivered.

Project strategy and delivery

The chapter in which the projects are presented depends on whether the authors put the focus on strategy or on delivery. But this classification has no object other than to facilitate reading, and all of the articles address both aspects. The essence of the urban development project is, in a given area, to put flesh on the bones of the overall policies, and it is important to understand the interchange between the strategic level, where metropolitan-scale major political decisions are taken, and the operational level, where the decisions are translated into action. In order to offer pointers and food for thought, an opening article introduces the questions addressed in each chapter. Theme-based articles, placed at the end of the chapters, give keys for examining the projects presented, by also referring to other examples of urban development projects: Amsterdam Noord, Bilbao Ria 2000, Brussels Thurn

and Taxis, Copenhagen Vesterbrö, Dublin Docklands, Freiburg Vauban District, Lisbon Park of Nations, Manchester New East, Stockholm Hammarby Sjöstad, Turin Spina Centrale, Vienna Erdberger Maïs, etc.

Three themes are addressed in the first chapter that is devoted to strategies: - how large-scale projects fit into networks of stakeholders against the backdrop of globalisation and decentralisation;

- the economic and financial dimension of the projects: convergences and divergences of interest between public and private stakeholders; and
- how the projects take up the dual challenge of building housing and of procuring social mix, seen through the example of Thames Gateway.
- Two theme-based approaches give focus to the second chapter:
- a comparative analysis of the various families of planning & delivery structures encountered in Europe and of the ways in which they are currently changing;
- the contribution of large-scale urban development projects to the issue of sustainable development through the eco-communities experiments conducted in various countries.

Various points of view

As far as possible, the projects are presented from various angles. The viewpoints of the project leaders - in charge of designing, steering, putting together, and communicating on the projects rub shoulders with the more detached viewpoints of researchers in various disciplines - urban designers and planners, geographers, economists, and sociologists. These two viewpoints, one embodying action and the other analysis, are complementary and intersect through the theme-based articles. The boundaries between these two categories are quite fuzzy: more often than in France, researchers elsewhere in Europe are consulted as experts by public or private project leaders. This applies, in particular, to Sir Peter Hall, reknown urban planner and geographer, and adviser to various British governments, who is both one of the fathers of the *Thames Gateway* and also one of its shrewdest critics.

The main aim here is to get an understanding of projects not to compare the projects with one another. Nevertheless, for ease of reading, and in order to offer reference elements for the Île-de-France projects, a uniform presentation has been adopted: the plans showing the locations of the projects and the project plans are drawn to the same scale. A summary table also presents some key data for each of the projects.

The large-scale project in the city-region

Seeking critical mass

With very few exceptions, the largescale urban development projects that are presented concern in-depth transformation of large sites⁽³⁾, most of which are from 150 hectares to 400 hectares in area, with 1,500 hectares being reached for Lower Lea Valley in London or Stadshavens in Rotterdam. When long-term (20-25 year) quantitative objectives are set, they are often very ambitious: on average, in the range 5,000 to 20,000 new housing units are targeted in each of the projects, and in the range 10,000 to 60,000 new jobs are expected. In terms of building volume, the program forecasts give floor areas in the range of 500,000 square metres to 4,000,000 square metres. For comparison, the Île Seguin-Rives de Seine project (74 hectares in the Île-de-France region plans 840,000 square metres of

⁽³⁾ See table and maps.



The Seine Arche *project* (*Nanterre, Île-de-France*): *repairing a urban fabric that was carved up by road infrastructure.* © JC Pattacini/Urba Images/louif



Amsterdam: in the space of less than forty years, the banks of the IJ will have become host to 50,000 jobs and 45,000 dwellings. P. Lecoort/Iouif

gross floor area, the *Seine Arche* project (340 hectares) 640,000 square metres, and the *Paris Nord-Est* project (200 hectares) 1,100,000 square metres.

In relative terms, in city-regions which, excepting the case of London, are, on average from two to ten times smaller than the Paris city-region, the projects are genuinely very large-scale projects. Proportionally, the scale of a project like IJburg (target population of 45,000 by 2020) in Amsterdam, a conurbation with a population of about 1.3 million, is the equivalent of building a New Town with a population of 350,000 in Île-de-France, i.e. a scale of project that the Paris region has not seen since the political "de-centralisation" ot the eighties. Other examples: the 52,000 jobs targeted in Ørestad (Copenhagen) and the 130,000 jobs expected in the 22@bcn district (Barcelona) represent the equivalent of 200,000 to 300,000 jobs at the scale of Île-de-France. Even though such comparisons can be simplistic, these figures give food for thought in the context of Île-de-France.

On a larger scale, some projects fit into vast "strategic area projects": Thames Gateway, the vastest, covers an area of 100,000 hectares (including 3,150 hectares of brownfield sites or transformable sites) with a population of 1.45 million and 640,000 jobs. The targets by 2016 - reassessed upwards recently after in-depth and concerted work to identify usable sites - are 160,000 new dwellings and 180,000 new jobs. Although it covers a wider area, the project presents, at first sight, similarities with the Plaine de France project. However, one of the differences lies in the fact that Thames Gateway is based on a series of well-identified large-scale projects that serve as drivers for the strategy: new regional urban centres of Stratford City and of Ebbsfleet, extension of Canary Wharf,

regeneration of the Lower Lea Valley with the future Olympic Park, logistics development of the Gateway Port, new urban communities along the Thames (15,000 housing units for the Barking *Riverside* project alone, for example). On a more modest scale, the IJburg project in Amsterdam fits into the overall renewal policy for its waterfront pursued doggedly by the municipality against all odds for two decades now. Within two generations, over the period from 1980-2025, nearly 1,000 hectares of industrial and dockland sites and of artificial islands will have been transformed to host 45,000 new housing units, 100,000 new inhabitants, and 50,000 new jobs.

Final example: Barcelona. The *Forum-Besòs* and 22@ projects are two pieces of an urban reclamation policy for East Barcelona with a series of largescale projects that are co-ordinated with one another to varying degrees (cultural centre of *Las Glories, Diagonal area, Sagrera* centre around the future high-speed train station, continuation of the reclamation of the seafront beyond the limits of the city, with the *Badalona Marina* project) which should host, in all, over 200,000 jobs and 50,000 dwellings.

These examples, among others, illustrate the fact that other European cityregions are choosing to concentrate



Intensity is also to be found in the social and creative relations. In North Amsterdam, a former shipyard has become a major cultural venue in anticipation of the development project.

P. Lecroart/laurif

their efforts, more massively than in Île-de-France, on well defined areas and sites. The aim is both to make full use of the potential for added value, and also to reach a sufficient critical mass. This change of scale relative to ordinary city planning management makes it possible, in theory, to respond faster and more strongly to the issues that arise, to take advantage of synergies between projects, and to facilitate driver effects on a large spatial scale.

Strategic locations and urban renewal sites

The projects relate to sites offering high potential, but requiring strong public investment from the outset in order to create conditions favourable to development (improvement of access or of environmental quality, etc.), so as to enable the market to take over subsequently.

Socially and economically deprived areas are often target sectors in large-



The strategy for reclaiming the banks of the IJ in Amsterdam: state of progress of the projects in 2005. From left to right: North Bank (2000-2025), South Bank (1990-2010), Eastern Docklands (1980-2000) and IJburg (1995-2020) projects.



City-regions need new multi-use urban centres, but it is tricky starting with such development at the beginning of the project. Ørestad, Copenhagen, in 2005: the box-like Fields Shopping Centre and the Ferring Tower do not help to create a vibrant city centre.



Berlin, Potsdamer Platz, a project that was steered by the public sector and delivered by the private sector, and that was the subject of much controversy at the time. A successful urban centre?

scale development projects which are then designed as levers for urban and economic regeneration. Thames Gateway, Clyde Waterfront, Milano Nord, and 22@ are examples of this.

The projects need to be physically and symbolically identified with the core city (historic centre, major monuments, central stations) or with an attractive site (seafront, river banks). They often seek synergy with the existing urban centres and facilities (business centres, exhibition parks, cultural facilities, etc.).

Easy access to international transport networks is an essential precondition for the success of some projects, or even the initial pretext for them: building a regional exchange hub around an international train station is the development lever for Stratford City (London) and Ebbsfleet (Kent) in Thames Gateway, for Ørestad (Copenhagen) and for Zuidas (Amsterdam). The two latter projects, like Adlershof (Berlin), offer the asset of having direct access to an airport. Generally speaking, most projects involve improvement of their regional and local access by means of new or extended Metro lines (Ørestad, Zuidas, Thames Gateway, or indeed Ria 2000 in Bilbao) or of new tram lines (IJburg, Forum-Besòs, and also Vauban or Hammarby Sjöstad).

The projects studied fit into a European context of giving priority to urban renewal. Many concern former industrial sites (Milano Nord, Clyde Waterfront, 22@), docklands (Stadshavens, Porto Antico), rails sites (Stratford City, Turin Spina Centrale) or urban wasteland (Forum-Besòs, Potsdamer Platz). With the exceptions of Ørestad, IJburg, or even Zuidas, the projects have to come to terms with pre-existing histories, buildings, and populations.

The ambition: an "intense city"

Urban intensity, with the underlying aims of compactness and of urbanity, is sought in most of the projects through centrality, density, and mix. City-regions seek, with varying degrees of success, to re-create in their projects the conditions for lively and mixed use of the space encountered mainly in some portions of the traditional city, but that are now to be "built" using current "materials:" new architectural and technological possibilities, new sustainability techniques, new relationships between public and private sectors, etc.

Centrality

The creation of new multi-functional urban centres of metropolitan interest - which is so crucial for the development of city-regions but difficult to imagine in decentralised Île-de-France - is at the heart of several of the projects that are based on new international and regional stations: Zuidas in Amsterdam, Ørestad in Copenhagen, Clyde Waterfront in Glasgow, and Thames Gateway with Stratford City and Ebbsfleet. Each of the projects is supported as a priority by central government, which should secure for them a level of investment compatible with their ambitions - this is in contrast with what can be observed in Îlede-France, for example in the Massy-Saclay area, identified in the 1994 Regional Structure Plan as a "European-level Hub".

The urban centres are based on hosting metropolitan functions, infrastructures or amenities that all cityregions must offer today: business centres (Ørestad, Zuidas, Stratford City), conference centres and luxury hotels (Forum-Besòs), leisure and retail complexes (Porto Antico), museums (Clyde Waterfront), universities (22@, Ørestad, Zuidas) and more rarely urban parks (Forum-Besòs, Lower Lea Valley). Seafronts, and river and canal banks are designed as areas for urban life and leisure – in contrast with how the Seine and the canals are designed in the Paris suburbs.

However, none of the urban centre projects is a foregone conclusion: reconciling the metropolitan level with the very local level is not easy, and neither is forging relations of solidarity with the local and regional environment – this applies to the case of La Défense. Specific problems can also arise: Zuidas suffers from a lack of involvement of stakeholders from the social and cultural spheres; the centre of Ørestad (Ørestad-City), which is cramped, is less attractive for firms than regenerated dockland areas in Copenhagen; in Stratford City and *Ebbsfleet*, the predominant commercial logic might work against the creation of genuine public spaces, with Ebbsfleet suffering the additional handicap of developing a constrained and quite unattractive site.

Density

Extracting added value from land in short supply is a challenge facing the projects, everywhere with reference to the "compact city" model. This leads to a high density of buildings in central places (Potsdamer Platz, Ørestad), sometimes imposed both by financial logic and urban logic (Stratford City, Zuidas, 22@, Clyde Waterfront, Alexanderplatz). In more outlying districts, the density of the buildings varies depending on the compromises negotiated between the local councillors, the market, and the local community (IJburg, Adlershof, other Thames Gateway sites).

Having said that, most European cities not only do not fear density, but rather use it as an instrument in the search for urbanity, sustainability, and synergies related to the concentration in one place of a wide variety of populations and of businesses. Densification or intensification, as an instrument for funding development, contributes to making it possible to regenerate "offmarket" areas.



Housing tower blocks are coming back into favour in Europe. In the Spina Centrale project (Spina 3) in Turin, they have enabled a large central park to be laid out on a former steelworks site. P. Lecoort/Iouif

The search for density can be associated with visibility aims so as to take the form of high rise buildings, not only for offices (Potsdamer Platz, Forum-Besòs, Ørestad, etc.) but also for flats (Stratford City, Zuidas, 22@, Clyde Waterfront, Västra Hamnen, Falck project in Milano Nord), which is not vet observed in Île-de-France. Since well-positioned land is in short supply, urban intensification often involves laying out artificial areas of land: covering over existing infrastructures (Zuidas, Turin Spina Centrale) or reclaiming land from the sea (IJburg, Forum-Besòs).

Mix: functional, social, and generational

A certain amount of mix in urban functions and uses is always sought in the projects. It is expressed through varying dominants and at different scales: entire area of the project, macro-block, and more rarely at the scale of the parcel, plot, or building still quite uncommon in Île-de-France. In practice, the way large-scale urban development projects are produced often leads to independent programmes being juxtaposed (offices, university, housing, leisure amenities, shopping centre) without managing to create the vibrant neighbourhoods that were promised (in particular in the evening) or a good population balance (low social and generational mix). Although some projects make provision for building a certain percentage of social and intermediate housing (from about 25% to 50%), many produce considerable gentrification.

The projects: responses to common challenges

The strategies and the large-scale urban projects examined are specific and original responses to challenges that are common to most European city-regions.

1st challenge: urban regeneration

Historically, the first challenge is to achieve economic and urban regeneration of urban spaces rendered obsolete by deindustrialisation or by rationalisation of certain functions (port,



In IJburg (Amsterdam), the aim of social mix is expressed through highly diverse types and shapes of housing. P. Lecoort/Jouif

rail, military, etc.). Beyond the initial trauma of job losses, the decline of traditional industry is increasingly seen by city-regions as an opportunity to build the future on new, more sustainable, foundations.

2nd challenge: economic and cultural development

The second challenge is to achieve economic and cultural development in a context of inter-metropolis competition, intensified by globalisation. What is at stake is the capacity of the cityregions to attract flows of mobile capital, businesses, and talents in the sectors that are the most creative of wealth and of jobs (financial services, research and innovation, tourism, culture, and leisure, etc.)⁽⁴⁾. International investors or other global players and the socalled "creative" classes⁽⁵⁾ are very demanding when it comes to urban development projects (they require international access, urban quality, culture, etc.). Some projects seek to promote "endogenous" development of the area, by improving the level of education, the access to employment, the training, and the creativity of the existing population by offering the social and urban services it needs.

3rd challenge: reducing social and geographical disparities

The third challenge relates to reversing the trend for social and geographical disparities to become reinforced within city-regions, often fuelled by insufficient production of suitable housing: large-scale development projects bring various responses to this problem through policies for re-balancing the spatial development of the city-

⁽⁴⁾ cf. the article above entitled "Large-scale urban development projects: where public and private strategies converge," Ludovic Halbert.
(5) Cf. Richard Florida (*The rise of the creative class*, 2002) whose theories continue to influence the strategies of numerous city-regions in spite of the critics addressed to them.

regions, physically, socially, and economically regenerating declining areas, or creating new communities enjoying a decent level of infrastructure, facilities, and services. The issue of the social and generational mix of largescale development projects is a crucial one everywhere in Europe.

4th challenge: reducing ecological footprint

The fourth challenge is to make the development "sustainable." By intensifying the development on chosen sites (often public transport hubs and interchanges) by giving priority to recycling space that is already urbanised, and by fostering a high degree of functional mix, large-scale development projects are designed as alternatives to urban sprawl from which most European cities suffer.

In view of how long it takes for the projects to reach maturity, the issue of their contributions to reducing the climate-change and energy-use footprints of the city-regions has only emerged in concrete terms recently, in particular though approaches for "carfree" neighbourhoods, "sustainable



The architectural image has such seductive power that it can lead to excesses (a collection of icons), even in cultures hitherto spared such excesses. Hamburg, HafenCity project. © Denis André · Hofen City

districts", or more traditional environmental improvement. It remains that the scale or indeed the enormity of some projects, and their technical or legal complexity often raises the question of their reversibility. When the (political, financial, or technical) point of no-return for development is reached, one must bear in mind that the developed area is there for a very long time...



Canary Wharf *in 2006: an exclusive private business district but that is also a driver for the London economy and for* Thames Gateway. P. Lecroort/louif

5th challenge: the image war

The fifth challenge, related to the preceding ones, is the challenge of image: in a world hyper-exposed to the media, external attractiveness and internal mobilisation are won and lost as much on representations as on realities. In this image race, the large-scale project becomes the vehicle and the symbol of change, the architectural object becomes a global marketing instruments, and the world major events (Olympic Games, Universal or International Exhibitions, World Football Cups, etc.) become catalysts or drivers for urban development projects. These strategies are not without risks, and they sometimes generate undesired effects.

Risks and difficulties

Global ambitions, local implementation: places of high tensions

These challeges, these ambitions, are found in most projects and are not without contradictions. No single project is genuinely capable of meeting the targets set for it. On the contrary, the



Greenwich Peninsula is undergoing big changes

Over the next 15 years, a joint venture between Lend Lease and Ouintain Estates and Development PLC in partnership with English Partnerships will be creating a new riverside community, building 10,000 new homes, offices and shops as well as schools, health and community footbies.

The Q2, formerly The Dome, is to be redeveloped by Anschutz Entertainment Group as an integrated urban visitor destanation with a 2300 capacity, music arena at it centrepiece. An entertainment district of theatres, music clubs exhibition space and restaurats, cafes and bars will surround this major new music venue for London. Work is on schedule to complete The Q2 in summer 3207.

Work will commence shortly on a major new public square linking North Greenwich Station and The O2.

hese changes mean that thousands of people will

The Millennium Dome (Thames Gateway), or how to turn failure into success. But what sort of city are the private developers going to leave our children? P. Lecoont/Jouif

programmes of the projects examined attest to the strategic priorities of the project leaders, and often reveal conflicts between various stakeholders in metropolitan development: central government, regional, provincial, or metropolitan authorities (depending on the case), core city, suburban municipalities, private players, non governmental organisations, and residents.

Large-scale urban projects are places where tensions run particularly high between: the global dimension, which is the level of national economic strategies, of response to the expectations of investors and of big businesses, of spatial organisation of city-regions, and of location of large-scale facilities and infrastructure; and the local dimension, i.e. the level of small municipalities, of neighbourhoods, of practices of the residents (when such residents are pre-existent), of small businesses, and of local associations. These strategic projects always represent a form of break with what existed "before" (as regards urban planning, economics, symbolics, etc.), hence they are focuses for tensions or even conflicts on some issues: the land-uses for which the project is designed (is the

project business – or retail-oriented? What mix of uses?), how it blends in from the urban and environmental points of view (what account is taken of what pre-exists? What about the history of the area? What kind of city is being produced?) or to what extent is the local community involved in the decision-taking process (with whom is the project to be built?).

Risky bets

Since they need considerable amounts of investment and the involvement of a very large number of players, largescale development projects are preferred places for experimenting new forms of strategic and operational partnerships (public-public, privatepublic, public-private-landowners, etc.). The uncertainties related to the speed with which the global context is changing increase the level of risk, and these partnerships make it possible - in theory - to share the risks, responsibilities, and benefits better. The risks are not only financial, they are also economic, social, and urbanplanning ones - "urban mistakes" are often the longest-lasting and mostcostly to correct. Hence the high stakes involved in preparing the project and in continuously assessing it.



Clyde Waterfront (*Glasgow*) has succeeded in spectacularly transforming dozen of hectares of brownfield sites. But the housing development that is going up like a wall along the river is not intended for underprivileged populations.

Difficulty of integrating into the city

The nature of some large-scale development projects (involving large-scale amenities, or large volumes of office space), the urban and architectural breaks (absence of small plots, very large blocks, overdimensioned infrastructure links, lonely "buildingobjects"), and the private status that collective spaces sometimes have are all factors tending to reinforce the extraterritoriality of the projects, to make them inward-looking communities poorly integrated into the rest of the city.

The effects of the projects – both positive and negative – on their environment can be poorly anticipated and poorly controlled. The image race leads some projects to look like an illassorted collection of architectural icons: urban continuity, local heritage, landscape or cityscape, and public space are completely forgotten in some projects.

Risk for consistency of public policies

The logic of independent projects is tending to have the upper hand over urban planning and design: the risk is then that the urban development of the city-region takes place through a succession of developments unrelated to one another. Sector-based public policies lose their consistency by giving way to the vagaries of each operation.

Concentrating public resources on limited areas over long periods, for projects that are sometimes rooted in logic that is more private than public, can handicap the development of other areas. Public borrowing can jeopardize long-term development of the metropolis.

Predominance of the global economy and gentrification

The economic dimension of the projects sometimes takes precedence over the other aspects. Business and investor growth strategies, property-led development, and retail-led development define some projects to an excessive extent. The projects contribute to producing wealth, but very little to reducing poverty which must be addressed from a more overall standpoint.

Some projects are exclusive from a housing point of view (intentional gentrification in order to change the image of a blighted district, uncontrolled property speculation reinforcing segregation), from an economic point of view (disappearance of crafts and trades in favour of large office premises), or from a cultural point of view (institutional culture). The gap between local qualification levels and the jobs offered is a feature common to many of the projects.

Democratic deficit?

Observation of practices bears witness to the lack of will from the authorities to associate citizens with the drawing up of large-scale projects: the autonomy of the delivery structures and private developers works in favour neither of transparency nor of democratic control over the projects.

The magnitude of the financial and economic stakes of development generates high asymmetry between the parties. Conversely, sustainable districts projects approaches in North-



Participation and innovation: two pillars of the Hammarby Sjöstad project, the large-scale sustainable community of Stockholm. The Glashuset (Glasshouse), a place of information and training. © Biom leftenud

ern Europe show that ambition, when it is ecological, is rooted in involving citizens a long way upstream in the project.

The contribution from large-scale urban projects

Visible levers for urban and regional revitalisation

Although the real impact of large-scale development projects on the metropolitan economies is not always easy to determine precisely, there is no doubt that the often spectacular physical transformation of blighted sites, sometimes combined with the global audience offered by holding a major event, radically changes the way the cityregions are perceived internally and externally. The examples of projects that are old enough to give us perspective, such as the London Docklands (1981-1998) or the Barcelona Olympics (1986-1992) bear witness to this today. Despite their imperfections and negative side effects, those projects have made decisive contributions to imparting renewed dynamism to the city-regions in question. But it is impossible to separate factors that are internal to the projects and factors that are external to them, and the cost/result assessments are not always very helpful.

It is doubtless possible to find counterexamples (of failures), but large-scale development projects take care of their image: An efficient urban marketing aims to create myths around the projects and helps bluring hard realities. On the other hand, reality sometimes runs on fiction and cities do also need to dream.

What is important perhaps lies elsewhere: when well managed, large-scale development projects are capable of putting city-regions in motion, of releasing energies, of sweeping aside obstacles to development, and of succeeding in creating a climate of confidence in public opinion and among decision-takers, a feeling of metropolitan "pride." The examples of London, Glasgow, North Milan, and Malmö show this. Projects snowball and every success enables another step to be taken.

Powerful instruments for implementing public strategies

Especially if they are carried to the right level by the networks of players, large-scale development projects can make decisive contributions to the planning and development strategies of city-regions: improving position on the global stage (Barcelona, London, Copenhagen), regional re-balancing towards areas shunned by the market (London, Berlin, Glasgow, Barcelona), creating or reinforcing urban centres (Amsterdam, Copenhagen, Berlin, Genoa), improving urban quality (Barcelona, Genoa, Malmö), economic regeneration of large areas (Malmö, North Milan, Glasgow, Barcelona), massive building of housing in new urban districts (Amsterdam, London, Glasgow), reducing the ecological footprint of urban development (Malmö, Barcelona, or Stokholm), etc.

They make these strategies tangible, visible, and understandable to local communities. When well thought out and well managed, they are the key tools in the toolboxes of the cityregions who must continuously amend and upgrade their urban structures so to meet the new needs of the economy, of the ecology, and of life styles.

Laboratories for urban innovation

Because they raise new questions, large-scale development projects are often laboratories for urban experimentation that can subsequently bring about changes in law or in standards. The innovations relate to various fields:

- urban and architectural forms and shapes;
- the eco-systemic approach to urban development;
- the approaches to planning and to setting up operations; and

- steering and managing projects, etc. A particularly interesting aspect of European projects of the current era is the intense urban and architectural creativity that they permit, associated with large-scale experimentation of new technologies aimed at making the development "sustainable." This creativity can give the poorest of results (collection of gaudy buildings that soon become unnecessary) or the best (positive energy buildings for housing or offices, for example).

WHAT LESSONS CAN ÎLE-DE-FRANCE LEARN?

What teachings can Île-de-France draw from these European experiments and experiences? The answer depends on the fields in which progress needs to be made. A few themes for thought can be proposed, in a first approach.

The urban project, a powerful instrument for urban and regional renaissance

At some times in their history, when the traditional processes of change of the urban fabric proves powerless to move development in the desired direction or at the desired speed, largescale development projects are opportunities to "pull out all the stops" on sites chosen so as to "give success the chances it needs."

Many of the projects presented in this

issue of Les Cahiers are responses to crisis situations: deindustrialisation and decline of large territories (Milano Nord, Clyde Waterfront, Västra Hamnen, Südost Area in Berlin), loss of attractiveness and of vitality of the core city (Ørestad, Ijburg), housing shortage and social difficulties (Thames Gateway), etc. These situations can sometimes reveal deeper problems: social crisis, identity crisis of a metropolis confronted with the changes of the contemporary world, or indeed crises of collective confidence in the capacity of the system to be efficient in coping with such change.

In such contexts, that are also experienced by Île-de-France, the cityregions have gone for concentrating their efforts on sectors and sites that are often in difficulty, but that offer major potential for extracting added value, for intensification, or for transformation. By avoiding scattering of funds, bringing synergy into play in public investment helps to create the conditions required for action from private investors and developers. But concentrating resources is not enough to create driver effects: work must be done to accompany the project beyond its exact boundaries. This is the challenge for what we call here "strategic area projects."

Planning conditions for projects

Combining access and vocation of the sites

One lesson taught by the European case studies is that project location strategies are related to the vocation of the sites. The Ørestad, Zuidas, and Stratford City projects show that an urban centre with an international vocation must have excellent rail access through interconnection of the international networks (rapid access to the airport, direct access to a high speed train station) of regional networks (access to the city centre and to other urban centres) and of local networks (serving the employment catchment area). In this respect the Île-de-France sites of La Défense, Massy-Saclay, Plaine Saint-Denis or Triangle de Gonesse (near Charles-de-Gaulle Airport) suffer from major handicaps.



Milano Nord has developed an original approach to economic regeneration. At this stage, the urban development project makes it possible to embody the change in practical terms. Proposal for the Falk area (2006). P lecount/louif (arch. R. Piano)/D.R.)

The 22@, Milano Nord, Västra Hamnen, Adlershof, and Amsterdam Noord projects bear witness to the major potential offered by giving intra-urban location to projects based on the knowledge and innovation industries. Hi-tech research & development is often stimulated by urban environments that are changing, by the presence of cultural institutions, and by alternative artistic initiatives that are today encountered on brownfield sites. Such locations foster links between universities, research, industry, and local communities. The presence of a permanent population in the district makes it possible to offer a good level of services to employees and to businesses. These elements raise questions about the peri-urban location of the science and technology centre of Massy-Saclay-Versailles-Saint-Quentin.

Drivers of change

Large-scale urban development projects impart a visible reality to the spatial strategies of the city-regions. The projects themselves need to be boosted by "drivers of change." Flagship developments (e.g. decision to locate a public or private high profile venue with strong symbolic value) can play this role by being indicative of change and by embodying the new vocations and uses of the site. Strategic actions can contribute to this (e.g. the decision to take strong public action on a site where stakes are high).

These drivers can be "switched on" by organising a major event that contributes to giving meaning to them. Above all, they must be incorporated into the projects. The private management of the Stade de France stadium has facilitated this incorporation into the *Plaine Saint-Denis* by it becoming, more than just a stadium, a versatile venue for cultural, recreational, and economic initiatives of local and regional level. The design of the University of Paris VII in the *Masséna* district of *Paris Rive-Gauche* whereby that university opens onto the city, also offers very considerable potential. Like these examples, other flagship developments will most likely emerge during the planning process of some large-scale development in the Île-de-France, in the *Massy Saclay Versailles Saint-Quentin* or the *Seine Amont Orly Rungis* areas, and will constitute powerful levers for those projects.

Securing funds

The level of public investment of the projects examined in terms of infrastructure, environment and development - and more rarely for buying off the land that often remains in private hands - is not always well defined. However, in many cases, the amounts involved are considerable, ranging to as a high as several billion euros for projects like Zuidas or Forum-Besòs or even dozen billion euros for Thames Gateway. These resources come from public funds: firstly from central government and from the municipalities, secondly from the provinces, regions, and big public-sector landowners. In the majority of projects, the contribution from European structural funds (ERDF) has made it possible to lend credibility to the actions in the initial phase and to release other sources of funding. The projects are also making increasingly wide use of private funding. In order to attract such resources, the projects use imaginative legal solutions: recovery of added value generated by the Metro (Ørestad), participations in developing public spaces (Potsdamer Platz or Alexanderplatz), in developing facilities, infrastructures, and affordable housing (Thames Gateway) or a tunnel (Zuidas), selling off land in exchange for building rights (Milano Nord), concessions for building and for managing some facilities and infrastructures (*Porto Antico*), etc. Analysis of such practices highlights experiments and experience that might inspire the policies to be initiated in Île-de-France.

Governance conditions

Involving all of the stakeholders and identifying leadership

The projects studied show that the role of the public sector is changing: it now acts more to facilitate the project than to lay down standards, and it gives impetus and lead more than it supervises.

Although the municipal level often initiates the projects, the role of central government is increasingly strategic: in capital cities, large-scale development projects are often the subject of strong national policies (*Thames Gateway, Zuidas, Ørestad*) which translate into funding for infrastructures and negotiation with the major private players. The core city of the metropolis is also an essential player in the strategic and operational partner-



Thanks to its open design concept, the University of Paris VII will be one of the drivers of Paris Rive-Gauche, and indeed of the Seine Amont (Seine upstream corridor) project. P. Lecoont/Jourif

ships, without whom the projects find it difficult to have the necessary basis and visibility for being positioned at metropolitan level. The other key players who can, depending on the case, hinder or facilitate the projects are the regions, provinces, metropolitan authorities (when such authorities exist) and the big landowners and public agencies.

For reasons both of efficiency and of democratic control, the role of each party needs to be well defined and an elected and recognised personality needs to emerge from the public sphere who can provide active leadership for the project and, in doing so, contribute to establishing its legitimacy. The same players must be able to establish a direct link between the strategic level (at which the project is given its framework and the operational level (at which it is implemented), so that the project can react rapidly to changes in context.

In order to be supported, the projects need to instigate open dialogue between the public sector, the private sector, the civil society, and the residents. A cultural environment favourable to initiatives and to risktaking needs to be built up, as can be seen in the Västra Hamnen, Thames Gateway, or 22@ projects. Representatives from the private sphere (banks, investors, local firms) and from the local communities can usefully benefit from minority representation within the decision-taking and urban project leadership body.

Broadening the field of action

Large-scale urban development projects cannot merely be content to develop space. Economic and urban revitalisation of large areas, access to jobs offered to populations living within the area of the project, establishing connection between industry and research laboratories, development of social or artistic initiatives, experimentation of sustainable technologies, upstream dialogue with residents, associations, and the private sector, etc. are essential factors in the success of large-scale urban development projects. These objectives must be part of the remit entrusted to public urban development structures.

Building trust on ambition

The example of *IJburg* shows that political vagaries and consultation are tending, as the years go by, to lower the level of ambition of the projects. Conversely, the example of *Thames Gateway* (and of the success of the bid for the 2012 Olympics) shows the advantage of placing the bar quite high from the outset, and of undertaking explanatory and conviction-building work in order to involve the partners and the residents in a project that is even more ambitious.

Achieving collective adherence to change and building a climate of confidence between the population and the various public and private players involved is one of the keys to the process. Confidence makes it possible to reduce significantly the lead times for delivery. The decision-taking system must be secured so that the partners are committed as soon as major decisions are taken, without waiting for these to be implemented.

Building the identity of the project: the past as a springboard for the future

The identity of the projects is a factor in winning adherence from the population, and in involving the private sector and the public partners. It is built through reference to the story of the sites: Barcelona has been clever enough to base the 22@ project on the idea that the innovative industries that the project wants see located are merely the present-day version of the industries still present on the site.

When history teams up with geography, it gives a sort of apparent obviousness of unity and of community of destiny, as it does for the inland waterway corridors. Even when it is a contrivance of communication, as can be seen with *Clyde Waterfront* or *Thames Gateway*, such rhetoric is quite effective. It is even more effective when it is associated with some images of contemporary modernity: urban intensity, daring architectures, sustainable development, sport and leisure, and multiculturalism.

But the strength of some projects lies in the fact that they assert that they are breaking with the existing situation by giving back to the residents what two centuries of industrialisation had taken away from them, in particular access to water (*Porto Antico*, for example). The power of the urban renaissance of Barcelona in the years from 1986-2000 stemmed from the creation of a very strong local consensus about a new modernity. London is experiencing a similar period today.

Communicating on the project

Communication – beyond marketing – must be considered as a strategic resource in managing large-scale development projects: it makes the project visible and understandable, it helps mobilising "external" networks of players (global decision-takers, investors, businesses, international and national professional communities) and "internal" appropriation (regional and local businesses, users, residents, and associations).

Organising a major event can, of course, be useful for giving new impetus to a large-scale development project, but other more modest choices can be equally as effective. It is more difficult to do without renowned architects, so great is their capacity to find inventive solutions and to have the projects talked about.

The Paris Île-de-France Region has some high profile urban development achievements and projects. But one of the challenges in our fragmented system of players is to speak with one voice about Île-de-France's projects, within the region and internationally.



The 22@ Project in Barcelona is based on the idea that innovation-related industry should replace traditional industry in the Poble Nou district.

Internet sites: showcases, mirrors, or screens for urban development projects?

Communication is today incorporated into the management of (large-scale) urban development projects. It is used to attract investors, businesses, future residents, or tourists. It also contributes to informing existing residents, to defusing conflicts, and to breathing life into the communities once the projects have been delivered. In a global world, the Internet has become a powerful instrument for giving projects global visibility and for facilitating local appropriation of them. A brief analysis of the Internet sites of about a score of European projects (Amsterdam Zuidas and IJburg, Dublin Docklands, Malmö Västra Hammen, Copenhagen Ørestad, London Thames Gateway, Lisbon Park of Nations, Barcelona 22@ and Forum-Besòs, Glasgow Clyde Waterfront, Berlin Potsdamer Platz and Adlershof, and Genoa Porto Antico) and Île-de-France projects (La Plaine Saint-Denis, La Défense, Seine Arche, Île Seguin-Rives de Seine, Paris Rive-Gauche, Seine amont, and Marne-la-Vallée) highlights the differences in approach. These differences are related to the scale, to the nature or the state of progress of the projects, and also to their strategic positioning and to the tasks entrusted to the planning & delivery vehicles.

Some nested "Russian-doll" projects such as *Thames Gateway* have several Web sites, each of which relates to a particular area and to a particular partnership. A few Internet sites are attached to the portal of the municipality (*Zuidas, IJburg, 22@*), or even incorporated into the municipal Web site (*Pots-damer Platz, Västra Hammen*). But in most cases, the site is independent, reflecting the independence from the public or private planning or development body: this configuration, especially if the site is referenced, enables the project to be better identified. However, understanding the relations between the operational level (public planner, private developer, municipality) and the strategic level (metropolitan authority, region, central government, strategic partners) is not always easy. Some Web sites (in particular the *La Défense* site) give the impression of a sort of extra-territoriality of the project.

In general, the other European Web sites are more open to the world than the Île-de-France sites: apart from *Potsdamer Platz* and *IJburg*, all of them propose extensive information in English or even in a third language (22@, Forum-Besòs) or a fourth language (Adlershof). In Île-de-France only the sites of La Défense and Marne-la-Vallée propose a few pages in English. The extent of translation and the targets of the sites reflect the strategic positioning of the projects. Some Web sites of projects with European or even global ambitions address an international sphere of investors, of businesses, and of international executives (Zuidas, Adlershof, Ørestad, Thames Gateway) or of potential tourists (Porto Antico, Park of Nations). Other sites like Paris Rive-Gauche, Seine Arche, Île Seguin-Rives de Seine, Seine Amont are addressed more to residents. A few sites like the IJburg or The Docklands manage to reconcile two communication pitches: "external" marketing (playing up "sex appeal" by emphasising the assets of the project) and "internal" marketing (giving information on local community life and the on the consultation process). Other sites have superposed levels on which they can be read, creating a blur in the minds of the target audience (Västra Hammen, Forum-Besòs) or generating confusion between heterogeneous items of information (La Défense).

Some technical-oriented sites give information on planning choices (22@, Docklands, IJburg) while others propose "catchall" information more for the lay public. As for the decisiontaking processes and the overall approaches into which the projects fit, they are more or less clear: many sites limit themselves to a general presentation of the planning & delivery vehicle and to a history of the project (Forum-Besòs, La Défense). However, a few also present the public and private partners, the state of progress (at least the sale of offices and of housing) and the future operations (Docklands, Seine Arche).

To conclude, the Internet sites, whose graphic designs and whose copy have received great care and attention, are designed as official and enticing showcases for the projects. But they are not very faithful mirrors of the projects: some have not been updated, and others propose targeted, truncated, and sometimes misleading information. Few sites enable the citizen to take part in the process of transformation of the districts concerned: apart from *Thames Gateway*, the sites that propose vehicles for consultation are generally Île-de-France ones (*Paris Rive-Gauche, La Défense, Île Seguin*). The development corporations are not always transparent: the activity reports and financial reports are not systematically put on line. The topdown style and the lack of interactivity of the sites also sometimes acts as an information screen.

Aude Cartier, urban planner



				Targets			Quality of information disseminated					
Project	Google Ref. (1st page)	English	Strategic positioning of the Web Site	Investors and businesses	Tourists and/or users	Future residents	Current residents	Who does what (stake- holders)?	What stage is the project at (history, progress)?	How is the project implemented (approach, procedures)?	Taking part in the project (communication, consultation)	Updatin of the site
Amsterdam Uburg Site of municipal project office www.ijburg.nl/	YES	NO	municipal	NO	NO	YES: explicit	YES: explicit	=	++	++	++	< 1 month
Amsterdam Zuidas Site of public project office www.zuidas.nl	YES	YES	international local	YES: explicit	YES: implicit	YES: explicit	NO	=	+	+	=	< 1 month
Barcelona 22@bcn Site of municipal corporation www.bcn.es/22@bcn/	YES	YES	local/metropolitan European	YES: explicit	NO	NO	NO	+	+	++	=	1 to 6 months
Barcelona Forum Besòs Site of delivery structure www.bcn.es/InfrastructuressII/	NO	YES	local/ metropolitan	YES: implicit	YES: implicit	NO	NO	=	=	=	=	CLOSEI
Berlin Adlershof Site of project managing co. www.adlershof.de	YES	YES	international	YES: explicit	NO	YES: explicit	NO	+	+	=	=	< 1 month
Berlin Potsdamer Platz Site of city-region www.stadtentwicklung.berlin.de	NO	NO	metropolitan	NO	YES	NO	NO	=	=	++	=	> 6 months
Copenhagen Orestad Site of public development corp. www.orestad.dk	NO	YES but partial	international	YES: explicit	YES: explicit	YES: explicit	YES: explicit	=	+	=	+	< 1 month
Dublin Docklands Site of public development corp. www.dublindocklands.ie	YES	YES	national/local European	YES: explicit	YES: explicit	NO	YES: explicit	++	++	++	+	< 1 month
Genova Porto Antico Site of public dvpt. partnership www.portoantico.it	YES	YES	local/metropolitan international	NO	YES: explicit	NO	NO	=	=	=	=	< 1 month
Glasgow Clyde Waterfront Site of strategic dvpt. partnership www.clydewaterfront.com	YES	YES	metropolitan national international	YES: explicit	YES: explicit	YES: explicit	YES: explicit	+	+	+	+	< 1 month
Lisboa Parque Das Nacoes Site of public development corp. www.parqueexpo.pt	NO	YES	local/metropolitan /international	YES: explicit	NO	NO	NO	++	+	=	=	< 1 month
London Thames Gateway Site of public development corp. www.ltgdc.org.uk	YES	YES	regional/national/ international	YES: explicit	NO	NO	YES: explicit	++	=	=	++	< 1 month
Malmo Vastra Hammen Site of municipality www.malmo.se	NO	YES	municipal	YES: implicit	YES: implicit	YES: implicit	YES: implicit	=	=	+	=	> 6 months
lle Seguin - Rives de Seine Site of municipal dvpt. agency www.ileseguin-rivesdeseine.fr	YES	NO	local/metropolitan	NO	NO	NO	YES: implicit	+	+	+	+	< 1 month
La Défense Site of public development corp. www.ladefense.fr	YES	YES but partial	local/metropolitan	OUI: explicite	YES: explicit	NO	YES: explicit	=	=	=	+	< 1 month
Marne-la-Vallée Site of public development corp. www.marne-la-vallee.com	YES	YES	local/metropolitan /European	YES: explicit	YES: explicit	YES: explicit	NO	++	++	=	=	< 1 month
Paris Rive Gauche Site of municipal dvpt. agency www.parisrivegauche.com	YES	NO	local/metropolitan	YES: explicit	YES: explicit	YES: explicit	YES: explicit	++	+	++	++	< 1 month
Plaine Saint-Denis Site of intermunicipal authority www.plainecommune.fr	YES	NO	local/metropolitan	YES: implicit	NO	NO	YES: implicit	+	+	+	=	> 6 months
Seine Amont développement Site of association of cities www.seine-amont- developpement.com	YES	NO	local/metropolitan	NO	NO	NO	NO	=	=	=	=	> 6 months
Seine Arche Site of public development corp. www.seine-arche.fr	YES	NO	local/metropolitan	NO	YES: explicit	NO	YES: explicit	++	++	+	+	< 1 month
	++	good	information		+	average	e informat	ion		= 1	poor information	ı

The Internet sites of 20 large-scale urban development projects



Framework for projects: strategies, spatial planning, and partnerships

What contexts and strategies lie behind large-scale urban development projects? Do the different approaches involve different players and different territories? What kind of players and territories? How do the various strategies fit in with sectorial policies and with urban and regional planning? What influence do the different approaches of development have on the contents of the projects?

These questions are addressed through a series of examples: the Thames Gateway project seeks to reinforce the position of London and South East England as the global gateway to Europe through strategic partnerships. The projects for the Innenstadt and the Südost sector of Berlin show how public strategies vary with the capacity of the private sector to support them. The Ørestad project in Copenhagen and the Zuidas project in Amsterdam seek to connect national competitiveness policies with the creation of new urban centres on strategic sites.

The Forum-Besòs project in Barcelona and the Porto Antico project in Genoa relate to local positioning strategies in the fields of urban leisure and business tourism.

These case studies are highlighted by two points of view: the first one is about how large-scale projects fit into the international, regional, and private networks of players, and the second is about the economic and financial dimensions of projects.



Strategies, stakeholders, and large-scale projects: a few pointers

Paul Lecroart IAURIF

he large-scale urban development projects presented are underscored by a wide range of urban transformation strategies but they have certain common features: they are often born out of a crisis situation (de-industrialisation, loss of attractiveness, or housing shortage), they fit into national development strategies, and they require close co-operation between the various levels of players. The stakeholders tend to come together in strategic partnerships whose aims are to give impetus to the dynamics of the overall project, to facilitate having it taken on board by the various public policies and private strategies, and to co-ordinate the individual projects. One of the difficulties encountered is to link up the urban development project with spatial planning, with sector-based policies, and with infrastructure investment plans.

Two main approaches

To simplify, projects fall into two categories:

- projects focusing on the external attractiveness of the metropolis and that embody what might be called an *outside-in* approach;
- projects seeking to meet the internal needs of the metropolis, and that embody a *bottom-up* approach.

These approaches lead to location strategies that differ within the metropolises: the former approach tends to look for sites that have a good accessibility and excellent international visibility, and the latter approach tends to be concerned with areas in need of economic and social regeneration.

These approaches fit, explicitly or otherwise, into a "transformational" perspective: it is a question not only of developing the physical space but also, often, of using that lever to spark off deeper cultural changes in the metropolises.

Projects related to *outside-in* approaches

The capacity to attract the flows of capital circulating at global level is the driving force of this type of project. These policies are guided by the idea that wealth creation is facilitated by releasing certain constraints on private investment (simplification of procedures, and loosening of urban planning rules, for example), and by the public sector investing into "off-market" areas in order to reach the breakeven threshold for development profitability (closing the market gap). This type of project targets functions that are likely to attract international and national investors (higher tertiary sector, corporate tourism, leisure, sport and retail) while also satisfying the desire of city dwellers for new places of consumption and of culture. Major events and iconic architecture are marketing products in this type of approach. Of the projects presented, *Clyde Waterfront* (Glasgow), *Stratford City* (London), *Potsdamer Platz* (Berlin), *Zuidas* (Amsterdam) and Ørestad (Copenhagen) can fall into this category.

The projects related to *bottom-up* approaches

This type of project is a response to a more endogenous vision of development focused on contents, even though exemplarity of projects can be an element of marketing. This type of project hosts structuring functions but that are less exceptional or more closely related to extracting added value from a local potential (e.g. creative industries). Although ambitious, these projects are more at the scale of small metropolises, or of municipalities situated at the outskirts of larger metropolises, and they are more based on grassroots local player participation at local community level: residents or small businesses. The following projects could be put in this category: the Milano Nord (Milan), Stadshavens -CityPorts- (Rotterdam), 22@ (Barcelona), and Västra Hamnen (Malmö) projects, and also all of the sustainable community experiments such as Hammarby Sjöstad (Stockholm), Vauban (Freiburg) or Vesterbrö (Copenhagen).

National strategies

The national spatial strategies converge with the strategies of the metropolises, reinforcing the legitimacy of the projects. Ørestad, associated with the link over the Øresund (2000) and with the creation of the Øresundregion, fits into a "geostrategy" at European scale that reinforces the place of Denmark between Scandinavia, Eastern Europe, and Western Europe. *Thames Gateway* is also a keystone project in consoli-

Attractiveness strategies for Barcelona: from the *Forum-Besòs* operation to the 22@ project

The Forum Besòs and 22@ projects were born in the period after the 1992 Olympic Games, which was a period of economic recession. They were both designed as engines for an attractiveness strategy in two fields in which the situation of the city was unsatisfactory in the early 1990s: corporate tourism (supply insufficient for hosting conferences) and technological innovation (lack of research and development activities). With the 2004 Universal Forum of Cultures, the objective of Barcelona was to reiterate the approach that was successfully implemented for the 1992 Olympics: namely the use of an event this time invented entirely for the occasion – as a pretext and a lever (in par-

ticular a financial lever) for urban transformation of a blighted coastal zone, in particular through massive investment in infrastructure.

With the 22@ project, the approach was different, focused more on content than on form: the idea was to achieve change through substitution so as to change an industrial area into an "innovation district." The former development is a success at global level (Barcelona has significantly improved its position on the world conference market) but has been much less convincing at local level. As regards the latter project, it is, as yet, too early to pass judgment.



International attractiveness, a driver for the strategy of Barcelona. Congress Centre and Forum Building. P. lecoont/louif The *IJburg* and *Zuidas* projects (Amsterdam): the compact city, a response to the loss of vitality of the metropolis



Zuidas, a key project in the national spatial strategy of the Netherlands.

A small metropolis in an urban region that is very dense but that is fragmented institutionally, Amsterdam (a population of 740,000, and a population of 1.3 million and 16 municipalities in the entire conurbation) developed the concept of compact city as early as the 1980s in response to a crisis related to industrial decline and to middle-class and welloff residents moving out to the peripheral municipalities. In a context of land shortage within its boundaries, the City - with the backing of the Central Government – innovated to design forms of housing that were dense and welcoming for families (IJburg project) and a real estate supply suitable for attracting advanced services to Amsterdam (Zuidas project), rather than to London, Paris, or Frankfurt. In the early 1990s, the overheating of the housing market led the City to launch the long-deferred development of a new district to be reclaimed from the sea: *IJburg* was born. Then, as from 1994, the City finally gave way to pressure from the banks to develop its "South Axis" (Zuidas), strategically situated between the inner city and the airport and quite well served by the transport networks. The Zuidas project was defined in 1997 as being one of the six key projects of the national spatial strategy of the Dutch Government.

dating London's place as global gateway to Europe.

These strategies are strongly marked by contemporary approaches to development that see the major metropolises as the main drivers for growth, innovation, and employment. This conception guides the policy of the United Kingdom: London and South East England are the number-one priority of the national spatial strategy (the Sustainable Communities Plan of 2003) and the three growth areas of the country are concentrated there, Thames Gateway being the main one. By moving the cursors of the projects towards aims of economic competitiveness and quantitative responses to the needs of the metropolises (in particular housing needs), central governments sometimes come into conflict with the local levels (metropolitan authority, core city, or suburban municipalities), who are more concerned to preserve a certain social and geographical balance. At the same time, central governments are increasingly investing, with support from the European Union and from the regions, in area-based strategies aiming to improve access to technology and to

new employment opportunities for the social categories that are destabilised by the speed of economic change in large cities.

Different types of strategic steerage

Large-scale urban development projects require co-operation between several layers of public stakeholders that often work together within a strategic steering structure. Two factors influence the choice of method directly:

- the ambitions of the project that determine the place occupied by central government in the scheme; and
- the number of local authorities concerned by the project and their respective powers.

In addition, the private sector (landowners, developers, and banks) on whom the success of the project relies in part, is increasingly often integrated into the decision-taking structures.

Various cases arise:

- steerage without a strategic partnership, but with the support of other public stakeholders (central govern-

... to the Øresundregion:

From the regional finger plan of Copenhagen...



ment, regions, and major public project leaders). An example is *Västra Hamnen* (Malmö), an innovative project steered by the municipality working closely with the Swedish National Energy Agency and the Ministry of Education and Research;

- steerage under a public-public partnership. Examples are: Ørestad costeered by central government and by the city, or *Clyde Waterfront* which brings together the Scottish central government, its development agencies, the City of Glasgow and the relevant counties, who have the planning powers;
- steerage under a public-private partnership. Examples are *Milano Nord* which brings together within the same structure four municipalities, the province, the region, the central government, the chamber of commerce, and the land-owning industrial concerns; *Thames Gateway* (TG) implemented through an inter-fitting combination of strategic partnerships (*TG London Partnership*, *TG Kent Partnership*, and *TG South Essex Partnership*) and of delivery boards (*London TG Development Corporation, Kent Thameside Deliv-*

ery Board, etc.), and of national or regional development agencies (*English Partnerships*, *London Development Agency*, etc.)

The first case is for simple situations: one municipality, with natural leadership being from the mayor. The second, which is more complex, often requires the emergence of a leader capable of transcending disputes between local authorities and of smoothing out obstacles to implementation of the strategy. The third case makes it possible to make the overall project more operational, but it requires dialogue and project negotiation with the private sector upstream from the decision-taking. The task of these strategic partnerships is to give impetus to the dynamics of the overall project, to contribute to meeting conditions of feasibility, and to co-ordinate the more individual projects of the developers ⁽¹⁾, but the strategic and delivery levels of action generally coincide within the same structure when the boundary of the

(1) Cf. below, the article entitled "From the plan to the city: managing large-scale urban development projects in Europe," Paul Lecroart, Iaurif. Coming out of economic depression through diversification: the *Clyde Waterfront* project (Glasgow)



The new footbridges over the Clyde authorising and symbolising the revival of the banks of the river. © McAteer Photograph/Scottish Enterprise

In the 1980s, Glasgow (with a population of 700,000 in a conurbation counting a population of 1.8 million in all) suffered a major industrial recession that, over a period of twenty years, led to the loss of 100,000 jobs, to serious social problems, and to demographic devitalisation. The banks of the Clyde, which used to be the symbol of the economic power of the region had become industrial wasteland. The City reacted to this situation with culture (European Capital of Culture in 1990), and, like in Dublin, with a growth policy focused on attracting businesses related to financial services, to research, to creative industries, and to tourism.

But the timorous recovery experienced in the core city did not reach the suburbs which continued to suffer from the recession, leading, in 2001, to an enlargement of the actions to the scale of the Clyde Valley, the backbone of the metropolis. The sector was identified as one of the two priority territories by the Scottish Government.

The strategic and delivery partnerships of *Thames Gateway:* complex organisation



Urban development projects: the players

	Urban Project	Area (hectares)	Initiative	Strategic steerage	Other public stakeholders involved	Delivery
Amsterdam	IJburg (1997-2020)	400 ha	City of Amsterdam	City	Central Govt, Borough of Zeeburg	Office Project (City) & 5 private consortiums (PPP)
Amsterdam	Zuidas (1998-2030)	275 ha	Private (+City of Amsterdam)	City & Central Govt + private (banks)	Noord Holland Province, Conurbation (ROA)	Zuidas Docks nv (PPP Banks-City-Central Govt)
Barcelona	Forum Besos (1996-2010)	216 ha	City of Barcelona	Besòs Consortium (Towns/Cities Barcelona & Loures)	Town of Sant Adria, La Mina Consortium (multiple players)	Infrastructures del Llevant SA (City), Barcelona Regional
Barcelona	22@bcn (2000-2020)	198 ha	City of Barcelona	City	Generalitat de Catalogne & others	22@SA (City) & private players
Berlin	Potsdamer-Leipziger Platz (1991-2010)	48 ha	Private & City-Land of Berlin	City-Land	Federal Govt	Private consortiums
Berlin	Adlershof (1991-2012)	420 ha	Land of Berlin	City-Land	-	Wista Management SA (City-Land)
Copenhagen	Ørestad (1992-2020)	310 ha	City & Central Govt	City & Central Govt	Øresund Region	Ørestad Development Corporation (Central Govt & City)
Genoa	Porto Antico (1991-2010)	55 ha	City of Genoa	City, Chamber of Commerce & Port	Central Govt, Liguria Region	Porto Antico Spa (City, CC & Port)
Glasgow	Clyde Waterfront (2001-2015)	660 ha	Scottish Central Govt, City of Glasgow	City, Scottish Central Govt & 2 Counties (Public partnership)	Scottish Enterprise, Communities Scotland	Private developers
London	Stratford City Lower Lea (1997-2020)	1,450 ha	Private & Town of Newham	Central Govt, Greater London Authority	4 Boroughs (GLA)	LTGDC, LDA, Stratford City Development Partnership (PPP)
Malmö	Västra Hamnen (1995-2013)	140 ha	City of Malmö	City	Central Govt, Skäne Region, Øresund Region	City Planning Bureau (City)
Rotterdam	Stadshavens (2005-2030)	1,500 ha	City & Port of Rotterdam	City & Port (in progress)	Central Govt, conurbation	Stadshavens nv (CityPorts)

*ROA: Regionaal Orgaan Amsterdam, GLA: Greater London Authority, LTGDC: London Thames Gateway Development Corporation, ODA: Olympic Delivery Authority, LDA: London Development Agency, PPP: Public-Private Partnership

Strategic area projects in Europe and in Île-de-France: the players

Metropolis	Strategic area project	Area (hectares)	Initiative	Strategic Steerage	Other stakeholders involved	Delivery
London Greater South East	Thames Gateway (1995-2020)	100,000 ha [including 3,150 ha transformable]	Central govt	Thames Gateway Strategic Partnership (Central Government, Greater London, 2 Regions, others)	17 local authorities, 2 counties, government agencies, 7 project PPPs	Private developers, Operational PPPs, LTGDC, ThDC. & LDA
Milano Nord	Milano Nord (1996)	3,600 ha [including 250 ha transformable]	4 municipa- lities of North Milan	Association for the Development of North Milan (Cities, Central Government, Lombardy Region, Province, Chamber of Commerce, and private stakeholders)	Private owners, businesses	Private developers with public support structures
Paris Île-de-France	Plaine de France (2000-2020)	23,000 ha [including > 2,000 ha transformable	Central govt	Public development corporation EPA Plaine de France (Central Government, Île-de-France Region, départements, inter-municipalities, cities	30 municipalities, 3 inter-municipalities, 2 départements	Public development corporation: Établissement public d'aménagement (EPA) Plaine de France
Paris Île-de-France	Massavsky* (2005-2030)	36,800 ha [including > 2,200 ha transformable]	Central govt	Public Interest Group (Central Government, inter-municipalities and other players)	49 municipalities, 5 inter-municipalities, 2 départements	(organisation undergoing definition)

* Massavsky: Massy Versailles Saclay Saint-Quentin-en-Yvelines, LTGDC: London Thames Gateway Development Corporation, LDA: London Development Agency, ThDC: Thurrock Development Corporation, PPP: Public-Private Partnership


The Västra Hamnen project (Malmö): industrial recession, an opportunity to "do things differently"

On the other shore of the Øresund from Copenhagen, the closure of the Kockums shipyards of Malmö in the late 1980s, then the failure of the re-industrialisation of the site by SAAB in the mid-1990s, led the City (3rd largest city in Sweden, with a population of 265,000 within an urban region with a population of 600,000) to develop, as of 1995, a new vision for its development, rooted in its know-how. The West Harbour (Västra Hamnen) site served as a testing ground for this strategy: development of sustainable new technologies, creation of an innovation incubator, creation of a university, etc. Today, the city is very attractive demographically and technologically and it is enjoying the highest economic growth of all of the Swedish cities. The bridge over the Øresund, completed in 2000, has naturally facilitated this transformation.

> The Västra Hamnen marina, one of the signs of radical conversion. © G. Rosberg City of Malmö



strategy and the boundary of the urban development project coincide, as they do for *Zuidas* or Ørestad.

The fields of action of these partnerships is not only new development, but also regeneration of existing communities or revitalisation of city centres. Beyond urban and economic development aspects, they also seek to get involved in the fields of social, educational, cultural, or environmental policies so as to guide them in the same direction as the project (e.g. Thames Gateway). This approach, which can require new guidance and governance tools to be invented, fosters synergy between sector-based policies and the project. But it raises the problem of democratic control over the decisions taken within these partnerships which, in certain respects, are substitutes for the elected authorities.

Steered at the highest level, these structures generally have small boards of directors that facilitate decision-taking. They often base their decisions on external assessments and surveys that are independent of the various project leaders. But the considerable mobilisation of major stakeholders (highranking elected representatives, CEOs, etc.) in performing unclearly defined tasks which can ultimately lead to some kind of "partnership fatigue."

Planning, strategies and large-scale projects

Most of the projects fit into strategies, at least implicit ones, but the strategies are not necessarily drawn up within the formal framework of a strategy plan or of a development plan. In the case studies, most often it is only *a posteriori* that the focuses of the projects are re-integrated into the plans.

The link between project and plan

In the first stage of a project, the absence of consistency between plan and project is not a handicap. The *Milano Nord, Porto Antico* and *Stadshavens* projects are examples of pragmatic strategies that start from practical issues (the sites to be developed), that are consolidated with the initial successes, and ultimately become consistent in a wider plan. For example, the *Porto Antico project, launched without a prior plan in the early* 1990s, was only formally integrated into the urban policy of the city in 1997 with the drawing up of the *Piano Urbanistico Communal* (similar to the French Plan Local d'Urbanisme, but quite different from the English Local Development Frameworks), and of the *Piano della Citta*, the Genoa strategic plan approved in 2001.

In contrast, the *Clyde Waterfront* project was born out of the work to draw up the Glasgow and Clyde Valley Structure Plan, which was required by Scottish law: the working group, bringing together various local authorities, who devised the *Clyde Waterfront* strategy then formed the structure for bringing consistency to the public policies and private projects within a boundary defined by common accord. The presence of the same players within the metropolitan planning

Territory	Urban Project	Area (hectares)	Initiative	Strategic Steerage	Other public stakeholders involved	Delivery
Plaine Commune	Plaine Saint-Denis (1991-2020)	750 ha	Cities of St-Denis & Aubervilliers	Plain Municipality (since 1999)	Central Govt, Region & others (SNCF, RATP, University)	Semi-public corporation (SEM) Plaine Développement and others, Private development
Paris	Paris Nord-Est (2004-2020)	200 ha	City of Paris	City of Paris	Region & other stakeholders (SNCF)	Semi-public corporation (SEM) SEMAVIP and others
Nanterre	Seine Arche (2000-2015)	320 ha	Central Govt	Town & Central Govt	Region & others (SNCF)	Etablissement public d'aménagement (EPA) Seine Arche
Saint-Ouen	Les Docks (2007-2020)	100 ha	City of Saint-Ouen	City of Saint-Ouen	Seine Saint Denis Département Council, Central Govt, IdF Region, Town of Clichy	(undergoing definition)
Boulogne	Seguin Rives de Seine (1995-2015)	74 ha	Central Govt	City of Boulogne	Hauts de Seine Département Council, Central Govt, IdF Region, Inter-municipality	Semi-public corporation (SEM) SAEM Seguin Rives de Seine & private developers (Renault, DBS)

Project references in Île-de-France: the pla	yers
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Metropolis	Urban project	Area (hectares)	Initiative	Strategic Steerage
Berlin	MediaSpree (1996-2025)	320 ha	Private	Private partnership (Media Spree) & Land
Bilbao	Ria 2000 (1989-2010)	100 ha	City	Ria 2000 (public partnership)
Birmingham	East Side (1996-2015)	170 ha	City	City & private partners
Dublin	Dockands (1986-2015)	520 ha	Central Govt	Dublin Docklands Development Corporation (PPP)
Kent Thameside	Ebbsfleet Valley (1999-2030)	420 ha	County	Kent Thameside (PPP)
Lisboa	Nations Park (1994-2010)	340 ha	Central Govt	Exhibition Park (central government above all)
Stockholm	Hammarby Sjöstad (1990-2010)	200 ha	City	City
Torino	Spina Centrale (1995-2012)	200 ha	City	City & partners (Central Government, Region, Province)
Vienna	Erdberger Mais (1998-2015)	250 ha	City-Province	City-Province

European project references: the stakeholders

body and within the project steering body has worked in favour of linking up the two approaches to development.

Amsterdam is a different case, with the failure of development policies that took too little account of the strategies of the big financial groups: the city planning of the 1980s-1990s failed in guiding the tertiary development of the city on the banks of the IJ, and it was finally the private sector, through its business location choices, that forced the city council to give birth to the Zuidas project.

The issue of consistency

Co-ordinating projects mutually and taking best advantage of the potential of the local area is the objective of the Planwerke ("urban planning workshops") in Berlin which bring public and private stakeholders (Land, districts, planners, developers, etc.) together around the same table to debate and draw up development strategies for large areas. This informal tool was initially successfully experimented in the inner city where the stakes were high. But, owing to a lack of real will to co-operate on the part of the players, the approach did not succeed in the peripheral sectors. One of the difficulties encountered by the metropolises is procuring consistency in time and in space between sector-based policies, development

projects and investment plans. *Thames Gateway* illustrates this issue, in a context of decision-taking powers being increasingly concentrated in the hands of central government – even though the Mayor does have some levers such as the co-granting of "strategic" planning permission (above a certain size) with Boroughs or the recent transfer of housings powers.

Central Government has made great efforts to co-ordinate the three *Regional Spatial Strategies* (regional planning frameworks which include the *London Plan*). It has managed to have the house-building targets reviewed upwards in the three regions making up South-East England: in 2003, the central government hoped to have 120,000 dwellings built by 2016, the target figure adopted by the regions is now 160,000, including 100,000 in London. However, since Central Government is unable to fund all of the transport infrastructures that are necessary, it is to be feared that certain development projects will be deferred to beyond 2016, giving rise to local frustration.

Furthermore, one of the unmet chal-

Connecting Transport and Development Policies



London Thames Gateway: the delay in delivering the transport infrastructures is having consequences on the urban development. © London Thames Gateway Strategic Partnership - Mayor of London - LDA lenges of *Thames Gateway* is consistency between the environment policies and the development strategy: the will to make quick progress with the project led to the development objectives being set before the hydraulic (river) surveys were conducted, the results of those surveys not being known until 2008. So problems might lie ahead.

Reconciling environment and development

The issue of relations between development and the environment is not specific to *Thames Gateway*. It is inherent to all of the large-scale urban development projects.

They all offer remarkable opportunities for developing, on a large scale, more sustainable approaches to making the city, addressing issues such as how to reduce greenhouse gas emission and fossil-fuel energy consumption. Appropriation by the residents of new technologies developed on a large scale in new eco-communities such as *Hammarby Sjöstad* (10,000 new dwellings) or old eco-communities such as Vesterbrö (4,000 refurbished dwellings) shows that citizens and businesses are ready to play ball whenever genuine political will exists. But large-scale projects also lie at crossroads between contradictory issues and stakes.

A project-by-project approach to development can be an obstacle to implementing an overall approach to environmental issues. In the future, urban renewal sites will increasingly be places with high environmental constraints (flood zones, blighted industrial landscapes, polluted sites, and unsuitable transport infrastructures to be restructured): reconciling environment and development will require new solutions to be devised, at various scales, using environmental compensation principles.

Furthermore, organising dense cores around nodes of the public transport network offers an alternative to using the private car. However, the lack of social mix and of generational mix of certain projects can have adverse effects on mobility, on access to employment, and on access to urban services for low-income households. Excessive urban density – sometimes under pressure from the private sector – and that is insufficiently offset in the projects by the creation of green spaces, can prove to work against the principles of sustainable development: firstly because it can facilitate the creation of urban heat islands, and secondly because it can encourage city dwellers to seek getaway strategies... and it is known that "weekend mobility" generally gives rise to high consumption of fossil-fuel energy.

More than ever, large-scale projects will need to be rooted in systemic approaches to relations between the environment and development, based on new analysis instruments, independent impact assessments, and continuous environmental monitoring of the projects.



Hammarby Sjöstad *in Stockholm: testing a new sustainable approach on a large scale.* © Victoria Henriksson



From Docklands to Thames Gateway: reversing the tides

The Bartlett, Faculty of the Built Environment, London

hames Gateway is the largest and most ambitious urban regeneration and development project in Europe: an 80-km. corridor of development on both sides of the Lower Thames from East London to the river estuary, along the line of the new high-speed Channel Tunnel Rail Link (CTRL), which is due to open fully from the St Pancras terminus in Central London to the tunnel portal in 2007, with intermediate stations at Stratford in East London and Dartford International in Thamesside Kent, as well as at Ashford serving a separate development there. This article describes the historical gestation of the project; summarises its state of completion in late 2005, including importantly the many elements still to be launched; and tries to draw some key lessons both from the project's successes and its failures.

(1) Professor of Planning, Bartlett School of Architecture and Planning, University College London, wrote this article in November 2005, revised January 2006.

Some history...

The missing link

The history, it might be argued from a French perspective, is distinctly English. At the official opening of the Channel Tunnel in 1994, President François Mitterrand famously observed that passengers on the UK side would have plenty of time to enjoy the beauties of the English countryside because the train would be travelling so slowly: though the newlycompleted Ligne à Grande Vitesse Nord from Paris led straight to the French portal, there was no equivalent on the other side towards London. The UK Treasury insisted that any high-speed link, like the tunnel, must be privately financed. But, as early as 1990, British Railways - then still nationalised - had defined a 110-km. route through Kent and south-east London into London. By then, however, a debate had opened: in 1987 a Kent County Council planner, Martin Simmons, had published an article arguing that Heathrow airport, west of the capital, had played a critical role in encouraging development, thus reinforcing the historic imbalance between a prosperous west and an impoverished east. The rail connection, he argued, provided the opportunity to correct this imbalance.

Regenerating East London and the Thames corridor

Arup, the civil engineering and planning consultancy, speculatively - even audaciously - developed an alternative route, which crossed under the Thames to enter London on its north side, with a station at Stratford in east London, one of the capital's most deprived areas. In 1990 Michael Heseltine, a brilliant politician who in 1980-81 had launched the regeneration of the London Docklands, returned to his old job at the Department of the Environment after failing in his bid to succeed Margaret Thatcher as Prime Minister. Soon after, in March 1991, he announced that Docklands - then experiencing problems with the bankruptcy of the Canary Wharf project - would be followed by a much larger project, then known as the East Thames Corridor: a series of regeneration schemes and new developments, strung along the line of the new railway.

After intense activity, the government announced in October 1991 that the Arup line would be adopted. It took a further two years to fix the line in detail, with key decisions to place intermediate stations at Stratford in east London, ten kilometres from the St. Pancras terminus, and at Ebbsfleet just over the Kent boundary, and two years more to produce an outline planning strategy for the development of the corridor. This 1995 strategy is still current, through the corridor has been subsequently extended on the north (Essex) side of the river, and a 2003 revision has specific targets for both employment and housing at key locations, particularly around the stations.

Thames Gateway incorporated into the London Plan

In 2005 it is being incorporated into the new Regional Spatial Strategies which form a key part of the new English planning system under the 2004 Planning Act: the London RSS (The London Plan) was accepted in 2004 and is in force, while those for the South East (south of the Thames) and East of England are still rolling through their statutory processes at the time of writing. Meanwhile, since 2003 Thames Gateway has become one of three "Sustainable Communities" development corridors, radiating out from London eastwards and northwards, that are planned to help meet a serious shortfall in provision of new homes in southern England which has been the subject of a major official report by Kate Barker, a Bank of England economist(2).

The first government vision for Thames Gateway (1995) Regional Supplementary Guidance 9a



Thames Gateway: work in Progress, 2005

It is still however easier to appreciate what is intended in these plans than to see actual development on the ground. The Mayor's London Plan consciously and enthusiastically adopts the basic strategy of diverting the capital's development eastward: between 2001 and 2016, 54% of the projected population growth, 61% of projected housing

(2) See map page 43.



The Thames Gateway project in London and Greater South East

development and no less than 77% of employment growth is planned to occur in the central and eastern areas of London⁽³⁾.

Stratford City and Lower Lea Valley, 2012 Olympics sites

In particular, there is a firm plan for a major mixed-use development (Stratford City) around the new international station and the existing domestic station, incorporating commercial offices, a major retail centre and highdensity residential development which will include the Olympic Village for the 2012 Games in the immediatelyadjacent Olympic Park, and the redevelopment of the ill-starred Millennium Dome on the Greenwich Peninsula as a major entertainment centre next to another high-density residential development, the first part of which (the Millennium Village designed by the veteran Swedish architect Ralph Erskine) is already nearing completion. These developments, together with Canary Wharf on the Isle of Dogs – the centrepiece of the earlier Docklands strategy, albeit still being enlarged through the addition of commercial and residential space – effectively form three nodes of an area which links the Docklands project to the Thames Gateway project.

A string of developments along the river within London

Other developments, completed or under way – the new Excel exhibition centre on the Royal Docks, the new residential developments on the river side of the same docks, or the redevelopment of the historic Royal Arsenal at Woolwich into a high-quality residential area – can also be seen as the western end of the Thames Gateway project, served by the Jubilee Line tube extension through Canary Wharf and North Greenwich to Stratford and by extensions of the Docklands Light Railway along both sides of the Royal Docks, one of which serves the new London City Airport before crossing under the river to Woolwich, as well as a planned Docklands Light Railway (DLR) extension to Stratford to serve the new international station.

All this means that in Thames Gateway London, massively reinforced by the Olympic decision, the emphasis at least down to 2012 will be on this western area, comprising the Lower Lea Valley from Stratford to Canning Town, the Royal Docks, plus Greenwich and Woolwich on the opposite (south) bank of the Thames. There will be an urgent need to link these developments

(3) See table page 42.



The Thames Estuary downstream from London: vast natural flood zones for development or for conservation? 12 Design Marketing Internet Ltd.



Work on the new high-speed Channel Tunnel Rail Link (CTRL) at Stratford (London) in 2003. P. Lecoort/louif

by the new Thames Gateway Bridge, planned to be completed by 2012, on the eastern side of the Royal Docks between Beckton and Thamesmead. Development farther east, on the vast and largely empty Barking Riverside site, is likely to be postponed until after 2012 because the necessary transport infrastructure to support the construction of up to 11,000 new homes, in the form of a further DLR extension, is unlikely to be ready. Further east still, possible development is heavily constrained by the decision to preserve most of the Rainham Marshes, running as far as the London boundary, as a vast nature reserve to cater for the vast numbers of migrating birds who make this their winter home.

Dartford International and Ebbsfleet Valley

Humans, therefore, will need to be housed farther out, beyond the London boundary in the counties of Essex and Kent. In particular, there will be major development around the second Channel Tunnel Rail Link station, Dartford International, 35-km from St Pancras, following a remarkable masterplan based on the dramatic improvement of accessibility following arrival of the new line, in an old chalk quarry, between the giant Bluewater retail park, Europe's largest, and the new station, including both housing and commercial development along the line of Fasttrack, a new express

Sub-region	Population		Annual Growth	Minimum annual	Emplo	yment	Annual Growth	
	2001 ('000)	2016 ('000)	2001-2016 (′000)	housing target 2001-2016	2001 (′000)	2016 ('000)	2001-2016 ('000)	
Central	1,525	1,738	14.2	7.1	1,644	1,883	15.9	ų
East	1,991	2,262	18.1	6.9	1,087	1,336	16.6	flond
West	1,421	1,560	9.3	3.0	780	866	5.7	VOT 0
North	1,042	1,199	9.0	3.1	386	412	1.7	A Mo
South	1,329	1,380	3.4	2.8	587	623	2.4	Source: 614 Mayor of London
London	7,308	8,117	53.9	23.0	4,484	5,120	42.4	Sour

Population, Housing and Employment Targets in the Mayor's Plan 2004 (indicative sub-regional growth 2001-2016)

busway system. The station was also planned as the terminus of one branch of Crossrail, the planned east-west RER-type express transit system across London. But the line has been cut back to Thamesmead in London itself, seriously compromising the strategy, and in any case the financing of the new line is problematic.

Whether it ever gets built, development here will go ahead, completing what in effect will be a highly unconventional variant on the theme of the British new town of the 1950-70 era. Compared with better-known examples - Stevenage or Harlow from the 1950s, Milton Keynes from the 1970s - it is indeed idiosyncratic, combining a number of disparate elements: a large business park near the Thames crossing of the M25 London orbital motorway, catering especially for logistics, the gigantic Bluewater retail park, the new train station and associated commercial node, the new residential district in the eastern quarry, a prizewinning second residential area in Ingress Park close to the Thames, an expanded village next door at Greenhithe, not to mention old town centres in Dartford to the west and Gravesend to the east, all melded into some new urban form.

What this suggests is that in many important respects, the typical components that make up a development have transmogrified since the 1970s: this is American edge city incarnate, except that it takes a European form based on access by train and bus.

Flood risk

These elements of the overall picture, at least, are reasonably certain of completion by around 2015. So is extensive brownfield regeneration along the banks of the River Medway in Chatham, fairly close by to the east. Beyond this point, both the scale and the character of Thames Gateway The national growth strategy for the South East Sustainable communities Plan (2003)



The private Ebbsfleet Valley project in Kent: an office centre around the new CTRL station, and a large residential area.

Thames Gateway within the London Plan strategy The East London sub-regional development framework (2006)



Stratford City Lower Lea Project (1997-2020)

New metropolitan centre & other (event-led regeneration) Site area: 1,450 hectares (LTGDC area) Aims: 35,000 housing units & 50,000 jobs (LLV area) Steering: British Government & Greater London Authority (with Boroughs) Delivery: London Thames Gateway Dvpt. Corp., London Dvpt. Agency & private sector



change quite dramatically, along several key dimensions. First, below Gravesend and the container port of Tilbury, immediately opposite on the Essex shore, the river widens dramatically into the estuary, compounded by the confluence of a major Kent tributary, the River Medway. This makes the estuarine river an even more formidable barrier than before, meaning that much more ambitious bridges or tunnels are needed to connect the new shores.

Second, and associatedly, there are very extensive areas of marshland on both sides, highly prone to flooding – as occurred in the great North Sea storm flood of 31 January 1953, which inundated 200,000 hectares of the Dutch delta area and almost 100,000 hectares of eastern England were flooded, killing 1 800 people there and 307 on the English side. There are dire warnings that a similar event could recur soon - and, though flood defences have been hugely strengthened, the sea level has risen and some experts are arguing that the only correct response would be controlled inundation of the low-lying land, on which much of the Thames Gateway developments are planned.

The alternative, clearly, would be massive flood defence construction low down-river in the estuary, raising difficult engineering questions of the resistance to a 1953-style surge flood and the obstruction to container shipping in and out of Tilbury. If this proves unaffordable or technically unfeasible, the future of some latestage planned Thames Gateway developments on both the Kent and Essex banks, in areas such as Sheppey in Kent and Castle Point in Essex, remains problematic.



Greenwich Millennium Village, the first of the "Sustainable Communities" of the Thames Gateway project (development agency: English Partnerships). P. Lecroort/lourif

Key Issues

There are thus key issues for the completion of the project: money and agency.

Money

Money is significant, in particular, because of the need for heavy advance spending on infrastructure before development takes place. In London the Mayor has agreed an overall transport-funding package from the government for the years 2005-09, but this does not cover key investments such as the DLR extension to Barking which is so far unfunded.

Both the South East and East of England Regional Planning Bodies have expressed reservations on infrastructure funding and have scaled down housing targets in their revisions of their draft plans; these refer to their regions as a whole, but of course Thames Gateway forms a significant part of both strategies and key elements are so far unfunded. A consultant's report for the two regions estimates the total infrastructure-funding gap for all purposes (transport, housing, schools and other elements) at no less than £8 billion (12 billion euros) over the period 2006-2021/26. Of particular concern are transport investments such as DLR Barking, Crossrail to Ebbsfleet and resignalling of the main Tilbury commuter line, which are crucial to underpin key elements of the strategy such as Barking Riverside, Kent Thamesside and the Thurrock Urban Development Corporation.

Agency

Agency is equally important, because speed is of the essence to meet the shortfall in new house completions. The previous Docklands regeneration was achieved by an Urban Development Corporation (UDC) with sweeping powers including planning, which were taken from the democraticallyelected London boroughs; this was hugely controversial but achieved rapid results. This model is to be pursued in only two places in Thames Gateway: East London, where however the UDC has been given a limited geographical remit and has had to share powers in a confusing way with existing agencies, and Thurrock where the local council has wholeheartedly backed the establishment of a UDC. Elsewhere development is being achieved through Urban Development Companies with weaker powers, as in Southend, or by even weaker local development partnerships, as in Kent Thameside.

This last model does appear to be achieving results despite the well-publicised departure of the Chief Executive for another position. Particularly confusing is the position in East London, where the London Development Agency has drawn up a plan for delivering no less than 91,000 new homes by 2016 (58,000 of which are to be built before 2011) at an estimated cost of £16 billion (12 billion euros), half to be borne by the private sector. Here there is a plethora of overlapping agencies: the Mayor's office (including an Architecture and Urbanism unit with



Investment in transport is essential to achieving the objectives of Thames Gateway. The DLR extension built in 2006. P. Lecroont/louif





a special remit for the Royal Docks), the London Development Agency, English Partnerships (a government agency), the boroughs (which remain the local planning authorities), a Thames Gateway London Partnership representing a wide variety of different agencies, the UDC and the new Olympics Delivery Authority. In 2006, Thames Gateway can be regarded as nearly half-way on its planned progress from original gestation to completion. Without doubt, it will be an impressive achievement, comparable in ambition to the new towns planned half a century ago. It remains to be seen whether the public funding and public powers will be

sufficient to generate the huge scale of

development now envisaged.



The site earmarked for the 2012 Olympics is used for industry: relocating it will not be without economic and financial consequences. P. Lecoont/lourif



Berlin's Urban Development Strategy – Planning and Projects

<u>Hilmar von Lojewski (1)</u> Senate Department of Urban Development, Berlin

Since reunification Berlin (3.4 million inhabitants within the boundaries of the city, 4.6 million within the metropolitan region including the outskirts of Berlin in the Land of Brandenburg) follows a twofold development strategy – the renaissance of the Inner City and the strengthening of the polycentric city structure. Major development projects are implemented through three kind of approaches: the "re-active" planning approach where the initiative lies in the hands of the private sector, the "pro-active" where there is a strong need for public planning and investment first, the "hybrid" planning approach is somewhere between the two situations. Public-private partnerships are increasingly shaping Berlin, but it remains essential that the planning authorities still sit in the drivers seat...

(1) Head of the Urban Development and Projects Department (Städtebau und Projekte, Senatsverwaltung für Stadentwicklung), wrote this article in February 2006, revised November 2006. Strategic metropolitan goals: a strong focus on redevelopment of the Inner City, plus Special development areas for housing, mixed uses and science

The Inner City has been defined as the area within the S-Bahn circle line (S-Bahn-Ring) with a population of approximately 1 million inhabitants. The reconstruction efforts between the 1950s and 1980s have still left large parts of the inner city untouched or underutilized. This offers a widespread potential for additional uses in the Inner City. The sharp decline of the industrial sector after 1990 has contributed furthermore to the phenomenon of vacant and developable areas in the central parts of the German capital. Berlin in terms of space and infrastructure capacities is ready to accommodate almost the double amount of population within its city boundaries, a large proportion of this within the circle line.

Since 1990 the Inner City is experiencing a lasting and formative impact due to the reunification of East and West Berlin and its appointment as capital city of Germany. This is implemented through large-scale public or private-led development projects such as the Government district, the new Central station quarter, Potsdamer Platz/Leipziger Platz, and Alexanderplatz⁽²⁾. The centrally located fallow death strip of the former Wall area, which is almost not detectable anymore is now becoming subject of a new "culture of remembrance". The area along the Bernauer Straße, once the scenery of the most striking attempts to flee East-Berlin after the building of the wall and almost redeveloped as a housing quarter after reunification, is going to be designed as the site of wall memorial park as a joint undertaking of Berlin and the federal government⁽³⁾.

After almost finishing the "critical reconstruction" of the Dorotheenstadt





and Friedrichstadt – the baroque town extension areas of the late 17th century – there is still some space for development around the the area at the former Checkpoint Charlie, the two river prone areas in the east and the west next to the river Spree, the MediaSpree area of Friedrichshain-Kreuzberg and the Spree city (Spreestadt).

Further areas of significant meaning are the historic centre all around the Spreeinsel (Spree Island) including the

(2) See boxes in the article.

(3) The landscape competition for this project is coming up in the first half of 2007.





News developments (1989 - 2015)

world heritage listed Museumsinsel (Museum Island) and Schloss Platz (Castle Square) and the historical twincores of Berlin and Cölln located around the Rotes Rathaus (Town hall) up to Alexanderplatz and the Forum Fridericianum with the boulevard "Unter den Linden" running up to the Brandenburg Gate.

Apart from fostering the development in the city centre and the designation of the Special development area which targeted the allocation of the federal parliament and government functions and the attraction of private investments to the Friedrichstadt and Dorotheenstadt, the urban development authorities have launched in the early 1990s additional special development areas which primarily focus on housing in the "watertowns" of Spandau in the west and Rummelsburg in the east and in the northeastern Biesdorf area, a mixed development on the old slaughterhouse area at the Eldenaer Straße inside the north-eastern S-Bahn circle line. The consequence of the many projects in these areas and the more "decentral" locations of the special development areas is a newly defined city structure and image that will influence generations to come. The design

of the public spaces and the architecture of private and public buildings therefore obtain a further significant meaning, lending the new quarters an aura that is appropriate for Berlin and creates a sense of identity. Equally important to urban living is to prevent the development of a mono-functional office building district, but to promote a diverse mixture of living, trade, services and culture.

Planning instruments

Berlin applies the provided legal planning instruments (land-use plan, local area plans) and has developed a set of specific informal planning tools for communication and implementation of the strategic and operational planning goals.

Legal planning tools

A new Land-Use Plan for the united city has been set up by 1994 (The Flächennutzungplan, scale 1: 50,000);





Special Development Areas: Central station quarter and Government district

Many of the city centre's new development have been and still are going to be built along the former death strip of the former Wall area, such as the new central train station and the Government & Parliament district. Over a period of ten years the dream of railway planners of the last one hundred years has come true: A central station for Berlin which avoids the cul de sac train stations of the past and allows a decisive reduction in travel times and improvement of accessibility. The central station is surrounded by a new type of railway quarter. Based on the first prize in the urban design competition from 1995 won by Oswald Matthias Ungers, west to the station the Lehrter Bahnhofsquartiers is coming up. The five blocks south of the elevated railway and the two blocks north of it are going to be developed as a business and tourist quarter with a gross floor area of 180,000 square metres (sq.m) Housing uses were planned but had to be left out of the concept due to the shortening of the roof of the train station which changed the noise emissions situation in the quarter considerably to the worse. East of the station the Humboldthafen is going to be framed by an outstanding structure that evolved from Ungers layout and links the station area with the neighbouring Charité complex, Berlin's largest university hospital. This area offers a rather modest potential of approx. 120,000 sq.m mixed uses with a 20% proportion of housing uses.

As the government precinct the central station area is also subject of a Special development project, run directly by the Berlin planning authorities with financial support of the federal government. An area that stretches from the central station in the west up to the ministry of exterior on the Cölln island in the east, is designated as a Special development area where special rules are to be applied from 1994 until approximately 2011. The major target of the project is to improve the technical infrastructure as well as social facilities and the design of the public space. The preparation of plans and competitions, the improvement of streets, places, river



The federal administrations district in the Spree bend(Spreebogen).

banks and green areas, the erection of additional kindergartens and a combined fire brigade and police station, this is all financed through an overall budget of 560 billion euros. The Special development area rules allow to let the private land owners contribute by a certain percentage of the increase of their land value to these measures. Therefore a cost recovery of at least 50% is expected.

The Spreebogen (Spree bend) with the Bundeskanzleramt (office of the Chancellor) and the German Bundestag buildings are subject of separate federal construction programmes. They added approx. 200,000 sq.m to the existing stock of ministries and government office buildings and sum up to an investment of 3 billion euros.



The new Berlin Central Station has transformed the geography of the City. P. Lecroort/Jouif



The future station district, a project that has met difficulties. © Berlin Senatsverwaltung für Stadtentwicklung

a success of co-ordinated physical planning that cannot be underestimated. The land-use plan does not only formulate the physical development pattern for the different uses and designates areas to be developed but plays a major coordinative role for all planning related public agencies. Therefore the major strategic objectives related to physical, traffic, infrastructure and social planning had been laid down already by the mid 1990s. This Land Use Plan is updated at regular intervals; the last edition was in January 2004. Adaptations are required frequently due to the fact that local area plans (Bebauungspläne) at a scale 1:1.000, as the only legally binding planning tools have to be in line with the overall land use plan.

Informal planning

Based on the Land-Use Plan more refined informal development plans at the district level and urban design plans for the Inner City area covering some 36 km² were drafted.

None of these plans provide legal enforcement. Only local area plans at a 1:1.000 scale bear legislative power and are enforceable. Linked to the local area plans public-private contracts for development areas play a vital role in the implementation process. Most of the planning, infrastructure and implementation costs related to the respective building projects within a plan are covered by the investors who gain profit from the building rights issued on the base of a local area plan.

Planning is not any more regarded as a top-down "ivory-tower" approach but closely linked to political and public communication. Different means of interaction with the public are being practiced which range from public hearings in accordance with the legal provisions of the Federal Building Code up to Internet based and moderated dialogues on urban planning

Adlershof: science, technology and media city launched in the 1990's

The development of a science city in Adlershof on a major development strip between the city centre and the new Berlin-Brandenburg International airport. These projects were launched in a promising period of prosperity and growth that failed to proof viable in the late 1990s. Therefore the areas had to be reduced and the implementation period of the development extended. In spite of the criticism because of major public investments in the areas, which resulted in plans for more than 7,000 housing units and 1 million sq.m for scientific, commercial and office uses and a decisively reduced return rate through the sale of building plots to the private sector, it remains that the uplifting of these areas had to be a public undertaking – no private consortium or developer would have taken up this task which meant that these derelict areas had remained the same if the planning authorities wouldn't have taken the initiative.

Adlershof Project (1991-2010)

New science & technology urban district Site area: 420 hectares Aims: 30,000 jobs, 10,000 students & 15,000 inhabitants (initially) Steering: Berlin Land - Delivery: Wista Managment GMBH





Adlershof in 2005: in the centre, Rudower Chaussee and Humboldt University. In the foreground on the left, the photonics and optics buildings; on the right, the circular Bessy-II building (Synchrotron). © Wisto Management GMBH and design issues. A strong interaction with landowners and potential developers has been established in the past decades, which leads to a demand driven planning approach.

Nevertheless the planning bodies are still eager to balance the demand driven planning with initiating planning schemes that generate a demand which has not been realised by the real estate market yet – as for example the promotion of town house schemes in the Inner City, a typology of attached four to five storey houses on individual plots which has not been on the agenda of any real estate developer in Berlin up till 2003.

Three planning and implementation approaches: "re-active", "pro-active" and "hybrid"

The ongoing planning projects in Berlin can be categorised in three different planning and implementation approaches. This categorisation is rather the result of an ex-post analysis than subject of an intentionally pursued methodological approach. The categories are not distinguishable by engagement of the planning agencies or workload for the public administration but furthermore by the accessibility for planning interventions and changes from the planning administration during their "life cycle":

• The "re-active" planning approach is common when a (private-led) project is politically accepted and promoted.

Prior to the formal planning procedure the project is streamlined and finally negotiated.

As a result the project shall not generate tensions in the urban fabric and functional structure. The planning procedure serves primarily as a legal legitimation and a means of information of the public. The planning administration attempts to cover planning and implementation activities through public-private contracts or even delegates the readjustment of roads and public green to the private investors who invest in these areas on own account but on behalf of the city. Planning and implementation phases are short termed provided the private sector is ready to invest and very sensitive to changes of the plan layout or implementation schedule.

• The "pro-active" planning procedure



Urban development projects in Berlin

The projects for Potsdamer Platz and Leipziger Platz. In light brown, the blocks to be built.



focuses on areas which are not yet subject of private investments and require a broader based design and planning process to promote the area as a development target for the private sector and to disseminate the structural changes amongst the members of the planning council and the public. The approach pursues a rather conservative deductive planning methodology in identifying the intensity of plan interventions, design preparation, development of design alternatives and finalisation of a planning solution. The preparatory activities to open up such kind of areas – primarily those owned by the public - require considerable pre-investments by the pub-

The projects for Alexanderplatz.

In light brown, the blocks to be built, and in yellow, the potential identified in the Planwerke Innenstadt.



lic administration that might also include the construction costs for the reshaping and upgrading of public spaces. These investments can be recovered through the marketing of theses areas. A major political prerequisite for this planning approach in Berlin is the "cost-efficiency" - the public investments shall be fully recovered through the marketing of public land. This tends to hamper implementation chances considerably, especially when the cost-recovery can only be tentatively verified or is stretched because of a long-term implementation phase.

• The "hybrid" planning approach is based on equally strong public and private initiative for the development of an area. Cost recovery is subject of tenuous negotiations because both private and public partners – share the tendency to limit their expenses and at the same time optimise their influx on the shape, content and design of the area. Many of the development projects of the past 15 years in Berlin belong to this group, because the planning administration had been able to cope with the development speed and expectations of the private partners. "Hybrid" planning requires strong partners on both sides, which is in view of the reduced personnel stock of the Senate department for urban planning and the districts at stake.

"Hybrid" approach and public-private partnerships in two flagship projects: **Potsdamer Platz** and Alexanderplatz

The Potsdamer Platz/Leipziger Platz as well as the large-scale development of the Alexanderplatz area were and are subject of "hybrid" planning approaches. Specifically at the Potsdamer Platz a strong commitment of the private investors was paired with an equally strong engagement of the pub-



lic planning authorities to set up the major urban and functional guidelines and to withstand "amendment strategies" of the private sector – more floor area, less housing proportion. The "urban experiment", as Aldo Rossi has characterised the Potsdamer Platz area shortly after its inauguration, has been economically and urbanistically successful. Functional deficits because of the inverted shopping area and the lack of visitors' frequency outside the shopping mall area along the outside facades of the mall are primarily and merely a problem from the urban planners'viewpoint.

Both areas basic layout were subject of urban planning competitions, in the case of the Potsdamer Platz an effort of the public administration, at the Alexanderplatz a joint effort of public and private partners. The comparatively smooth negotiation process at the Alexanderplatz can certainly find its basis in this co-operative procedure in the mid 1990s. The implementation speed of the two areas differs highly - whereas at the Potsdamer Platz the private investors were the driving force behind a tense planning and construction schedule due to favourable market conditions there is

a certain political pressure behind the realisation of the planned high-rise buildings at the Alexanderplatz. It seems difficult to tame expectations raised in the 1990s in view of current unfavourable conditions in the housing and office market even though the agreed implementation schedule allows the developers a construction phase that lasts up till 2013.

The cost efficiency and recovery basis of both projects is remarkable – due to public-private contracts (*Städtebauliche Verträge*) and the sale of public land to the private developers Berlin has gained remarkable profit from the development of the two areas.

The Potsdamer Platz development hence is seen as a success in view of the developers, the public and also by planning experts – though linked with some cons because of some functional and architectural shortcomings and the amalgamation of a block structure with a shopping mall that overlaid the initial structure. Renzo Piano had made the right point when he called the Potsdamer Platz development on the occasion of its inauguration as "an experiment with open result".

All street construction works except the tramway at the Alexanderplatz are

Alexanderstrasse.

The Alexanderstrasse Project before (on the left) and after the negotiation with Sonae (the shops and offices developer): the subdivision into blocks disappears in order to meet the commercial needs of a single complex. The 150-metre tower will be built once the office market is more favourable.

The public-private development contracts

Public-private contracts (PPP-contracts) were introduced to the planning legislation in the wake of reunification to distribute the development burden also to the private sector's shoulders. Based on the section 11 of the Federal Planning Code, the municipalities are eligible to fix PPP-contracts for the preparation of plans, implementation of public measures and the coverage of costs, provided these costs were induced by the private projects. Therefore the PPP-contracts may never be used as harassment to private investors but for a carefully balanced distribution of development costs. The contracts enable the municipalities to launch projects in accordance with the private sector even if public funds are not or only available to a limited extent.

The partial local development plan is the framework for public-private contracts. Here, the partial plan (block B4) of the Alexanderstrasse project (2003).



© Berlin Senatsverwaltung für Stadtentwicklung

fully covered by the private landowners as well as more than 50% of the costs for the redesign of the place itself. Private investments in the public space amount at approximately 18 million euros. At the Potsdamer Platz the legal rules and regulations for a 90% cost recovery for the construction of public streets have been applied. In both areas large proportions of private land have been sold to the investors.

A "re-active" approach for Alexanderstrasse

A rather "re-active" planning scheme had been launched with the allocation of a large-scale shopping mall at the Alexanderstraße next to the Alexanderplatz. This plan overlaid the initial planning schemes of the planning authorities that interpreted the historical fortification structure and tended to develop a mixed-use block structure that varied by height and size.

Nevertheless a joint design workshop had been launched to adapt the investors'favourite functional scheme to the minimal requirements of the urban site. Cost recovery for the preparation of the site and the reshaping of the street network has also been achieved.

Pro-active flexible planning: Planwerke West, Nordost and Südost

Highly "pro-active" planning schemes have been launched with the Guideline plans (or "Area planning concepts"), the three *Planwerke* for the western (Spandau and airport Tegel), northeastern (Buch) and south-eastern (Treptow-Köpenick/Adlershof/airport Schönefeld) areas of the city. These plans in contrast to the Inner City Guideline Plan have not experienced political adoption. These urban design frameworks serve merely as an orientation for the development of the areas. Potsdamer Platz - Leipziger Platz (1991-2010): a new city-centre?



Three major private developers for a project that is heavily symbolic.

The private sector has contributed to the uplifting of the most derelict parts of central Berlin with the construction of the Potsdamer and Leipziger Platz.

Based on the first prize of the urban planning competition in 1991 won by Hillmer & Sattler and refined by Aldo Rossi in accordance with the requirements of the investors the Potsdamer Platz area was implemented with a mixed use structure and an emblematic blending of the traditional European block structure and the vertical dominants at the Potsdamer Platz itself. More than 1.1 million sq.m with an investment of approximately 5,5 billion euros have been erected.

Differently from common development plans their "language" is rather concrete – their subject is the builtup structure of the areas, their design pattern of settlements, street spaces, places and green areas, not the distribution of uses and zoning. This makes the comprehensible for laymen and politicians but lets them also remain at a facultative level – as a guideline plan they can be bypassed by local area plans with a comparably simplicist argumentative approach. Postdamer Platz Project (1991-2010) New urban centre - Site area: 48 hectares Steering: Berlin Land Delivery: private developers



Nevertheless these plans don't only serve as incentives for private investments but also as an impulse to the district planning authorities to focus on their development potentials, as for example to foresee the development potentials after the vacation of the airport Tegel in the west of the city or the major development opportunities on the strip between city centre and the BBI Berlin-Brandenburg International airport. They were drafted at a concrete design level and their layout



The South East Berlin development framework (Planwerke Südost 2005)

implies precisely located building opportunities and urban design features such as the contrasting built-up patterns, typologies, densities, organisation of open spaces etc. They lack a hierarchy of implementation areas and the allocation of funds for pushing the implementation process forward.

Planwerk Innenstadt: implementing the Inner City Guideline Plan

A higher degree of concretisation has been achieved within the framework of the Inner City Guideline Plan (or Area *Planning Concept*, approved in 1999) along the Spree side development between the historical city centre and the Elsenbrücke east of the city centre. This area bears enormous development potentials and attracts a comparatively high degree of investors'attention - thus developing as "hybrid" planning scheme. The Media Spreeinitiative run by a co-operation of landowners and developers, the allocation of media industry in the eastern harbour precinct and the construction of a multi-functional arena and development of the adjacent areas next to Ostbahnhof (Eastern Station) by the Anschutz Entertainment Group indicate an area on the verge of realisation with some outstanding projects already been built.

The planning administration has realised that some additional effort is required to get development activities started on the south bank of the Spree River in Kreuzberg. Therefore this area has recently been designated as a focus for subsidiary activities for the restructuring of dysfunctional quarters – thus bearing some "pro active" features.

Other pro-active developments in the Inner city: Spittelmarkt, Molkenmarkt and Friedrichswerder West

Equally "pro active" are the highly concretised plans for the reshaping of the Spittelmarkt and the Molkenmarkt/Klosterviertel area in the historical city core. Both areas are heavily affected by the thoroughfare that had been constructed in the late 1960s and early 1970s and distorts the historic city into two halves. The prime target of these projects is to regain urban characteristics in the Inner City in areas that are today fully dominated by transit traffic. Up to their demolition through war impacts and the clearing of the sites for traffic purposes these quarters formed the highly urbanised core area of Berlin and Cölln – nothing memorises today to this history.

Urban planning for this concept, which has been gradually taking shape since 1990, will model the site in reinterpreting the original historical layout. The area is one of the oldest areas of Berlin and lies in the vicinity of Alexanderplatz, the Rote Rathaus and the Nikolaiviertel (Nikolai Quarter). The legendary Jüdenhof (Jews Court), which existed in the middle Ages, was here. A restoration and rerouting of the major thoroughfares Mühlendamm and Grunerstraße based on the historical street grid can create a new sectioned quarter for inner-city living, offices and shops. With new architecture the historical Jüdenhof will be reinterpreted to become a new, energetic inner-city residential area and unique tourist attraction.

The implementation requires a cost intensive redesign of one of the major thoroughfares in central Berlin which is not only a matter of pre-financing the construction costs prior to the sale





MediaSpree: a private-led regeneration project for a new media & leisure district



The MediaSpree offers vast spatial and investment opportunities along the eastern Spree banks for media related uses. More than 450,000 sq.m have been erected so far, a potential of about 1.3 million sq.m is still available for office, leisure and housing purposes with an investment potential of about 2.6 billion euros. The entertainment district of the Anschutz Entertainment Group, which started the construction of the O_2 -Arena next to remaining wall strip – the East Side Gallery – makes up a considerable proportion of this potential with more than 550,000 sq.m.

Mediaspree Project (1996-2025)

Media & leisure-oriented urban regeneration Site area: 320 hectares Steering: private partnership with Berlin Land - Delivery: private developers

<figure>

of new building plots but also of political strength to withstand the car drivers'lobby in view of a reduction of transit traffic in the Inner City by 30%. The planning authorities have verified that the sale of new building plots allows a full cost recovery in the long run but as long as no decision is taken pro "re-urbanisation" and against the Inner City transit route these projects are at stake.

Already underway is the development of small building plots for building a residential area on the grounds of Friedrichswerder West. Due to Inner City residential density the aim here is to answer the need for a traditional Inner City residential and business district. For this purpose the historical city ground plan is taken up and revitalized. 54 residential buildings of varying layouts and front and back yards, will be built. Two small parks together with streets and front gardens will create a diversified cityscape. It is a striking example how to bring individual housing back to the very city centre.

Urban quality in a changing city requires a strong public leadership

Berlin has not only changed its image through the new government district, the newly generated extensive and modernized urban infrastructure, the new development areas adjacent to the city centre and the countless new buildings primarily in the historic centre. It has also experienced a variety of approaches towards urban planning and design, new patterns of negotiating the "production of city" and applied public-private contracts to lessen the financial burdens of the city in view of the numerous investment requirements by the public authorities after unification. Most of these approaches can be deemed successful

Spreestadt: attracting private investment in the West part of the City

The Spreestadt in Charlottenburg almost ousts the Potsdamer Platz area by size with a development potential of about 1 million sq.m. Showrooms for cars, large scale architainment structures and smaller scale housing and office potentials offer development opportunities also in the former western part of the city centre.



The Spreestadt project is adding value to brownfield sites of the former West Berlin. P. Lecoort/louif

- it is only the weakness of the housing market which resulted in a backlog in the implementation of PPPhousing areas and the weakness of the office market that still left vast potentials in favourable locations un- or underutilised. The distinction of different either more "pro-active" or "reactive" planning approaches may not lead to the misunderstanding that urban planning in Berlin faces a drawback from public responsibilities. Nevertheless it is noteworthy that a planning administration has to adjust itself to demand structures and marketing patterns that were hardly common in the early 1990s.

The setting of guidelines and negotiation of thresholds between the economies of real estate development and the production of urbanity in Berlin has led to some results, which may be subject of further debate with regard to its architectural variety and innovation power.

But it remains essential that the planning authorities still sit in the driver's seat and direct investments by location, kind of use, size and has an undisputable mandate to maintain an optimal standard of planning and architectural culture.

Therefore a further cut-back of expertise and personnel of the planning authorities would lead to major drawbacks in quality in view of the globalisation of the real estate economies.



The Friedrichswerder West project: building 5-storey houses in the city centre. © Berlin Senatsverwaltung für Stadtentwickung



Amsterdam Zuidas: ambition and uncertainties of a large scale mixed-use urban development

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Luidas is the largest urban development project in the Netherlands, strategically located halfway between Schipol airport and central Amsterdam. At first imagined as a business district, it is now planned as mixed-use development on top of a major transport hub. It's future success relies on the major players's capacity to steer, finance and give life to a complex and risky project.

(1) Researcher, Amsterdam University (*AMIDSt*), wrote this article in November 2005, revised January 2006.

Amsterdam is developing a new international competitive office location at its southern ring road, the Zuidas ('South Axis'). This project catches attention for a variety of reasons. First, with a proposed building volume of 2,7 million square metres (sq.m) in an area of around 275 hectares, it is especially in the context of the relatively small Amsterdam urban region - a huge and very significant development project. Secondly, because of its overwhelming complexity: located outside the urban core, the project proposes a complete three-dimensional integration of a variety of urban uses with major transportation infrastructures. With this strategy it seeks to move beyond the often criticized mono-functional office parks that dominate the fringes of our cities nowadays. A third interesting aspect is the search for new institutional arrangements to develop the project and to integrate public and private investments in the area.

Zuidas is therefore not only about reinventing the city at a traditional nonurban place, it is also a search for adequate governance processes to steer complexity, finance and create urban quality in a new era of large-scale urban interventions. The project started a decade ago and a thirty year development period is foreseen. Can the project live up to the ambitions and expectations that it created for itself?

From IJ-banks to Zuidas: market wins against city planners?

At the end of the eighties and the beginning of the nineties, the municipality of Amsterdam tried to interest market actors to redevelop the abandoned and underused harbour area on the southern shore of the River IJ in a new prestigious office location in the highest segments of the market. This project fitted into a national-wide planning policy to improve the competitive position of urban areas and to experiment with new forms of public private partnerships (Schuiling 1996). The project was unsuccessful however, because of a lack of market interest in the area and the difficulty to provide sufficient infrastructure to make this inner city location accessible. The development paradox was that this 'market-oriented development' was on a location strongly endorsed by the public sector, but not favoured by the important market actors themselves. Two important potential participants: the large Dutch multinational banks/developers ABN/AMRO and ING favoured another development zone. They spotted opportunities at a location at the southern fringe of the



city, alongside the highway and close to the airport.

The institutional reflex of the municipality was to prevent that this location would develop into a major office location. Although since the seventies a series of well-accessible office-parks was developed around Amsterdam's ring road, the dominant discourse was still one of monocentricity: the most prestigious offices had to be in the city centre, with the southern IJ-banks as its logic extension (Salet & Majoor 2005). In a situation of increasing competition between urban areas and a shifting power balance between public and private, the municipality eventually had to alter its policies. In 1994 the decision was made to facilitate these powerful market interests and start developing this new zone of opportunities, labelled Zuidas.



The birth of a strategic location: accessibility, interconnection, environment

The location of the Zuidas is a textbook example of a site with ample possibilities for development. As a reservation zone for future infrastructure. it is almost a green field in the city. Land-ownership is nearly completely public and the existing users were predominately sport clubs that could be relatively easily relocated. The location is cut in two pieces by a bundle of infrastructure: the Amsterdam ring road, a national railway and a lightrail track. It is both close to the city centre and Schiphol airport (10 kilometres, 6 minutes by train). Due to different investments, the strategic position will even improve in the future. The existing train and light rail station in the area (Station Zuid/WTC) will be expanded in the future. It is expected to develop into one of the most frequented stations of the country after the completion of the northsouth subway line (2012) and the expected arrival of the high speed train. A direct rail connection with Utrecht opened in 2006.

Except its excellent accessibility, the relatively empty area could take advantage of the existence of different advanced economic users already located (some at its fringes): the World Trade Centre, The RAI conference and convention centre, the Free University and the Court of Justice. These offered the foundation and intellectual infrastructure for the development of an interesting cluster of economic activities, especially in the financial and legal sectors in the area. The proximity to attractive residential neighbourhoods (Amsterdam Zuid and Buitenveldert), green areas around the river Amstel and the Amsterdamse Bos and the cultural facilities of the historic core added to the development potential of this location.

A project supported the private sector

It was therefore no surprise that, in a period of favourable market circumstances at the turn of the last century, the Zuidas developed quickly. Its rental prices rose steeply to make it the most expensive and prestigious office location in the country. The new ABN AMRO international headquarter was the first major new office building in the area, completed in 1998. ING followed in 2001. Numerous other development projects started⁽²⁾.

New business-facilitating modes of governance were set up. In 1995 the most important private and public stakeholders formed a Zuidas Coalition. The emphasis was on flexibility. Large and complex public private partnerships were avoided. Instead, a relatively traditional form of public-private cooperation and the area was split in relatively small development zones

(2) See figure page 65.



Zuidas in its metropolitan context: urban development projects in 2005

with ad-hoc configurations of private investors. To coordinate efforts and safeguard connections between the subprojects, the city government set up a 'project-office Zuidas'. This office coordinates the actions of different departments within the municipality and it negotiates with the national government and private actors.

Planning Zuidas: from offices to mixed land use

The most interesting aspect from a planning perspective is the ambition brought into the project by the local council to develop Zuidas as more than 'another'high-end office location. By adding other non-office uses like housing, facilities, retail and culture, the expectancy is to capitalize even more on the unique location and economic potential. According to the city government, becoming a mixed top location might develop in Zuidas'trump card and distinguishing feature in attracting foreign investments. These ambitions were formalised in a first Masterplan Zuidas in 1998 and subsequent updates.

The latest plan (Gemeente Amsterdam 2004⁽³⁾) propose a future ratio of 45% offices, 45% housing and 10% facilities in a total building program of 2.7 million sq.m and a development period of approximately 30 years. The goal is to create an area with an urban flavour, by building in high density, by combining different uses in buildings, by making the street level a place for pedestrians and by optimising the physical and visual connection with the rest of the city. For the city government, multiple intensive land use developed into an important slogan for the project, and a policy goal that

Zuidas Project (1998-2010)

New metropolitan centre Site area: 275 hectares

Aims: 51,000 jobs & 25,000 inhabitants

Steering: Amsterdam municipality & Dutch government - Delivery: ZuidasDok (PPP)





Lecroart/lauri

In the early 1990s, Amsterdam wanted to develop offices along the banks of the IJ, close to the central station. Here, the Handelskade project during redevelopment in 2006.



Zuidas, located along the Amsterdam ring road (A10) in 2004. In the background, Schipol Airport.

⁽³⁾ See figure page 64.



A picture of the future station square in the covered-link "dock" model. © Gemeente Amsterdom



The Masterplan Zuidas, approved in 2004, showing the continuity of public space on both sides of the underground infrastructure. © Gemeente Amsterdam



A long-term view of Zuidas looking westwards, in the "dock" model (motorway and rail links underground). © Gemeente Amsterdam

helped creating enthusiasm and political support for it.

"Dock" or "dike" model? Decisive financial and technical issues

However, the ambition for a mixed use environment added a layer of complexity to the project that resulted in severe difficulties and delays. According to the city government, a physical necessity to realize the ambition for multiple land use is the 'removal'of the nuisance (noise, dust, and visual barrier) of the central transportation corridor, by building a 1.2 km tunnel. This model became known as the 'dock model'. Initially, the city government expected that the additional costs of a tunnel could be compensated by the yields of the developments on top of it (approximately 800.000 sq.m, without a tunnel the Zuidas could maximally accommodate 1.9 million sq.m). In 2000, it even made an agreement with three private parties that would guarantee a certain income from these future developments. However, the national government - responsible for large investments in infrastructure was not convinced about different aspects of the proposal. Not only would it result in a very complicated and long building process that would disrupt traffic, there were big uncertainties both on the costs (especially the safety precautions that had to be implemented with a future 800.000 sq.m development on top of it) and the revenues (was it possible to sell these parcels, at the expected extremely high price level?).

Would the Zuidas dock model become another example of a project pushed too hard by a small group of supporters that were too positive about its economic impacts and incautious about its costs? A problem often noted in the literature about prestigious mega-projects (Altshuler & Luberoff 2003; Flyvbjerg, Bruzelius & Rothengatter 2003; Moulaert, Rodríguez & Swyngedouw 2003). At the time of writing it is still too early to answer these questions. However, in the last two years, an interesting process has taken place wherein the dock-model proposal has been embedded in wider domains of governance which resulted in a search for new institutional arrangements to break the deadlock between city and state.

Towards a better embedded mega-project: a private-led development company

Ironically, chances for the dock model started to improve in the same period

when the city government found out it had overplayed its hand by promising that it could afford the additional investments for the tunnel. It then changed its strategy towards trying to build a broad coalition of national government and private supporters for the project (Majoor & Gualini 2006). This happened in a period of severe economic recession, and growing doubts about the competitive position of the Netherlands in attracting foreign investments. The result was that at the state level, the new centreright government decided to focus more on economic opportunities in its latest strategic national spatial planning memorandum. Investments in 'key-projects' for economic development became a priority (Ministerie VROM 2004).

The ministries of Economic Affairs

and Finance started to get involved in the project as well. City and state assigned an independent negotiator to come up with a proposal for a viable business plan and to secure more private investments in the dock-model. He was successful mobilizing more money at the national government, involving the regional government and safeguarding the commitment of a wider array of private parties to invest in the project. On the basis of his recommendations, in 2005 a process has started to set up a Zuidas Dock public limited company with a dominance of private shareholders.

This company will not only build the infrastructure, it will also plan, develop and exploit the parcels on top of it. The total investment cost of the dock model is expected to be around 2 billion euros (2003 prices). About 600



The "dike" model: low level of urban mix, and development on either side of the noisy and pollutant infrastructure corridor. © Gemeente Amsterdam

million euros are financed by different layers of government, while 1,4 billion is the expected revenue of developments in the area. Definitive political decision-making is expected to take place in 2006.

Although severe financial difficulties remain, it is interesting to notice that the recent process wherein the proposal became better embedded in different other government and private domains has improved the support and chances of the project considerably (Majoor 2006). However, a major weakness is the lack of interest and involvement of a domain of civic and cultural parties in the project. Although not many parties have objected its development, they neither have shown much interest or affiliation with it. This result is that Zuidas is still generally perceived as a business development and not as a future new central urban area, that the planners hope it will become. Even with a dock model a lot of effort (and time) is probably needed before urban uses will nest in the area.

Governance innovation

How can we assess the early developments at the Zuidas in a period when uncertainty overshadows its ambitions to become a real urban place? If we only look at the quantitative side, the results have been impressive. But this can easily be explained from the fact that the development of this area was a golden opportunity, restricted for a long time by planning regulations. The quality of the buildings realized so far has been adequate. However, the program till now has been rather monofunctional.

The ambitions of the project concerning multiple land use still have to be realized, and the dock model is an important prerequisite for this. Without a dock model, only a restricted program of housing can be realized at the southern fringe of the project, while the integration between the two sides into one coherent urban area remains difficult because of the heavy infrastructure barrier.

A break in the tradition of State and City planning

The most interesting aspect is the struggle of different actors to get grip on the project. Presented as a business-oriented development, the early days of the project form a clear break with the Dutch tradition of state-inter-

Overview of important milestones in the decision-making process on the Zuidas

Year	Milestone Zuidas Development
1994	Zuidas mentioned in Amsterdam government program of new centre-left government
1995	Zuidas Coalition was formed
1997	Official involvement national government: Zuidas obtains Key-Project status
1998	Zuidas Masterplan presented
1999	Urban design vision Zuidas presented (concept): start of series of public consultations
2000	Indicative offer of consortium ABN/AMRO, ING and Dutch Rail Real Estate for dock model
2001	Vision Zuidas presented: choice for Zuidas as new urban centre with mixed land use
2001	Intentional agreement city government - national government to start Environmental Impact
	Procedure for infrastructure expansion
2003	Intentional agreement to set up joint development corporation for the Zuidas between city
	government and national government
2004	Process is started to set up a joint public-public-private development corporation Zuidas

Source : Stan Majoor, Université d'Amsterdam

vention in spatial planning and development. However, with the introduction of typical 'planner's wishes'like multiple and intensive land use and social housing, public involvement in the plan started to increase again. Especially, because of the necessity of considerable investments in infrastructure. Most private actors with long-term stakes in the area support the idea of mixed use development, but participating in a long, complicated and risky adventure for a public limited company is another step. But as happens often, coordination between different departments and layers of government is sometimes an even bigger mountain to climb. However, it is too easy and cynical to portray the struggles on the dock model just like that.

Real issues and questions are at stake. Typical political ones like: "How can we control the investment costs and deal with uncertainties concerning the construction of the tunnels?" and "What are the expected yields on offices and apartments that will be available in 2020 or later?" But also a typical planning issue, like "Does extreme density and mixing work at this location?" The local government has always been a strong supporter of mixed use development but starts to understand the price it has to pay. Additional financial contributions are probably necessary to make the dock possible. This puts further pressure on the project to maximize yields, and could mean that economically weaker uses like social housing and cultural facilities might suffer.

The contradiction could be that a dock model could only be realized with relatively monofunctional profitable land uses: offices and high-end housing. This would then not be the mixed 'urban'environment that the city hopes to realize.

For the national government it became

Quantitative Development Zuidas in 2004 (square metres)

	Housing	Offices	Facilities	Total
Realised since 1998	-	137,000	7,500	144,600
Construction phase	37,700	111,600	18,600	167,900
Preparation phase	170,000	174,250	75,170	419,420
Study phase (medium term)	93,750	78,000	43,800	215,550
Study phase (long term)*	772,250	620,750	163,450	1,556,450
Total Zuidas, excluding Free University	1,073,700	1,121,700	308,520	2,503,920
Free University	18,000	50,000	176,500	244,500
Total development potential	1,091,700	1,171,700	485,020	2,748,420

* In the case of development according to the dock model. Source : Gemeente Amsterdam (2004), p.20 Source : Gemeente Amsterdam (2004), p.20



The Mahler operation, two tower blocks with about 75,000 square metres of office space, built in 2005 south of the A10 ring road. P. Lecroort/Iourif

clear that supporting the development of the Zuidas might contribute to the economic strength of the Netherlands, by attracting high-end internationally oriented businesses to Amsterdam. Therefore it is important to look beyond narrow transportation-oriented cost-benefit analyses that portrayed the dock-model negatively and look at its wider spatial and economic contribution.

However, these are difficult to quantify, especially Zuidas' contribution to the competitive position of the country. It is clear that investments in physical infrastructure – like Zuidas – are not enough to improve the competitive position of the Amsterdam region, they only are a prerequisite. A variety of other hard (economic) and soft (social, cultural and environmental) aspects play a more important role (Salet & Majoor 2005).

A new spatial form requires institutional innovations

How the Zuidas will develop in the future is still unclear. Without a dock model it will be not more than just 'another'office location alongside the highway, though topping the hierarchy of office locations in the Netherlands. A dock model and mixed development of the area would undoubtedly increase the appeal and uniqueness of the area, but the question remains if international business could be attracted with the spatial imagery of a lively mixed urban development alone. In this sense the Zuidas is still a very old-fashioned example of 'supply-side' planning.

The recent development on the dockmodel dossier has provided Zuidas with an important lesson for its future. To develop as a successful mixed-use project, the initiative has to be embedded and supported by a wide (r) array



The Word Trade Center north of the A10.

of governmental, private and civic initiatives and policies. Radical innovations in spatial form can only be realized if they are matched by important institutional innovations that safeguard the identification, involvement and commitment of a broad array of actors.

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Opening a new urban waterfront for Barcelona: The transformation of the Besòs-Forum area

Miquel Sodupe⁽¹⁾ Barcelona Regional

Designed since the mid-1980's as an "area of new centrality", the waterfront around the mouth of the river Besòs was a deprived fringe of Barcelona. When the Diagonal avenue reached the sea at last – 140 years after Cerda's had planned it – connecting with Barcelona's Orbital motorway built for the 1992 Olympics, it put the area on the map. The Universal Forum of Cultures 2004 was pretext to a large-scale environmental upgrading and redevelopment project focusing on business and leisure. This mega-project is widely debated in Barcelona with critics about it becoming a socially exclusive area. One thing is sure: the project is a new step forward in the transformation of Barcelona's waterfront.

(1) Architect, former Director of Barcelona Regional, wrote this article in November 2005, revised September 2006.

A city strategy for Eastern Barcelona

The transformation of the river Besòs shoreline is part of the urban renewal processes that are happening in the eastern part of the city. These are:

- the Sant Andreu-Sagrera rail corridor in preparation for the High Speed Train arrival;
- the area around *Avinguda Diagonal*, extending from *Plaça de les Glòries* to Carrer Prim, in the Poble Nou district, the so-called 22@ earmarked for high-tech businesses⁽²⁾;
- the Besòs-Forum area.

The Besòs-Forum area is located within the Barcelona and Sant Adrià de Besòs municipalities and completes the opening of Barcelona towards the sea undertaken for the 1992 Olympic games. The Forum area – over 200 hectares in the city's far north – eastern corner – has been turned from a blighted area on the city's fringes into a development pole for Barcelona.

This area was chosen by Barcelona City Council as the main site for the Universal Forum of Cultures event in 2004. This international event was held jointly by the City Council, the Catalan Government and Spain's Central Government. The Forum was sponsored by UNESCO and aimed to foster cultural activities and debate. The event lasted 141 days and had three themes: cultural diversity, sustainable development, and peace conditions. Barcelona Regional proposed the overall master plan, based on various townplanning studies, which included analysis of the event's economic, functional, and environmental viability, as well as the architectural layout and public space. The result was a project that provided the basis for a change





to the 1976 General Metropolitan Plan (PGM).

This project set six basic objectives for the Besòs area:

- recovery of the shoreline (parks, facilities, marina, bathing areas, and coastal ecosystems);
- incorporation of existing installations (sewage treatment plant, waste incinerator, and power plant) in the scheme;
- creation of an interface between the sea and city (square and esplanade);
- creation of a new central urban area (Convention Centre, hotels, university, offices);
- development of new residential areas and renovation of existing ones;
- restoration of land and marine environments (new energy-saving criteria, restoration of the river and marine biotopes, etc.).

Once the modification scheme of the PGM and the various items making up the masterplan were approved, over thirty architectural and engineering competitions were held with the participation of worldwide known architects. Co-ordination and management of the various projects was undertaken by Barcelona Regional and Infrastructures de Llevant de Barcelona, SA (the latter company being specifically set up to carry out these projects).

New urban layout of the shoreline

The new layout involves in-depth urban renewal to make the shoreline accessible, consisting of land reclamation and the building of public facilities. The project provided continuity along the shoreline area and linked it up to the rest of the northern coast.

(2) See article above entitled "The 22@Barcelona project: brownfield urban redevelopment or innovation melting pot?" Albert Broggi.
To achieve this, the technical installations in the area had to be modernised:

- the power plant (which now uses a more efficient and less polluting combined electricity generation cycle), and burial of the high voltage power lines (pylons running alongside the River Besòs). These changes were agreed with the power company;
- the incinerator plant was modernised and a waste separation and methane gas extraction plant was built (Eco Park);
- the sewage plant was completely modernised to incorporate biological treatment systems. The plant was covered over, creating a public area on top and linking the city and sea in an esplanade built over the Coastal Ring Road.

The new town planning scheme included the following features.

Barcelona Marine Zoo

It is planned to be built on a platform of land reclaimed from the sea. The new esplanade helped restore and stabilise the existing beach, and provides an area, which will be the site of the future Barcelona Marine Zoo, which will feature a more natural shoreline when approved by the Catalan Government.

With regard to the Marine Zoo, preparatory planning and legal studies have been drawn up for the scheme. Barcelona Regional has overseen the projects for future construction of the zoo. The environmental features of the new shoreline include semi-submerged reefs and shoals, which both protect the new platform and foster the environmental recovery of the seabed. The salt marshes will also provide an excellent habitat for migrating birds.

Sant Adrià Marina

The Sant Adrià Marina was sited between the mouth of the River Besòs



The site prior to development in 1997: ring road, sewage treatment plant, and conventional power plant. The white outlines show the development areas reclaimed from the sea.



The site prior to development looking along the Diagonal: an area on the fringe of the city.



The virtual model of the project, in 2000.

and conve om the sea

Forum-Besos Project (1997-2008)

Business & leisure-oriented urban regeneration Site area: 216 hectares Aims: 14,000 jobs & 4,900 housing units Steering: Barcelona & Sant-Adria municipalities (Besòs Consortium) Delivery: Infrastructures del Llevant SA with Barcelona Regional



Besòs-Forum area Development --- Train / Metro station ---- Tramway

and Prim Avenue. Its design incorporates various environmental and landscape features, reducing the impact usually associated with yacht havens. Part of the haven cuts behind the shoreline to minimise the impact on long shore sand drift. The breakwater is 830 metres long and low enough to allow strollers along the sea front to glimpse the sea. There are moorings for a thousand yachts and motorboats behind the breakwater⁽³⁾.

The wharves around the yacht haven have shops, restaurants, leisure activities, sports clubs, and a diving school.

Shoreline parks and bathing areas

The breakwater on the right bank of the river Besòs and the northern wharf

of the yacht haven created a new beach covering some 30,000 square metres (sq.m). A promenade was built behind this beach, with a shoreline park and attendant facilities (architects: Àbalos & Herreros).

A bathing area was built on the western side of the haven (architect: B. Galí), providing an alternative to traditional beaches and allowing diversification of uses along the sea front. A coastal park was built behind the bathing area (architects: Foreign Office Architecture) with dunes to protect vegetation. The park includes two amphitheatres for open-air performances.

A new urban central area

The juncture of Avinguda Diagonal and Rambla de Prim defines a key part of the eastern city, and constitutes a new central area housing uses that are of prime importance to Barcelona.

Barcelona International Convention Centre and setting

The new Convention Centre (architects: J. LL. Mateo) has a capacity for 15,000 attendees. The centre features a large exhibition hall free of columns and flexible meeting rooms. The building has a nice view of the sea, and various hotels and office blocks are set out around the square and gardens.

Forum Building and Square

Flagship building (architects: Herzog & de Meuron), with a meeting hall for 3,200 people. This building was the main site for the events forming part of the 2004 Universal Forum of Cultures. Its future uses include cultural events and activities linked to the Convention Centre. It features a large Exhibition Hall.

The building completes the layout of the square, links surrounding buildings and leads visitors to the sea front.

Large esplanade (linking the central area with the shoreline)

This covers the Coastal Ring Road and the new sewage treatment plant (architects: E. Torres and J. A. Martínez Lapeña). The esplanade drops gently to the coastal park and projects into the new marina. The project for the esplanade was highly complex and had to meet a wide range of structural and technical requirements. The esplanade is shaded by pergolas, which support

⁽³⁾ A private developer is now in charge of the area: the *Port Forum Sant Adrià* Project provides less moorings (for larger yachts), "high quality retail premises", and 1,000 parking spaces...

the solar panels of a small power station. These shaded areas provide services and are the site for public gatherings.

New residential areas and facilities

The urban transformation of the Besòs area allowed renewal of residual areas, improvements to blighted neighbourhoods, and the introduction of new urban uses.

The blighted districts of La Catalana and La Mina – historically an area of social deprivation – were also tackled by the project. The project included the building of new dwellings, tertiary activities, and university buildings. These improvements were designed to foster broad-based urban renewal and to integrate the blighted districts into the rest of the city.

Llull-Taulat/Universitat

This area lacked a clear urban layout. The scheme addressed this problem by defining strong axes, such as Diagonal, Llull and Taulat streets (which spilt over the Besòs boundary). This enabled the creation of the Llull-Taulat tertiary residential district, which now houses a university, technology campus, and businesses.

La Mina

The urban approach adopted here was both novel and highly complex. It resolved the long-running debate on population density (often considered the source of the city's urban problems), the link between planning and social issues, and the sitting of public facilities in blighted neighbourhoods, etc.

The scheme was based on opening the district up to the rest of the city, fostering a better social mix, and creating a new central avenue as a key feature



Southern coastal park and bathing area. © Barcelona Regional



The flagship building of the project, the Forum, is both a building and a public square. E. Bordes-Pages / louif



The new maritime front (foreground) and the Besòs-Forum project (middle ground). In the background, the conventional power stations of Besòs and Badalona. © Barcelona Regional

of the area. Internal links and the sitting of local facilities at key points rounded off the scheme, along with new and upgraded flats.

Environmental approach

The plan for the Besòs area, involves various schemes for environmental restoration, which introduces new ways of constructing the city.

Restoration of the river Besòs. Environmental restoration of the last 9 km stretch of the River Besòs was funded by the European Union and local administration. Until then, the river was one of the most polluted of Catalonia. The scheme also provided public access in the form of a riverside park.

The electricity pylons sited along the river banks were removed and the high voltage lines buried paid for by *Endesa*, the electrical company.

Regeneration of the marine biotope. Artificial reefs were planned to improve marine sediments (which had suffered from years of waste dumping). Man-made structures were sunk to start the process of reef formation. These structures created a proper range of marine habitats and substrates.

A new energy policy. A solar power station was built on the sea-side of the esplanade. It generates 1.3 MW and was sited on large pergolas. It was a key feature of the overall Forum scheme. A district central heating system was also built. It used waste heat from the local waste incinerator, thus reducing environmental impact and energy consumption.

Special features of the urban renewal process

The plan was complex and was long in the making. It also involved a considerable number of elements. Here, it is worth mentioning some of the factors that made the whole thing possible:

Public leadership and participation

There was a constant interrelationship between: strategic proposals and their translation into urban schemes; checking on and correction of architectural projects and layouts; integration of management aspects; and the unwavering leadership provided by the City Council (aided by Barcelona Regional, acting in a technical support capacity).

Public interest

A large part of the land and the existing installations in the area were publicly owned (either by the municipality, or by the State).

Public ownership of strategic areas made it possible to draw up a project serving the city's interests and needs. Public interest had prevailed in the planning of a central area in this eastern corner of the city, which has been largely ignored. Prior to the project, the area was little more than a social dumping ground and the place chosen to site necessary but unlovely infrastructure (power stations, waste incinerators, sewage plants, and so forth). Among other things, the plan provides new services and facilities to the city and helps to renew blighted districts like La Mina. Half of the new dwellings being built are public housing.

The whole project involved a big injection of public money, some of which was recouped through tenders for concessions on public land and through development taxes. Public investment helped attract considerable private investment.

Project complexity and overall integration

The size and diversity of the schemes posed a big challenge. Many of the items that were to be incorporated at a smaller scale at first appeared incompatible. Hence the need for a global overview of the project from the outset.

New approaches therefore had to be adopted, including:

- tight integration of various disciplines within a common framework;
- the use of a cross-section approach,



- Road infrastructures, ronda litoral (coastal ring road), on the sea side
- 3. Road infrastructures, ronda litoral, on the mountain side Road infrastructures, taulat street / maristany bridge 4
- 5 Road infrastructures, Ilull -taulat
- 6. Infrastructures, zoo platform and new mar bella beach
- Convention centre
- Forum 2004 building and square
- Levant university campus
- 10. Forum square hotel
- 11. Forum esplanade and solar power station

- 13. Bathing area
- 14
- Harbourmaster's office, management and social club building Water and underwater sports
- 15.
- South-east coastal park 16 17.
- North-east coastal park
- South-west area sports port North-east area sports port
- Diagonal-prim office block
- Geriatrics

- 23. Ilull-taulat district
- 24. Renovation of la mina
- 25. Hotel park
- 26. Eco-park 27. Electric park

- 28. La catalana29. Rehabilitation of the river bésos
- Coastal lagoons
 Recovery of the marine biotope

Barcelona

Garcia fária park

with diverse layers, as an important element in project solutions;

- constant interrelationship between projects to configure the final result.

Public administrations and ad-hoc companies

Carrying out this project on the border of two municipalities (Barcelona, Sant Adrià de Besòs) with very different sizes, problems, financial resources, etc. led to the setting up of an administrative body (the Besòs Consortium) in order to jointly approve proposals and to reduce red tape.

Both municipalities could be involved and discuss all issues from a common point of view (Forum project) and not locally oriented. Its competences were to make previous inform before the approval of statutory documents (plans, projects...) by municipalities. A specific Consortium was set up for the regeneration of La Mina district, comprising the Catalan Government and the *Diputacio* (Province).

The need for an integrated project required the involvement of a specialised company with a strong interdisciplinary culture – a role performed here by Barcelona Regional who also conducted the modification of the PGM and the overall masterplan.

There was also a need to build schemes within a very short time scale. This led Barcelona City Council to set up a public company, Infrastructures de Llevant, which took over the baton from Barcelona Regional during the execution stage.

Final balance

It is still a little early to draw up a final balance, because not all the project has been completed. Even so, one can highlight the following points.

Urban transformation of a severely blighted area covering over 200



Large housing complex of La Mina during restructuring using European funds.

Pla de transformació del barri de La Mina



Despite some opposition, the area of La Catalana will be completely redeveloped.



The hotel and congress area: a series of buildings-objects, the architectural expression of an internationally-oriented project.



The decontamination of the Besòs river was part of the project. P. Lecroort/louif



Criticised for its "elitism", the project has doubtless contributed to propelling Barcelona to 4th place in the "best cities to locate a business today" rankings (according to the European Cities Monitor 2006). Here, the Princess Hotel and the tramway. E. Bordes-Pages/lourif

hectares, and restoration of an industrialised shoreline. The area is now much more central and provides a range of uses and features high quality urban development.

The urban transformation required massive local government investment (approximately 1 million Euros), which encouraged a large private investment in the project.

The urban transformation has brought the city's technical installations up to date and made them compatible with the area's new uses.

The shoreline has been changed out of all recognition. It is not only much more attractive but also caters to a wide range of uses. In this respect, the project expanded on and enriched the work begun for the 1992 Olympic Games. The public spaces are becoming successfully used by people, something's beginning to happen in the Forum area.

The project is a model one in many respects and will no doubt be widely discussed. However, there can be no doubt that it represents a new step forward in the transformation of Barcelona's coastline.



Ørestad – the generator of the Øresund region?

Ørestad Development Corporation

restad is Copenhagen's outstanding large-scale development, designed by State and City authorities to create a new mixted district, for business, science, education and housing. Strategically located between city and airport, it needs to refer to a linear concept of district being developed along a narrow stretch of land served by a new metro line. After a slow start, the area is becoming attractive, but can a linear new development become a vibrant district?

(1) Project Manager, Ørestadsselskabet (Copenhagen), wrote this article in November 2005, revised February 2006.

Copenhagen, the capital of Denmark, was founded in over a thousand years ago based on the intention to strengthen Denmark. Copenhagen's new district, Ørestad, is developed in our time to strengthen Copenhagen and the Øresund region. Ørestad is our times contribution to the historic development of Copenhagen. It's a new metropolitan district which carries on the historic traditions as well as being true to the presence by leaving room in a world characterized of change.

Ørestad – the background

In the 1980's almost nothing was happening in Copenhagen. A politically deliberate wish to promote the development of other Danish regions resulted in a disregard of the capital. The unemployment rate was peaking and so was the deficit on the city's finances. End 1980's the only visible building crane in the city was the one at the harbour which was used for Bungy Jump!

Foreign investors couldn't possibly at this time have any interest in Copenhagen when not even the Danish politicians had their eye on the city. Investments from the state, the municipals of Copenhagen and the business sector were absolutely necessary to keep such interest growing. In Jutland – the peninsula bordering Germany – many Danes thought of Hamburg as their capital. Copenhagen was inter-



Before the Berlin Wall came down, Copenhagen felt on the fringe of Europe. The bridge over Øresund and the creation of the Øresund cross-border region with Sweden have radically changed the situation. © louif

nationally anonymous as capital. No international events were taking place in the city. The poor housing standard lead to large problems in the city's population both socially and in the health sector which again lead to great costs and a low taxation foundation.

After the fall of the Berlin Wall

A new Europe awakened when the Berlin wall fell in 1989. The European geography was turned up side down and it became possible to travel in straight directions in stead of tip toeing around ideologically conditioned borders and limitations. Denmark and Copenhagen was given a whole new and much more central position and Denmark was no longer held in the corner of Europe – like a cork in a bottle at the entrance of Øresund.

This development resulted in a new Danish focus on Copenhagen. It was acknowledged that if Copenhagen should be able to enter in the competition with other European regions like e.g. Berlin, political decisions had to be made and initiatives had to be started. A committee of prominent representatives from the business sector and the councils in the capital was founded with the purpose to work out suggestions to what could be done in Copenhagen. In 1990 the final work paper was handed in. The committee had several suggestions to investments which could promote the level of activity in the capital. A fixed link between Denmark and Sweden, a bridge and tunnel across the Sound for both trains and cars, had first priority on the committee's list. Furthermore the committee stressed an enlargement of Denmark's international airport, Kastrup, placed only 10 kilometres from the centre of Copenhagen and an improvement of the highway and the





Ørestad project Other urban developments Urban area / Central Copenhagen



Opened in 2000, the road and rail link between Denmark (Copenhagen) and Sweden (Malmö) has reinforced synergy and co-operation within the Øresund cross-border region.

railway to ease the traffic connections to and from the airport.

It was important to get rid of any barriers in relation to planning which might prevent use of the areas around the harbour and the other areas in the city that were very well suited for industrial and business activities. The Ørestad area was one of these key areas.

One of the fundamental conditions of Copenhagen's change and development was according to the work paper an improvement and an expansion of the public transport system.

There was also a need of hotel and congress facilities and a need of dragging large cultural projects to the city. Copenhagen applied for the title of the European Cultural Capital which was obliged in 1996 and had one of the largest cultural budgets ever seen. A huge effort had to be done to get international institutions and organisations to the city and to make Copenhagen visible in an international perspective.

Introducing the Øresund region

The most important psychological barrier which had to be broken down was the recognition by the Swedes and the Danes of the huge productive advantages in understanding the Southern part of Sweden and Sealand in Denmark as one united region – the Øresund region – despite differences in language and despite the separation of the Sound.

A huge potential of development on both sides of the Sound was placed in this recognition. The idea of the Øresund region meant that the local market – and hereby the surrounding area of Copenhagen, would count 3, 6 million people which makes it Scandinavia's largest metropolis. Organization chart of Ørestadsselskabets, the public development company in charge of Ørestad and the metro (2005)



Due to the easy access to the new Baltic markets and the high educated labour in the area which houses 14 universities with more than 142,000 students and 10,000 scientists the Øresund region is competitive with cities like e.g. Berlin.

Law on Ørestad is passed

In March 1991 the Danish and the Swedish governments agreed on the fixed link across the Sound. In August 1991 the agreement was signed in the Danish Parliament and the construction of the bridge and the tunnel (Øresundsbron) began in 1993. In connection to the fixed link the Danish Parliament agreed on a cer-

tain law which determined the frames of the construction of a completely new district, Ørestad, an area of 3,1 million square metres (sq.m) only a couple of kilometres from the centre of Copenhagen – near the airport and the Øresund bridge.

The idea was that central educational institutions should be moved out and a concentration of scientific and developing institutions should be build up in the area along side attractive housing and city related businesses. Due to the location between the air port and the old centre of Copenhagen the Ørestad area is an ideal location for companies with international activities.

In this way Ørestad was not only the answer to several of the politicians priorities and a tool in their hands but also an answer to some of the international challenges Copenhagen and the Øresunds region were facing.

At the same time it was decided to make huge investments to improve the traffic system in the capital area. The construction of a city railway (which later on was defined as *metro*) running from Copenhagen to the new Ørestad was part of the plan.

The financing of the metro was inspired by the model of the English "New Towns" which was a form of financing never seen in Denmark before. The idea was that when the value of the building sites in Ørestad would go up due the infrastructure and the fact that the metro runs straight through the area the profit would go to the financing of the investment loans in the metro.

On this basis the government at the time made a proposal to Law on Ørestad which was agreed on in 1992. Ørestad Development Corporation I/S (Ørestadsselskabet) was founded in association with the State and the Council of Copenhagen. The corporation is responsible as well as for the sale and the development of the areas in Ørestad as the construction and the invitation of tenders for the operation and the running of the metro in Copenhagen.

It was important for both the Danish politicians and Ørestad Development Corporation to learn from international experience. Copenhagen's "New Town" was to be a highly mixed melting pot varied over educational institutions, cultural facilities, public institutions, owner-occupied flats, rentals, co-operative flats, social housing and buildings in the business sector. From the beginning it was an important factor that Ørestad was not to be a ghetto for the richest nor the poorest. The founders were very aware that Ørestad was not to be another satellite city nor a business area where the streets lie deserted in the night.

The infrastructure was also one of the key concerns in the founding process and the essential factor for a functional start of the new district. It was decided that the metro – the most modern, full automated, driverless metro in the world – and the roads, bicycle tracks and more were to be finished before the investors and the inhabitants was to use the area.

The Masterplan

The primary task of the Ørestad Development Corporation in the initial years after the founding of the corporation was to work out a masterplan for the Ørestad area. In 1994 the corporation invited national and international architect companies to a competition on the plan. The following statement was part of the competition program:

"Ørestad must contain a wide spectrum of activities like universities, scientific institutions, scientific and knowledge based companies, attractive housing and city oriented businesses. The new district must be a modern counterpart to the old centre of Copenhagen".

Furthermore it says: "Ørestad must contain an urban environment of high artistic and environmental quality which in the presence will function as a laboratory for new ideas and in the future testify the aim which characterized the planning and building art of Copenhagen in the end of the 20th century".

The word "laboratory" stresses the demand of originality. The word "testify" stresses the wish of a long-term duration.

In 1995 the winner of the masterplan was announced. It was a Finish architect company whom in corporation with the Danish architect firm KHR founded the firm ARKKI.

The masterplan defines the frames and the possibilities for an expansion of Ørestad's infrastructure as well as for the rest of the city planning. This work takes place in corporation with the companies and investors who make Ørestad possible as a district. The masterplan defines among other things the sizes and the location of the buildings as well as Ørestad's road structure and the bordering to the landscape. Furthermore the masterplan defines a highly marked line for the metro which runs through the Ørestad area.

The metro is described as "the living nerve of Ørestad". It combines Ørestad's four neighbourhoods or districts: University district, Amager Fælled district Ørestad City and Vestamager district. The placement of the track and the marked visible presence as well as the frequent departures altogether states the priority of the metro as the most important form of public transport in Ørestad. It was decided to put the metro on pillars running through most of the new city district both as a way of reducing the barriers of the track and to promote the track in the city's over all expression. As well as an icon of Ørestad the track is also the district's very own raison d'être.

The Finish project was remarkable of several reasons e.g. in the artistic way of integrating the water element in the city. ARKKI introduced a continuous course through the entire city structure. In the masterplan it was visualised by a straight canal by the university (the University Canal) and a winding canal (the Landscape Canal)

Masterplan (Ørestad model 2003)



 University District,
 Amager Common (low density housing),
 Ørestad City (urban centre),
 West Amager district (high density housing).
 ARKKI



The automated Metro line, completed before the first constructions, is the backbone and the symbol of the urban project (June 2005). © P. Lecroart/Iourif

Ørestad Project (1997-2030) Urban centre & innovation district Site area: 310 hectares Aims: 52,000 jobs & 20,000 inhabitants Steering: Copenhagen municipality & Danish government - Delivery: Ørestad Development Corporation



The development of Ørestad according to Ørestad Development Corporation

Year	Jobs	Inhabitants			
2005	22.000	2.000			
2010	39.000	12.000			
2015	60.000	17.000			
2030	80.000	22.000			
Courses (Another development of Development Courses then)					

Source : Ørestadsselskabet (Ørestad Development Corporation)

ending in one of the lake areas in the southern part of the district. From here the water system continues like a wide city canal along side the track of the metro next to Ørestad Boulevard and ends in a huge artificial lake at the southern border of Ørestad next to the protected areas.

A rapid development

Since the middle of the 1990's the development of Ørestad has been moving rapidly forward. In 1998 the first local plans on each of Ørestads neighbourhoods was agreed. The construction of the infrastructure began immediately and the sale of the building sites to private and public investors began shortly after.

Two years before in 1996 the construction of the metro – and the track in Ørestad - took its beginning. In 1999 the first building was taken into use. The metro opened in 2002 and the building cranes popped up all over the area. In 2004 Ørestad was no longer a district under construction but a district in operation. Ørestad is no longer an idea on a drawing board but an existing district in Copenhagen which the regions inhabitants, students, co-workers and employers slowly adapt. Approximately 30% of the total area of 3,1 million sq.m put up for sale is already sold today.

There is no doubt that a rapid development is taking place in Ørestad in these days. A rapport made by the independent council firm *Sadolin & Albæk* in the summer 2005 shows that more than 40% of all building activity in the capital area in 2004 was taking place in Ørestad. 34% of all housing construction and 36% of all store and office buildings is being buildt in Ørestad. Moreover the rapport states that 62% of all new public buildings are situated in this district as well.

Sale of building sites in Ørestad from 1996 to 2005 (floor space in square metres)

	Floor space in sq.m
1996	125,000
1997	40,000
1998	15,000
1999	220,000
2000	50,000
2001	99,000
2002	10,000
2003	88,000
2004	86,000
2005 (until 1.12.05)	205,636

Source: Ørestadsselskabet (Ørestad Development Corporation)

Another rapport made by the same company shows that the number of square meters being buildt in Ørestad exceeds the building at the same stage in the development of Canary Warf in London and La Défense in Paris. Compared to the two other areas Ørestad has rapidly completed the first couple of building projects which means the concern of the new comer's aversion of being the first people in a new place has been eliminated at an early stage. A condition in Law on Ørestad is that the district is to be developed in 30-40 years. The rapid sale of building sites and the rapid development in general now predicts that the district will be finished in about 15 years from now which is about 5-15 years faster as determined in the law.

Status 2005

The Faculty of Humanities at Copenhagen University is placed in the northern end of Ørestad and houses daily approximately 13,000 students. In cooperation with its neighbour, the Institute of Technology, University of Copenhagen, the institutions take great advantage of each other in relation to science and education. The 125,000 sq. m building project of the Danish Broadcasting Corporation is also situated in the northern part of Ørestad and is to be ready for use of 3,000 workers in 2006. The three buildings are all facing the University Canal which has a function as the neighbourhood's re-creative and blue element.

Moreover a large housing complex is situated by the canal where tenants, members of co-operative societies and owners live side by side. Furthermore in the outmost northern corner of the neighbourhood two residences for students are situated and ready for use in 2006.

Ørestad City is the second most developed neighbourhood of Ørestad. Scandinavia's largest shopping mall, Fields, is placed here alongside three large business domiciles as well as two completed housing facilities. Other housing constructions situated around a city park are rapidly erecting.

In Ørestad City all the sites for housing has been sold and only a couple of business sites close to the highway connection are still available. The distance from Ørestad City to the Øresund bridge (7 minutes), Copenhagen airport (3 minutes) and Copenhagen centre (5 minutes) is remarkable. The full automated metro runs by every 5th minute, crossing the highway.

Ørestad City is developing into a "Downtown Scandinavia" of the region and at the same time is blessed by its placement directly next to a huge protected area, 2,230 hectare land with flora and fauna.

Two of the district's neighbourhoods are still not under construction. The local plan for Ørestad South is agreed on in the Council of Copenhagen at the turn of the year where after the sales and the infrastructure will be activated. The construction of the final neighbourhood will wait until the other three neighbourhoods are almost finished due to an agreement with the green organisations of Denmark



Ørestad Nord (university district) is the nearest district to the centre of Copenhagen, and the one that is closest to completion. The white buildings are the extension of the existing university (in the foreground), the round building is the Tietgens hall of residence on the left of the Metro line. In the background, the existing districts and the airport. © Ørestadsselskabet/Ole Malling, juin 2005



Water management (drainage) has been designed as an element of urbanity. Students relaxing by the University Canal, North District of Ørestad (June 2003). © Ørestadsselskabet/Niels Stockmar.



The Metro and the Fields Shopping Centre. L. Perin/Iouff

because of the neighbourhood's placement next to a vulnerable protected area.

How to create a vibrant city?

A very important factor in creating a whole new city – or a whole new district in a city – is the concern about how to make it a living city. The Ørestad Development Corporation tries to be a catalyst and co-operative in the initializing of liveliness rather than a controller. Different initiatives have been done as an attempt to promote traditions, gathering points, relations between neighbours, sports and cultural activities – most of them taking place before and while the inhabitants and the businesses are moving in. Some of the still empty building sites are used as temporary basketball lanes and BMX lanes. Traditions like dance festivals, yearly running races in Ørestad and Christmas gatherings are some of the initiatives taken.

Another important aspect in the creation of a vibrant city is the fact that spaces in the ground floors of some of the new buildings are saved for cafés and shops but it's up to the inhabitants of the new district to make it live – it's not the intention of the Ørestad Development Corporation to run these facilities.

Traditionally art works like e.g. sculptures are placed in an already exciting city to embellish large spaces or squares. In Ørestad the art works have deliberately been placed initially – as another attempt of creating tradition at a very early stage in the district's development. This way the art work will grow with the city absorbing the significance of Ørestad as it blooms in the next decade.



Temporary uses pending sale of the plots of land. In the background, the Ferring Tower (pharmacy). For a long time, Ferring was the only big research firm to be located in Ørestad. © Ørestadsselskabet, May 2005



Porto Antico in Genoa: a project on the rise

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From preparations of events to celebrate the discovery of America (1992) through to current transformations, the Porto Antico project has been both the driving force and the mirror image of Genoa's urban strategy as the various pieces of the jigsaw have slowly come together. A project which is both modest in terms of scale yet ambitious given the positive benefits expected on many levels, particularly in terms of the city's image.

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A response to an industrial and demographic crisis

Capital of the Liguria region, Genoa has traditionally been part of the Italian "industrial triangle" alongside Turin and Milan, although it has been harder hit by the industrial crisis than either of its counterparts. Since its heyday in the 1960s, the city has lost 35,000 jobs and 200,000 inhabitants: it now has a population of around 600,000 with the municipal area covering almost the entire city region. Against this backdrop, the Porto Antico project represents the germ of an economic and urban reconversion strategy on an urban site which is subject to significant geographical constraints.

From Expo 1992 to Ponte Parodi: a brief history of the project

The city's renaissance requires modernisation of the port structures: the shift of activity towards the west of the city in the early 1980s freed up a central zone, in the heart of the historic centre, as well as access to the sea, which was only previously open to port workers. By converting this zone into a tourism and leisure area, the aim was to breathe new life into the old city (by opening up new spaces in an extremely dense urban fabric) and to promote the city's image.

Several major events have served as milestones in this process. The 1990 World Cup enabled preparations to be made for an influx of visitors. Two years later, the city organised an international exhibition celebrating the quincentenary of the discovery of America by Christopher Columbus. The historic port was at the heart of the event and Renzo Piano's team worked on converting this zone from



The historic port of Genoa before destruction of the grain silos: a densely populated city, a port zone subject to significant restrictions. © Citta di Genova

1987 onwards. The exhibition pavilions were set up in former warehouses (later converted into a congress centre). An aquarium was also created with a bio-marine research facility. The development as a whole represented a new focal point for the city. Since the international exhibition ended, activities established in the zone commonly known as Expo have had difficulty taking root and efforts to establish a link with the old city have been largely unsuccessful. To respond to this situation, in 1995 the city set up a public-private partnership (municipality 51%, chamber of commerce 39%, port 10%): Porto Antico SpA was assigned thirteen hectares of public land under a concession scheduled to run until 2090 with a specific remit to revitalise the waterfront. The public-private partnership was also made builder and manager of facilities on the site: the success of some of these facilities helped to revitalise disadvantaged areas. Over time, the appeal of the aquarium grew and the zone would

The Porto Antico project in Genova



Porto Antico Project (1991-2010) Leisure & business waterfront regeneration Site area: 55 hectares Steering: Genova municipality Delivery: Porto Antico Spa & private developers



eventually accommodate a multiplex cinema, the City of Children, a museum in Porta Siberia, a music store, a marina, a public square which hosts an ice rink in winter and a swimming pool which converts into a theatre in the evening. 700 parking places are also available.

The success of the Porto Antico development is part of a broader movement punctuated by new opportunities to discover the city's heritage and culture. The Great Jubilee Year of 2000 was a major event for all Italian cities as thousands of visitors flooded in on their way to Rome. In 2001, Genoa hosted the G8 summit, channelling the state-allocated funds into an extensive programme to upgrade public spaces. The city was European capital of culture in 2004 with the city of Lille in France: the timetable of exhibitions provided an opportunity to upgrade a series of buildings, establish the "museum hub" and, by opening the Museum of the Sea, turn the spotlight on the former docklands area, the next stage in the Porto Antico project.



Major events and redevelopment of the port accelerated enhancement of the historic centre. The main street towards the port, la Via San Lorenzo, (2003) was pedestrianised. © Maria Basile



Since 1992, The Bigo has come to symbolise the waterfront's new leisure-based function. (In the background, the cotton warehouses converted into a congress centre [Porto - Di sera 4]). © Citta di Genova



The areas for port development (in yellow) and the project to dig a road tunnel under the port (in blue) which would open up the possibility of doing away with la Sopraelevata, the road viaduct which cuts the city off from the port. © Citta di Genova



In 2004, the architect behind the Porto Antico project, Renzo Piano, led a workshop on the future of the city which came up with highly ambitious proposals: opening up of the waterfront, displacement of the airport to an artificial island, etc. © P. Lecrourt 2006 (Renzo Piano D.R.)

Incorporation of the project into plans and the overall strategy

The Museum of the Sea is just one element in a wider process covering the former docklands area and indeed the entire city.

In fact, as of 2000, the focus on the waterfront was broadened to take in the sector located between Porto Antico and the ferry terminal, which has assumed even greater importance given the significant growth in the cruise ship sector. The new headquarters of the economics faculty and the Museum of the Sea were established around the former docklands. A sports and leisure facility is also being built at Ponte Parodi, on the quay freed up by demolition of a massive grain silo (project by Dutch architects UN studio, headed up by Ben Van Berkel, with the development programme entrusted to the French group, Altarea).

In reality, this operation is rooted in a lengthy review of the city-port relationship and the sensitive question of transport infrastructures which represent both a strategic challenge and a schism in the urban fabric. Urban plans and studies which have been developed in recent decades have examined this question: on several occasions, well-known urban planners have been asked to focus on specific zones (Astengo commission in 1965, "Five finger plan" at the end of the 1970s, studies prior to the general regulator plan in 1981 with Renzo Piano and other Genoan architects-urban planners).

The law of 1994 recommending improved dialogue between cities and port authorities enabled definition of the port plan (approved in 1999) via a genuine consensus-building process: the port agency had been set up to initiate a joint review between the city, port authority and university. This same approach was adopted during preparation of the strategic plan (Piano della Città) in 1999-2001: a strategic conference brought together economic and social stakeholders with the aim of defining and order-ranking coherent actions planned in the various fields with a view to revitalising the city. This succession of plans and operations made it possible to establish solid relations between the players, including beyond the scope of the official bodies. The port agency, in particular, still officially exists but the players make little use it since they are now able to advance on the basis of direct relations.

As a result, many other projects developed and negotiated in recent decades are gradually being taken forward. For instance, the question of transport infrastructures overlaps to a significant degree: Genoa requires fluid traffic flows along the east-west axis (parallel to the coast) and towards the north (link with the hinterland, Turin and Milan), both for the development of port activities and enhancement of the urban fabric. In particular, the project to dig a tunnel beneath the port as a replacement for the expressway built in the 1960s (*la Sopraele*- *vata*) is tied to the project to downgrade the motorway to an urban thoroughfare, adaptation of the various transport modes (road, railway, metro) and the need to relieve congestion in the historic centre.

The waterfront development may seem limited in relation to these major infrastructure challenges – project on a small scale around the leisure and culture theme – but Porto Antico must be considered as the first stepping stone in a project on the rise: although the city has suffered from inertia related to the difficulties of intervening in such a highly restricted site, agreements and actions were gradually established once this first step had been taken.



The new university site on the grain wharf. © Citta di Genova



Archetype of the new commercial spaces for collective use, the Ponte Parodi project (delivery in 2008) reflects the market's belief in the city reconversion process. © Citta di Genova

The city as a showcase: after Expo'98, overview of the Nations Park (Lisbon)

Expo'98 was primarily a national project. An attempt by Portugal to demonstrate its new spirit of enterprise to the watching world. In local terms, Lisbon moved closer to its river which was still barricaded behind port zones. The Park of Nations was therefore born of certain objectives: to exist and to reconquer a polluted and abandoned territory. And also a need for modernity and novelty. The challenge concerned 340 hectares (ha) of oil industry and military waste lots on the banks of the Tagus, including 60 ha for the Expo itself. The goal was to restore Lisbon's status as a major European capital. In keeping with the Mediterranean urban projects related to major events, a four-month exhibition on oceans and their future created an impetus. In the end, the prospect of a neighbourhood with 25,000 inhabitants and 22,500 jobs, a genuine centrality, allowing the city region to benefit from functions it previously lacked (modern tertiary hub, major amenities) came into being.

To meet the challenge, the state allocated development to a public/private company: Parque Expo SA, 99% owned by the Portuguese state (capital of 66 million euros)⁽¹⁾. The project's initial plan (Plano de Urbanização de 1994) was fixed by decree. Key growth drivers such as the metro, railway station (multimodal), the massive Vasco de Gama shopping centre and the bridge towards the south bank of the Tagus helped launch this project. Today, nearly all of the land (160 ha) has been sold. The price of land has doubled and the centre of the neighbourhood is now vibrant. The public spaces are full of delightful features and games. Tourists flood in to visit the "city of the future", the Oceanorium, the science museum, while the city's residents enjoy the gardens (110 ha) and walks along the banks of the Tagus. Stores in the shopping centre, cinemas, and theatres draw in people from across the city region. The tertiary hub which hosts multinationals and SMEs would be the key to the city's economic development⁽²⁾.

These days, the atmosphere is akin to the day after the night before. The public spaces sometimes seem to be on too vast a scale and the pavilions are deteriorating as they desperately seek a new purpose. The southern and northern ends of the site are turning into residential ghettos: a zoning process is focusing all activity around the shopping centre at the expense of the rest of the neighbourhood which features inward looking, co-owned properties and green spaces. Ground floor space is partly taken up with car parks or protective walls. Public spaces do not enjoy the same street life as the "other Lisbon". The declared environmental ambitions have ended up falling between the stools of ecology and the living environment. This level of human and financial investment should have provided solutions in terms of today's preferred lifestyles within a city region which is both European and Mediterranean in nature. Working with Lisbon residents to build a new section of the city and support the emergence of the project, would have enabled this question to be raised but the block plans only focused on the final image. The government responded by developing a marketable city, a neat and tidy showcase which does not offer a solution to isolation of nearby public housing

districts or the lack of cultural vitality. The "Expo site", neither a major neighbourhood, nor a new town, is looking more like a stack of "metropolitan" functions underpinned by a marketing plan aimed at a break-even situation for the public purse (which is not yet the case today).

However, Expo has endeavoured to stand as a model for Portuguese urban planning which was one of its objectives: serve as an example for generations of decision-makers and designers. The land (almost 4% of the territory of Lisbon), landscaping and media opportunities offered by the Expo seem to have served as a springboard for a review of culture, the environment and housing in Lisbon. This review has been initiated but it has not been concluded due to a mismatch between local and national interests.

> Florian Dupont Urban planner, editor-in-chief of La Revue Urbaine.



Lisbon (Lisboa) 530,000 inhabitants (8,384 ha) City region: 2.7 million inhabitants

Park of Nations programme (1994-2010) Housing: 1,240,000 sq.m Office space: 610,000 sq.m Commercial outlets: 170,000 sq.m Others: 300,000 sq.m (including hospital centre) Total: 2,500,000 sq.m

⁽¹⁾ Parque Expo (1999-2009) was appointed to manage the urban project before entrusting management of the site to the communes as of 2000: this has yet to happen (the consequences include inconsistent road signage, highest water bills in Portugal). European structural funds paid for certain infrastructures such as the service gallery or the underground waste collection system (around 8% of the project's cost).

⁽²⁾ The 10,000 jobs existing in 2003 – according to Parque Expo – are mainly grouped together in the centre of the site around the railway station and shopping centre.



Trans scalar strategies of action: comparing experiences of mega projects in city regions of Europe

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Since the early 1980s, European cities are transforming under the conditions of globalisation and liberalisation of economic markets. Flying on the wings of cyberspace, the process of globalisation created a more advanced stage of internationalisation in the modern network economy. The effects show out in new urban spaces: the study of seven mega-projects in Amsterdam, Barcelona, Berlin, Brussels, Copenhagen, Strasbourg and Vienna shows that there isn't always enough commitment from the three different networks (private, public inter-metropolitan and supra-regional) needed for the project to succeed.

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Globalised urban regions

International trade, economic services and research and development tend to concentrate in urban regions, at sensible places and on urban regional spatial axes with the best accessibility. Productive and administrative activities, on the other hand, are less dependant on the external connections and may establish at larger distance of the most sensible spaces. The Fordist⁽²⁾ internalisation of economic activity used to enhance massive inner city concentration of administrative and productive economic functions, but now made room for more flexible ways of production that externalise the economic needs (in particular via contracting out), enlarging in this way the scale and scope of economic regions. The economic transformation has a dramatic impact on the interrelationships between regions and on the internal spatial economic patterns of regions. The global economy tends to interconnect urban regions that strongly expand at the cost of nonurban regions, but also among urban regions there is a strong difference between regions that are well linked with the global economic networks and regions that are not.

As a result, there is evidence of more divergence in the economic and social position of regions under the current conditions of globalisation. And within urban regions there is a general tendency into spatial decentralisation of economic and urban activities.

These general tendencies combined with the liberalisation of economic markets and the opening of national boundaries of European member states, may serve as general background to the strong enhancement of regional competitiveness in the last fifteen years.

Hierarchy of European cities and city-regions (population of functional urban areas 2003)



1-5 millions inhabitants

250 000 - 1 million inhabitants

< 50 000 inhabitants

Emergence of specialised centers

The hierarchical shape of well ordered city regions almost exploded under these conditions. City centred patterns of urbanization that were consciously preserved for centuries in most European countries, began to transform in large scaled multi centred regions where all sorts of urban specialisation are decentralised. This Archipelago type of urban regional development is observed in many European countries. Francois Ascher analysed the emergence of Métapolis in France, Thomas Sieverts symbolised similar tendencies in Germany as Zwischenstädte, in UK the multiplication of

urban space is conceptualised by Amin and Thrift, in The Netherlands the urban transition of the Amsterdam region was studied by Musterd and Salet⁽³⁾. Characteristic for the emerging spatial order - or state of disorder, considered from the familiar certainty of urban hierarchy versus urban periphery - of urban regions is not only its loosening hierarchy and ongoing decentralisation of specialised urban activities and centres but also - in par-

^{(2) &#}x27;Fordist' refers to the former industry-based form of economic organisation.

⁽³⁾ Ascher 1995 and 2001, Sieverts 1997, Sieverts, Koch, Stein and Steinbusch 2005, Amin 2002, Amin and Thrift 2002, Musterd and Salet 2003, Bourdin 2005.

ticular – its new state of discontinuity. The perception of urbanity used to be organised on a continuous scale of concentration and decentralisation of urban activities, with a clear distinction between the urban core and its rural surrounding areas, and a clear demarcation of place and world. The current conditions of urbanity, however, reflect the revolution of time and space. That what happens at the other side of the world is simultaneously linked to our activities in the here and now. The far and the near experiences are juxtaposed in our daily activities and generate a 'multiplication of local space'. This is not only reflected in the rescaling of global economic networks but also in the cultural patterns and new modes of consumption of individual behaviour. Under the current conditions of globalisation and individualisation, locality has become a dynamic and trans scalar quality of space⁽⁴⁾.

Social and economic risks for mega-projects

Local and regional politicians and planners face the challenge to connect

the economic potential of their region with the international market place but feel reserved of too abrupt and too one-sided economic transformation⁽⁵⁾. Usually, they attempt to combine the aspirations of economic competitiveness and social cohesion in a more responsive style of governance. Also in academic urban literature this attempt of social and economic integration has become so dominant in new urban governance discourse that Buck, Gordon, Harding and Turok call it the "new conventional wisdom"⁽⁶⁾. They use this metaphor in an outspoken critical way as the new policy voluntarism of social and economic integration easily may neglect the radical autonomy of the underlying structural conditions into economic change. More authors warned against the increasing social inequalities resulting of the economic change of cities⁽⁷⁾. Jouve and Lefèvre demonstrate the selective character of hierarchy in new urban networks creating more depen-

urban networks creating more dependancy in the lowest level of hierarchy. Swyngedouw and colleagues warn against the tendency in urban and regional politics to invest in presti-



The Besòs-Forum site for the 2004 Universal Forum of Cultures. © Fòrum Barcelona 2004 Blai Carda

gious economic projects in name of bringing more social cohesion. Flyvbjerg and colleagues warn against the exaggerated expectations of large scaled economic projects that easily might inflate public expenditure. To conclude, the present state of urban literature underlines the challenge of integrating social and economic aspirations in urban governance but the empirical outcomes of these integrative ambitions so far are rather sceptical.

New challenges of urban strategies in the context of multiplex governance

The vulnerable ambitions of integrative urban policy are to be fulfilled in the extremely complex context of multiplied governance⁽⁸⁾. Actually, local and regional politicians feel that they are loosing grip on trans scalar urban development which is initiated and conditioned more and more from beyond the levels of scale of their own territorially based jurisdictions. The liberalisation and privatisation of the post welfare state policies in the last decades transferred the fulfilment of collective goods more and more to the private sector domains of economic market networks and that of civic self regulation. Also within the governmental system, a new differentiation of governmental capabilities has emerged among a range of governmental and semi-governmental agencies at all lev-

⁽⁴⁾ Beck, Giddens and Lash 1994, Bourdin 2000 and 2005.

⁽⁵⁾ Savitch and Kantor 2002, Altshuler and Luberoff 2003.

⁽⁶⁾ Buck, Gordon, Harding and Turok 2005.

⁽⁷⁾ Jouve et Lefèvre 2003, Moulaert, Swyngedouw and Rodriguez 2001 and 2003, Flyvbjerg, Bruzelius and Rothengatter 2003.

⁽⁸⁾ Jouve and Lefèvre 2003, Newman and Herrschel 2002, Salet, Thornley and kreukels 2003.

els of scale. The national states in particular, decided to delegate and to transfer many responsibilities to the regional and the European levels of government.

Multi-level governance: efficiency and legitimacy issues

As a result, urban policies are produced in a context of multi-actor and multi-level governance and the efficiency and the legitimacy of urban policy has become dependant on the interrelatedness of public action. The key of urban policy making in a context multiplex governance is in the organisation of interconnectivity (Salet, Thornley and Kreukels 2003). This requires what we can call new trans scalar leadership and trans scalar strategies of action. The familiar debate on responsibilities for urban policies focused on 'urban'versus 'national'competences of policy making (see in France for instance the internationally famous work of Crozier and Grémion), under the current conditions of multi-actor and multi-level governance, however, the strengthening of local or regional competences as such is getting less impact than the creation of effective relationships of interconnectedness. For a 'département'or a 'région'in France it might become more 'strategic'to have effective interrelationships with the 'communes', the national government and the European Union and with multifarious private sector agencies than to get more territorial financial or legislative competences. Also the questions of political and legal legitimacy and accountability are becoming more a matter of trans scalar concern than the familiar boundedness to territorial jurisdictions. While urban and regional administrations used to claim more resources of governmental capacity in order to get grip on urban development (the famous pleas for

higher policy competences, political constituency and financial capacity), territorial capacities itself have become less relevant under the conditions of the network society. For cities and regions it may be more effective to be well connected with external domains than having more instrumental capacities in their own jurisdiction!

We distinguish three global domains of action where urban policies are made: the private sector domain, the domain of inner-metropolitan policy making and the domain of supra regional public programs.

It is assumed that the efficiency and legitimacy of collective action in urban regions has become more and more dependent on the intensity and quality of the interrelationships within and between the three domains of action under the current conditions of the network society.

Seven mega projects

In our comparative research (in the frame of the EU sponsored research program COMET*) into the strategic framing of coalitions for decision making in urban mega projects of seven European city regions, we explicitly selected urban projects with the largest economic ambitions that deliberately

Three domains of action regarding urban policies



attempt to integrate the goal of economic competitiveness with the aspirations of sustainability and social policy (Salet and Gualini 2006). We selected economic mega projects that attempt to provide in urban areas of spatial concentration more then 10,000 jobs in the advanced service sectors. These are the kind of economic activities with the highest potential to connect the regional economy with international economic networks.

The selected projects are not one-sided economic projects but aim at the creation of 'urban spaces' instead of 'economic spaces'(to use the famous terms of Lefebvre 1991). The aim of mixed urban use may serve the goals of sustainability by preventing urban sprawl and by generating less mobility. Furthermore, the spatially concentrated new urban spaces are expected to create more viability of urban life and durability on the long term (less vulnerable for periods of economic stagnation). The aims of policy integration are celebrated in many white reports, but can they be fulfilled and how can they be fulfilled under the modern conditions of governance? We selected seven cases that merely fit to our severe criteria of selection. It regards the next seven projects:

- Amsterdam: Plan Zuidas;
- Barcelona: Forum 2004 (including Littoral-Besos area and 22@bcn);
- Berlin: Adlershof;
- Brussels: Thurn and Taxis;
- Copenhagen: Ørestad;
- Strasbourg: Parc d'Innovation d'Illkirch;
- Vienna: Erdberger Mais.

The cases will be discussed only in birds-eye view here. The projects in Amsterdam, Berlin and Copenhagen are highly similar, strategically situated in the outside area of the traditional city on the axis between the airport and the city.

Both Amsterdam Zuidas, Copen-

hagens Ørestad and Adlershof in Berlin aim at the creation of new urban centers, to be strongly endorsed by service sector economies and by mixed use of urban facilities including housing, universities, retail and cultural facilities and superb transportation facilities and station milieus. Here are the typical examples of the current tendencies in urbanization, creating new urban centers following the explosion of urban modernity. Also the Parc d'Innovation d'Illkirch in Strasbourg is a new outside urban location, one of the largest techno poles of France.

The final three projects are large scaled typical inner city reconstructions aiming at the grading up of industrial and fragmentary areas into new urban centers of the knowledge and creative economy. In the case of Brussels a huge historical construction from the 19th century, the previous estate of the Thurn and Taxis corporation, is refurbished in a collective building with a



Launched in 1997, the Zuidas Project in Amsterdam has attracted multinational finance and services companies, and is now one of the most prestigious business areas in the Netherlands. P. Lecoort/Jourif

potential for 500 starting companies, are also some adjoining built constructions are included. The projects of Barcelona (Universal Forum of Cultures 2004) and Vienna (Erdberger Mais) are no single projects but serve as catalytic umbrella projects that cover a large number of singular projects. Both encompassing projects are situated in older industrial areas along the inner city.

Zuidas, Amsterdam

Amsterdam Zuidas is strongly promoted by the multinational financial and legal sector services and developed since its start in 1997 into Netherlands most prestigious office location. Initially, the city planners opposed this 'peripheral'development for headquarters and offices (they opted for inner city development) but they soon adapted their policies to the new realities and presented in 1998 a plan for a new, fully integrated urban center development at Zuidas.

As the area is crosscut by arteries of rail and highway the fulfillment of mixed urban use is waiting for a large tunnel that will concentrate infrastructure and station functions under the ground. The city planners aim at 44% offices, 44% housing and 12% urban facilities (which is about the same distribution as the historic centre in the inner city!). At present 12,000 jobs are realized, it is intended to triple this volume of jobs in the next twenty years. In the first stage almost only offices have been realized

Adlershof, Berlin

Adlershof in Berlin is under construction since 1994, at present it is considered as almost complete, given the low profiled economic position of the Berlin region. Besides the highly symbolic reconstruction of Potsdamer Platz in the historic center in Berlin, 'peripheral'Adlershof was planned as the most important center of growth by the city/state planners of Berlin. Aimed as the new City of Science, Technology and Media, Adlershof builded forward on the industrial history in that part of the city with a strong innovative impetus of new technologies. For this sake, also the departments of the exact sciences of the Humboldt University were transferred to this area. At forehand almost 30.000 jobs were expected in this centre of economy and technology but the region is not well connected to external economic networks.

Also the growth of nearby airport Schönefeld stayed behind the expectations, keeping Adlershof in a relatively peripheral position instead becoming a central economic location on the new regional development axis. Since the early 1990s some 10,000 jobs have been realised in the area, most employed in small local firms. The ambitions for housing and facilities are turned down, the area is still mainly used for economic functions.

Ørestad, Copenhagen

Ørestad Copenhagen is perhaps the most strategic location in Northern Europe, situated on the middle of a development axis, near to the new bridge that connects Danemark and Sweden, and in-between the airport and the city. A brand new fully automatic metro connects the airport, Ørestad and the city. The public led, privatized development corporation aims at 60% commercial space, 20% residential use of land and 20% cultural facilities. The plan destinated the different urban uses in sequential functional zones. The university is transferred to the area (the part near to the city), and also public infrastructure and the green parts are ready. The greatest disappointment is that only rare office or retail functions settled in the area (mainly one giant low



Adleshof, an urban technology centre project that was, for long time, supported by the public sector under difficult conditions, now has its own economic dynamics. Here, the buildings of the Humboldt University. P. Lecoont/Jouif

graded retail center). Although the tranquility the project is not yet considered as complete, next stages of development must bring more economic stirs.

Illkirch, Strasbourg

Parc d'Innovation d'Illkirch in Strasbourg belongs to the second generation of techno poles, rooted in the trajectory of political decentralization since the early 1980s⁽⁹⁾. The new region took initiatives for a development corporation in cooperation with the communeauté urbaine. Parc d'Illkirch was planned as part of a complete process of metropolitanisation with mixed functions but in practice it evolved as a specialized office park near to the technological university. It specialized in biotechnical activities as part of the crossing border German/French bio valley region. There are some international technological firms and research institutes (such as the European Space Institute) but insiders are a bit disappointed over the dominant locally rooted industries and the lack of international networking of the techno polis. Some 10,000 persons are employed in the area.

⁽⁹⁾ France cherishes its techno poles as economic prestige projects since Pierre Laffite started the first generation in 1969.

Forum 2004, Barcelona

The Universal Forum of Cultures 2004 was introduced in the proud Barcelonese tradition of using grand international spectacles for the sake of local spatial and economic restructuring. Ten years after the successful urban renaissance via the Olympic Games, the city longed for a new international mega-event in order to connect an adjoining deteriorated industrial area between city and sea (three times as large as the Olympic Village) with cultural activities and with the modern economy of knowledge. In cooperation with the Unesco a cultural mega event enduring four months was planned including many cultural exposures, exhibitions and political forums.

New cultural facilities were to be provided, including halls for mass entertainment. The cultural and urban design facilities were used to create an attractive embedding for economic investment into the economy of knowledge. Space for economic investment was made available to accommodate economic growth for a maximum volume of 110,000 new jobs but the actual investments not all can match these expectations. It is too early to evaluate the singular programs encompassed under this large cultural and spatial umbrella, but the actual figures of the new economy are rather modest.

Erdberger Mais, Vienna

The picture of Erdberger Mais in Vienna is about the same. Also here in the last eight years an encompassing spatial and cultural format is promoted for the urban transformation of an old fragmentary industrial area, adjoining the inner city. The refurbishment of the 19th century gasometer (three huge barrels that are turned into a fashionable shopping center) serves as catalyst for the aimed eco-



Well situated, just off the bridge over the Øresund, Ørestad has, as yet, attracted few technological firms. An exception is Ferring, who has located its headquarters right on the Metro. Ørestudsselskabet/Beppe Awallone



The Illkirch Innovation Park in Strasbourg fits into the scheme of the Franco-German cross-boarder Biotechnology Valley. A. Lacouchie/Iauif



The Forum building (auditorium) is the symbol of the redevelopment of the Besòs sector. © Fòrum Barcelona 2004 Agustí Argelich

nomic and urban transformation of a large area. More than 50,000 jobs are to be provided in the new economy of knowledge, and indeed some investment has taken place, for instance in media industry, but it takes far more time to reach the dimensions of the expected results. The 10,000 jobs that were expected to be reached in the first stage of development have been realized about half until now. Apparently, the real potential of the project still lies in future periods.

Thurn and Taxis, Brussels

Finally, the Thurn and Taxis casus in Brussels is under construction and under contestation since its release at the end of the 1980s. Since the expansion of Europe in the 1980s and 1990s, Brussels is considered as the city with the highest office occupancy in Europe. As one of the largest vacant inner city areas in this area, Thurn and Taxis is a potential object of new office development, but this type of land use is the most contested by the nearby social neighborhoods. In the first instance, a music city was planned with large scaled facilities and commercial uses. This program was vetoed by neighborhood associations.

More recently, a plan has been developed for an international knowledge city, including selective university institutes. But again social contestation resulted in highly divided local and regional camps of government and a fierce stalemate of public action. In the mean time the private developer of the area already transformed 60,000 square metres of the aimed 380,000 square metres office space for starting enterprises. So, at present the private sector takes the initiatives and the risks under uncertain conditions of the involved public sectors.

Findings

Assessing the seven projects by using the indicators of the analytical frame, we may draw a striking balance of findings. Before doing so, we plead for certain modesty. It is easy to criticize the evolution of large scaled projects.

Ambitious goals need time to fulfill

The ambitious aspirations of integrating social, economic and ecological goals are nowhere achieved in the first ten years of the trajectory. These types of mega projects usually take some thirty years and often go through periods with one-sided profiles. The more a project is considered as a failure because of lacking integration, the more it will be countervailed by other types of development in the next stage. The long duration of realizing large scaled projects and the changes over time urge to be cautious in drawing conclusions after the first or second stage. Nevertheless, some findings cannot be neglected.

Lack of private sector commitment

First of all, in our relatively representative sample of seven of Europe's largest projects under construction, we concluded that the economic private sector is far less decisive than dominant urban literature seems to expect. Although literature is expecting the structuring role of multinational corporations urging to a onesided and very specific commercial use of urban space, we found in most of our cases an alarming absence of commitment to space by multinational corporations.

Only in Amsterdam Zuidas, multinational corporations felt committed to specific urban space (on the axis between airport and city) and urged the city planners to adapt their own



The conversion of the gasometers has been a catalyst for the Erdberger Mais project in Vienna (250 hectares undergoing economic and urban transformation). © A. Borsdorf

preferences. The initiatives of the private sector (the first circle in the analytical frame) are painfully absent in the other locations on the axis between airport and city: Adlershof and Ørestad. Also in Barcelona and a bit in Vienna the private sector commitment to place is not evident at all, in Barcelona is a strong involvement of cultural institutions but the private sector is more reluctant. Also Strasbourg is not satisfied in this respect. In other words, the aimed urban development is many cases not very solid rooted in private sector networks, and if this not happens to be the case, one might find - precisely vice versa - local and regional governments rivaling for the favors of the private sector. Indeed, without inherent pressure from within the economic private sector, it is extremely difficult to perform the aimed figures of economic growth. Also the involvement of the cultural and social institutions in the private

sector is too modest in most projects

to enable a real integration of urban

activities (exempted Barcelona).

The next observation is related to the second domain of action: the inner metropolitan interrelationships between involved stake holders. This domain of activity appears to be very actively used in all cases, albeit sometimes more at local than at regional level of scale, but everywhere a lot of energy is spent here.

Often, it is even too busy within this domain, causing in this way considerable risk of microscopic stalemates, such as the case of Brussels demonstrates (until five years ago this was also the case in Amsterdam and in Copenhagen, also in Berlin and Vienna in the local and regional interrelationships at the near outside of the city/state boundaries).

The sociological asymmetries between the heart core of the city region and the urbanizing surrounding areas may easily cause troubles in this domain of public urban action. We conclude, it is always busy in the internal interrelationships of urban regions and there are always many risks of getting into stalemates and conflicts within the region.

Finally, the transregional networks are not strongly explored in the frames of decision making of Europe's largest projects. The positive examples here are Barcelona and also Copenhagen. In particular Barcelona has embedded its position superbly in interregional, international, and European and global networks. It takes a leading position in the external domains of urban policy.

On the other side of the spectrum, Berlin and Amsterdam at present too much neglect the potential of external sources in organizing their trajectories of urban development.

The paper reflects a part of a large EU sponsored research program Competitive Metropolises: Economic transformation, Labour Market and Competition in European Agglomerations (COMET 5th Framework EU). The full program of COMET is chaired by Axel Borsdorf (Institute for Urban and Regional Research of the Austrian Academy of Sciences). Willem Salet and Enrico Gualini coordinated the parts on planning milieux and, respectively, decision making in large scaled urban projects (AMIDSt, Universiteit van Amsterdam). The partners of the program have prepared local case studies that served as background to the present paper: Stan Majoor (Amsterdam); José Luis Lúzon and Jordi Vila Carrasco (Barcelona); Marie Bachmann (Berlin); Mathieu van Criekingen, Christophe Guisset and Christian van der Motten (Brussels); Stan Majoor and John Jörgensen (Copenhagen); Gabriel Wackermann and Jörg Wendel (Strasbourg); Axel Borsdorf and Christina Enichlmair (Vienna). The final conclusions are reported to EU in November 2004. Book publication of the full report is forthcoming with Spon/ Routledge, London. The author is responsible for the present manuscript.



The Thurn and Taxis project. For the time being, the initiative and the risks are being taken by the private sector, in a context of uncertainties related to social contestation. Here, the great hall. P. Lecoort/louif

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The Center for Photonics and Optical Technologies in Adlershof. P. Lecroort/louif



Large-scale urban development projects: where public and private strategies converge

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Most large-scale urban development projects fit into the economic competitiveness strategies of the major metropolises and, through them, of the entire countries. In particular, the strategies target three types of functions which are perceived as being drivers for future growth: decision-taking and financial functions; research and development; and tourism, culture, and commerce. They are rooted in global economic and financial logic that they contribute to reinforcing. The projects require increasingly large amounts of public and private investment. Their financial balance always relies on the capacity to attract commitment from private partners: upstream in order to share the development risks and downstream in order to build or to occupy the buildings.

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This article attempts to take a general look at the economic dimension of certain large-scale urban development projects, at their strategies, and at the advantages they offer for some of the public and private stakeholders involved: investors, promoters, and businesses.

In general, the projects are responses from the metropolitan players (cities/municipalities, regional or metropolitan authorities, and central government) to transformation of the contemporary economy. The projects are part of an effort to adapt the urban fabrics – or to create new urban spaces that are adapted - to the changes in the production system. This effort is continued or indeed appropriated by certain stakeholders. In this respect, the projects are emblematic of a convergence of interests between the promotion strategies of the public authorities, the expectations of the investors, and the expectations of the business users.

Declining industrial suburbs: key locations for new metropolitan economies?

A large proportion of the projects analysed are developed on sites that are suffering from economic difficulties, from a process of social relegation, and often from environmental degradation. Such brownfield sites thus include industrial wasteland, docklands, railway land, and disused military zones.

The current economic activities (basic services and industry) are in decline or are suffering from competition from other business sectors that can bear higher location costs. These spaces have depressed land prices compared with the remainder of the region, resulting, as we know, from the transformation of the production tool: decline in manufacturing jobs in favour of more intangible production⁽²⁾. Working-class suburbs which hosted such industrial sites are particularly hard hit. The projects often appear as attempts to transform derelict areas into opportunity areas by adding value to their economic potential. Located close to the core of the metropolis or of high-performance transport networks, the brownfield sites of yesterday constitute land reserves for the authorities who want to turn them into the emerging development centres of tomorrow.

The projects, as they appear in the planning and development documents, refer to three types of economic specialisations for the metropolises. Business, knowledge industry, and leisure and culture economy are the winning trio for the transformation of the contemporary production system.

Business centres: the example of Dublin (Docklands)

The International Financial Services Centre of Dublin, and, beyond that, the entire Docklands development are emblematic of transformation of a declining industrial space (the former docks of the Port of Dublin) into a European-standard business centre. The location strategies of the international finance firms were based on the government policies such as offering tax relief within the Docklands area (corporation tax reduced by the Finance Act, 1987). In Dublin, banks found skilled and plentiful labour at a lower cost (mainly thanks to tax incentives). The success of the Financial Centre made it possible to enlarge the project (its area increased from 86 hectares to 520 hectares in 1997) and to give it a more urban dimension.

Innovation and knowledge districts: 22@

The 22@bcn project expresses the desire to convert a working-class industrial and residential district into a centre for new information and communications technologies. The metropolitan structure plan of 1976 used the term "22a zones" to designate the industrial zones and estates. The change of name to "22@" asserts a new development concept focusing on

(2) For an example in France, L. Halbert, 2005.



The Dublin Docklands regeneration and the International Financial Services Centre. © Dublin Docklands Development Authorithy

enterprises using high knowledge inputs. The Barcelona Region, which is the Spanish manufacturing capital, wants to become the premier "technology city" of the Mediterranean. After the 1980s during which technology parks sprung up on the outskirts of cities, information and communications technology businesses are now becoming re-concentrated, preferring more "urban" and multi-functional spaces. The Poble Nou transformation project therefore makes provision for the development of a mixed-use space for housing and for innovative "@ctivities"⁽³⁾.

Priority is given to the innovation sector, which should be a mine of jobs for the future according to the official documents. This explains why the role of universities is seen as being central even though their actual involvement varies considerably due to their own strategies⁽⁴⁾.

Genoa, Bilbao, Lisbon, Birmingham: culture-leisure-tourism and commerce

As the productive city changes, a city of culture, leisure, and tourism grows stronger. The increasing embeddedness between economy, culture, and consumption then constitutes the locomotive for certain urban development projects. In Genoa, Bilbao, Lisbon, or Barcelona, the large-scale urban projects draw on these dynamics to stimulate the metropolis's economy and to increase its international influence.

All of the fields of culture, recreation, and tourism are included, from rare cultural facilities to the most conventional of recreational amenities. The Guggenheim Museum in Bilbao, the Oceanarium in Lisbon, the Porto Antico conference centre in Genoa, and the Bull Ring in Birmingham are examples of urban centrality being

The main sectors of new IT and Communications @ctivités chosen in the 22@bcn project

Information and Communications	- Computer Hardware;	
Technology Businesses	- Software Industry;	
	- Telecommunications;	30L
	- Dotcom businesses;	Directu
	- Multimedia.	héma l
Associated Business Services	- Data Processing and Management;	du Sa
	- Business Creation Services;	rision 2000
	- Financial Services;	la Rév
	- Commercial Services;	1 de
	- Administrative Services.	nexe Joho
Knowledge Economy	- Research Centres;	Sources : Annexe 1 de la Révision du Schéma Directeur Métrocolitation de Descolono (2000)
	- Training Centres.	OUTC

reinforced by facilities designed to attract regional and international movements. These major investments, which are mostly private ones, are the levers of a sophisticated communications strategy that increasingly makes use of events: Expo '98 in Lisbon, Olympic Games and Forum of Cultures in Barcelona (1992 and 2004), and exhibition on Christopher Columbus and G8 Summit in Genoa (1992 and 2001). The aim is to keep a spotlight pointing at the city from everchanging angles through large-scale projects that are rooted as much in local-area marketing as they are in



The Diagonal Mar development: luxury housing and park. E. Bordes-Pages/lauff

metropolitan planning and development.

New business districts, digital cities, or culture and tourist centres, largescale urban development projects are laboratories for metropolitan adaptation to the transformation of the contemporary production system. What advantages do investors and businesses find in them?

Investor calculations and business expectations

Private investors are playing an increasing part in the development of urban projects. Upstream, they seek out spaces with added-value potential. The banking group ABN/AMRO, for example, was the first to earmark investment for Zuidas before being followed by a group of investors led by its direct competitor ING. The public authorities made the Zuidas project a priority after these initiatives. The investors also take part in defining the projects, in putting them in

⁽³⁾ Cf. above the article by Albert Broggi ("The 22@Barcelona project: urban transformation from a brownfield space or innovation melting pot?")

⁽⁴⁾ The Pompeu Fabra University has co-operated by locating its audiovisual department; the same cannot be said of all of the universities, some of whom have chosen to remain in the centre of Barcelona.

place operationally, in managing them, and in marketing them. Under publicprivate partnerships or solely private consortiums, they are providing an increasing share in the funds invested. For instance, in the London Docklands, private investment from 1981 to 1997 was four times the public funds, according to the official figure. In Zuidas, according to the official forecasts, two-thirds of the total investment will be from private investors, and in Adlershof (Berlin) the private share could be as high as three-quarters⁽⁵⁾. The role of such private funds is all the more significant when the public authorities have limited financial capacities, and when sale of building rights, when such sale takes place, far from covers all of the investment required.

Risks... and opportunities

Urban development projects are not without risks for investors, and some costly failures have been the subject of copious comment, witness the bankruptcies of Olympia & York at Canary Wharf in London (1992) or the initial difficulties of the Brindley Place project in Birmingham. There is an obvious speculative dimension to investing in urban development projects since their futures are uncertain. The examples of building programmes that did not find any takers should also be recalled (Expo Urbe in Lisbon, and Canal District in Birmingham). However, urban development projects also constitute opportunities for investors. Although investors have, on the whole, given up traditional "cautious" investment in favour of "oppor-



Expo'98 in Lisbon was a pretext for launching a project for a new metropolitan sub-centre, a major stage in modernising the Portuguese capital. In the middle of the harbour, the Oceanarium. © Parque Expo 98

tunistic" financial strategies (acquisitions, sales, creation, and re-structuring), they are still bound to strike a balance between risk and profitability. The size, the multi-functionality, the extent to which the public authorities invest and are involved in, and the location of each urban development project can be arguments that tip the equation either way. The often large size of the projects (which are counted in thousands or even millions of square metres) impart reassuring legibility. The multiplicity of the types of property (real estate) products that make up these mixed-use urban development projects (shopping centres (malls), offices, housing, etc.) makes it possible to use their different yields to spread the total risk⁽⁶⁾.

Reassuring involvement from the major public players

In addition, the involvement of the public authorities both through investment in costly infrastructure that improves the quality of spaces (in particular in terms of accessibility), and also through local-area promotion that increases the visibility of the place, reduces the risk, and improves profitability prospects. The public funds invested are passed on by the market in the final value of the assets, and, in this respect, act as a genuine "lever" for private investment. Some writers see in this an unacceptable privatisation of the added value generated by public funds⁽⁷⁾. At best, the risks are merely pooled, while the majority of profits go to the investors who receive

⁽⁵⁾ Figures quoted in Salet, Gualini, 2001.

⁽⁶⁾ In Besòs, the promoter Hines has been given the best locations for deployment of its Diagonal Mar project: a complex of offices, housing, a shopping centre, and an urban park, enabling it to reduce the total risk of the project by increasing the number of types of product, which have different yields and different risks. (7) For a critical viewpoint: Moulaert F. et al., 2002.

added value resulting, admittedly, from their work as developers, but also from the considerable financial efforts made by the public authorities to support and develop the sites. Naturally, it is also necessary for the populations and for the businesses to follow them.

Ground rent and new address

The projects often enable businesses to enjoy several advantages at the same time. The property (real estate) supply is new, it is made up of modern spaces that match their needs, that are well equipped, and whose operating costs are under control. Since the ambition of large-scale urban development projects is often embodied in large-scale constructions, the buildings provide sufficient capacities for businesses seeking sites on which to bring dispersed teams together. Furthermore, the quality of the supply does not prevent the cost from being significantly lower than the costs of more prestigious business districts nearby. Finally, the importance given to the image of the district is non-negligible for the businesses. The address effect, given wide media coverage in the communication strategies of the promoters of the urban development projects (be they public or private) can be passed on to the images of the occupying businesses themselves. Businesses are rarely insensitive to such an effect. Finally, a peri-central location is crucial for attracting businesses who, although they want to reduce their costs, cannot distance themselves overly from their customers, from their partners, or from their staff.

Are such advantages specific to urban development projects? Newness of property, cost reduction, or location effects are not. New premises are also naturally built close to prestigious districts without being part of such projects. Only, perhaps, the brand image attached more directly to the local-



The Sony Center at Postdamer Platz (Berlin). A covered square open to the public, but with a private status, hosting shops and cultural amenities. P. Lecroort/louif



The reconstruction of the Bull Ring in Birmingham has led to the public spaces of the city centre being privatised and incorporated into a giant shopping centre. P. Lecoort/Iouif

based marketing strategy and to the implicit urban planning deregulation (often considerable architectural freedom is given) is specific to these types of projects.

Businesses seek metropolises

We should, however, be aware that businesses follow logic that is expressed independently from such large-scale programmes. Regardless of whether or not they choose projects, the latest surveys show that they are looking for a metropolis. In an uncertain and competitive economy, they find in metropolises economies of scale and economies of conurbation, lower transaction costs, and easier access to certain major production factors, enabling them to protect themselves better from the economic risks⁽⁸⁾. New IT and communications technologies do not obviate in any way the need for frequent face-to-face exchanges and for a certain form of proximity. The qualities offered by the central spaces, namely that they are accessible at regional and at international levels, they enjoy an urban atmosphere (related to density and to mixed use), and they foster synergies between businesses, are all elements that large-scale urban projects aim to preserve or to (re-) create in order to satisfy the expectations of businesses.

But who is behind these new urban developments?

A certain form of circularity exists in the way urban projects develop. Although they potentially rely on the most dynamic sectors and functions of the contemporary production system, in return, they can contribute to reinforcing those sectors and functions by increasing the economies of conurbation and the influence of the metropolises. In this respect, there is indeed a form of convergence of interests between local councillors, public developers, private developers, investors, and businesses. For the public authorities, urban development projects are levers for promoting the metropolis in the context of global competition. With the constraints of globalisation and of competition, endeavours are being made to give a metropolitan image that is legible and that incorporates urban development projects as central elements, sometimes to the detriment of their role in regional development.

Is it desirable to fuel competition between the metropolises by increasing the number of the projects which, although very often sold as exceptional, are nevertheless becoming increasingly ordinary? When will thought be given to specialisations, complementarities, and networking of metropolises at, for example, European level (such networking having been achieved long ago by businesses and investors)? In addition, thought still needs to be given to the economic effectiveness of urban development projects: is a largescale urban development project more effective than an action that is less visible but that is equally as deep and that aims to improve the assets of the cities (like the North Milan policy)? Is the spotlighting achieved through localarea marketing, or through a cultural or sporting event sufficient to secure economic development in the longer term?

Finally, the issue of how the profits are shared between public and private players remains to be addressed. Are urban development projects gifts offered by the public authorities to investors and to businesses? In view of the urgency of political action, it is important to give thought upstream from the projects to designing new spaces in the metropolis.

(8) The scientific literature is abundant on these aspects, e.g. Veltz, 2005 or Hall, Pain, 2006.

Characteristics of the projects	Investors	Businesses	Public Developers
Large Size Multi-functionality	Recognition of the centre Reduction of the total risk through diversification of the investments into products having different characteristics	Legibility, visibility - environment more urban - environment conducive to work	Economies of scale An urban-oriented project
Public funds invested	 Label = increased recognition "Lever effect" = growth of the value of the assets 	 legibility improvement of the qualities of the site (access) 	 at least partial leadership of the project An element of negotiation for motivating financial handover to private investors
Central location or high access	Overflow effects facilitated from the neighbouring central prestigious markets	Re-location of businesses facilitated by staying close to customers, partners and labour	Reinforcing the dense city so as to combat peri-urban sprawl

Expectations of the public and private players as a function of the characteristics of the projects


The Thurn and Taxis project in Brussels, a wide open space right next to the North Station (in the background). P. Lecoont/louif



London, Canary Wharf: a private-led project that has had its ups and downs. P. Lecroort/louif

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Delivering the projects: approaches, methods, and tools

How do we go from the plan to the city? How are urban development projects implemented? What are the new approaches and the new tools for development? What are the roles played respectively by the public sector and by the private sector? Do various means of delivery shape the city in a different way?

Various answers to these questions can be found in the case studies presented. The 22@ project shows how Barcelona is targeting its action to transform an industrial area into an innovation district. IJburg in Amsterdam shows the advantages, and the difficulties, of creating a new neighbourhood from scratch using public-private partnerships. The Västra Hamnen project in Malmö shows that transforming a brownfield area into an urban district requires new tools to be invented. Clyde Waterfront in Glasgow illustrates the choice of a public-public partnership, without a specific delivery vehicule. Milano Nord shows that economic regeneration can be carried out at first without a urban development vision. Stadshavens (CityPorts) in Rotterdam and Amsterdam Noord illustrate new incremental approaches of development.

Three theme-based approaches highlight these examples: the first one is about the different types of delivery organisations in Europe, the second is about the housing and social mix question, and the last is about the contribution of large-scale urban projects to sustainable development.

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From the plan to the city: managing large-scale urban development projects in Europe

> Paul Lecroart IAURIF

Managing large-scale urban development projects is based on development structures that vary from one country to another, from one city to another, and even from one project to another. Some are public, often with a private status, others are semi-public, and others are 100% private. Designing the projects, planning them, and funding them today require more flexible and more reactive approaches, open to new fields for action and to the private sector but firm on public interest. All this has an influence on the nature of the city which is developing, and on its capacity to change over time, thus its long term sustainability.

But, generally speaking, and leaving aside some participative "sustainable communities" approaches in northern Europe, large-scale development projects are not yet really models of public participation and community planning.

Managing, designing, and framing the projects

The "developers:" from public to private

The setting up of the development structure generally coincides with the official launch of the project, often after a long gestation period. The status and the remit entrusted to the structure varies depending on the culture of each country, on the nature of the project and on the extent of land control enjoyed by the local authority⁽¹⁾. Public land ownership is not a prerequisite to the project, but it does often help implementing long term sustainability requirements: there are as many examples of the majority of the land being publicly owned (Västra Hamnen, IJburg, Ørestad, Zuidas, Porto Antico, Stadshavens (CityPorts), and *Forum-Besòs*), as there are examples of it being privately owned, either by big landowners (Stratford City, Milano Nord, Clyde Waterfront, and Potsdamer *Platz*), or by a more fragmented range of smaller landowners (Lower Lea Valley, 22@, and Mediaspree).

The forms that are most frequently encountered in the projects presented are direct local authority organisation, public development companies with private statuses, private-public companies, and private developers.

In a project delivered using a direct local authority organisation, for instance as in the *Västra Hamnen* project (for which the site was acquired by the city from SAAB at the price for industrial land), the predominant position of the city authorities is, as it were, "offset" by structures being created upstream for the purpose of dialoguing with the private builders and promoters.

In the case of *IJburg*, which is steered by the *Projekt Bureau IJburg*, a municipal department with no legal status, Amsterdam has experimented with a public-private partnership (PPP) structure: operational delivery of the project, including the public infrastructures, facilities and spaces, has been entrusted to four private consortiums, each of which is responsible for several "macro-lots." But that type of structure has proved to suffer from a lot of drawbacks: from the outset, the system requires the specifications of the contracts between the city and the consortiums to make provision for every situation, which curbs the capacity of the programme to react to changes in demand.

The use of a public company governed by private law, like the municipal companies 22@bcn SA or Infrastructure del Llevant SA in Barcelona, makes project management more flexible. That type of system also makes it possible to bring several public players together into the same decision-taking structure: City of Copenhagen and the Central Government for the Ørestad Development Corporation, City of Genoa, Port, and Chamber of Commerce for Porto Antico Spa., etc. But the level of autonomy enjoyed by those companies and their management style are sometimes criticised.

New ground has been broken recently in the Netherlands with, for delivering the Zuidas project, the incorporation of a PPP structure in which the majority of the capital is private, and in which the Central Government, the City, and large banks and property groups work in partnership. It might be wondered whether the public players have the capacity to ensure that collective interests prevail in this project that is marked by major financial uncertainties.

Having large chunks of city developed by the private sector is the general rule in the United Kingdom and, wherever the market so permits, in Berlin. The *Ebbsfleet Valley* project (420 ha), for example, is to be developed solely by a private company under the *Kent Thameside partnership*. In Berlin, the *Mediaspree* project is the result of an initiative launched by several owners, by businesses from the media sector, and by one international investor. Negotiation with such private inter-

(1) cf. above, the article "Development structures in Europe: a comparative approach," by Thierry Vilmin and the table in the article entitled "Strategies, stakeholders, and large-scale projects: a few pointers."



The distribution of the lots between the developers works in favour of urban diversity in IJburg (Haveneiland West). © Gemeente Amsterdam



The Mediaspree *project is a private initiative for urban and economic regeneration.* © Mediaspree e.V.

ests requires the public sector to use highly skilled people with very good knowledge of the market. Public control over that type of project has its limitations, witness the case of *Stratford City:* the shares in one of the two partners of the development consortium being taken over by a commercial developer might unbalance the initial project for which planning permission (the vastest ever granted in the United Kingdom) was granted in 2004.

However, since 2004, there has been a move back towards the public sector in the UK. In the absence of project leadership capable of carrying through the urban regeneration of three major sectors of *Thames Gateway* (Lower Lea, London Riverside and Thurrock), the British Government has set up two new Urban Development Corporations (UDCs), which are structures similar to the French Etablissements Publics d'Aménagement (EPAs), but which enjoy extensive planning, land acquisition, and development powers.

Broadening the remits of the developers

In the projects studied, the tasks

assigned to the developers vary widely and go well beyond the conventional French system. Beyond performing its usual duties, the developer is often an overall urban designer who can, directly or through subcontracting, combine the roles of:

- urban design agency (upstream surveys and design, organising design and consultation processes, mediation, and planning);
- operator (construction and possibly

management of infrastructures or of facilities);

- economic development agency (promotion of the site, support for businesses, and innovation stimulation);
- sustainable development agency (technical surveys and design, negotiation, awareness heightening, assessment); and of
- social development agency (training, and community work).

22@bcn SA, which was incorporated after the 22@ Plan was approved, enlarged the scope of its action in response to contestation of the project. Its remit now covers three fields: "urban innovation" (in particular managing the six strategic development projects), "economic innovation" (support for innovative business creation), and "social innovation" (dissemination of digital technologies among an underprivileged population – 22@ Digital Community programme).

In the British system, private developers like the *Stratford City Development Partnership*, invest in programs designed to facilitate local inclusion of the project (training, literacy programmes, business creation assis-



The 22@ project bases urban regeneration on densification and on innovative businesses. Emphasis has recently also been put on housing. P. Lecoort/louif

tance/grants, etc.) beyond the boundaries of the areas in which they act.

The missions of the project leader change in line with the changes in the approaches of the projects, with, for example, recognition of the role of artistic and cultural initiatives in bringing the urban project to fruition as can be seen with Amsterdam *Noord*. In general, giving a lead to the system of players and managing the project have become more important than the technical or administrative tasks, hence, often, the use of small structures that are highly professional and reactive.

Resource mobilisation and financing schemes

The funding needs of the projects vary depending on whether or not their balance sheets include the amounts earmarked for the costs of the infrastructures and of preparing the sites for possible transformation. Not all of the projects are resource guzzlers, but radical transformation of the image and of the development conditions of a sector often require major investment. Here are a few orders of magnitude:

- the investment in the *Forum Besòs* project is estimated to total 3.2 billion euros (two-thirds of that being for infrastructures), 40% covered by public funds and 60% by private investment. The public funds invested in the *Adlershof* project from 1994 to 2007 are of the same order of magnitude;
- the cost of the *Zuidas* "dock" model was assessed at 2 billion euros (2003) to be covered half-and-half by public and private funds;
- the share of public investment in the *Clyde Waterfront* project has been estimated at 2.5 billion euros, as against expected private investment of 8.4 billion euros, i.e. a public-to-private ratio of about one-to-three;

Malmö Västra Hamnen Masterplan, a public-led project (grey shades: existing buildings, white: new buildings)



- the British Government claims it has invested 10.5 billion euros, including all sector-based policies, in the *Thames Gateway* area over the period from 2003 to 2006. It hopes, in return, to attract 57 billion euros of private investment, in the future. But the projects related to the 2012 Olympics (the Olympic Stadium alone is expected to cost 7.7 billion euros, and the Crossrail (East-West interconnector link of the RER type) for an amount of 15 billions euros and other transport projects have not yet been funded.

In general, the central governments (the *Land* of Berlin, the *Generalitat* of Catalonia, and the *Scottish Executive* can be considered as governments) and the municipalities are the leading contributors, with the other public players (metropolitan authorities, provinces, regions, and major public agencies) provide supplementary funding and support, sometimes in the form of land.

Contribution from Objective 2 European funds and from the Urban programme has helped to launch many of the projects: Västra Hamnen, Forum Besos (La Mina), Milano Nord, Clyde Waterfront, etc., and is helping social inclusion of the projects into their environment (access to employment, assistance with innovation, and support for cultural initiatives). Bringing the boundary of the project to coincide with the Objective 2 boundary, as in Thames Gateway makes it possible to create a direct link between today's handicaps and tomorrow's potential. The private sector is increasingly being



asked to contribute. In Berlin, it is through the construction contract (*Städtebaulicher Vertrag*) that developers pay contributions that can cover up to 100% of the cost of the street infrastructure, as in the *Alexanderplatz project*. In London, the *Planning Agreements* make it possible to receive private contributions that are sometimes enormous, covering a vast field (infrastructure and facilities, street improvements, affordable housing, etc.) and a wide geographical area. But that system, which is opaque and haphazard, is currently being reworked.

Where the market is not yet active, other solutions must be devised. In the 22@ project, it is densification (going over from a floor area ratio of 2 to a floor area ratio of 2.2 as a general rule, to 2.7 for "innovative" production industries, and to as high as 3 for "protected" housing) which enables the infrastructure plan to be cofinanced privately (180 million euros) through a system of contributions. In Ørestad, an original funding scheme

has made it possible to finance the borrowing necessary for building a new metro line (opened in 2002) merely through the building rights paid by the promoters, since the developer is also the builder and the manager of the metro. However, since it has proved to be detrimental to the balance of the urban development, that funding scheme has recently been modified by splitting the two missions up and entrusting them to two distinct companies.

Urban development project and urban planning rules: flexibility and negotiation

Large-scale projects are confirming a general trend in Europe: it is the project that, to a large extent, determines the planning rules that apply locally, even if that means revising the largerscale structure plans, and those rules increasingly result from negotiation between the public and private sectors.

Naturally, it is in the United Kingdom that these trends are most manifest: in London, the new Local Development Frameworks (LDFs), "equivalent" to the French Plans Locaux d'Urbanisme (PLUs), leave considerable room for manoeuvre for direct negotiation between London Boroughs and private developers while the masterplan for the project is being drawn up. It is also negotiation that governs relations between the LDFs and the East London Sub-Regional Development Framework (which is the SRDF for the sector of the London Plan that covers the London portion of Thames Gateway). On a larger scale, the Thames Gateway Interim Plan, which is currently being defined, is not a development plan, but rather a partnership framework for making local projects consistent with central government infrastructure programming.

Barcelona and Berlin have adopted a pragmatic approach by having no hesitation in launching partial revision of their applicable structure plans (dating back respectively to 1976 and to 1994) each time a project emerges that is not compatible with them. The 22@ Plan sets few morphological rules. Construction of high-rise buildings, for example, is negotiated in the context of each local Special plan for internal reform (PERI). Similarly the B-Plans, which are the opposable local plans, are prepared in Berlin only at the time of signing of the contract between the Land and the private developer. The "development directive" (Entwicklungs Massnahmen), which is a procedure close to the French public Zone d'Aménagement Concerté (ZAC), and which has proved too restrictive for the development of Adlershof, is tending to be abandoned. In Denmark, the municipal plans that

Local Plan Ørestad City



© Købenshavns Kommune



The district of IJburg complies with a balance between housing and employment, including with the possibility of dedicating the ground floors of the housing to industry or business use. P. Lecoont/louif



are revised every four years (after the elections) enable changes to be incorporated quite quickly into urban planning. The urban development project (Masterplan) that won the international urban planning competition for Ørestad translated into the Copenhagen Plan and into the Lokalplan through rules for densities, height, and delimitation of public spaces. Those rules did not stop the Ørestad City sub-project from being approved, that sub-project being a very free interpretation of the 2003 Masterplan by the American architect Daniel Libeskind.

Disputes and consultation on the projects

Social acceptability is, traditionally, one of the Achilles'heels of large-scale development projects: are the "metropolitan" requirements of the projects somehow incompatible with local participation? The case studies would suggest the opposite: involvement from citizens about or even against the projects is a factor of social appropriation, or urban inclusion and of sustainability of the development. Whether or not residents or businesses are present on the sites, and their prospects for staying there within the project, are naturally decisive factors.

Controversies over and involvement in the projects

In Barcelona, in the 22@ project, the transformation of the working-class neighbourhood of Poblenou was a source of conflict as regards retaining low-income residents, preserving the industrial memory of the area, retaining craft and trades businesses, and delivering social facilities. The signing of a pact between the City and the main community association in 2002 paved the way to an overall agreement

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Notification of a demonstration against a project of the 22@ Plan (Axe Llacuna). © NPN, M22@

on participation from citizens in changing the project and in incorporating certain demands into it: approval of a 22@ infrastructure plan, building "protected" housing, etc. In the Forum-Besòs project – a stone's throw from there – the criticism that a "neo-liberal" approach was being taken to urban planning (four-star hotels, Diagonal Mar luxury development⁽²⁾, etc.) was accentuated by a violent controversy regarding the opportuneness of holding the Forum 2004 event and its sponsors. Those objections are part of a more general criticism of the segregational effects of the global strategy of the city. This context led the La Mina Consortium to test innovative participation methods for renovating the social community of la Mina.

In Glasgow, London, and also Brussels (*Thurn and Taxis*), the projects are also arousing criticism relating to the property speculation that they are exacerbating and to the lack of will to have them include programmes for building housing that is affordable to residents of the nearby poor neighbourhoods. Conversely, the *Zuidas* and

Ørestad projects are suffering from absence of appropriation of the project by the citizens and by the social and cultural communities, such appropriation being necessary for a new urban centre to emerge. The projects that might harm habitats for fauna must also find compromises with environment protection associations: this applies to IJburg, Ørestad, and Thames Gateway. The case of IJburg, built in a fragile environment (site for migrating birds), illustrates the unstable context in which large-scale projects are delivered. In view of the opposition from local and national associations threatening the project, the City of Amsterdam organised a municipal referendum in 1996, but, since a quorum was not reached, the victory of the opponents did not put a stop to the project. The City decided to continue with it, deeming that the destruction of fragile environments was offset by the reconstruction of a full island reserve for birds in the IJmeer (applying the principle of Natuurcompensatie provided for by Dutch Law). But the associations have recently obtained courtordered cancellation of the plans concerning the second phase of the project.



Four-star hotels, Forum-Besòs (*Barcelona*). P. Lecroart/lourif

The need for transparency and for participation

The transparency of the process of taking decisions and of identifying the person who is in charge of implementing them and who is accountable for them to the citizens is essential. In this respect, delegating project leadership to public development structures that are independent from the elected authorities (such structures are only accountable to the members of their boards of directors), as in most of the cases observed, raises the problem of local democracy.

The development of public-private contracts whose clauses are not known in detail to the public accentuates the opacity of the processes. In London and in the Greater South East, the entangled mass of strategic and operational public-private partnerships make the decision-taking system particularly remote and muddled, even though, in parallel, some projects are being built through community planning processes.

The participative approaches that enliven the sustainable community approaches, in *Hammarby Sjöstad* (Stockholm), *Vauban* (Fribourg), or elsewhere – and that were sometimes at the origin of them – show that, when residents involve themselves in the ecological design of a large-scale project, what they change is not merely the project, it is also their life styles and the life styles of their children.

Roles of public players, quality and susceptibility of change of the projects

The projects studied illustrate how the approaches to development and the roles of the various stakeholders have

⁽²⁾ A prior, independent operation that is nevertheless assimilated into the Forum-Besòs project.

changed in Europe over the last twenty or so years. It is no longer possible to implement urban development projects without acknowledging the contribution from citizens, or the contribution from the private sector. But their sudden emergence among the players in projects further emphasises the contradictions of projects that have to reconcile the "global" with the "local". The increasingly widespread involvement of the private sector in the process of delivering projects, and in particular of large-scale projects, presents both opportunities and risks for the quality of the neighbourhoods and their capacity to change.

Quality of projects and role of public authorities

Regardless of the extent of private-sector involvement, the quality of the projects relies on certain elements for which the public authorities must have high requirements:

- balance, diversity, and integration of the various functions, expressed through the programme and through the distribution thereof;
- design of the public spaces so as to determine how they blend into neighbouring districts, and good dimensioning of the urban blocks on which buildings are to be built;
- social and generational mix related to the diversity of the types and shapes of the housing;
- possibility of change and reversibility of the development over time;
- taking account of the character of sites and of their history in the project;
- limiting the ecological footprint of the project and of the uses that it implies; and
- architectural diversity and urban design that determine the image of the project, the sense of space and its integration in the metropolitan landscapes.

Development plan for Central Island, IJburg (Amsterdam) A detailed plan used as reference for PPP contracts





Illustration of the possibilities of the plan (IJburg, Centrumeiland).

A few remarks on the first four points.

Balance of functions

Without the action of the authorities, Zuidas would merely be a strip of offices along a motorway, Potsdamer Platz would include no housing, and Ørestad would be a business centre bearing no relation to its environment. More than in Île-de-France, major

retail and leisure centres are a keynote factor of centrality in some of the projects (Ørestad, Stratford City, Porto Antico, and Forum Besos), but it is too often in the form of privatised shopping "boxes" that don't integrated to the city.

The trend to have a single user and a single function for each block is a handicap to urban liveliness, whereas variety in the uses at the scale of the block and even at the scale of a plot, is a remarkable asset for the projects that fit into the existing city, such as 22@. Mixed use at the scale of the building (i.e. shops, facilities, and industry at the lower levels, offices above them, and housing on the upper storeys for example) is becoming increasingly common in Europe, regardless of whether it is required of promoters by the public developers or constitutes a private initiative. In IJburg, the ground

floors of the residential buildings are designed to be able to host modular uses: shops or other commercial premises, offices, or living rooms for housing.

Public spaces, plots, and blocks for development

Design of lively communities requires thought to be given to the layout of public spaces with respect to the layout of public spaces in the neighbouring districts, which is not always the case in the projects studied. A project like *Forum Besòs* suffers from an absence of reference to the plot and to the block, and from public spaces that are poorly defined and oversized. And private streets and squares cannot play the same civic role as a fully public space.

Creating new public spaces is often a driver of changes in the uses and in the image of a site: opening up the City of Genoa onto its harbour by means of a new square, creating a temporary beach in *IJburg*, laying out the Glasgow *Waterfront* for the annual *River Festival*, for example, have been catalysts for those projects. In general, the quality of treatment and of maintenance of the public spaces are given a level of attention that is not always forthcoming in Île-de-France.

Social and generational mix

The projects studied oscillate between two approaches: concern for social diversity through housing diversity and, at, at the other end of the pendulum swing, the expression, explicit or otherwise, of a gentrification which is a response to the desire of cities to attract high-income residents. In *IJburg*, the public-private partnership has made it possible to offer a very diverse range of housing, of highly diverse sizes, types (two-storey and three-story apartments, dense individual housing, and floating housing)

and of statuses (social rented accommodation, social first-time buyer homes, cooperative housing, privatesector rented accommodation, etc.). In Glasgow and London, the housing strategies are focused more on middle-and-upper-income residents, although the Mayor of London is attempting to impose a minimum of 50% "affordable" housing (in particular housing intended for key workers) in the projects. But, in the absence of control, the promoters have concentrated on building small dwellings (one-room, or one-bedroom accommodation), which does not enable people with children to settle in the new districts.

Susceptibility of change and reversibility of the projects

Most of the large-scale projects are aimed at the long term. From twenty to thirty years go by from the idea of the project germinating to the project reaching maturity, forcing the projects to go through several economic cycles and terms of government. Their plans, programmes, and means of production must adapt to accommodate changes in needs.

Acceleration of the planning and programming processes of the projects is a fairly widespread concern in Europe, and some countries have put in place



Will a "megastructure" project of the Zuidas type be capable of changing over time? © Gemeente Amsterdam

organisational responses: in Italy, with the "service conferences," in the UK with the shortening of times for examining Strategic Planning Applications and continuous assessment of performance of its development structures, and in Germany with the public-private construction contracts. But projects needs time to mature, and time for the people who are going to make them work to appropriate them. In this respect, the "turnkey" projects designed in one piece as large-scale urban items, often for an ephemeral major event (Forum Besòs, Porto Antico, and Park of Nations), might not age well if they cannot change without massive public intervention. We might question the reversibility of certain projects (Zuidas, Forum-Besòs) which are based on manufacturing an artificial area of ground, embedding infrastructure and buildings into a single "megastructure" to be built within a limited time. Building entire neighbourhoods under public-private partnerships, can, due to the legal and financial complexity that they imply, also become a restriction on the capacities of the projects to change in the long term.

A single developer for a whole sector is a guarantee of consistency and identity for the project, but its task is not merely to follow a set master plan. Depending on the issues of each subsector, its mission will take routes and times that differ, as illustrated well by the examples of *Stadshavens* and of 22@. The capacity of the large-scale project to be split up into several smaller-scale projects that can be delivered in stages by different operators is a factor that is favourable to reversibility.



The 22@Barcelona project: brownfield urban redevelopment or innovation melting pot?

Albert Broggi⁽¹⁾ Aula Barcelona

The purpose of the 22@Barcelona project is to convert 200 hectares of industrial brownfield in the heart of the city into a real melting pot of innovation and creation. The initiative is founded on new incentivising urban planning rules introduced by the Barcelona municipality along highly flexible lines with the support of the Catalonia regional government. Over the past five years, the 22@ district has undergone rapid and sometimes speculative transformation.Are we really witnessing the creation of an innovative environment?

(1) Director of Aula Barcelona, study and research centre on the Barcelona model of urban transformation. He wrote this article in January 2006.

Context of the project

22@Barcelona emerged in the mid 1990s as one of the urban renewal projects for the eastern seafront area of Barcelona called Poblenou. This zone was the city's industrial heartland from the late 19th century through to the mid 20th century when industries began to leave for the inner and outer suburbs.

Since then, the urban transformation

The 22@ project in Barcelona



Maior train station



The industrial fabric of the 22@ project set back from the Barcelona seafront. To the left, the Olympic forum, to the right, the site of Forum 2004. © Ajuntament de Barcelona 2003

of this zone has been blocked both on the residential level - in the General Metropolitan Plan, the industrial orientation of the zone prohibits housing, which has led to the deterioration of the existing housing stock - and on the industrial level, constraints related to the proximity of the city centre and poor road access. Moreover, Barcelona had previously shown a tendency to develop towards the west rather than the east.

Redirecting development towards the obsolete urban fabric of east Barcelona

Transforming the east of the city is a major operation, not only because it requires long-standing trends to be reversed but also because it represents Barcelona's last opportunity to achieve urban growth within the city limits. This major operation has so often been made conditional on other less strategic projects due to the significant funding required and the need for close collaboration with a whole range of stakeholders such as major companies, the various administrative levels (central government, Catalan region (Generalitat), metropolitan community (Mancommunitat de Municipis), RENFE (Spanish railways), developers, etc. The conditions for conversion first came together in the mid 1980s with the return of democratic government.

The 1992 Olympics provided a pretext for establishing the twin conditions of appropriate resources and a capacity for consensus building. This enabled construction of the Villa Olímpica (Olympic village) residential project, which is the district in the eastern part of the city which lies closest to the centre. The Front Marítim and Diagonal Mar projects followed on from each other sometime later in

the 1990s. By then the focus was on transformation of the old industrial district, which lies back from the seafront and which has proved tougher to redevelop due to its significant overlap with the urban fabric of Poblenou.

A new strategy: from the "industrial city" to the "knowledge city"

Since the 1990s, employer and employee organisations, universities, and major companies, etc. have been engaged in discussions over the city's strategic plan with a view to preserving (or otherwise) the city's industrial orientation. With the passing years, the terms of the debate have evolved to embrace the notion of changing Barcelona from an "industrial city" into a "knowledge city". All players have fully understood the importance of taking positive measures to neu-

22@ Project (1997-2020)

Innovation-based urban regeneration

Site area: 200 hectares - Aims: 130,000 jobs & 4,000 new housing units Steering: Barcelona municipality - Delivery: 22@SA & private developers



The Metropolitan General Plan (1976)



The 22@ project is founded on the principle that 21st century industry will be focused on research and technological innovation. The 1976 General Metropolitan Plan was reviewed to take account of these factors in 2000 (violet zones inside box).



Preservation of industrial heritage is now beginning to be incorporated into the 22@ project. The former Ca l'Arano plant will host the university of Pompeu Fabra. P. Lecont/Jouif

tralise Barcelona's tendency to move towards development founded on the quality of its environment and the development of tourism.

The idea began to take root of transforming the Poblenou industrial district into one specialised in innovation and through a development initiative based on research and the knowledge economy. This project is part of the new strategy to renovate the east of Barcelona according to the designation of a "magic triangle" formed by the three large-scale urban development projects under way:

- the *Sant Andreu-Sagrera* project based around the new railway station for high-speed trains (666,000 square metres of activities and 7,900 new housing units planned);



The strategy to reconquer the east of Barcelona is founded on a triangle formed by three hubs: Las Glories, Forum-Besòs and Sagrera-high speed train station. © Ajuntament de Barcelona 2003

- restructuring of the *Plaça de las Glories* as a hub of cultural centrality;
- the *Frente Littoral-Besò* operation related to the Forum of Cultures 2004⁽²⁾.

The goal of the 22@ project

The aim of the 22@ project is to transform 200 hectares (ha) of industrial brownfield with a low population density into a compact and multi-faceted urban fabric in which talented companies can thrive alongside research, training and technology transfer centres as well as commercial outlets, housing units, parks and public spaces. These objectives form part of a longterm strategy to revitalise the city's eastern districts: ongoing projects are founded on initiatives dating from the 1990s. The most typical illustration of this series of sequenced projects was the construction of a ring road in 1992 which improved the zone's accessibility and provided a launch pad for the development of new projects.

The transformation envisaged by the 22@ project is intended to result in around 4 million square metres (sq.m) of constructions (new constructability upper limit) within ten years, of which: - around 3.2 million square metres for

- the service sector or light industry; - around 400,000 square metres for public amenities;
- 3,500 to 4,000 new "public" housing units (supplementing the 4,600 existing units to be retained);
- 7.5 hectares of green space.
- The project should create 100,000 to 130,000 jobs within the scope of 22@.

(2) Cf. supra "Opening a new urban waterfront for Barcelona: The transformation of the Besòs-Forum area", Miquel Sodupe.



Located along La Diagonal and close to the international congress centre, the Lull Pujades Levant sector hosts one of the six strategic operations forming part of the 22@ public initiative project. Demolition of sub-standard housing enables the production on five blocks (10 ha) of business premises, amenities and housing units taking the form of parallel bars of variable height as well as 1.5 ha of green spaces. © Ajuntament de Barcelona 2003

New incentive and flexible urban planning rules

The process of urban renewal is founded on two key elements: the revision (approved in 2000) of the urban planning rules defined by the General Metropolitan Plan of Barcelona in force (1976 PGM) and a flexible interpretation of the urban planning constraints making it possible to adapt the project's imperatives to those actually prevailing in the urban context. With regard to revision of the 1976 PGM, the 22@ project is founded on two incentivising principles:

- change in the land use regulations of the area: a new 22@ zone providing for the coexistence of all non-disruptive urban activities replaces the former 22a zone, which established an exclusively industrial orientation for the sector;
- increased constructability under certain conditions: the new land-use ratio is fixed at 2.2 (vs. 2 previously). But this same land-use ratio rises to 2.7 if the project concerns an "@ business", in other words one which is innovative and creative, for at least 20% of its surface area. The land-use ratio can even rise to 3 if the project

also entails usage deemed to be of public interest, such as public housing, public amenities, green spaces liable to improve the quality of life in the neighbourhood.

In terms of urban development, the 22@ project presupposes considerable flexibility over time since it provides for incremental development tailored to each situation:

- in relation with the shape of the buildings, since it does not in principle establish morphological requirements negotiated according to the value of the project;



- in relation to the stakeholders, since it provides for the combination in different proportions of public and private initiatives;
- in relation to the planning processes, since it provides for a wide variety of plans, tailored to the different scales of the projects.

Six strategic public initiative projects were launched, including the audiovisual campus and the central park, in order to kick-start the private initiative. The 22@Barcelona S.A. company was founded in November 2000 in order to accelerate the process of transformation, make management of the project more effective and tighten control of the processes allowing outside companies to move in.

A key goal: foster synergies in some fields of innovation

22@ Barcelona S.A. developed the concept of "seven key drivers" for the neighbourhood which resulted in specialisation by field: audiovisual (22@-Media), communication and information technologies (22@ICT), biosciences (22@Biocorporation); and through the establishment of creation, dissemination of research and innovation hubs, for instance, around the university centre (22@Campus), the centre for dissemination of information technologies within the population (22@Social), the attraction of young business creators (22@-Entrepreneurs), etc.

These "seven key drivers" favour the creation of fields of excellence with a relative concentration of businesses and institutions from the selected sectors. In parallel, stronger inter-company relations, as well as intensification of institutions and university centres is also actively sought in order to strengthen the innovation potential of companies and the entire productive fabric of the 22@ district.

Finally, the 22@Barcelona project goes beyond its urban renewal remit to embody a new approach to creating a city. This new urban model embraces population density as a means of optimising exchange between traditional urban activities and the world of business, research and training, with a view to establishing a consistent productive fabric.

Encouraging results in both quantitative and property terms

Five years after the official start-up of the project, the renewal of over 55% of industrial space at Poble Nou is now under way via thirty-nine projects/urban development plans approved by the municipality, including thirty-three fully private initiatives. 1,725,000 square metres of new productive spaces were created in the neighbourhood.

In November 2005, over one hundred companies, institutions, centres of innovation and development (I + D)etc. were already established within the scope of the 22@ project, demonstrating the extent to which the private sector has signed up to the project, particularly in property terms.



The 22@ project (light shade areas on both side of the Diagonal avenue)

At end 2005, thirty-nine development plans were approved, of which six public initiative plans for a total of 1.7 million square metres in gross floor area (of which 2,262 housing units).



Construction of the Barcelona Media audiovisual production centre in 2005. © E. Bordes-Pagès/lauif

Urban planning operation or innovation melting pot? The challenges of the 22@ project

Finally, it is interesting to note how the objectives of the 22@ project, its implicit content and the changing realities on the ground have effectively dovetailed.

The project was initially intended to create an attractive location for innovative companies which would not have previously considered setting up in Barcelona. It would seem that this objective has not yet been reached since there has been no great rush by outside firms. The number of companies setting up in the 22@ district is rising but at the expense of other sectors in the city and especially the centre (El Ensanche). The consolidation of the 22@ neighbourhood therefore seems to be favouring deconcentration of companies but without having any significant impact on the number of new companies moving in.

The 22@ project also presupposes a reinforcement of Barcelona's urban centre within the metropolitan area

which flies in the face of the city region's declared goal of strengthening its polycentric nature.

Secondly, although companies from innovative sectors are setting up in the 22@ district, this does not necessarily mean they are engaged in innovative activities. It would seem that in most cases the activities are traditional assembly or commercial activities much along the lines of the Catalonian economy in general.

Thirdly, the idea of concentrating in a pre-defined area companies from innovative sectors, research & development and innovation centres (R&D+I) as well as tertiary education centres does not in itself guarantee an increase in exchanges between companies and with R&D+I centres. The experience of industrial/technological parks demonstrates that geographical proximity alone does not necessarily give rise to high levels of exchange. Their increase, helping to raise the innovation potential, will instead depend on the existence of innovative markets (major companies and institutions), and appropriate financing mechanisms (risk capital,

etc.). It will also depend on the general capacity of the municipality to encourage innovative activities in major companies, SMEs and university spin-offs. If these mechanisms failed to function effectively, the 22@ project would remain nothing more than a standard property operation with all the hazards that such a central location implies: we have noted an increase in land prices as the urban renewal project progresses, encouraging some of the resident population to flee along with businesses currently located in the 22@ district.

Objectives concerning the 22@ district are clearly defined; however, the keys to strategies enabling their attainment are not in the hands of the project's administrators. It is therefore a question of carefully monitoring general policies to encourage innovative activities and advancement of the 22@ project. This exercise should not only be implemented on the urban planning level but also in terms of the location of innovative businesses and the reinforcement of a system of exchange aimed at helping to consolidate a highend business market in the sector of innovation and creation.



Poble Nou is a strongly working class neighbourhood: residents are worried that the 22@ project could accelerate its gentrification. © Mobebu/Flick'r



IJburg, the bumpy road of an ambitious new (sub)urban district for Amsterdam

<u>Tineke Lupi</u>⁽¹⁾ Amsterdam Institute for Metropolitan and International Development Studies

n the IJ-river on the east side of Amsterdam lies a busy construction site: a completely new urban district is rising from the water. When completed in 2020, the seven artificial islands will contain 18,000 dwellings, accommodating about 45,000 people. The development of IJburg has still a long way to go and so far has seen many ups and downs, making it one of the most controversial projects in the Netherlands. An innovative project as for new housing types and design, IJburg is also experimenting – with some trouble – a new public-private partnership approach. The story so far.

(1) Sociologist, Researcher, Amsterdam University (AMIDSt), wrote this article in March 2006, revised November 2006.

IJburg, a future part of Amsterdam

With the construction of IJburg, a whole new part of Amsterdam comes into being, spatially as well as socially. But IJburg is not intended to be a bedroom suburb and is supposed to bring 12,000 new jobs to the city. From the start the plans for a new district in the IJ-river burst with ambition, an area like no other ever before is to be.

In late 2002 the first residents moved in and currently roughly 5,000 people now live on the first three islands. These are the real pioneers of a new urban concept. Who knows what will come out of it at the end of the long and bumpy road?

Maturing projects for East Amsterdam: from Pampuscity to New East

The history of IJburg goes back a long way and is closely tied to previous urban developments in the Amsterdam region. Ever since the 16th century new, artificial islands were created to the eastern side of the centre, partly as residential areas but mostly to house wharfs and warehouses. In the last decades all harbour activities have moved to the western side of the city and the old docklands developed in the last 20 years (1985-2005) into quite an exclusive housing estate.

IJburg can be seen, in some way, as the eastern section of the growth model which produced the 20th century urban developments in the west and





Within the space of 20 years, Amsterdam has converted its Eastern Docklands (Oostelijk Havengebied) into an area of relatively dense housing with 8,000 dwellings (100 dwellings per hectare). One of the aims of the project was to retain middle-income families in the city by offering a highly diverse range of housing. Here, town houses on free plots. © P. Lecroott/Jouríf 2001

south side of Amsterdam. The direct origin of the area can be found in the nineteen sixties, as an alternative for a high – rise district project – the Bijlmermeer in the southeast of Amsterdam – architects Broek and Bakema drew up a design for Pampuscity, a new urban quarter to be constructed in the IJ-river.

The area was named after the small fortress island Pampus already existing there and would have been a monument to functionalist architecture, consisting of four narrow, elongated islands with high flats along a main road. With a density of 150 dwellings per hectare, approximately 350,000 people could live in the area, many more than in the Bijlmermeer. However, the water together with the open spaces between the buildings should have given the residents a feeling of suburban living.

The Pampusplan raised a lot of interest among urban planners and the local government but it was not really taken seriously, especially when policy shifted to planning real suburban developments, resulting in the building of New Towns such as Almere.

The IJburg project in Amsterdam

IJburg Project (1994-2020)

New urban district on artificial islands Site area: 400 hectares - Aims: 45,000 inhabitants & 12,000 jobs Steering: Amsterdam municipality - Delivery: Project Bureau IJburg & private consortiums



However by the beginning of the seventies the policy of "concentrated urban sprawl" in favour was abandoned in favour of the "compact city" strategy, leading to a search for new potential construction sites. Due to its location in Amsterdam as well as the larger region, Pampuscity under it's new name of New East was a major candidate. With respect to the first plan the project was much reduced in size. The amount of houses to be built varied between 15,000 and 30,000 in a mix of single-family dwellings and high-rise buildings. What remained however was the goal of creating a feeling of suburban living within the city. After a decade of designs that never were put into action, the definite decision to develop the area finally came with the installation of a new policy



IJburg is the result of 40 years of thought on developing the inland sea of the Netherlands. The Pampus-Stad project, a lake city concept (1965).

on urban expansion by the national government in the beginning of the nineties.

IJburg, national planning strategy and public-private partnership

This VINEX⁽²⁾-policy stems form the old Dutch suburban strategy of growth poles, but tries to make more diverse and dynamic areas. Under VINEX, 100,000 houses are supposed to be built in the Amsterdam region, mainly within or in close vicinity to the city. In 1994 New East became under its new, definite name of IJburg, Amsterdam's most prominent VINEX-location.

It was decided that the area would be developed in close corporation between the municipality and market-parties, a change with the longstanding practice of governmentdirected construction. The first two islands, Haveneiland and Rieteilanden, would thus be part of a publicprivate partnership between the municipality (Projectbureau IJburg) and the private parties grouped in several building consortia consisting of real estate developers, building firms and housing corporations, which have joined in a private society called Projectbureau Consortium IJburg. Steigereiland, also part of the first phase of IJburg, is to be on a project basis with the market parties working together with the municipality, being



Haveneiland, the main island in 2006: large blocks built up on sand. © Huns Brons

different from one housing block to another.

In 1994, the first consortia, Waterstad, was formed. As more and more parties were drawn to the project, in 1998 it was divided into six different consortia, which all bought their own piece of rights to build on first two islands, each approximately 20 percent, from the municipality of Amsterdam, who at first has obtained the land from the national government. In an effort to strife for more spatial quality, the consortiums were made responsible for the entire construction process, including buildings, roads and infrastructure. They are however under strict guidelines by the municipality who does not completely trust the consortia and covertly fears their marketfocus. The directives they have set, as the mix of housing types, are mostly

based on political choices. On the whole, the plans for IJburg are not based on much prospective research into future residential needs. But one does need to have a strong view on how the area is to look like in 2020 and what type of people it should house.

A new concept: a sustainable suburban way of life in the city?

IJburg will be a completely man-made space, planned on seven artificial islands constructed by putting layers of

The consortia of real estate developers, building firms and housing corporations

Corporation	Investors / real estate developers	Building companies	Housing associations
Waterstad 1	Amstelland Ontwikkeling Wonen		Het Oosten, Vesteda
Waterstad 2	Amvest, Alliantie Projectontwikkeling	Blauwhoed Eurowoningen	De Dageraad, PWV Wonen
Waterstad 3	Bouwfonds Wonen	Volker Wessels Vastgoed	Woningbedrijf Amsterdam
IJ-Delta	Bouwfonds Wonen	Smits Bouwbedrijf, Era Bouw	Zomers Buiten
IJburger Maatschappij	Amvest, ING Real Estate Development,	IJburger Bouwbedrijven (M.J. de Nijs	De Principaal
	Johan Matser Projectontwikkeling	en Zn., Moes Bouwbedrijf, Heddes Bouw)	

Tineke Lupi from Boer (J.), in: Nul20, 2002-nr 5 (november)

⁽²⁾ VINEX: VIerde Nota Extra (1994) is an addendum to the national spatial planning policy of the Netherlands dealing with the implementation of new large-scale housing districts in Dutch cities.



An example of duplex and triplex flats in Haveneiland West. © P. Lecroart/lourif 2006

sand on top of each other, instead of using the old Dutch technique of the polder. Being a large area, the process of building and construction is spread over 15 years, starting in 1998 and planned to be originally finished in 2012. The VINEX-contract sets some strong guidelines, such as the guideline to built 1,500 to 2,000 houses a year; putting high pressure on the project. In order to prevent IJburg from becoming a homogenous, large scale housing estate, both the municipality and consortia set out to develop an extraordinary district, combining both urban and suburban elements in a way never seen before. The water and connection to the city and the wider region are key elements, displaying themselves in good accessibility by car, bike and public transport. A metro line to Amsterdam central station was part of project with possible additional connections to other parts in Amsterdam and even the New Town of Almere, north of IJburg.

Most of all IJburg is not to become a bedroom suburb, as many of the older

growth poles and some of the new VINEX-areas are, but a real urban quarter. From the Eastern Harbour area, recently redeveloped into a very successful housing estate, the comparative high density, architectural style and use of water in the urban designs are taken. The average housing density of IJburg will be 60 dwellings per hectare and many architects are appointed to assure diversity. Also the presence of shops, cafes and restaurants, small businesses and office buildings should give the area urban dynamics, most like inner city districts. However the suburban dimension is still present in the fact that 55% of the housing stock will be low rise and many single-family houses are to be built. Also green spaces are very important in the design. A strip of land between Diemen and IJburg that used to be a chemical dumpsite has been cleaned and turned into a large park in 2004. Also on the islands themselves several parks and playgrounds are planned.

By VINEX guidelines the IJburg is to

become an environmental friendly district, reflecting itself in for instance the construction of two different water systems, one drinkable and one for 'household use'such as flushing toilets and washing cars. IJburg should also be car low, in some parts even car free. To achieve this the parking norm is set on one car per household and 75% of the parking space will be created indoors.

The housing mix

According to the policy documents made up by the City's planning department, IJburg will house a wide variety of people regarding age, household form, income, ethnic background and lifestyle. In contrast with the rest of Amsterdam most of the houses on IJburg will be owner-occupied and fall into the mid-priced or higher segments of the housing market. Prices start around 200,000 euros for apartments and go up to 700,000 for some exclusive water villa's or penthouses. The aim behind this is to create more flow in the stucked housing market in Amsterdam and stop people from moving out of the city to suburban areas.

To prevent segregation one third of the housing stock on IJburg is developed in the social sector, a figure that has been much debated on in the city council. These will be rental houses as well as subsided owner occupied dwellings, aimed at low and middleincome groups. With an average surface op 85 square metres (sq.m) and a relative low price, 500 to 600 euros a month, these houses offer much more than the standard cramped social houses in Amsterdam and in such present new options for larger families.

Development management and public participation: overcoming difficulties

In the implementation of the plans so far, IJburg has seen many ups and downs and already various changes were made. In 1996 the city council agreed upon the construction of IJburg, but the carrying out was put on hold by a local referendum, enforced by environmental organisations and people living by the IJ-river. Also the municipality of Diemen utters some protest against the plan to make a tramway to IJburg through their city and the loss of view on the open water. After a fierce campaign the majority votes against IJburg, but the turnout is below the imposed voting limit so it has no effect in the plans.

In 1998 the process of land making starts, planning to deliver the first houses in three to four years. Under influence of the rising economy and booming housing market in Holland, the public opinion towards IJburg is very favourable. The opposition expressed in the referendum seemed gone; many people register themselves for a house on one of the new islands. To generate funds for later social housing, building commences with the high market segments. Soon however various problems begin to arise.

Soon after the formation of the six consortia and the official start of the

Diversity: a different profile for each island

Each island will have its own personality and types of housing, density, facilities and functions will differ from one island to the other.

The Haveneiland will have the most urban characteristics, consisting mostly of medium rise buildings with medium to high density, at least five stories high with some peaks at eight. At the basis of this design is the grid pattern that will create a block structure much like in the older parts of Amsterdam. To create urban diversity the City planners made a rule of mixing housing types on amicro level, which means a combination of several rental and owner occupied apartments in the same block.

The Rieteilanden and Buiteneiland will be most suburban with much green space and exclusive housing types. Dwellings there will have a maximum height of three stories, occasionally four. The mix will not go as far as on Haveneiland, although in the most parts of the islands there will be different types of dwellings located along each street. On part of the Rieteilanden as well as the Steigereiland people will have the possibility to built their own house, a rare opportunity in Holland. Also some innovative floating dwellings will be created.

The Centrumeiland will be the centre of IJburg containing most of the areas facilities such as an large shopping mall and many leisure facilities. The physical structure will resemble that of Haveneiland, both in height and density.

The Strandeiland is designed to house recreational facilities such as a beach, where the Middeneiland will have a harbour.

The plans for Centrumeiland, Strandeiland, Middeneiland and Buiteneiland are not yet made in all detail, since they are part of the second phase of Uburg where building will not start for several years to come. Still the planners of Uburg will not give so called 'end visions'or blue prints of the islands on the first phase, but only general outlines. Not everything is fixed to make it possible to meet with changing demands and social developments. At least that is the intention of all participants in the project, both the local government and the consortiums.



The Island of Steigereiland is developing town houses and single family houses on free building lots.

Islands	Character	Nr. of houses	High rise	Low rise	Type of Houses	Facilities	Density of dwellings (units/hectare)	Nota van
Haveneiland	Urban	5,000	60%	40%	Mix of apartments and single family houses	Many	80	burg. I
Rieteilanden	Suburban	1,400	15%	85%	Most single family houses and free building lots	Few	35	erp IJ
Steigereiland	Mixed	2,000	35%	65%	Single family houses, free building lots and floating dwellings	Several	40-70	2), "Ontwerp IJburg. Iburg, 1995)
Centrumeiland	Urban	1,500	80%	20%	Apartments	Many	85	(200 eau L
Strandeiland	Mixed	2,300	65%	35%	Apartments and single family dwellings	Recreational	78	irg.n/
Middeneiland	Mixed	4,000	40%	60%	High and low, apartments and single family dwellings	Several	60	Tineke Lupi, www.ijburg.nl (2002), " uitgangspunten" Projectbureau Uburg,
Buiteneiland	Suburban	1,650	20%	80%	Villa's, single family houses	Few	50	e Lup
IJburg total		17,850	45%	55%			60	Tinek uitga

Layout of IJburg per island

public-private partnership for the development of Haveneiland and Rieteilanden, the first cracks are already starting to form. The first problem to come to the table is the construction of public space and especially the internal infrastructure of the area, such as cables, pipes and wires. The many parties in the consortiums don't seem to be able to join forces on this matter, which in turn makes the waterworks, electricity company and the municipal Projectbureau IJburg very hesitant. Their suspicion is enforced when the six consortiums dismantle their own projectbureau and state that from now on they will only focus on their own building tasks. The job of creating infrastructure, such as roads, public spaces and facilities, is taken back in the hands of the municipality.

Two issues: the control of property house prices and the delivery of facilities

This seems to solve the problems, but it is not for long that the consortiums again state to have difficulties coping with the building agreements. There are still to many government rules, they claim, which makes construction going much slower than expected and add lots of extra costs to the houses. Projectbureau IJburg however claims that this situation is caused by lack of direction and management form the consortiums. The architects they appointed have been given to much freedom, resulting in complex, but very expensive designs. This question becomes urgent when after a delay of a year the first dwellings go on sale in 2001 and the high public expectations drop dramatically because of the unsuspected towering prices. Several experimental plans to make IJburg an environmental friendly area

have to be dropped to cut the costs; for instance the separate water system that was already put in place is not connected to the houses. Nevertheless, when in late 2002 the first inhabitants receive the key to their new homes, many houses are not yet sold. Slowly a negative mood begins to surround the project of IJburg, coming to a crisis in mid 2003. At this time only a few hundred people populate the first two islands, were at least 2000 were forecasted. The alderman responsible for IJburg then claims ambitions have been to high and based on wrong economic assumptions. It is decided to simplify the designs made by a range of architects, postpone the most expensive dwellings and start with the social housing, which will certainly be populated.

Nevertheless, the discussion between the municipality and the consortiums does not end here. As people slowly start to move into IJburg, it becomes clear that the public-private partnership for Haveneiland and Rieteilanden fails to meet its demands. None of the parties involved seemed to be ready to work in this more governance-oriented structure. The local government tried to pass on most responsibilities for the construction of IJburg to private parties, but has jammed this process by setting too many rules and guidelines.

The consortiums at turn have not been willing to go out of their normal construction tasks and take accountability for the whole of IJburg. The victim of this situation is the social infrastructure in the area. The level of facilities, either commercial or public, is poor and none of the parties involved holds himself liable on this point. The local city district, whose task is to manage the area, has many problems with this situation, but their hands are tied by the overall plans. Because every piece of land has been given to the consortiums there is very little room for new developments. Every question or issue posed by a resident is met with a negative answer. This however has also created the feeling of a 'common enemy'leading to residential organisation and cohesion, at least among the first inhabitants.

Pioneers and temporary beach: IJburg attractive for the "family-oriented creative class"?

In the summer of 2003 a temporary beach is opened and the café there instantly becomes one of the hippest places in town. This brings many people to IJburg and now the area is slowly beginning to take shape as housing sales go up. Especially the free lots where one can built its own house are popular. Most of the first residents on IJburg are high-educated couples in there thirties in their family forming stage. Some of them already have (small) children, but many get them after settling in their new house. The amount of babies and toddlers strongly exceeds the expectations by the local government, which translates in a shortage of childcare facilities. Because IJburg, as the Eastern Harbour district before, has never been seen as a family-district, not enough schools were planned. Again here both the local government and the consortiums don't seem to be able to come to a solution, but just point to each other as the one responsible.

"New town syndrome": lack of facilities, shops, parking, etc.

Because all the land on the Haveneiland is already filled in, at least on paper, it is very difficult to be flexible



With the opening of a temporary beach in IJburg in 2003, the development really took off. © I. Lupi, Mai 2005

in such a matter. On the whole the first residents have a hard time living in a windy sandbox not yet directly connected to the rest of Amsterdam. Many IJburgers complain about the lack of facilities such as a cash machine, shops and good public transport and also feel they have to defend themselves to others because of the negative image of the area. However problems like these also cause the residents to get in touch with each other and form residential organisations. The feeling of pioneering brings them together and community life is starting to show, especially among people with young children.

In 2004 the general mood towards the area is slowly changing. Many residents now pride themselves with living in such a nice, clean and quiet neighbourhood, in contrast to other Amsterdam districts. However many are functionally as well as emotionally tied to the city, they like the absence of typical urban aspects in their direct environment. These are almost exactly the characteristics ascribed to the potential occupants of IJburg in 1995. Indeed the first residents have the feeling of suburban living in the city, more suburban even than IJburg is supposed to be when it is completely finished. For this reason some of them not seem to regret another setback in the construction of the area.

In late 2004 a court order on behalf of some of the opposition parties of the old referendum, prohibits the construction of the last four islands of IJburg because environmental effects are not clear. This means another delay of several years to the entire project, maybe even a complete stop. Several realise the area will be cut of from many facilities if this happens; others claim it will make IJburg more attractive as an suburban and even rural district. However the building on the already existing islands still continues and because the interest in these areas has risen in 2005, developments are accelerated. The promised tramway is finally in use (may 2005) and the shopping centre should open soon. Because of the speed up of activities the popular beach unfortunately had to go in September 2005 and no other location on IJburg has yet been found. If its up to several residents this will also

never happen as they perceive it as a nuisance, making to much noise and bringing "unwanted" outsiders in the area.

The now fast growth of IJburg has brought forward another issue, the low car-household rate. In other VINEXareas this has already proven to be inadequate since most suburban families have two cars and not all visitors come by public transport. In IJburg this has also been a issue of debate between the municipality, who sets the policies, and the consortiums who have always strived for enough parking space. In 2003 the city council agreed to increase the parking rate ratio from 1 to 1,25 car per household, but this does not seems to be enough. Nevertheless this figure is still low, especially now the municipality is enforcing its new parking policy (2006) by which every household will get one parking permit. A typical Amsterdam problem, which the residents thought to have escaped, has arisen on IJburg.

After IJburg: more development ahead in the IJmeer?

Yet despite of all the troubles and nuisances uttered by the residents, IJburg seems to be doing better than ever.



Life on the wind-swept sand of the building site bred solidarity between the inhabitants. Main avenue of IJburg in 2005. © I. lupi

After years of setback and crisis a new cheering atmosphere is starting to surround the area, expressed especially by government officials. IJburg is one of the best-known neighbourhoods in Holland and is widely established as a high quality housing estate. The city of Almere now even has plans to develop a similar area, which they named Almere Pampus. They also push the construction of road or bridge connecting Amsterdam to Almere through IJburg.

This 'IJmeerverbinding' – IJ-lake link - is currently under study in the Atelier IJmeer, a group of urban planners, politicians, ecologists, investors and civil servants founded by the city of Almere in 2003 and directed to a coordinated approach on the further development of the IJ-lake. The future of a road or railway trough the area is still uncertain as the national government has yet to decide on it. Meanwhile the new alderman responsible for IJburg strongly favours the construction of the IJmeer link as he, being of the green-left party, sees environmental benefits in the creation of a doublecity Amsterdam-Almere.

Even when green light is given, years of research and design are yet to come. However residents of IJburg are already strongly opposed to it as they claim that no one had told them of this already long excising idea when they bought their house. They closely follow the achievements of the Atelier and prepare fierce protest if the plans are put into action, in which case going to court will be the first step. In the mean time IJburg slowly develops further on its bumpy road that as it now stands will probably not end till 2020.



In the long term, it is planned to develop a lake city in the IJmeer connected by a road bridge and a rail bridge to Amsterdam (IJburg et Zuidas) and Almere (Pampus project). © Gemeente Almere, Atelier Umeer 2005



The new high-speed tram, inaugurated in May 2005 takes ten minutes to travel between IJburg and the Central Station and runs about every quarter of an hour. © Annemanin Walberg



Malmö, Västra Hamnen (Sweden): methods and tools for urban transformation

Mats Olsson⁽¹⁾ Consultant <u>Göran Rosberg⁽²⁾</u> Municipality of Malmö

Malmö is in the process of radical change as it completes the metamorphosis from being an industrial city to a "knowledge city". The Western Harbour urban project has been one of the driving forces behind this transformation which was based on a forward-looking, strategic approach to urban planning as well as on the development of pragmatic and innovative tools.

(1) Architect, former director of the Malmö city planning office.

(2) Geographer, director of communication, city planning office. The article was first written in November 2005.

Malmö, a city in the throes of deep-seated change

Industrial and working class in character ten short years ago, Malmö has now switched its focus to culture and the knowledge economy. This process of transformation was initiated in 1995 via a forward-looking strategy which was given concrete form in 2000 with the construction of the Öresund link, the road and rail bridge connecting southern Sweden (Scania) with Denmark (Copenhagen). The transformation of Malmö has been something of a twin-track process: at local level (the city has around 270,000 inhabitants, the city region in the broadest sense hosting around 600,000 inhabitants) but also at regional level in the new transnational context of the Öresund region (3.6 million inhabitants). From the urban planning viewpoint, the changes began to take shape in the late 1980s, when what were termed the "bomb craters" (land abandoned after the demolitions of the 1960s and 1970s) were redeveloped in central neighbourhoods. The city then regained its original urban appearance.

Two major political changes occurred in the 1980s: the first concerned a shift in attitude regarding conversion of the port, the other related to a new way of designing individual houses. The end of the 1980s also saw the shipbuilding activity breathe its last and



Initial use of the site, the Kockum shipyards.

Västra Hamnen [Western Harbour] Project in Malmö (1995-2013)

Sustainability & innovation-based urban regeneration

Site area: 140 hectares

Aims: 10,000 inhabitants & 20,000 jobs/students Steering: Malmö municipality - Delivery: Malmö municipality



Urban development



📕 Urban area / Central Malmö



In 1991, signature of the concession agreement for a fixed link on the Öresund brought Malmö and Copenhagen together within a new area of development: the Öresund region (3.6 million residents).

the closure of the Kockum shipyards in the Western Harbour.

Within a few years this activity would be replaced by the mature industry of car manufacture. After a few years, the Saab car plant also closed down. The municipality was then able to buy up the land in 1997 and reconquer its seafront after a period of separation lasting almost one hundred and fifty years. This was highlighted by the bid to host the Bo01 International Housing Exhibition – a strategic decision arising from the forward-looking review in 1995.

1991 saw the signature of the contract to build a fixed link on the Öresund, between the twin sisters and bridgeheads of Copenhagen and Malmö. Malmö had reached a crucial strategic phase in its history. During this period, the city had to contend with major economic hardship exacerbated by the global recession. Budget deficits, rising unemployment, an upward trend in company closures, increased immigration. Around 30,000 jobs were lost between 1990 and 1993. As of 1995, the city entered a period of dynamic expansion which drove the development of strategic infrastructures, a prerequisite for economic growth. Between 1990 and 2005, 13 billion euros were invested in the infrastructures of the Öresund region: a bridge linking Copenhagen to Malmö, railway infrastructures, a new university, the city centre tunnel and the development of the old dockyards in Västra Hamnen.

Visions of the future and strategies for urban renewal

Malmö began to realise that a new development strategy was urgently needed: "We were struggling to compete with competition from other cities (particularly Copenhagen and Lund) and had a long way to go if we were to switch from being an industrial city to a modern city founded on a knowledge economy".

In January 1995, the municipality launched an extensive forward-looking initiative: the Malmö 2000 Project. The aim was to envisage a positive future, embrace the knowledge society and determine the means Malmö could deploy to carve out a competitive position within the region of Öresund.



A view of Malmö with urban development projects in red: Västra Hamnen (Western Harbour, in progress); on the right, Nyhamnen (New Port, at planning stage). In the centre, the city centre and railway station directly connected to Copenhagen in 2011. © D. Wiberg

Work took place at administrative level free of political control. Operational management was overseen by a team of coordinators reporting to the general directorate for municipal services. The eight members of the group were in charge of the following fields: finance, economic activities, teaching, environment, urban planning, cultural activities, social issues and youth. The groups presented their work to the municipal council in June 1995. In February 1996, the reports were pulled together under a new title: Malmö Vision 2015. The various scenarios were presented to the municipal council by the working groups in an original manner taking the form of a dramatised representation.

The closure of the traditional economic sectors triggered a major crisis in the early 1990s. Thanks to the forward-looking review of 1995, the city was able to dream of a brighter future. The strategy was built on twin pillars: establishment of a university in the centre of Malmö and creation of a new attractive environment in the Western Harbour area close to the university. This allowed Malmö to grow into a



The Bo01 International Housing Exhibition was a success from the technological, architectural and tourism viewpoints. © P. Lecroart/lourif 2005



The Bo01 neighbourhood enabled full-scale testing of new sustainable technologies in housing: geothermics, photovoltaic sunscreens, biogas, etc. © 6. Rosberg

vibrant future-oriented city boasting cultural diversity, a youthful population and newly available brownfield space all of which were identified as opportunities and major assets.

The large-scale Western Harbour project

The Western Harbour covers 140 ha and occupies a larger area than the whole old city of Malmö. The *Bo01* International Housing Exhibition In 2001 was a failure in economic terms but a success with regard to technology, architecture and urban planning. The scale of the sustainability methods deployed continues to attract many international visitors to the region. The exhibition area has also become the city's new meeting point and main promenade area. Impressed by the strong environmental focus of the Bo01 Exhibition, the Swedish government came forward to provide financial backing for an equally intelligent project involving the entire Western Harbour. Around 1,500 people live there today. Once completed, the neighbourhood will host 10,000 inhabitants and 20,000 employees or students.

The university, an investment aimed at revitalising the city over time

Urban planners took the view that Malmö needed a university to foster long-term development and revitalise the city. The objective was to offset the lost years of economic activity – textile industry, shipyards and car industry. This vision became a reality thanks to the strategic foresight of politicians and the authorities as well as the timeliness of government educational loans which enabled the creation of 9,000 student places in Malmö through to 2005. The new university of Malmö now hosts over 22,000 students.

The urban project comprised a university, integrated into the city on one of the most attractive sites close to the waterfront, bearing the name of Universitetsholmen. This site has two centres the second of which is in the MAS (Malmö General Hospital) university hospital zone. Naturally, the initial idea was to profit from the future synergies generated by the new urban district of the Western Harbour and the MINC centre of innovation, Malmö Incubator (focused on developing knowledge-intensive business ideas), based on a three-pronged approach (university-businesses-territories). Creation of a hospital zone was also tied to the presence of the neighbouring medical research centre, Medeon.

New strategies triggering changes in internal methods

The forward-looking approach in itself and above all the implementation of large-scale strategic projects, the BO01 Exhibition and the University of Malmö, required new working methods.

On the political level, the idea of "paperless" municipal council meetings was adopted. This consisted in devoting the time necessary to debates on development but without relying on the standard administrators'files for decision support. The urban project then results from a coordinated effort by the directors representing the various technical departments.

A comprehensive programme for the development of personnel, EMO (Engagement for Malmö) was implemented to make the 20,000 employees of the Malmö municipality ambassadors for the visions of the future; training for qualified leadership was also planned for.

The authorities placed the emphasis on cross-cutting projects involving all administrations. Project managers and their staff were given in-depth training. Malmö focused on working in partnership with the European Union and became a member of the Eurocities association and the Union of Baltic Cities. The exchange of ideas with other European cities was a source of inspiration for its own development strategies while the method was influenced by the experiences of southern European cities, such as Barcelona, Bilbao, Turin and Lyon.

Innovative urban planning methods

With the closure of the shipyards and the purchase of land in the Western Harbour by the municipality, the city planning office launched a new general plan for the area, aimed at mixed urban design and a satisfactory overall plan.

On the occasion of the Bo01 International Housing Exhibition and in the years which followed, complementary and partially experimental methods were tried out on the Western Harbour. Four of these methods are commented on - Q-books for Universitetsholmen, a qualitative programme for Bo01, the Byggabo dialogue and the LOTS project for the Western Harbour.

Q-books ("quality handbooks")

The new higher education facility at Universitetsholmen has expanded at an accelerated pace (+ 2,000 students/pa) with the risk of *ad hoc* decisions being taken without consideration for the overall plan. To counter this risk and ensure optimum urban quality for the block, the city planning office and the municipal highway department defined a qualitative programme inspired by the Netherlands called Q-books, with Q standing for



The MINC (Malmö Incubator) innovation centre is focused on developing knowledgeintensive business ideas with high growth potential. Malmö's revitalisation is founded on creativity and innovation. © 6. Rosberg



The regulatory plan for Västra Hamnen designates a variety of functions: seafront housing, urban mixity in the centre, activities and university to the south. © 6. Rosberg

Quality. The idea was to create strategies for long-term extension where all changes had to be defined in agreement with the partners, in such a way that a quality overall environment could be achieved as the end goal.

Q-book 1 deals with the overall urban planning strategy. Q-book 2+3 cover the land and construction (for instance: squares, parks and gardens, streets, quays, etc.). Q-book 4 covers works of art in public places. For the municipality, it is a way of providing information about its development plans. In fact, Q-books represent a type of safety net for designers and investors, since the directives for the development are eventually decided by the Universitetsholmen.

LOTS project (urban project workshops pilot project) and urban planning forum

The LOTS project for the Western Harbour was more diverse and experimental in nature. After contributing to the work on urban renewal in the context of Eurocities, these ideas were tested in the Western Harbour. In short, the project endeavoured to ensure that "all of the goodwill is channelled in the same direction" i.e. in favour of positive support for the Western Harbour: involvement of all the partners concerned beyond the institutional stakeholders alone over the long term.

Organisation of projects was not founded on the traditional structure of design and engineering firms together with steering committees, but rather on a more informal structure in the form of workshops. The LOTS project can be summed up as an integrated urban project at operator level with no requirement for coordinated steering from the top.

In parallel with the LOTS project, the Urban Planning Forum for the Western Harbour was also launched, a neutral meeting place aimed at promoting positive development of the site. The project draws its inspiration from Berlin's *Stadtforum*, developed by Helga Fassbinder: a forum for land owners, constructors, promoters, economists, urban authorities, etc. It focuses on planning, the concept of expansion, programme activities and exhibition meetings

Qualitative programme for Bo01

The order of the day for the first phase of the Western Harbour's expansion (Bo01 implemented in 1999-2001) was sustainable urban development underpinned by an overall qualitative programme comprising directives on architectonic qualities, building materials, energy resources, ecological issues, logistics, and technical infrastructure, etc. The programme was established in agreement with the Malmö municipality and participating business players. A unique feature of this process was that it saw the light of day before the land was purchased.

The ByggaBo dialogue ("building-living" approach between the city and constructors)

The ByggaBo dialogue is also related to the implementation of sustainable urban development in the Western Harbour but, instead of a restrictive and detailed rule, the starting point is dialogue, what has been termed "positive conversations". For almost one year, a large number of building entrepreneurs have worked actively alongside the Malmö municipality in drawing up a plan and jointly defining quality standards. The process consists in getting a significant number of stakeholders involved from the very outset.

Identifying the tools of the future

The university has provided a means for making Malmö more competitive in the region, a process which goes under the title of "making Malmö an attractive and sustainable city with a long-term future in the region of Öresund". Economic growth and job creation were identified as priority options in the forward-looking strategy. The policy of creating new jobs through attractive housing and new educational possibilities achieved satisfactory results. So it is that more people now work on the site of the former dockyards than during Kockum's heyday and 22,000 students are enrolled at the university.

In order to improve the prospects for growth, MINC (Malmö Incubator) was created, a centre for development and growth targeting new companies focused on the knowledge economy. These companies have set up on the border between the new university and the business sector with the municipality of Malmö acting as a catalyst. Now that Universitetsholmen is well established, the development of a second university sector is under way: UMAS. A programme group is charged with developing the current potential of Malmö's medical sector. Collaboration is ensured between the MAS university hospital, the Medeon research centre, the Medicon Valley Academy, the faculty of medicine of the University of Lund, as well as other partners such as the municipality of Malmö. In the ecological field, the municipality of Malmö has achieved global status largely thanks to Bo01. Similarly, the centre for sustainable urban planning was created in liaison with the university and the region of Scania (Skåne).

The quality of the urban environment has been enhanced, particularly in the centre of Malmö, and the city has won national and international awards for architecture.

However, the social problems are causing increasing concern. The VFA approach ("well-being for all") is a political initiative aimed at encouraging all authorities to develop ideas and take measures aimed at fostering wellbeing and economic expansion. A large

Time as a factor in Malmö's transformation

proportion of immigrants live in Malmö (25% of the city's population is of foreign origin and there are now over 160 different nationalities). This aspect must be factored in to ensure that it also benefits from the positive developments in order for Malmö to remain an attractive city in the region. So as to establish an overview of the prospects and the development, a concept of urban governance is currently being defined. This will serve as an administrative and political framework for determination of an original urban policy which is more effectively organised. Both target development of activities specific to the municipality and a strengthened partnership with key external players.

Benchmarking for other cities?

The experience of cooperating with European cities reveals a common structural trend towards a knowledge society which embraces globalisation and regionalisation. It is also worth noting the extent to which the challenges are met in identical fashion even if the conditions for application tend to vary. In this context, we have taken the liberty of highlighting some of the



key points which might also apply to other cities.

Grasp cultural transformation and embrace the knowledge society

It is important to fully grasp the cultural transformations currently under way and embrace the knowledge society. It is essential for a city and its inhabitants to be familiar with its modern history and be in a position to interpret what is happening so as to plan for a range of future scenarios.

The competitive outlook

It is a question of redefining the city in a global and regional context and taking account of the competitive outlook. The various target groups choose urban functions and qualititative environments from a consumer viewpoint with a view to improving their lifestyles.

Common visions of the future

Creating common visions of the future with partners in order to achieve a three-pronged development (city-university-economic players) by interpreting what is happening and discussing possible future scenarios.

The city as a springboard for development

Consider the city with all of its partners as a springboard for development. The city hosts thousands of players who intervene actively in its development. The city's primary role is as a catalyst to free up existing positive forces and increase their effectiveness.

New cooperation processes

Introduce new cooperation processes to political and administrative entities. The administrative structure was defined during the industrial era and is not appropriate either to current tasks nor to new personnel who have replaced those of the 1940s.

A neutral platform for sharing and exchanging information

Creating a neutral platform (for instance, Byforum) for information, exchanges of viewpoints, cooperation and partnership on projects). The open discussion requires a "free zone" where no single major partner dominates. If debates take place at the city hall, it is often under conditions fixed by the municipality.

Communication and culture of change

Communication and culture of change to encourage a commitment to change and tolerance.

The processes of democratic development are dependent on a steady flow of information and the municipality must define the conditions for open communication. The project culture results from open consultations.



The Western Harbour neighbourhood is home to high-income households including many Danes. The key challenge for Malmö is to create an area open to all (Bo01 swimming area). © G. Rosberg


Glasgow Clyde Waterfront: public partnership, private developments

David Forsyth⁽¹⁾ Benchmark Media

The Clyde Waterfront Regeneration Plan (2004) is Scotland's single most significant urban opportunity, attempting to transform a derelict and deprived river area into a place for business growth, new learning and sustainable living. This strategy is the result of a public partnership approach on a metropolitan scale: the Scottish Executive, Glasgow City Council and two county councils who are committed to invest in infrastructure. As spectacular development is underway in all six strategic areas, the strategy faces some critics about the lack of functional and social mix, the poor landscaping or the weakness of overall urban design. But what would have happened if public authorities hadn't teamed up in a combined planning approach?

(1) Wrote this article on behalf of the Clyde Waterfront Regeneration Working Group in December 2005, revised March 2006.

Clyde and Scotland

The creation of the Clyde Waterfront Regeneration Plan presents an historic opportunity to transform the fortunes of a 13 km stretch of the Clyde and its metropolitan populations.

The Clyde is a river synonymous with shipbuilding, with engineering excellence, and with Scotland. The River Clyde was where countless thousands of Scots left their homeland to stamp their mark on all corners of the globe. The Clyde helped forge and shape Scotland.

However as the scale of Scotland's heavy engineering industries has reduced, so has the nation's reliance on the Clyde as an economic powerhouse. The river is surrounded by a concentration of areas of social and economic blight. Yet the Clyde remains one of Scotland's biggest assets, and with massive interest in developing waterfront locations the timing is now right to see the river reclaim its place at the heart of Scotland's economic and social growth.

The Creation of the Partnership Vision

The Clyde Waterfront Regeneration Working Group was established in 2001 to look at an integrated approach to the regeneration of the Clyde from Glasgow Green to the Erskine Bridge. Much of the impetus to create this partnership came from Wendy Alexander, then Scotland's Enterprise and Lifelong Learning Minister. Scotland's lead economic development agency, Scottish Enterprise, was involved along with Communities Scotland and the councils of the City of Glasgow, Renfrewshire and West Dunbartonshire, and the Glasgow & Clyde Valley Joint Structure Plan Committee. In June 2002, Ministers tasked the Group

The Clyde Waterfront project in Glasgow





Future housing programmes on the banks of the Clyde in Tradeston (to be completed in 2008). The lack of social housing is a handicap to integration of the project into its socially underprivileged environment.



The five new bridges across the Clyde symbolise the linking up of the south bank with the metropolitan dynamics. Here, the building of Finnieston Bridge.

with developing a vision, and a plan, for the regeneration, and from this emerged the creation of Clyde Waterfront Strategic Partnership Board and an executive team.

All of the partners shared the desire for a transformed Clyde, with new investment bringing jobs, people and leisure. Much work was already underway, but the formation of the Group signalled a movement towards a more unified approach.

The Group developed a Vision - of the Clyde Waterfront as a river reborn. "A 21st century Clyde which draws on all the qualities of its proud past - ingenuity, skills, spirit and enterprise - to reinvent itself as a new, vibrant location." To transform the Clyde into a world class waterfront which attracts businesses and commerce - but with people and communities at its heart. That would mean a mix of uses for the development land, the creation of sustainable links to ensure that development benefits are shared, and an emphasis on high quality design.

Flagship economic & urban regeneration

Clyde Waterfront Project [central area] (2001-2025)

Steering: Scottish Executive, Glasgow City & Counties

Site area: 660 hectares - Aims: 33,000 jobs & 15,000 housing units

The Partnership also recognises that physical change alone will not create the desired transformation. To fully achieve its aims, the Partnership recognises that the people have a vital role to play in making their mark on the regeneration.

A working group entitled "Animating the Clyde Waterfront" has been charged with ensuring that people choose to live, work and play within the development areas through creative use of the built form, green spaces, the water, public realm works and public art works as well as through the balance of development.

While an integrated approach to the regeneration of the 16 km strip of river has been taken, and the merits of the approach strongly promoted through the Clyde Waterfront Strategic Partnership Board and executive team, each individual partner remains responsible for their own investment and development decisions - an approach that allows local flexibility. Public investment will run into hundreds of millions in total over the next 15 years.

So what does the Vision actually look like? How would it translate? The Group's view of the year 2020 is of a series of riverside communities fusing existing communities with new areas of development on the waterfront. New bridges across the river will link these communities. New businesses will prosper in world-class locations, people will flock to live in attractive developments by the river, and they will be able to enjoy shopping and other leisure pursuits of the highest quality.

Strategy Drivers

In considering their strategy, the group considered that a key driver was the need to use the development to reduce inequality and address social exclusion. There are nine Social Inclusion Partnership locations inside, or close to, the Clyde Waterfront. Poverty and



Clyde Waterfront area

Delivering the projects: approaches, methods, and tools

low income households exist along the length of the proposed developments. Therefore the group looked at a number of key objectives:

- to connect disadvantaged communities to new economic opportunities;
- to create attractive neighbourhoods in which to live and work, and to create business locations with global appeal;
- to deliver new jobs and training opportunities for local people;
- to attract and harness growing new business sectors, such as digital media and biotechnology as well as to provide a better environment for traditional industries, such as shipbuilding and engineering;
- to create an integrated transport and communications infrastructure.

The regeneration of the Clyde Waterfront corridor must also be seen in a regional and national context. In the Scottish Executive's "National Planning Framework for Scotland" Clyde Waterfront is identified as a national flagship initiative, offering "outstanding potential for economic and social renewal." The Framework spells out the need for a partnership approach to development, involving local authorities, national agencies and the private sector.

The development of Clyde Waterfront is also identified as a key regional driver of economic growth in the Glasgow and the Clyde Valley Structure Plan Alteration, May 2005. Again, the Structure Plan sets at its heart four key, inter-related aims – economic growth, social cohesion, environmental sustainability and integrated land use and transportation.

This strategic context has also been reinforced in February 2006 by the Scottish Executive's People and Place: regeneration policy statement.



Leisure activities and events are among the communication tools for the project. Here, the 2006 River Festival. © McAteer Photograph / Scottish Enterprise



Clyde Waterfront is a textbook example of urban regeneration based on the seduction capacity of images of architectures ("Guggenheim effect"). Here, the future River Museum. © Glusgow City Council



View of the Scottish Exhibition Centre (SECC) from Lancefield Quay. © McAteer Photograph/Scottish Enterprise

Priority Areas

To achieve their aims, the group has focused on six strategic priority areas spread along the length of the development corridor. These will be at Glasgow City Centre, Pacific Quay and the Scottish Exhibition and Conference Centre, Greater Govan and Glasgow Harbour, Renfrew Riverside and Scotstoun, Clydebank, and Erskine and Old Kilpatrick.

Glasgow City Centre: work to reunite the city centre with the waterfront

This can be the main driver for the city's waterfront renaissance, with an opportunity to raise profile nationally and internationally through creating a new "living bridge" linking the Broomielaw and Tradeston via an international design competition, developing Tradeston as a vibrant area of bars, cafes, restaurants and a neighbourhood for artists, encouraging leisure activity on the river and even boats for living in and floating hotels.

Pacific Quay and the SECC

An area of development expected to help attract and retain international businesses. Some significant progress has already been made with office accommodation as well as the creation of a national digital media campus. Development of an extremely high quality building to house the BBC as an anchor occupier is nearing completion, and there are plans for a new bridge to link north and south of the river.

Greater engagement with the surrounding areas can be achieved via improved public transport, including a Light Rapid Transit rail system and waterborne transport, existing landmark buildings such as the Glasgow Science Centre and the SECC Armadillo to be better integrated, and the development of a £58 million arena to build upon the international appeal of the SECC.

The 20-acre mixed residential neighbourhood of Elphinston Sustainable Village is part of the Queen's Dock 2 project and will be located to the west of the Scottish Exhibition and Conference Centre. It will comprise up to 1,600 homes, community facilities including a nursery school, a healthcare surgery, a restaurant and bar, a local supermarket and shops. The £350 million development will offer a variety of homes to suit a range of people from first time buyers to retired couples.

The housing mix will also include homes for key workers, affordable housing and two-level properties designed for people who work from home, as well as a serviced apartment hotel for long stay visitors. A new Finnieston Bridge opened in September.

Greater Govan and Glasgow harbour

The £1.2 billion Glasgow Harbour is a world class regeneration project and will drive the revitalisation of the river in this sector. The size and scale of the project means we are creating an entirely new district within the West End of Glasgow, with an integrated mix of high-quality commercial, residential, retail, leisure and public open space.

The facilities are and will be urban and contemporary, creating a vibrant environment – but with around 40% of the site given over to public space, it is – and will be – a green and pleasant setting. The 130-acre site was, until recently, mostly redundant dockland. Now, the regeneration of the waterfront will bring people back to the River Clyde, which was once both the emotional and economic heart of Glasgow. The overall project will take



The regeneration of the Clyde Valley is considered to be a driver not only for the regional economy, but also for the national economy (Glasgow-Edinburgh twin-centre). © City of Glasgow



Pacific Quay around the Science Centre and opposite the SECC. The project is concentrated on a thin riverfront strip and hardly concerns the residential areas behind the Waterfront. © City of Glosgow



The new office waterfront in Broomielaw. © City of Glasgow



Old crane and new pedestrian bridge on the Clyde. © (ity of Glosgow

about 10 years to complete. Govan, once a major town in its own right is undergoing major regeneration, restoring and revitalising this community.

Renfrew Riverside and Scotstoun: north and south reunited

A major investment of more than £350 million has already been made in Braehead by Capital Shopping Centres, and again key infrastructure work will improve public transport links, improved roads and other links, regenerate key sites and achieve environmental improvements. There are also significant residential developments, and a "Snow Dome" indoor real snow ski slope and leisure centre – the first of its kind in Scotland.

Clydebank: recapturing the "Clyde-built" spirit

A new organisation – Clydebank re-Built (with a Urban Regeneration Company status) – has been established to drive regeneration of the town. Key proposals include a new mixed use development at Queens Quay, linked to the town centre by high quality public realm works, and transport infrastructure improvements. This involves the clearing of the famous John Brown's shipyard for development and the renovation of the landmark Titan Crane.

Erskine and Old Kilpatrick: riverside towns

Both of these communities enjoy superb riverside locations with excellent views. In the long term, the potential exists to create a new riverside town centre for Erskine. It is proposed to create new links to the waterside on both banks of the river to stimulate residential and commercial demand.

Public Sector Role

Public sector intervention has been essential to ensure that the waterfront does not see a pattern of isolated and disconnected development, that contaminated or problem sites do not remain untackled, and that benefits are shared through improved transport and communications infrastructure.

In all of this, key infrastructure works and flood prevention works are essential in creating a secure investment environment and will be instrumental in leveraging additional private sector investment that is expected to run into the billions.

The partners believe the approach being taken will help deliver the very significant economic and social benefits that are sought. Locally, through reconnecting individual communities to the water and securing redevelopment of vacant and derelict sites, regionally by creating a new focus of economic activity between two economic drivers – the airport and Glasgow city centre, and nationally to fuel Glasgow's economic development impetus, balance Edinburgh's economic buoyancy, and create an even more dynamic central belt of Scot-



The Science Centre is a private project built for the Millennium (2000). It includes a planetarium and an Imax dome. © Guthie Photography Pointsize/Scottish Enterprise

land.

So what will be achieved when all is said and done?

- More than 33,000 jobs secured 23,000 of them new to Scotland;
- 7,700 construction jobs created or secured;
- 400,000 square metres of offices developed;
- 75,000 square metres of retail space developed;
- 15,000 homes built;
- 94,000 square metres of leisure development;

- 130,000 square metres of other use, including industry and education.

These are measurable figures, but there are other positive outcomes which are less easily measured. These will include the increased competitiveness of the city and the nation, the greater retention of talented and skilled people, increased labour market accessibility, a reduction in unemployment and economic inactivity, the re-use of derelict land, greater social inclusion and the creation of a more vibrant tourism destination.



The six main sectors of Clyde Waterfront from Glasgow (to the east) to Erskine in Dunbartonshire (to the west). © Clyde Waterfront/Pavillion/Scottish Enterprise



Illumination of the bridges creates an event in the sites awaiting development. © City of Glasgow

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BBC Scotland's decision to locate its headquarters in Glasgow (big building behind the three-masted ship) has lent credibility to the Clyde Waterfront project. © McAteer Photograph / Scottish Enterprise



Rotterdam CityPorts, a new organisation, a new path to urban port restructuring

> Jaap van der Want⁽¹⁾ Rotterdam CityPorts

Rotterdam, the largest port in Europe, is about to embark upon a new restructuring programme for the city's port. It has had previous experience in redeveloping its innercity port area from the 1960's to the 1990's (Kop van Zuid is the flagship redevelopment project of inner harbour of Rotterdam), but this time is different. Not only has the social and economic context changed, it involves a port which is still active. So it means a flexible strategy based upon upgrading and enhancing what already exists. It also means a new organisation which unites the Port of Rotterdam, recently privatised, and the Rotterdam City Council.

(1) Project Manager, CityPorts Development Corporation (*Stadshavens Rotterdam nv*), wrote this article in December 2005, revised August 2006.







The project sector covers an area as large as Rotterdam City Centre. © Stadshavens Rotterdam



Working port – the port will remain open during the work. © Stadshavens Rotterdam

New remit – a different form of organisation

Notable differences between the new remit for CityPorts Rotterdam (or Stadshavens) and what was done in the 1970's and 1990's:

- the area is much larger than the previous sites (1500 hectares, including 500 ha of water, versus 125 hectares in Kop van Zuid);
- the area is not empty, but economically active;
- the area has got few sites which are vacant or easy targets for burglary;
- there is still innovation and investment within the area.

The construction of the 2nd Maasvlakte (or MV2, the 2nd harbour area of Rotterdam reclaiming 1,000 hectares of land from the North Sea), the perpetual economic momentum and the constant pressure in the city for more available space will bring new opportunities for both the city and the port. Many of the city's spatial requirements can be accommodated in the unique and interesting context of the docklands. The remaining port-related economy can be intensified and new forms of industry implemented. City-Ports Rotterdam can be the link between the city and the port: the best of both worlds.

Nevertheless, the area will undergo many changes in the years to come (including alterations to the logistics of transhipment and transportation, following the construction of MV2 and the relocations of deep sea operations). Rotterdam wants to be prepared for these changes, not only to prevent decline and deterioration, but also to make the most of the positive qualities and opportunities in the area: active management combined with anticipation of change. The city is already looking towards the future and presenting the possibilities for redevelopment. Plans for long-term transformation have to be made now in order to achieve the best results.

With this new remit comes a new type of organisation: Development Corporation CityPorts Rotterdam. Port of Rotterdam and Rotterdam City Council both participate in this unique organisation created in January 2004 – Port of Rotterdam became a private company, owned by the City Council, on the same date. CityPorts Rotterdam combines the expertise of both city and port functions as quartermaster and directs changes in the area using a pro-active planning process. The organisation is small, circumspect, flexible and focussed on development. It has direct lines, not only to the city council, but also to higher government bodies. It is actively collaborating with public companies and (future) investors.

Goals and ambitions: experimental urbanism

The CityPorts strategy is based on different goals:

- to create 10,000 jobs in the next 25

years. Market investigations and economic analyses indicate that the current job level of 20,000 can be increased by 50%;

- to build 15,000 residences, especially on the riverfront. There are three suitable locations, each area has its own typology, varying from city precinct to garden village to metropolitan environment;
- to provide one or more big public attractions, especially on the RDM site, with its large warehouses and wide open spaces on the water. Also an ideal setting for a big event, such



Port area progressive reconversion

Site area: 1,500 hectares

Aims: 15,000 housing units & 10,000 jobs

Steering: Rotterdam municipality & Port of Rotterdam - Delivery: CityPorts





Conversion of the building of Dry Dock No. 17 into a multi-purpose area: innovativebusiness incubator and training, conference, and exhibition centre. © Studshavens Rotterdam

as an expo or a biennial;

- to improve the main transport infrastructure of Rotterdam by providing a new river crossing. More crossing points are needed to relieve the motorway;
- to develop new production environments. The combination of a new

river crossing with the development of the riverfront will add a new dimension of economic growth to Rotterdam;

 to tackle water problems. This is a wide-ranging subject, ranging from the maintenance of safe water levels, flood plains and drainage, to the enjoyment of water as a worthwhile urban and landscape experience;

- to deal with the city and its environment in an innovative way. There is room for experimentation with the formulation of rules and laws;
- to set up a testing ground for public and private collaboration. There are good opportunities for working with both existing businesses and new speculators on project and site development.

In contrast to the earlier restructuring in Rotterdam, there is now no question that urban activities will supersede port activities. Instead, over a period of many years, a symbiosis will take place between port and nautical activities and 'dry'economic functions (new economic and urban activities such as housing, facilities and big events). The Port will remain where it is and the city will come to join it gradually. It can be compared to other European riverside developments on the Clyde in Glasgow, at the Thames Gateway in London and on the IJ in Amsterdam.

CityPorts Rotterdam wants to provide



The Port of Rotterdam, Vision 2020

innovative conditions for living and working, art and culture. This is the perfect opportunity for experimental urbanism: a challenge for pioneers and trend setters.

Plans for the first ten years and beyond

Over the next ten years, before the MV2 is completed, the main concerns in the city port district will be management, quality improvement and freeing up of space for new economic activities. The main investment will be in economic regeneration, infrastructure (better links to the city) and optimisation of the networks. Water transport (water taxi, water bus, fast ferry) will be improved. Some smallscale urban activities will be introduced. Developers will take over existing unmarketable property, such as warehouses and depots, attracting artists, catering establishments, educational institutions and residential developments. There will be experimentation with floating houses, workplaces and facilities.

Around 2015, when the MV2 is complete, many businesses, including the deep sea container sector, will move west. This will have two effects: a great deal of space for redevelopment will become available (about 30 or 40 hectares per terminal) and the greatest environmental problems (noise, quantitative risk, poor air quality) will be substantially reduced. This will pave the way for the introduction of largerscale urban activities.

By this time, the city and the region will need more building space. When the critical mass of residents and jobs is reached, the scale of the whole development will increase dramatically, with the introduction of a new river crossing (bridge), new rail links throughout the area and larger facilities and attractions. Although the nautical character of the area will still be prominent, urban development will rapidly expand.

Finally – achievements and ambitions

The opportunities and potential of CityPorts Rotterdam have been realised and endorsed at every level of government. It is obvious to everyone that this is a very significant area, which could be of great future importance to Rotterdam, the surrounding region and even the rest of the Netherlands. The CityPorts Rotterdam are also being hyped within the education sector: to graduates, as design projects, as themes at summer school.

A development strategy has been prepared this year and a number of business plans have been initiated to form a basis for the (partial) area development over the next ten years. CityPorts Rotterdam is expending a great deal of energy in laying the foundations for the project, approaching government bodies and national organisations as well as public companies. It is, and will continue to be, a complicated task, with big ambitions for the city and the port. It will only come to fruition through co-operation.

The master plan phase for key areas is due to begin shortly, in collaboration with the government, Port of Rotterdam and public companies. A number of real estate projects are already under way.

Stadshavens (CityPorts) follows a more incremental approach than the Kop van Zuid project (1990-2010). Offices and housing on the Wilhelminapier.



The Maritime District (housing/businesses).



The CityPorts area seen from the other side of the Niewe Maas.

Amsterdam Noord: building a project on the foundations of cultural initiatives

For the past thirty years or so, the Port of Amsterdam has slowly shifted westwards, taking it closer to the sea and further from the city. Vast swathes of land acquired for public purposes are now available or will shortly be so. In the period of inaction between the area's past activity and the launch of a new project, a number of alternative land uses have managed to take root. The showcase for the urban and architectural renewal of Amsterdam in the 2000s, the new Eastern Docklands (Java, Borneo, KNSM eilands), swept away a social and cultural centre which had sprung up in the intervening period.



Project for a district with 2,000 dwellings, offices, and a Technology Centre on the site of the former Shell refinery.

As the port's process of transformation continues, greater allowance is now being made for existing contexts. At the launch of the *Noordelijke U-oever* project for the north bank of the J in 1999, the municipality of Amsterdam seized an opportunity to pick up the standard dropped a decade earlier by launching a design competition concerning the NDSM shipyards which had been closed since 1987. A collective of artists and arts entrepreneurs, the Stiching Kinetish Noord, won the call for bids. Although the municipality is still owner of the land and has subsidised the project to the tune of 3 million euros annually, the structure is bottom-up in nature, functioning on



The old sheds have become a major cultural venue, pending the arrival of the future residents (Amsterdam Noord 2006 Festival).

the basis of assemblies and working groups. The urban development project provides for the 25-year transformation of the entire north bank of the JJ, however, the NDSM land is the only sector currently being redeveloped. The site is being totally transformed. Temporary student accommodation in containers, skate park, beach, open air bars and restaurants, museum submarine, and housing for 200 artists established in and around the massive 20,000-square-metre hangar and linked to central Amsterdam by ferry.

The project is helping to restore this district's lifeblood. The aim is to design new functions which can be laid on top of this existing base. Reuse of existing features in itself paints the act of transformation in a positive light. This urban development project whose timeframes vary (the project starts in the east with construction of housing on the former Shell oil depots) is thus generating fruitful indeterminacies and oxygen within its very core.

> Pierre-Alexandre Marchevet Urban planner



The Noordelijk IJ-Oever Project (North Bank of the IJ) Noordelijk IJ-Oever Programme

Area: 238 ha - Housing: 1,000,000 sq.m (9,000 dwellings) Businesses: 1,500,000 sq.m (25,000 jobs expected) Total: 3,000,000 sq.m

* including NDSM-Stad Programme: Area: 67 ha

Housing: 5,250 dwellings planned (70%) - Businesses: 20%



The North Milan model: economic regeneration without an urban development project?

<u>Floridea Di Ciommo⁽¹⁾</u> CSTB (scientific and technical centre for the building industry)

F aced with the deindustrialisation process of the 1990s, four North Milan municipalities established a mixed public-private development agency and came up with an original economic and urban model. This model is founded on microprojects to convert brownfields into knowledge economy sites rather than using them to host major architectural projects. Viewed as a laboratory for strategic planning, North Milan currently suffers from competition internal to the city region. The fascinating tale of this rather successful urban and technological transformation is told below.

⁽¹⁾ The article, written in January 2007, presents part of the findings of research conducted at the CSTB (university of Évry) in the context of the research programme of the PIDUD-CNRS "Ecological inequalities and metropolisation: which sustainable urban development policies are required?".

Background: deindustrialisation of North Milan

As of the 1990s, the Milan region underwent radical socio-economical change symbolised by the closure of industrial sites on the city outskirts and their conversion to service sector activities related to the knowledge economy.

At the city region level, employment rates dived in the two main industrial activities of manufacturing and construction. In 1998, for the first time, the proportion of jobs in manufacturing fell below the 30% mark (Di Ciommo, 2002).

The breakdown in territorial solidarity and the failure of metropolitan government

In the mid 1990s, faced with the closure of steelmaking plants, the municipality of Milan and outlying municipalities (mainly in the north), adopted differing strategies.

Milan focused on modernising financial services whereas the North Milan municipalities, which were harder hit by the trend towards deindustrialisation, continued to explore new economic avenues.

The North Milan suburbs slid into economic crisis in the early 1990s with the closure of the Falk steelworks and the Marelli and Breda factories. In 1993, the rate of temporary lay-offs – concerning employees of companies which had closed but which had yet to be made redundant – reached 25% in the North Milan municipalities of Sesto San Giovanni, Cologno Monzese, Cinisello Balsamo and Bresso, whereas the average rate for the entire province of Milan was no higher than 6% (Milan CCI, 1993).

In 1996, the area's unemployment rate

The Milano Nord project in Milan



was 12%, well above the regional average of 8%. The separate destinies of the city centre and its outskirts also led to a breakdown in solidarity between these two territories. In political terms, this was reflected in the abandonment of plans to create a metropolitan government, la città metropolitana. Stipulated in the first national devolution laws of the 1990s, these projects were strongly supported by stakeholders in major cities, particularly the economic and university ones.

Birth of a model: the experience of the North Milan development agency (ASNM)

Against this backdrop of severe industrial crisis, the municipality of Sesto San Giovanni firstly created the publicly run science park for environmental technologies in 1993. Then, drawing on this experience, in 1996 the North Milan Development Agency (Agenzia Sviluppo Nord Milano) was set up. This is a public-private body bringing together the municipalities

Key figures for North Milan

	Companies	Jobs	Population	Surface area (ha)	Jobs /ha	Companies/ ha
North Milan	12,905	61,785	237,239	3,649	16.9	3.5
Province of Milan	301,474	1,409,193	3,728,223	198,200	7.1	1.5

of Sesto San Giovanni (83,000 inhab.), Cinisello Balsamo (75,000 inhab.), Cologno Monzese (50,000 inhab.) and Bresso (28,000 inhab.), as well as the Province of Milan, the region of Lombardy, the chamber of commerce and a number of local companies in the process of closing down (Falck and Marelli) or expanding (ABB, Marcegaglia, the local cooperative lending bank). According to the Falck company representative, Fabio Frizzi, ASNM is a technical body whose role was to reconcile the respective interests of the municipality of Sesto San Giovanni, the largest in North Milan, and Falck, the largest of the companies which was closing. The municipality implemented a successful site conversion and job creation policy; in addition, Falck was able to sell its brownfield space to the municipality of Sesto San Giovanni and other private business people via the ASNM.

In 1997, a programme agreement was signed between the province of Milan, the Lombardy region and the municipality of Sesto San Giovanni. It entrusted the ASNM with the management of brownfield space so as to avoid a surge in prices on the outskirts of Milan. Reassignment of labour and the renovation of brownfield space became the central concern for Falck and local political/institutional players.

The activities of the ASNM: linkage of projects and the strategic plan

Since its creation, the ASNM has broadened its remit and scope of intervention: from industrial conversion to urban project then strategic planning. In terms of the scale: it has passed from the infra-metropolitan scale of North Milan to that of the entire province of Milan.

Microprojects: between the knowledge economy and urban renewal

Through implementation of projects, the ASNM links up the economic development actions with those of urban regeneration. Its initial actions targeted the field of new technologies so as to define a new territorial economic orientation: from the "industrial city" to the "city of communication". The main knowledge economy projects include:

- creation of SME and SMI business incubators in the multimedia and biotechnology sectors;
- organisation of a teleworking centre;
- construction of specific facilities (museum of industrial heritage and museum of photography);

- creation of a new faculty of communication sciences at the University of Milan.

Initiatives also focused on the development of brownfield space. For instance:

- operations to enhance and reassign part of the Falck brownfield space to SMEs pre-selected following a competition organised by the ASNM;
- definition and management of the neighbourhood agreement in the municipality of Cinisello Balsamo in order to create a small business incubator on the premises of a refurbished public housing building;
- the creation and strengthening of transport infrastructures, particularly the extension of line 1 of the Milan metro towards the municipality of Cinisello Balsamo.



Zones of change and green spaces in North Milan

Green space (existing or planned in the municipal land-use plans) Green space (outside North Milan limits) Industrial areas in a regeneration process

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All of these projects involved public and private players (cooperative employers'organisations, SMIs, municipalities, province) and various institutional levels (municipal, provincial, regional). Despite their complexity, most projects have already been completed. For instance, the multimedia business incubator was opened in early 2000 while the productive spaces of Cologno intended for SMEs in North Milan have also been developed.

The capacity to implement these urban regeneration projects, in a challenging territorial context segmented by industrial wasteland, helped to raise the credibility of the political players in the eyes of the business world. They demonstrated their capacity to define a more consistent urban regeneration policy at the intermunicipal level of the ASNM, which was given concrete form in the strategic plan for North Milan.

This endeavours to draw together the various local projects (26 in all) within an over-arching strategy. This policy of local "sustainable" development arose from the involvement of public institutions and local private economic players (companies leaving the region such as Falck and Marelli, those setting up there, Wind and ABB and the association of North Milan entrepreneurs, AINM).

The strategic plan

Drafting of the strategic plan and its approval by the business stakeholders and local authorities demonstrates the more advanced role being played by ASNM in the territory. It was jointly drafted by the centre of documentation and research of Lombardy (CDRL), the *Politecnico de Milan* and the PIM research centre. The developer for the strategic plan is the chairman of the ASNM, Fabio Terragni⁽²⁾. The Plan comprises five parts corresponding to the content of the projects

The Milan Fair reorganization project



Train station

Metro station



Main road

The new site of the Milan Exhibition (2006). An exhibition park of 530,000 sq. m served by the future high-speed train. © Fondazione Fiera



The project to convert the urban site (completion 2014). Major architects for a private urban project on a 25-ha site. © Fondazione Fiera

referred to, drafted and implemented independently in the North Milan area. These parts concern:

- infrastructures and transport;
- coordination of targeted actions on innovation and economic development of the territory;
- definition of the strategic hubs of

North Milan (areas intended to play an enabling role for the metropolitan system);

- the environment and the policies of urban regeneration;
- policies, employment and training.

(2) Member of the local communist party.

This plan includes environmental actions, urban development and local economic development. However, its effectiveness is sometimes brought into question by heterogeneous municipal urban planning which has not always achieved a consensus among the North Milan municipalities. In fact, the recent regional law on territorial planning no longer requires municipalities to produce statutory local development frameworks. It leaves the municipalities free to decide on the planning tools which they wish to have available. It authorises them to manage land use and land management in accordance with the requirements at the time.

In this context, the municipality of Cinisello Balsamo was, for instance, able to implement an integrated initiative programme (PII), a sort of urban project providing for the creation of a shopping centre on the edge of the municipality of Sesto San Giovanni. Once the centre is open, this municipality will be responsible for managing problems relating to increased traffic flows and congestion on its territory. Finally, intermunicipal strategic planning is not particularly binding and clearly insufficient to ensure the consistency of the economic, social and environmental challenges at intermunicipal level, not to mention on the scale of the city region.

Milano Metropoli: from the suburbs to the city region

The ASNM extended its scope of expertise in 2005 by becoming a metropolitan development agency operating under the name of Milano Metropoli. This territorial enlargement was a result of political changes: in 2005, Filippo Penati, the former mayor of the municipality of Sesto San Giovanni became chairman of the metropolitan province of Milan and certain North Milan municipalities became deputies of the province. This change raised a number of issues. Firstly, the North Milan model for the conduct of urban projects was subject to significant tensions: the other municipalities in the province-metropolis feared the overbearing presence of North Milan municipalities in the management of Milano Metropoli. Secondly, North Milan suffered metropolitan competition from other territories which are also strategic from the accessibility viewpoint. For instance, Sky Television which was due to set up on one of the former industrial sites of the Sesto San Giovanni municipality decided, at the last minute, to move into another zone to the south of Milan, Santa Giulia, upgraded thanks to funding from Milano Metropoli.



The multimedia hub is one of the clusters developed by ANSM.

Metropolitan municipalities and large-scale projects

Still in a context of competition between city regions, the large-scale urban development project entailing construction of the new Milan Exhibition hub was implemented in the municipalities to the west of the city centre, in Rho and Pero. These municipalities were primarily chosen because they did not apply the same level of stringency as those of the North Milan municipalities. They could therefore more easily accept a "turnkey" leadership model for the Exhibition with a private general contractor responsible for all construction operations and with no effort made to establish links with local firms. The North Milan model in the implementation of urban projects has always stressed the strong involvement of organisations (employer organisations, associations of territorial entrepreneurs, municipalities) and local SMIs emerging from the process of industrial conversion. This is the view of the deputy for urban development of the municipality of Milan, Giovanni Verga, who criticises the North Milan urban development model for a certain rigidity with elected representatives not especially keen on compromising to attract large-scale inward investments. The leader of the association of North Milan entrepreneurs does not share his opinion. He claims the general contractor model has only generated minimal positive economic benefits for the area.

In conclusion, North Milan has helped to build tools enabling urban regeneration and consistent urban development projects. Now that it is an area like any other, it is subject to strong infra-metropolitan competition which is free of all strategic guidance and planning, being regulated by market forces.

"Renzo Piano's design for the Falk former industrial site"





The project of Renzo Piano-Risanamento Spa: a utopian urban design of tower blocks superimposed on the former urban grid. © P. lecroant/louif

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North Milan has contributed to improvements in the strategic planning methods by placing its "knowhow" at the disposal of the metropolitan province of Milan. The institutional organisation of North Milan has served as a laboratory for the urban development of the entire city region.

But with the refocusing of its expertise, the agency has begun to initiate site developments rather than leading the strategy of the entire city region. The territorial expansion of the agency weakened the strategic position of the North Milan territory. It is in the process of losing its competitive advantages acquired in relation to the other metropolitan sub-regions which have made less progress in defining original urban development models. Against this backdrop of uncertainty surrounding the future of North Milan, the urban project proposal formulated by a private developer in partnership with Renzo Piano (on behalf of the owner of the Falck brownfield area) is embracing another development model: that of a major mixed urban neighbourhood.



Planning and delivery structures in Europe: a comparative approach

Thierry Vilmin⁽¹⁾ Logiville

The French terms *aménagement* (which refers to the planning, delivery and overall management of an urban development or regeneration project etc.) and *aménageur* (which refers to the public structure in charge of those tasks) are difficult to translate into other European languages because the practices are not identical. The approach proposed seeks to offer a frame of reference within which to place the projects presented in this issue of *Les Cahiers* and the planning and development structures that are the vehicles for delivering the projects. This brief overview does not claim to provide systematic comparison of development planning and delivery in Europe, but it does suggest that leadership of urban development projects is to undergo significant changes in Île-de-France.

(1) Development economist. Article written in March 2006, with assistance from Paul Lecroart.

Delivering the projects: approaches, methods, and tools

The trend towards greater comparativeness

This applies in particular to the results of comparative surveys that the "Impact of Community Law on the Activity of Planning & Delivery Structures" Working Group of the *Club Ville Aménagement*⁽²⁾ had conducted in 2002 in five European countries: Germany, United Kingdom, Spain, Italy, and France⁽³⁾.

Firstly, it should be noted that no other country has anything like the network of semi-public corporations that France does. In the other countries, traditionally, the situation tends to be more as follows:

- upstream, large-scale development planning & delivery supported directly by the local authorities and producing the main infrastructures and preparing large footprints of land; and
- downstream, having services laid on to plots or parcels and having them subdivided by private promoters or developers (chosen through call for tenders) in a process that is not really distinct from the construction work itself.

In this direct interfacing between local authorities and private operators, the delivery structure à la française is somewhat left out. However, the generalisation of urban regeneration issues and the competitive bidding rules imposed by the European Union are today tending to make national mod-

(2) The *Club Ville Aménagement* is a club bringing together major urban planning and development operators (public corporations, semipublic corporations, private promoters and developers) and the French Ministry for Planning and Infrastructure.

(3) Each survey addresses the national context of urban development planning & delivery, the structures and methods observed through one or more case studies that are "representative" of the practices of the country. cf. Comparative analysis of planning & delivery structures in Europe: Germany, United Kingdom, Spain, Italy, and France. Logiville: Thierry Vilmin and Vincent Renard, *Club Ville Aménagement*, 2002.

	ENGLAND		GERMANY		SPAIN		LΥ	FRANCE	
	Urban Development Corporation	Urban Regeneration Company	KE (Baden- Württemberg)	Stadtbau (Offenburg)	EMU (Lleida, Catalan model)	Finpeimonte (Piedmont)	STU	EPA (Public development corp.)	SEM (Semi- public corp.)
Initiative	State	State, local authority	Land	Municipality	Municipality	Municipality and Region	Local authorities, State incentives	State	Départements, municipalities EPCIs (inter- municipal)
Capital		Symbolic	(9,900,000)	(312,000)	(10,000,000)	(33,500,000)	Yes	None	Yes
Shareholders	Public (State), and private	Local authority, regional agency, English Partnership, and private	Land, (associations of cities, Kreis, Caisse d'Epargne)	City, (Wohnbau 49%, itself owned by the City)	Municipality	Finpiemonte, province, professional associations	Public, and private		Public, and private
Objectives	Urban regeneration	Urban regeneration	Development, construction, management, & funding	Development of centre and of outskirts	Development of centre and of outskirts	Development of business parks on the outskirts	Urban regeneration only	New Towns, and major operations	Development of centre and of outskirts
Term	Limited	Limited	Unlimited	Unlimited	Unlimited	5 to 30 years	Limited	Unlimited	Unlimited
Area of action	Regeneration area	District to be regenerated	Baden-W. and also other Länder	Municipality	Municipality	The business park project	Regeneration area	Statutorily limited	Statutorily limited
Public authority prerogatives	"Planning" compulsory purchase	No	No	No	No	No	Delegation: compulsory purchase	Compulsory purchase, and pre-emption	Delegation: pre-emption comp. purch.
Long-term land ownership	No	No	No	No	Yes	No	No	Yes	No
Project Leadership (PL)	Direct PL	Delegated PL and assistance with PL	Delegated PL for the municipalities	Direct PL for municipality, delegated PL for owners	Direct PL (cooperation) and delegated PL (sharing)	Direct PL	Direct PL	Direct PL	Direct PL
Competitive bidding	No	No	Yes	Yes under delegated PL	No (owner)	No	No	No	Possible

The characteristics of planning & delivery structures in five European countries

The examples given in brackets are specific to the cases studied.

els converge, to the extent that it is becoming possible to attempt to define a European typology.

The five main types of planning & delivery structures

Through the case studies in France and in the other European countries, five main types of planning & delivery structure appear that can be classified in decreasing order of local authority involvement.

Direct local authority organisation

Direct local authority organisation of planning & delivery exists throughout Europe. It does not involve setting up any specific structure having a legal personality, but it does, in general, involve establishing a specific budget in the local authority accounts in order to monitor the balance between spending and revenue.

It is possible to make a distinction between planning & delivery with or without control over the land lying within the boundary of the development, except for control over the land footprints for public infrastructures and facilities. In the case of planning & delivery without control over the land, the local authority plans and delivers, and recovers the cost of the infrastructures and facilities from the owners or from the builders. This corresponds to the French *programme d'aménagement d'ensemble* (overall planning programme).

It is also possible to identify the case of pre-delivery (or proto-delivery) by the local authority. Such pre-delivery is limited to acquiring and grouping together parcels or plots, to preparing the soil and bringing it up to standard (demolition, depollution, eviction, etc.), to external infrastructures, and to



The Park of Nations in Lisbon. Planning & delivery structure: Parque Expo SA, a private-sector company with public capital in charge of the project from A to Z, from planning to managing certain facilities and infrastructures.

defining what can be built on the land. The "final" stage of planning & delivery (laying on services to the lots and selling the building rights) is delegated to private operators. Such pre-delivery is practised in Manchester with project leadership being delegated to the Urban Regeneration Company (URC), and, more generally, throughout Great Britain in urban regeneration sectors.

Dutch and Scandinavian cities, which

generally make sure they control the land of the development sites, use the system of direct local authority organisation, including for very large scale projects: this applies to Amsterdam, for example, which has set up ad hoc structures within its planning & delivery department for drawing up and co-ordinating the Zuidas project (Projectbureau Zuidas) and the Ijburg project (Projectbureau Ijburg); this also applies to the large-scale project of

The Spina Centrale in Turin (Italy): an urban development project delivered without a public developer

The Spina Centrale (backbone) project of Turin (population of 900,000, in a conurbation whose population is 1.6 million) was born out of the functional necessity to re-organise the railway that cross the City of Turin from north to south. That reorganisation should enable urban, regional, national, and international rail services (including the future Lyon-Turin-Milan high speed (TGV) link) to run simultaneously along the same axis and make it possible to redevelop the large disused industrial areas along the railway tracks under a vast project (145 hectares, and about 1 million square metres to be built by 2010-2015).

The land of the four sectors of the Spina Centrale was in the hands of a few industrial owners like Fiat or Michelin. Those big land owners involved themselves in the development surveys and began negotiations with the municipality on the contents of the programmes and on the urban design concepts. Their aim was to find out what the future state, after delivery, would be (in particular, the floor area for construction) because that would pre-condition the possible sale price of the land. The planning & delivery was performed by promoters who subdivided and laid on services to the land for their own construction operations. For its part, the City did not deem it necessary to put in place public structures or semi-public structures for the purpose of managing this planning & delivery. It also left the owners and the operators free to negotiate the price of the land.

In particular, the municipality did not use *Società di trasformazione urbana* (STUs), which are semi-public companies instituted by a law passed in 2000. Those companies are intended to act in urban restructuring sectors that have large areas of publicly owned land or in which private developers do not act ("off-market" sectors). STUs, funded in part by the central government, are initiated by the local authorities. In principle, an STU is set up for a single development operation only, on an area that is declared to be of public utility. The STU then has to acquire or to compulsorily purchase (in the name of and on behalf of the municipality) the area as a whole (future public footprints and also land on which private operations are to be built).

In Turin, the discussions between the City and the owners led to the signing of agreements (comparable to the French ZAC agreements) stipulating, in particular, the urban design concepts, construction programmes, infrastructures and facilities, delivery lead times and sales of land to the municipality for the public footprints.

But the owners were not asked to contribute to covering over the railway tracks over an area of 200 hectares (funded in particular by the Italian rail company and by European funds), or for the creation of the Spina Centrale Boulevard which has changed the environment of the sites and has considerably improved their accessibility. The removal of the fracture formed by the railway tracks, and the promise of future rail links and services is greatly contributing to adding value to the brownfield sites and hence to the financial balance of the urban regeneration operations being conducted by private investors. Without such prior public investment, no operation would have been able to emerge, due to lack of sufficient demand.



Covering over the railway tracks has made it possible to imagine developing brownfield sites on both sides of the axis. Here, the work on Spina 3, in September 2006.

Vastra Hamnen (Western Harbour) in Malmö.

Public development corporations

This type of planning & delivery structure is mostly encountered in France, in the form of industrial and commercial oriented public agencies (*Établissements publics à caractère industriel et commercial* (EPICs)) which "belong" either to central government administrations (e.g. when they are EPAs (public development corporations)) or to local authorities (e.g. when they OPACs (public development and construction offices)). EPAs can plan & deliver both on their own behalves and on the behalves of local authorities.

Companies governed by private-sector law with public capital

Commercial companies governed by private-sector law but with the public sector holding controlling interests in them seem to be used universally for planning & delivery. In some countries, such as France, Italy, or the United Kingdom (Urban Development Corporations (UDCs), these companies enjoy a special status conferred upon them by law and enabling them to exercise delegated publicauthority prerogatives such as compulsory purchase.

Shareholders in the development company Bilbao Ria 2000 SA (Bilbao-Spain project)





In some cases, companies having private capital are put in place by the owners of large areas of industrial land, who want to sell them at the price of the future use, as in the Spina Centrale project in Turin (Spina 3). P. Lecoort/Iouif

Generally speaking these companies have sought to have a mix of public and private shareholders, even though the public shareholders hold controlling interests in them. But changes in the jurisprudence and in European legislation, as well as reticence from the private sector, is now steering these companies towards full public ownership, optionally bringing together the various levels of local government or of central government.

Spain offers an illustration of the various possible cases: the companies set up by the City of Barcelona for the Forum-Besòs project, Infrastructures del Llevant SA, and for the 22@ project, 22@Barcelona SA, are entirely municipally owned. Conversely, Bilbao Ria 2000 SA, in Bilbao, is a partnership between the City, the national government, the Basque government, the province of Biscay, the port, and the national and regional rail companies, without any shareholder having an absolute majority.

These companies governed by privatesector law but having public capital work either as direct project leaders in land acquisition and planning & delivery work, or as assistant project leaders for the local authorities, or indeed for associations of owners. They can also manage facilities and infrastructures directly or via subsidiaries (conference centres, aquariums, car parks, etc.) as in Genoa (Porto Antico) or in Lisbon (Park of Nations). The amount of the capital depends on the type of action performed by the company: very small for action limited to assisting project leaders (as in URCs in the UK); and larger when they act directly as project leaders (although local authority guarantees can replace some of the capital).

Associations of owners

When it is necessary to put plots or parcels back together again, associations of owners, or of landowners, are particularly well developed in Germany and in Spain because, unlike French municipalities (communes), the local authorities in those countries are involved directly in promoting those processes and in giving technical assistance to them.

Companies with private capital

In all of the countries, companies having privately owned capital work in planning & delivery. But usually, the purpose of such firms is not merely to prepare and lay on services to land and to sell building rights to others. They are, in general, themselves builders or even investors, and preparing and laying on services to the land then appears as merely one stage of the construction, and is not individualised per se. It is merely incidentally that they sell building rights to other operators in order to limit the risk by diversifying the property supply on the same site. They see themselves more as promoters or developers than as planners or delivery structures. In some cases, these companies are put in place by the owners of large areas of industrial land who wish to sell them at the price of the future use (as in the Spina Centrale project in Turin).

In the UK, very large scale projects can be put entirely in the hands of private operators, often in the form of consortiums including investors, promoter-developers, and rail companies, as in the Stratford City project. In the Netherlands, for the first time, a 60% privately owned company (owned by the banks ABN Amro, Ing, etc.) and 40% owned by the public sector (central government, municipality, and the Dutch rail company that is undergoing privatisation), Zuidas Dock plc, is soon to be set up in order to finance the complex operation for the core of Zuidas.

An empirical criterion makes it possible to determine whether these privately owned companies really do planning & delivery work: the existence of a contract between the company and the local authority, justified by the general interest of the development (cf. *Zone d'Aménagement Concerté* or *ZAC*, in France). Such a contract makes provision for the financing Shareholders of the development company for Zuidas, Zuidas Dock plc (Amsterdam)



of the infrastructures, for the proportion of social housing, for sale of land to the local authority, for the quality of the public spaces and of the plantations, for the delivery lead times, etc. In principle, the right determining what can legally be built on the land is not addressed by that contract because it is set unilaterally by the public authority. But, in practice, adapting that right determining what can be built to meet the needs of the developer is one of the arguments (doubtless the most significant one) that encourage the developer to seek a contractual agreement with the local authority.

Although this typology is useful for analysing the planning & delivery structures, it does not, however, take

Revealence Degional

Barcelona Regional

The Barcelona Regional Agency is an example of a partnership structure for assisting project leadership at metropolitan level. A company with a privatelaw status, it brings together, alongside the municipality, major players in development (metropolitan transport, port, airport, bonded zone, wholesale market, etc.). It led the strategic and preoperational thinking about the sectors having high metropolitan stakes. In particular, it steered the Forum Besos project from upstream (prior surveys, drawing up the Master Plan, compiling the technical and financial file, negotiations with the future concession holders, organising architecture competitions, etc.) to downstream (co-ordinating the development operations). It should be noted that it does not necessarily control all of the land: the land for the new Forum buildings (hotels, auditorium, convention centre, marina, etc.) remains owned by the City of Barcelona.

account of the way in which the stakeholders organise themselves in each country in order to take up the challenges of development. A more structural approach actually reveals three families of planning & delivery on the basis of examination of the decisive parameters constituted by length of life of the structures (standing or limited to the time of one operation), type of the project leadership they implement (direct or indirect), and the extent of the area in which they act (a single operation or a larger territory).

The main families of planning & delivery, and the changes afoot

Standing regional structures with delegated project leadership

In this first family, companies provide permanent planning & delivery knowhow by managing staff who are qualified, available, and independent from local pressures. They deploy their staff for operations that are in progress at any one time in a particular region. They have a large amount of their own equity so that they can involve themselves in local structures and so that they can offer financial guarantees. KE in Baden-Württemberg, which was involved in the Vauban project, and also Finpiemonte in the Piedmont are two examples of such companies. Those companies were set up by regional bodies for the purpose of meeting specific planning & delivery needs that the private sector could not

Shareholders of the public development company for Ørestad (Copenhagen), Ørestadsselskabet



Source : © Ørestadsselskabets (Ørestad Dévelopment Corporation)

or did not want to take on: industrial estates in a region undergoing conversion for Finpiemonte, and urban regeneration and sustainable development for KE.

Theoretically, since these companies are service providers for local authorities, they should bid competitively. In practice, their skills, their financial soundness and their stability over time, their institutional ramifications, and their capacities for obtaining European, national, or local grants and assistance mean that genuine competition remains limited.

Shareholders of the development and management company for Porto Antico (Genoa), Porto Antico Spa



Temporary local structures with direct project leadership

The companies in this second family are set up to perform a single operation as direct project leader, and they only last as long as the operation. They have a specialised objective: urban regeneration for the Italian STUs, for example. The initiative of these companies is not only local, the central level or the regional level also play a key role in setting them up.

These temporary structures can also work in partnership with associations of owners and with municipal organisations set up for particular operations who require assistance and delegated project leadership. This type of temporary structure is thus complementary to the first family, namely the standing regional structures.

Standing local structures with direct project leadership With this third family, the companies

Vauban district in Freiburg (Germany): an innovative project steered by a regional structure

The City of Freiburg (population of 250,000) is emphasising the sustainable aspect of development in the new housing districts such as the "Vauban District." A former French barracks site of 37 hectares of existing fabric, occupied by the French Army until 1992, the Vauban site is hosting an operation for 2,000 dwellings⁽⁴⁾. The structure that is managing the planning & delivery in co-operation with the municipality is the company KE (Kommunalentwicklung LEG Baden-Württemberg GmbH). This company, which is a joint-stock commercial company, was set up by the Land of Baden-Württemberg. Its shareholders are public bodies: the Land, the associations of towns/cities, the associations of Kreis (administrative subdivision equivalent to the French départements), etc. KE acts only under delegated project leadership or as a service provider and does not assume the financial risks of the development. Its purpose is to supply to the municipalities qualified staff and expertise that the municipal departments sometimes lack. It can act both in Baden-Württemberg and also throughout Germany. The municipalities of the Land are not required to use it, but rather it bids competitively with other structures.

The Land encourages the municipalities to use such structures by making the appointment of a professional and outsourced planning & delivery management body a precondition for grant of subsidies. On site only for the time for which the operation lasts, KE staff have private-sector status.

(4) cf. below the article entitled "Are large-scale sustainable neighbourhood projects the ecological laboratories of the future?" by Dominique Sellier, Arene Île-de-France.



The Vauban District: a project delivered by a regional delivery structure. @ SUS 2005

A public partnership structure in Manchester (England): New East Manchester Limited

East Manchester is a vast fringe district of 1,100 hectares dating back to the XIXth Century and comprising a mixture of dilapidated housing and industrial wasteland to the east of the centre of Manchester (population of 440,000; population of Greater Manchester: 2.5 million). It is the subject of an ambitious project to create a new urban centre around the National Stadium built to host the 2002 Common-wealth Games.

In order to manage its transformation, an Urban Regeneration Company (URC) was set up in 1999 under the name of New East Manchester Ltd (NEM).

Urban Regeneration Companies are lightweight structures for co-ordination and for assistance with project leadership but not for direct project leadership. For Manchester, the three main shareholders of NEM are English Partnerships, the North West Development Agency (NWDA), and the City Council, all three of whom are from the public sector, each representing a respective territorial level.

Each partner can be a project leader and can exercise public authority prerogatives, but NEM enjoys none of such prerogatives; it is not the owner of the land and does not deliver the infrastructures themselves. Since it does not put up investment spending and does not assume any risk in the development operations, NEM has merely a symbolic amount of capital. In practice, the project leadership is shared out, depending on the means available at the time with one or other of the partners.

The URCs were created as temporary structures, with concern not to add any administrative cumbersomeness and red tape to the existing bodies. There are few permanent staff (ten people at NEM) and widespread use is made of external consultants.



Barcelona Regional provided assistance to the project leadership for the Forum Besòs project. The Marina (Port Forum Sant Adrià) is delivered and managed by a private promoter. It includes shops and other commercial premises in addition to the marina proper.

P. Lecroart/laurif

are usually general practitioners in planning & delivery. They are not specialists like the companies of the second family. Most French semi-public corporations (*Sociétés d'Economie Mixte* or *SEMs*) fall into this category, as do the *Stadtbaus* of German cities or the municipal corporations encountered in Spain.

The danger, for the most local of them, is that their volumes of action shrink as urbanisation slows down and as the market becomes more selective, and that their professional skills are not updated, especially when complex themes emerge such as urban regeneration. The City of Freiburg finally chose the regional company KE rather than its own Stadtbau when it had to resume a cycle of development after a few years without any significant operations.

The British URCs are exceptions from this general rule. They are confronted with problems of qualification of their staff, and they cannot, for the time being, rely on a regional or national structure. The use of consultants is not sufficient for missions that are to be performed with continuity.

More generally, this issue of qualification can be considered as being a keynote theme in the changes being undergone by planning & delivery structures. Public development is becoming more occasional and more targeted on the complex issues of urban regeneration and conversion, with the ordinary, simpler, and more profitable operations being left in the hands of the private sector. It is thus becoming more difficult locally to keep qualified and experienced teams on sustainably. Such qualification (or expertise) must be managed on a broader scale. The German and Italian examples tend to show that the management scale should be at least regional.

Convergent change trends in Europe that are having an impact in Île-de-France

Even though the development contexts and practices were relatively different initially in Europe, they appear to be converging in favour of twofold change, firstly towards more complex urban regeneration operations, and secondly towards generalised competition, regardless of whether the structures are private or public, when the development is operational planning & delivery aimed at producing land that is prepared and served by infrastructures and services.

Île-de-France is not escaping this trend which would suggest that strong structures will emerge that are of sufficient critical mass to keep on qualified staff permanently for operations that are increasingly complex. Those structures will remain public due to the length of time and the uncertainty of largescale developments and to the concern shown by local authorities for remaining in touch with the production of the city through participative approaches in which delivery retroacts continuously on design. Only large local authorities will be able to maintain such structures. Conversely, the smaller structures producing building rights on single development sites will be increasingly common in a competitive field in which private-sector and public-sector companies will vie, and in which the distinction between planning & delivery and construction will tend to fade.

Spina 3 in Turin, a project managed by a private developer on 100 hectares of the old Fiat and Michelin factories. The high density (590,000 square metres of housing, and 230,000 square metres of industrial, office, and commercial space) is offset by a central park covering 45 hectares. P. Lecront/Jouff





Housing policies, social mix, and large-scale development projects The ambitions and contradictions of Thames Gateway

Brigitte Guigou⁽¹⁾ IAURIF

Like Île-de-France, London needs to build housing on a massive scale to meet the demographic and economic needs. This is one of the objectives of the Thames Gateway project, a strategy for reclaiming vast disused areas of the Thames Estuary. The expectations are ambitious, but will the resources be forthcoming? What is more, the project is not without contradictions: will it be possible to achieve the objectives of social mix and of enabling the underprivileged populations currently living in the area to stay there?

(1) Brigitte Guigou, sociologist, *chargée d'études* at Iaurif, wrote this article in June 2006, i.e. just before housing competence was transferred to the Mayor of London.

In the London portion of Thames Gateway⁽²⁾, the construction forecasts for the next ten years represent over one quarter of the housing needs of Greater London. The ambitions are also qualitative. The central government and the Greater London Authority (GLA)⁽³⁾ are asserting their will to develop jobs and homes there. The challenge is also to bring value back to the industrial and working class districts of East London, and of the Thames Corridor.

The national Sustainable Communities Plan (2003) and the Mayor of London's strategic London Plan (2004) defend the idea of dense housing and of social mix and mixed use. The objective is to offer current and future residents alike neighbourhood facilities and services, and accessibility to public transport.

In the overstretched property market of the Metropolis of London, the development land opportunities offered by Thames Gateway are a chance that both the government and the GLA intend seizing with both hands in order to mitigate the chronic effects of the housing shortage. A second objective is to guarantee social cohesion in Thames Gateway through production of affordable rented accommodation and through enabling underprivileged populations to stay. Although it is too early to assess the results, we might ponder the implementation tools and reveal contradictions between the various proclaimed intentions and the realities.

A chronic shortage of housing in London

The recent mobilisation of the Government and of the GLA in favour of housing can be explained by the extent of the problem experienced on a daily basis by Londoners. The deficit is so great that it is adversely affecting the attractiveness of the metropolis and is worrying the business community. The shortage and the very high cost of housing is no longer only affecting low-income households; it is also hitting middle-income categories, the key workers, be they nurses, teachers, or white collar workers, that the region needs. In the face of property prices that have been skyrocketing since 1999, such households are fleeing the metropolis. The repercussions are even more serious for the poorest residents: foreigners (13.9% of Londoners), single-parent families, and young people. Overcrowding increased by more than 50% from 1991 to 2000. The percentages of homeless people, of insalubrious dwellings, and of families living in hotels are higher in London than in the rest of England. The number of households on social housing waiting lists in London was 242,000 in March 2003, i.e. one fifth of the total number in England. It increased by 25% from 1996 to 2001. In London, one quarter of households could not access the housing market without receiving benefit.

Building massively in the strategic sites of Thames Gateway

In line with the forecasts of the London Plan, 23,000 dwellings have been built in London every year since 2004. The recently observed upturn in construction is nonetheless insufficient to sustain the forecast growth in terms of dwellings and jobs until 2016. That is why the GLA plans to intensify the construction effort as from 2007 to reach the threshold of 31,000 dwellings per year until 2016⁽⁴⁾.

The East London Sub-Regional Development Framework (SRDF) that translates the regional projections

⁽⁴⁾ Mayor of London: "Housing. The London Plan Supplementary Planning Guidance," 2005. Mayor of London: "Delivering Increased Housing Output," April 2006.



Individual homes, which predominate in Thames Gateway, also house ethnic minorities. Here, in the Borough of Newham, they now form the majority of the population. P. Lecroont/louif

⁽²⁾ This article concerns itself with the London portion of the Thames Gateway project: the entire territory of the project extends beyond London for 50 miles, into Essex and Kent. It encompasses fifteen boroughs and districts of the South-East, north and south of the Thames.(3) Since 2001, the Greater London Authority has been led by a mayor elected by universal suffrage. It is responsible for co-ordinating urban planning and development policies.

locally was published in May 2005. The housing ambitions have also been revised upwards in that plan. Instead of the 91,000 dwellings initially planned, 100,000 dwellings should be built from 2005 to 2016 (i.e. nearly 45% of the needs foreseen for London). By way of comparison, only 24,000 dwellings were built in the Docklands from 1981 to 1997. The forecasts for 2016 were drawn up by the GLA, in consultation with the boroughs, and with the Thames Gateway London Partnership. The small amount of room for manoeuvre of the boroughs and of the GLA is making people wonder whether the collective capacity exists to honour those objectives.

The finer location of the housing to be built is the subject of negotiations between the GLA and the boroughs. The London Plan identifies "Opportunity Areas," which are urban and industrial wasteland sites to be reclaimed, served (currently or in the future) by public transport, and capable of receiving at least 2,500 new dwellings. The London Thames Gateway includes thirteen Opportunity Areas. In addition it has three "Areas for Intensification" which are suitable for densification due to their public transport access. The London Plan also identifies "Regeneration Areas" which have concentrations of social, economic, and urban difficulties. The impact of these area definitions remains unclear. According to the London Plan, it is up to the boroughs to develop unified spatial strategies on the territories in difficulty.

Focusing on affordable rented accommodation for housing middle-income categories

Reabsorbing the housing crisis presupposes diversifying the supply. The government and the GLA agree that affordable rented accommodation should be promoted, particularly in favour of middle-income categories. Affordable rented accommodation, which covers a wide range of types of housing, is intended for households

Affordable rented accommodation: a fuzzy concept

In Britain, affordable rented accommodation is defined less precisely than the French concept of *logement à loyer modéré* (low-rent housing). It comprises social housing, intermediate housing, and low-cost private housing. This broad definition includes a large percentage of housing whose rent is too high for low-income households.

Tenants associations are concerned about the increased risks of rent rises in the social sector. In Great Britain, since the Housing Act, passed in 1988 by the Conservative government, central government has been supporting the rise of Housing Associations (HAs) to the detriment of traditional council housing run by the boroughs. HAs are bodies governed by private-sector law and are non-profit-making organisations. The idea is to have the HAs shoulder the burden of production and management of social housing, and to put the local authorities in a position to monitor quality and price rises through specifications. This process has apparently contributed to limiting rent rises, without managing to stop them completely. However, current changes would seem to be calling this mode of operation into question by limiting the monitoring possibilities of the boroughs: restructuring of the rents, encouraging HAs to merge, the right granted to private bodies to access funds earmarked for funding social housing, threats on the current terms of distribution of housing benefit⁽⁵⁾. whose income is not sufficient to enable them to be housed decently. The London Plan asserts the need for a quota of 50% of affordable rented accommodation in new operations. 70% of such accommodation should be social housing, and 30% intermediate housing. These quotas have not been reached in recent years.

Promoting mixed-use housing and mixed-use business premises

The concept of mix, promoted in the London Plan, and flexible and pragmatic, is applicable in Thames Gateway. It is based on the principle of mixing various types of housing (social/private, rented/for home ownership) various social groups (whites, ethnic minorities, low-income/middle-income/well-off), and various generations (families/elderly people/students, etc.). It also advocates mixed-use including housing, office space, and industrial space, etc.

In tune with the national policies, this requirement for mix has translated into the obligation to build 50% affordable rented accommodation in new developments and into the obligation to counterbalance office construction with an equivalent floor area of housing, within the same operation, or nearby if the conditions do not permit such housing construction⁽⁶⁾. Recent operations that, in the same building, mix private housing and affordable rented accommodation, or mix housing and offices, are working. Similarly, various tenant-tohomeowner schemes make it possible propose combined products to designed to facilitate home ownership for low-income families.

(6) Cahiers de l'IAURIF issue No. 145, 2006.

Intensification around the public transport networks

The strategy drawn up for Thames Gateway bears witness to the will to break with a city model based on urban sprawl, on the exclusive use of the private motor car, on zoning, and on the absence of mix. Intensification or densification is one of the focuses of the spatial strategy for Thames Gateway. But the approach to turning the good intentions into practical results is a pragmatic one. The objective is not to impose a uniform quota for density but rather to link intensification up with public transport networks. The London Plan puts forward some figures - two hundred and fifty dwellings per hectare in the densest areas situated closes to public transport, and thirty dwellings per hectare in isolated suburbs. Once again, the means for implementing this remain to be found.

Investing to create a quality urban environment

Developing this vast area presupposes prior investment. The soil needs to be depolluted. Basic infrastructures need to be built, e.g. the east-west Crossrail 2 link which is to serve the strategic areas of Thames Gateway, such as Stratford and Ebbsfleet. However, the funding scheme, that is to mix public funds, private funds, and cost borne by users, has not yet been stabilised. Building and marketing the planned housing presupposes also creating a quality urban environment, building facilities (secondary schools, shopping centres, etc.), proposing neighbourhood services, in particular infant and primary schools, laying out green spaces, making the area safe and secure...

Reinforcing the attractiveness of the territory in order to attract solvent households and businesses

The sites are today often degraded, contaminated, and under-equipped. They suffer from a poor image. The "Regeneration Areas" of the Corridor are not yet attractive to investors, in particular due to uncertainties as regards delivery of the public transport projects. In this context, numerous players, including the local press, are wondering whether the project is viable and financially balanced? How can high-income families, who remain reticent about coming to live in this sector, be convinced to do so?

Obstacles to massive construction of affordable rented accommodation

Achieving the proclaimed objectives as regards construction of affordable rented accommodation requires efficient governance to be put in place. Unfortunately, the current governance of the project is extremely complex with a string of agencies and co-ordination structures whose consistency



In principle, 30% of the housing of the Stratford City project, the flagship project of Thames Gateway, i.e. 1,450 dwellings, should be affordable rented accommodation.

© Stratford City Development Ltd

is not obvious⁽⁷⁾. Currently, few dwellings have been built in Thames Gateway and there is considerable disparity in the attractiveness of the various sites. Most of the work still remains to be done in order to deliver on the very ambitious quantitative and qualitative commitments as regards building affordable rented accommodation.

Honouring those commitments presupposes that the negotiations between the multitude of players involved in a complex system of relations be brought to a successful conclusion.

The central government retains powers for housing and control over funding for housing. In the early 2000s, it launched a vast housing construction programme for affordable rented accommodation in London and the South East (2002), and reoccupied the field of housing through its national housing plan for affordable rented housing (2003). In this field, the GLA merely has the power to encourage. In this system, the boroughs have competence over housing, draw up the Local Development Frameworks (which, in 2004, replaced the Unitary Development Plans), and grant planning permission for private or public operators. Conversely, they now build almost no council housing. Producing affordable rented housing is now handled either by the Housing Associations, provided that they obtain the necessary funding, or by private promoters. The boroughs increasingly use Section 106 of the Town Planning Act to locate affordable rented accommodation in their areas. That section constrains the property promoter to use some of the value added or to be added when private housing is marketed in order to fund affordable rented accommodation on the site or nearby. The

⁽⁷⁾ cf. above, the article entitled "From Docklands to Thames Gateway: reversing the tides," Peter Hall, 2006.



The objective that the government has set itself of building 160,000 "sustainable" dwellings by 2016 in Thames Gateway appears difficult to achieve. Here, low energy consumption housing in Greenwich Millennium Village. P. Lecont/louif

British system offers the property promoter the possibility of departing from that rule and of avoiding having to build affordable rented accommodation close to luxury private housing. For that purpose, two alternative solutions can be negotiated with the borough: funding networks or infrastructures instead of affordable rented accommodation, or funding affordable rented accommodation elsewhere. Among the factors that influence the negotiations is, naturally, the state of the property market. But the political will of the borough is also a key factor. The GLA does not have the financial or regulatory means to constrain the boroughs to comply with the guidelines of the London Plan. Even though it should, in principle, be consulted

about the constructions that are taking place under strategic projects, it does not have sufficient incentive means to have its guidelines followed. In addition, it can hardly take the risk of entering into conflict with the boroughs.

Concerns about what is to become of low-income families

Another difficulty with the Thames Gateway spatial strategy is the absence of thought about how to link up the issues of economic attractiveness with the issues of social cohesion. For both the central government and the GLA, the low-income families of

Thames Gateway should be able to continue to live there while also benefiting from an improvement in their housing conditions. However, Thames Gateway is characterized by a concentration of underprivileged populations, often belonging to ethnic minorities, of social housing, and of insalubrious housing. The map plotting the multiple deprivation index measures the level of deprivation by combining several criteria: unemployment, incomes, health, housing or access to public services. It shows that three of the boroughs lying within the boundary of Thames Gateway: Tower-Hamlets Hackney, and Newham (including the Olympic Games site and the strategic site of Stratford) are among the most

deprived 10% of boroughs in England. Is it possible then to guarantee that low-income populations will be able to continue to live in these areas while also attracting solvent populations? In this respect, the social results of urban development projects delivered in East London in the 1980s and 1990s are not very encouraging. The rise in property prices has contributed to the trend for low-income populations to be replaced with well-off populations. In the Docklands, the renovation carried out in the 1990s gave preference to top-of-the-range private housing and led to a massive rise in property prices. In Greenwich Millennium Village, only a proportion of 20% affordable rented housing has been built. And yet that flagship project was managed by an experienced national public body, English Partnerships. That was not enough to ensure that the proclaimed ambitions for affordable rented housing were met.

In Thames Gateway, the public authorities are placing their hopes in the new impetus given to affordable rented accommodation and in the neighbourhood renewal policy launched in 1999 by the Labour government (New Deal for Communities or NDC). In Thames Gateway, five large social housing estates are concerned. A portion of the investment is aimed at improving the housing and the environment (restructuring of public spaces, demolitions, reconstructions, location of shops and other commercial premises, improving public services, etc.). In parallel, the government has set itself the objective of bringing insalubrious housing into compliance with standards: 240,000 public dwellings and 168,000 private dwellings are concerned in London.

It is still too early to assess the impact of this investment. Residents and associations in the neighbourhoods undergoing urban renewal are expressing Greater London - Multiple Deprivation Index 2004 Classification of wards on a British scale



concern as regards the effects induced by these policies and as regards the transfer of social property ownership from the boroughs to the Housing Associations. The majority of these poor populations are immigrants who fear an increase in rents, a rise in property prices and in the cost of living, and a fall in the quality of the management of the social housing. In several urban renewal neighbourhoods, the majority of residents have refused



In Tower Hamlets, the vast Ocean Estate houses mainly low-income families, the majority of whom are immigrants. Will this population still be present ten years from now, once the regeneration of the neighbourhood is complete? B. Guigou/Iauif



"Ocean Estate is not for sale" "No evictions": the low-income tenants fear that the council housing will be sold off to the Housing Associations. Here, in Tower Hamlets, November 2003. B. Guigou/Isurif

the transfer of council housing to the Housing Associations. The increase in the rents might force underprivileged families to leave their neighbourhoods for others, which are cheaper, less well situated, and not yet renovated.

Contradictions between spatial strategy and national policies

These conflicts also raise the issue of housing for low-income families in a global metropolis such as London. The sources of the funding necessary for achieving the objectives of social cohesion and mix are still unclear. In addition, the intentions of the government and of the GLA go against the trends in the national housing policies. Since the late 1980s, the sale of council housing to occupying tenants has led to a reduction and to devaluation in the stock of social housing, while the transfers of council housing from the boroughs to the Housing Associations have contributed to increasing the rents. The reforms currently under way are worrying the associations of tenants even further: might these reforms not weaken the tools available to the authorities for keeping rent increases under control? Thus, the restructuring of the rents of the social sector and the reform of the housing benefits, tending to reduce the benefits distributed by central government via the boroughs, is restricting the authorities' room for manoeuvre. There is a risk that those reforms might force low-income households to move out of the neighbourhoods in which the property market exceeds a certain threshold.

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Low-income families: the losers in the Docklands urban development project⁽⁸⁾

The 24,000 new dwellings built in the Docklands (2,225 hectares a few miles from the City) are private homes for home ownership. The policies of the Conservative governments led to transformation dynamics that changed the territory and the population who lived there. The increase in the property prices reflects these changes. The position of the developer, the London Docklands Development Corporation, against the will of the Borough of Tower-Hamlets, was to attract private investors, to develop luxury housing, and to bring in residents of higher social categories. In the light of those objectives, the results have been conclusive. But who are the beneficiaries of the improvements made to the Docklands?



Mainly high-income households moved into the Docklands in the 1990s.



The question arouses debates and controversies. For C. Hamnett, there is no doubt that the renovation of the Docklands and of Canary Wharf has made winners and losers, and that most of the winners have not been the former residents. One of the weaknesses of the project, if we think in terms of social cohesion, is definitely the lack of construction of affordable rented accommodation. Access to affordable rented accommodation is the only possibility for former residents and their children to continue to live in the area. In the latter half of the 1990s, when the property market became buoyant again, it would have been possible to include more social housing in the operations. The developers could have been encouraged to do so in exchange for planning permission. Unfortunately, that option was supported neither by the London Docklands Development Corporation, nor by the government.

(8) By Chris Hamnett, 2004.



Are large-scale sustainable neighbourhood projects the ecological laboratories of the future?

> Dominique Sellier⁽¹⁾ ARENE Île-de-France

Neighbourhoods which fully embrace the principles of sustainable urban planning are springing up in Germany, the United Kingdom, and Northern Europe: Vauban in Fribourg, Kronsberg in Hanover, Ammersfort in the Netherlands, Vesterbro in Copenhagen, BedZED in London, Bo01 in Malmö, Hammarby Sjöstad in Stockholm, etc. Basic urban blocks artificially locked into non-sustainable metropolitan trajectories or ecological laboratories where the future of a city in harmony with its environment is being determined?

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The planetary challenges of global warming, dwindling natural resources, and loss of biodiversity require a comprehensive rethinking at local level of the way in which our cities are designed and developed. The neighbourhood, viewed as an operational unit in planning terms, establishes the framework for a concrete response to more general sustainable undertakings set up by a regional authority.

These European experiments, which are ambitious both in terms of ecology and social participation, propose original design and development procedures as well as the possibility for renewal of urban forms. Accepted as fully-fledged urban development projects, they are capable of lending greater credence to a city region's strategic vision of sustainable urban development.

The sheer scale of some of these projects facilitates implementation of new design and construction processes: 200 hectares (ha) and 9,000 housing units for Hammarby Sjöstad (20,000 inhabitants and 10,000 jobs planned); 150 ha and 6,000 housing units for Kronsberg (15,000 inhab. planned); 38 ha and 2,000 housing units for Vauban (5,000 inhab. planned); 35 ha and 4,000 housing units to renovate in Vesterbro; 12 ha and 800 housing units in Malmö. The BedZED project (ZED for Zero Energy Development i.e. no fossil fuels) is on a much smaller scale: 1.7 ha and 82 housing units. Their exemplary nature helps to heighten the appeal of these European cities while also bringing into question the practices and know-how implemented in urban developments under way in Île-de-France.

Sustainable neighbourhoods: global strategies, local experimentations

The compact city, the short cycle city... these are the kind of conceptual models which are influencing visions of sustainable urban planning. These neighbourhoods offer concrete, unflinching solutions to the conundrum of how best to preserve natural and energy resources while enhancing living environments.

This ecological determinism does not exclude innovative initiatives based around citizen participation or cultural enhancement. These operations serve to consolidate the spirit of the 1994 Aalborg Charter and the cam-



In Malmö, a close partnership between the city, private developers-constructors, an electricity firm and the university has resulted in design of a neighbourhood which is self-sufficient in energy. © (ity of Malmö

paign for sustainable European cities founded on the notions of sustainable economies, viable environment and social justice as well as the spirit of an all-encompassing local strategy. Such neighbourhoods consider themselves sustainable since, they factored in environmental and socio-economic objectives at the design stage and at every subsequent phase in the project including operations. They are committed to participation and communication as well as partner-based assessment (private developers, constructors, industrialists, energy firms, users).

The underlying concept is one of "urban villages" which generally entails relatively high population densities (105 housing units/ha in BedZED⁽²⁾, 72 housing units/ha in Malmö, mixed uses and functions in relation to accessibility and recognition of the street's contribution as a structuring and energising element. This model presupposes more effective use of land as part of an attempt to strike the right balance between housing, employment, service amenities and the promotion of intermodal mobility: walking, cycling, public transport. The significant reduction in car traffic to the benefit of alternative modes of transport is a key component of these neighbourhoods which favour economic use of space and improvements to the quality of life within the different blocks.

The slow maturing of the planning and sustainable development processes

These projects arose (mostly in the mid 1990s) out of the conversion of former industrial, military or port brownfield spaces. Some of them were

⁽²⁾ Abbreviation for Beddington Zero Energy Development.

initiated during a particular international event: Expo 2000 in Hanover (1990 decision), Stockholm bid to hold the 2004 Olympic Games (1997 project) or the European Housing Exhibition for Malmö (1995 decision). These major structuring projects have become showcase neighbourhoods for imaginative approaches to sustainable development in these cities.

Another shared characteristic is the fact that the local authorities concerned have implemented pro-environment strategies for many years, particularly based around Agenda 21⁽³⁾ (Stockholm signed up in 1994, for instance).

The lengthy timeline for the birth and maturity of the project is also reflected in the integration of long-term considerations into the design phase. In most cases, this is facilitated by the municipal ownership of land to be developed. Local authorities are able to impose their stringent sustainable development requirements on private developers-investors over time despite the vagaries of marketing.

Fields of intervention: the quest for ecological performances

Based on an approach which considers the city as an ecosystem in its own right, the sustainable neighbourhood is defined as a complex system characterised by processes of continuous exchange and transformation. Energy, natural resources, waste, nutritive substances or materials all produce flows which must be maintained, restored and upgraded more effectively with a view to loop efficiencies and recycling.

Heating networks, renewable energy and energy autonomy The Eco-cycle model in Hammarby Sjöstad produces biogas which will



In BedZED, these town houses with enhanced thermal insulation barely require heating, the air leaving the wind chimneys is used to heat incoming air. This innovative neighbourhood is the fruit of a long-term commitment by a London borough partnered by an association.

© Marcus Lyon

supply domestic gas cookers thanks to combustion of part of the neighbourhood's household waste and sewage sludge from waste water. In terms of energy performances, water consumption and waste, the defined goal was to achieve a two-fold improvement on current Swedish standards. In Malmö, the Bo01 neighbourhood is approaching energy self-sufficiency through 100% local renewable energy, thanks to a two-MW offshore wind turbine and a series of photovoltaic panels. Heating needs are met by biogas originating from waste water and waste, heat pumps on the water table and sea water, as well as solar sensors on roofs.

Collective local solutions are commonly adopted such as a heating network powered by cogeneration with an obligation to connect for buildings or, to a lesser extent, sorting and removal of waste by pneumatics (Swedish technology).

Water management

Rainwater, managed in an alternative manner a buried pipes, becomes a fun element which creates atmosphere and adds to the landscape quality of external spaces thanks to use of filtering trenches, drainage ditches, channels, paved gutters and troughs. The water collected is used for toilets in housing units or public amenities or even to supply community washing machines and to water green spaces.

Alternatives to the car

To cut car traffic and encourage children to reclaim the streets, the notion of a "car-free neighbourhood" often prevails. Limiting the number of parking spaces is a favoured tactic: fewer than one space per housing unit (1 space/4 housing units in Hammarby)

⁽³⁾ Agenda 21 is a programme of sustainable development actions for the 21st century. It was adopted by countries signing up to the Rio de Janeiro declaration in June 1992. Its primary functions are combating poverty and social exclusions, the production of sustainable goods and services, protection of the environment.

at prohibitive costs, development of the neighbourhood as a 30-kilometre/hour zone and through traffic calming measures. These restrictive measures targeting motorists are combined with compensatory measures which are sometimes innovative. Firstly, a carefully planned high-standard public transport system is required, backed up by car-share systems (in Vauban, 60 vehicles, and also three community car parks on the entrance of the neighbourhood, 1,500 members), and free parking for electric vehicles (BedZED), etc.

Renewable materials and eco-management of the ground

The environmental stipulations currently imposed on private developers include a ban on materials classed as hazardous such as PVC in Sweden. Certified renewable materials such as wood or recycled materials or even products of local manufacture are favoured: in BedZED, materials must be supplied within a maximum radius of 60 km. Once ground has been depolluted, its eco-management provides for the in situ reuse of excavated materials to construct anti-noise walls or landscape the area (in Kronsberg and in Hammarby).

Bioclimatic architecture

In general terms, these neighbourhoods apply the principles of bioclimatic architecture and eco-construction on a large scale. By favouring north-south orientations of buildings and a degree of compactness in order to limit heat loss, relatively monotonous masterplans emerge such as in Kronsberg or in BedZED. This apparent uniformity is largely offset by the place reserved for green and natural spaces, veritable green networks crossing the blocks, ecological corridors surrounding the external periphery of these neighbourhoods (Kronsberg, Malmö, etc.) or by ingenious planted terraces such as in BedZED.

The other factor creating diversity is the sometimes highly colourful treatment of facades, the best example of which is found at Vauban. Architectural stipulations firstly concern the alignment and height of buildings, as a general rule three-storey constructions in small groups or strips of houses juxtaposed in the form of urban villas. Whatever the materials used, framing and boarding in wood, glass and brick etc., it is worth noting that all of these operations benefit from an uncompromising approach to the quality of finishings and sustainability.

Elitist residential neighbourhoods?

The downside of raising the architectural and environmental bar so high is that the desired degree of social mixity has not been achieved: the exclusive location of certain private housing operations close to city centres and their all-round quality, will naturally draw in the most affluent socio-professional categories (BedZED, Hammarby, Malmö). This phenomenon can be justified in cities where the middle classes and affluent population groups have fled the centre for semiurban areas. Today's challenge is to design new sustainable neighbourhoods for less affluent households by

(4) See the article by Mats Olsson and Göran Rosberg above "Malmö Västra Hamnen: methods and tools for urban transformation".



In Vauban, housing units consume little energy (<65 KW/sq.m/pa). Parking spaces are grouped together on the edge of the neighbourhood in three community car parks, thanks to a tramway, a quarter of households have committed to giving up their cars. © SUS Université de Stuttgut 2005



Vesterbro illustrates the challenge of the essential eco-renovation of the existing housing stock: relatively high renovation costs (2,280 euros/square metres) tied to a general improvement in the environmental assessment of housing units (water, waste, noise, energy, greenhouse gas emissions, etc.).

cutting costs. This is what Malmö is endeavouring to achieve in the context of a new housing programme to the north of the Bo01 site in the context of the Vastra Hamnen project⁽⁴⁾.

The keys to success: consensus-building and citizen-centred education

These operations are largely successful since they managed to focus on consultation procedures and extensive citizen involvement. Future inhabitants have been directly involved as of project start-up (Forum Vauban in Fribourg). In some cases, the inhabitants have even jointly initiated development of the project via associations or resident groups.

Information centres are charged with creating awareness and disseminating good environmental practices vis-àvis all parties (Kuka agency in Kronsberg, Glashuset, the "Glass House" in Hammarby, etc.): it concerns educating user citizens to adopt new behaviour and tailor their lifestyles to the neighbourhood's objectives.

Attempts at evaluation

From an urban viewpoint, tackling neighbourhoods'environmental problems can focus on the reduction of the ecological footprint as in BedZED. This raises notions of carrying capacity, thresholds, natural capital and the resource cycle for the urbanised space, which may correspond to batteries of performance and monitoring indicators.

In terms of social evaluation, the principle adopted is that improving the urban environment leads to long-term social benefits, although this has yet to be proven. There is, however, no denying the quality of the prevailing atmosphere in the urban spaces created thanks to neighbourhoods which are lively and animated and in no way sterile or security obsessed.

To go a step further, the comparison of the different experiments conducted, within a benchmarking perspective, can prove particularly useful as a tool for evaluation and identification of innovative solutions.

In terms of image and public opinion, the success of sustainable neighbourhoods is undeniable. Projects in cities such as Malmö, Hanover or Fribourg are illustrations of a proactive regional marketing strategy which serve to heighten the appeal of these cities.

Reproducibility of models and prospects for Île-de-France

Looking beyond their symbolic nature, these new neighbourhoods raise many questions as regards the model dis-



Houses with positive energy produce more energy than they need. Of wood design, with triple glazing, photovoltaic panels and thermal solar sensors which optimise the production of electricity and hot water (Vauban neighbourhood). © ARENE IDE



The Île-de-France region must come up with its own model of sustainable urban planning on a large scale. Associations such as "Amis de l'EcoZac de la Place de Rungis" in Paris can be active players in the process.

© Association des Amis de l'EcoZAC.

semination method they are supposed to embody. Do they represent the premises of a broad dissemination phenomenon originating from a genuine sea change in urban development practices? Or, conversely, do they still convey an exceptional approach, like these preserved neighbourhoods or these carefully designed blocks surrounded by urban transformations embarked on a non-sustainable course? In order to demonstrate the value of these showcase neighbourhoods, is it possible to identify and extract certain sustainability parameters which can be factored into standard operations?

The sustainable neighbourhood works better in the context of large-scale urban projects than smaller projects: designing a sector of the city from the outset, helping to identify broader solutions and enabling economies of scale in terms of costs of construction or creation of infrastructures.

Without being systematically reproduced in new development operations, the sustainable neighbourhood urban projects deliver clear signals to operators active on the development and construction market as regards the environmental standards required. Thus, in Hanover, the Kronsberg standard, limiting energy consumption and greenhouse gas emissions has been factored into the planning documents. The exemplary nature of certain operations, supported by technologies or innovative methods of participation also helps to keep the general public informed of the possible avenues for application and the different levels of sustainability.

It is certainly the case that the context of countries in Northern Europe is more conducive to building sustainable development principles into development of neighbourhoods due to the behaviour of inhabitants. This may require adoption of a certain lifestyle which is more in line with the requirements of sharing, solidarity and preservation of resources. The different mentalities of southern European countries means that greater efforts are required to build awareness of the various players in order to justify the reasoning behind the changes in attitudes demanded.

In Île-de-France, the diminishing supply of land should enable local authorities, as land owners, and private developers to fix stringent requirements for new large-scale operations. Innovation and the development of knowhow in the field of urban planning and green architecture meet environmental, social and economic challenges which are crucial to the region in the medium term. It is high time for Îlede-France to throw itself into the creation of new sustainable neighbourhoods. To this end, a new purposeful political will must emerge, shared by all levels of responsibility.

Bibliographic references

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Datasheets for sustainable neighbourhood redevelopment projects

Vauban, Freiburg in Brisgbau

Neighbourhood	Vauban	
City	Freiburg in Brisgbau	
Туре	new neighbourhood with renovation of old buildings	
Type of site and location	former French army barracks	
Date of work	1993-2006	
Surface area of site	38 ha	
No. of inhabitants	3,600 in 2004, 5,000 in 2006	
No. of housing units	2,000 housing units in 2006	
Governance/communication	Forum Vauban, non-profit making association comprised of representatives from citizen associations, groups of residents or future residents in the neighbourhood. Played a major educational role	
Key themes/initiatives	 high level of citizen involvement thanks to the Forum Vauban widespread use of low-energy constructions trials of houses with passive and even positive energy profiles restrictions on car traffic and parking 	
Transport	 notion of a car-less neighbourhood where only short distances need to be covered three community car parks with 240 spaces on edge of neighbourhood signature of agreement to live without cars by 25% of residents Car Frei car-share association with 1,500 members and over 60 vehicles 	
Energy	 low-energy housing label: heating consumption limited to 65 kwh/sq.m/pa 150 houses with passive energy, consumption < 15 kwh/sq.m/pa trials of houses with positive energy heating network with wood-gas cogeneration 	
Social	 Susi: initiative for self-managed and independent housing for low-cost rental housing in the former barracks Genoa, collective housing construction cooperative (36) 	
Evaluation/results	 55% of streets are safe for children to play on ratio of vehicles to 1,000 inhabitants of around 450 i.e. below 50%, 45% renewable primary energy need for resources in gross materials (t/pa) reduced by half in relation to a reference neighbourhood 	2006 J



The Hammarby Sjöstad neighbourhood in 2005. © ARENE IDF

Hammarby S	jöstad,	Stockholm
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Neighbourhood	Hammarby Sjöstad
City	Stockholm
Туре	new neighbourhood
Type of site and location	former port and industrial site, close to city centre, presence of nature reserve. Initially planned to host the Olympic village in the 2004 Olympics bid.
Date of work	1993-2016
Surface area of site	200 ha
No. of inhabitants	15,000 and 8,000 employees in 2006, target of 30,000 by 2010
No. of housing units	2,000 housing units in 2006
Governance/communication	Glashusett, centre of information and showcase for environmental technologies in the heart of the neighbourhood
Key points/initiatives	Eco-cycle model by halving emissions and waste thanks to recycling and reusing waste water and rain water
Ground	as of 1991, large-scale and expensive decontamination of polluted ground
Transport	 0.8 parking spaces per housing unit Bilpool car-share system 20 municipal buses running on biogas produced by the site's waste water treatment plant
Energy	 extensive use of NRE urban heating network with energy source provided by combustion of waste and treatment of waste water 60kwh/sq.m/pa for heating housing units 1,200 apartments equipped with cookers running on biogas
Materials	 installation of a common logistics centre for construction materials for delivery to building sites 50% reduction in use of sand and virgin metals
Waste	widespread waste sorting into several recyclable fractions with collection at central depot on the site from in front of buildings thanks to underground removal by pneumatics, Swedish technology
Evaluation/results	 80% of commutes are made by public transport, on foot or by bike very lively neighbourhood thanks to presence of numerous public amenities, local commercial outlets and a marina with nature reserve target to reduce landfill waste by 60% and volumes of waste requiring more complex processing by 20%

Vesterbro, Copenhagen

Neighbourhood	Vesterbro
City	Copenhagen
Туре	renovation of an old neighbourhood
Type of site and location	late 19th century/early 20th century neighbourhood to the southwest of the city, near the central railway station
Date of work	early 1990s through to 2002
Surface area of site	35 ha
No. of inhabitants	6,500 (entire neighbourhood)
No. of housing units	4,000 (23 developed blocks)
Governance/communication	centre for renovation of Vesterbo has organised numerous meetings of blocks, consensus-building meeting and participation with residents, with technical support from SBS consultancy
Key themes/	experimentation of innovative environmental technologies on three test blocks with a targetted 50% reduction for electricity and water. Some initiatives concerning energy consumption (heating and hot water)
Energy	 photovoltaic panels on external staircase, on bow-windows, on roofs, etc. recovery of solar energy combined with recovery of air with an air/hot water exchanger mirrors and sky lights
Water	- apartment equipment fitted with economisers - roof-top recovery of rain water for use in toilets
Noise	reinforced insulation of buildings
Green spaces	development of community inner courtyards
Evaluation/results	 satisfactory reduction in energy consumptions and CO₂ emissions, more marginal reduction in water consumption significant involvement of residents in the projects and major improvement in the neighbourhood's image

To be published

Between projects and strategies, the financial gamble of six city regions in Europe

Christian Lefèvre, Paris VIII University Anne-Marie Roméra, IAURIF

Simply by examining the experiences of other countries, considerable light can be shed on the problem set faced by projects specific to Île-de-France as well as the ways in which they are organised and implemented. Indeed, in 2005 IAURIF set up a working group to look at procedures for implementation of economic strategies in Europe. The group's output was intended to clarify issues surrounding the decisions taken by other city regions (in the economic and urban arenas), the design concepts adopted, and the establishment of partnerships to give their options concrete forms. With this in mind, the group selected six projects meeting the twin objective of revitalising urban neighbourhoods and generating economic growth in line with the advent of a knowledge economy. A key figure from each city region came to present the project before taking part in a question and answer session with the dozen or so stakeholders (economic players, operational developers, technical administrators from the state and local authorities) making up the group.

Six city regions, six projects

Barcelona

and the 22@barcelona project: the city as a factor for economic development

The 22@ sector covers 200 hectares in

the Poble Nou neighbourhood which lies on the seafront at the end of the La Diagonal boulevard just a short distance from the city centre. Home to long-standing industries which are closing down, this working-class neighbourhood is earmarked for urban and economic renewal in keeping with its linchpin role in the process to carve out the Barcelona city region's future positioning. The activities targeted cover the information and communication technology (ICT), audiovisual, and biotech sectors, etc. Initiated in 2000, the project is now well under way with the notion of flexibility factored in as a key principle and method.

Venice: transforming the economy and the city thanks to the VEGA science park

Part of the industrial zone of Porto Marghera, 35 hectares (on 2,000 hectares of industrial and brownfield land), is due to be converted into a science park for high-tech businesses and research centres. The project began in 1993 and the zone now hosts over 100 small and medium enterprises (SMEs) active in fields related to IT, the environment, biotech, new materials, etc.

North Milan: conversion of a territory

North Milan is not a specific project as such but rather an economic development strategy based on multiple projects within this territory and supported by a single structure, the North Milan Development Agency. Adversely impacted by a serious industrial crisis (steelworks, metalworks), the territory launched its conversion process by attracting SMEs, mainly in the service sector: 7,000 businesses in 1990 rising to 16,000 in 2004, in the field of ICT, IT, audiovisual, etc.

Zuidas: a technocratic project with a modified remit

Located midway between the historic centre and the airport, the Zuidas development covers around 30 hectares on a site within Amsterdam's city limits. It is one of six flagship projects initiated by the Dutch government: a multifunctional urban centre on a railway station designed for highspeed trains. The site was initially selected (1999) by two major banks with a view to establishing a financial centre. Today, it hosts 25,000 jobs in the financial, legal and "creative" sector⁽¹⁾. The existing site of the Vrije Universiteit (Free University) has been incorporated into the new business district.

Adlershof: an ambitious public sector project

Lying in southeast Berlin, the Adlershof district covers 420 hectares of primarily greenfield space. This former East

(1) The "creative" sector should be taken to mean artistic production in its broadest sense.

German airfield hosted the headquarters of a TV channel, an army barracks and an academy of science. Launched in 1991, the project continued to host eight research centres (1,500 researchers in optics, biology, electronics) while fostering the creation of 200 jobs via spin-off activities. This state-run project subsequently saw the arrival of a number of Humbolt University faculties and three media centres.

Thames Gateway and the development strategies of Greater London

Thames Gateway is probably the largest urban regeneration and development zone in Europe and London's successful bid to host the 2012 Olympic Games will no doubt accelerate the process already under way. The juxtaposition of project zones is now viewed as a golden opportunity to drive the capital's economic and residential development. Between now and 2016, the number of housing units built on the Thames Gateway zone should exceed 90,000 with the number of jobs rising to almost 200,000, many of which will be in knowledge-intensive sectors.

Examination of the cases studied highlighted the key role played by each territory's history and economic background at the project definition phase; integration of economic development in the city with a clear focus on urban integration; a changed approach from public authorities which tend to take more of a back-seat role as facilitators unless the private sector is absent; the ability to take risks while providing for pragmatic adjustments if necessary; the benefits of a high-profile strategy focused on a single name (Thames Gateway), a symbol, a label (22@), etc.

The initial concepts have been brought into question: the strategy/project link is not as close as might be thought. The purpose of the development strategy is primarily to build trust and establish legitimacy which enables gambles to be taken. It provides a framework for strategic directions applied in a flexible manner. Similarly the importance of the public/private partnership should be placed in perspective since generally speaking the public sector continues to play a dominant role. Finally, although the geographical proximity of universities/ businesses is consistently extolled, this factor in itself does not necessarily enable effective relations to be established, except in the case of a few targeted scientific disciplines.

A number of questions remain outstanding such as how best to ensure that existing businesses stay put despite the rising price of land: in all cases, the authorities demonstrate considerable pragmatism and flexibility. Little information is provided on the innovative financial mechanisms but the central role of European funds is stressed. In conclusion, the question of diversification versus specialisation is not cut and dried, however, there appears to be a tendency to favour SMEs rather than major companies which are deemed to be more volatile. Pragmatism and flexibility, risk taking and a capacity to make adjustments would therefore seem to be the watchwords for the European approach to economic and urban development.



The VEGA science park marks the conversion of Porto Marghera, an immense industrial zone on the Venice lagoon. © Courtesy of Nova Marghera Spa Gruppo Guaraldo Spa

This selection of publications and articles has been extracted from the Urbamet database (www.urbamet.com/bdurbamet/urbameteng.htm) References are classified in reverse chronological order and then by author in alphabetical order. The number shown indicates the documentation centre where the quoted reference can be consulted. CA: Villes en développement CDU: Centre de Documentation sur l'Urbanisme CTA: CETE-Aix CTL: CETE-Lyon CTM: CETE-Metz DRE: Direction Régionale de l'Urbanisme d'Ile-de-France EPC: École Nationale des Ponts et Chaussées IA: Institut d'Aménagement et d'Urbanisme de la Région Ile-de-France MV: Epamarne

PUCA: Plan Urbanisme Construction Architecture



General publications

Salet, Willem (dir.); Gualini, Enrico (dir.) Framing Strategic Urban Projects. Learning from Current Experiences in European City-regions

London: Routledge, 2007.- XII-306 p., maps, fig., tabl., ann., index, bibliogr.

In the 1990s, large-scale urban projects were launched in almost every metropolitan region of Europe. Several years on, the muchanticipated positive results of the innovative integration of economic and sustainable objectives have not always been apparent. To be successfully implemented, strategic urban projects require the successful coordination of collective action in a fragmented metropolitan setting, which often involves crossing barriers set up by the sector-minded, single-issue approaches typical of statutory territorial agencies. This book explores why existing projects have achieved such mixed results, and suggests new ways of thinking about strategic urban projects in future.

The first part of the book sets out the framework for the study, looking at the social, policy and institutional context of strategic urban projects in Europe. Part two goes on to explore seven case studies to discuss recent experiences of largescale projects in European city-regions and to assess each city's capacity to respond to the challenges of strategic urban projects. Each case study highlights a different planning issue including new urbanism, the use of culture to drive the urban economy, information networks and public partnerships. Finally, part three assesses the findings of the research and makes recommendations for the future development of urban projects.

IA 48033

Bourdin, Alain (dir.); Lefeuvre, Marie-Pierre (dir.); Melé, Patrice (dir.)

Les règles du jeu urbain: entre droit et confiance Paris: Descartes, 2006.- 316 p., fig., bibliogr.

The various contributions analyse, in a number of contexts, the new urban regulation procedures, which should be taken to mean the capacity to build frameworks for interaction allowing urban transformations to be controlled and ordered and which place legal practices at the heart of the analysis. With the aid of research conducted in French, European and US cities, three types of situation are examined: implementation of large-scale urban development projects; mobilisation of residents against urban dynamics perceived as a nuisance; collective appropriation of private residential areas. In each of these different contexts, a process has served to focus attention: negotiation of the project order in the first case; transactions in relation to rules of law in the second; collective redrafting of a private nature in the third.

IA 47150; CDU 59911

Davy, Anne-Claire; Guigou, Brigitte; Sagot, Mariette Institut d'aménagement et d'urbanisme de la région Île-de-France

Ségrégation urbaine et politiques publiques : étude comparative. Synthèse

Paris: IAURIF, 2006.- 109 p., cartes, tabl., graph., ill., ann., bibliogr.

Reducing social and territorial inequalities is a key challenge for the ongoing review of the Île-de-France region's structure plan. To provide input for consideration of this theme, the IAURIF launched this comparative study concerning the processes of urban segregation and public policies conducted in five European city regions: Île-de-France, Barcelona, Berlin, Greater London and Milan. This report summarises these five research studies. Firstly, the city region is a hub of economic activity which attracts foreign populations but these often tend to group together by nationality. Analysis of the various research studies reveals a number of discrepancies between the city regions of northern and southern Europe. In the north, for many years the cities have seen a widening gap between rich and poor zones due to rising unemployment and economic insecurity. In the south, where family ties are stronger, there are fewer studies covering segregation since the debate cannot be said to be raging to the same extent. In both the north and south, the affluent classes are the most segregated and are taking over attractive neighbourhoods in the centre of the old cities of the north west. In all cities, the phenomenon of segregation is tied to urban history: poor neighbourhoods are often located on former industrial sites; after the Second World War, large-scale developments were built (especially in the north) in an attempt to resolve the housing shortage; the politics of city centre renovation led to the social profiles of their residents being redefined and these zones became highly attractive. Moreover, housing policies also have an impact on segregation and are extremely diverse not to mention centralised to varying degrees. Nor have welfare systems managed to halt the segregation process, despite a common trend towards new methods and using public funds to assist the most disadvantaged citizens and the poorest neighbourhoods. These new strategies have sparked controversy particularly with regard to housing problems which undermine the appeal of city regions. Confronted with this difficulty, political institutions have launched ambitious projects intended to guarantee a supply of affordable housing for all throughout the entire territory of the city region. However, the concept of social mixity differs according to the country. In France, the SRU (solidarity and urban renewal) law fixes quotas for public housing by municipalities while other countries have a housing policy based on controlled prices. In terms of local policies, the most significant interventions have occurred in poor neighbourhoods on the basis of two methods: ascending (anchored in the local realities and pragmatic in nature) or descending (from the State towards the entire territory). In conclusion, attempts to combat segregation must also be applied at metropolitan level and with the active participation of the institutions charged with this level of the territory. Policies which target disadvantaged neighbourhoods should probably be carried forward at local level (regions, municipalities, etc.).

IA 46540 (6)

Flyvbjerg, Bent; Bruzelius, Nils; Rothengatter, Werner Megaprojects and risk, an anatomy of ambition

Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006.- IX-207 p., fig., tabl., graph., notes, index, bibliogr.

The world is confronted by mega-projects costing billions of dollars such as the Channel Tunnel, the Oresund bridge between Sweden and Denmark, the Vasco de Gama bridge in Lisbon, the Maglev train in Germany, Hong Kong airport, the Sydney port tunnel and the new airport in Denver. Since these mega-projects are so clearly associated with the notion of risk a paradox inevitably arises: they are often approved despite the fact that their costs and environmental impact are under-estimated while their economic impact is over-estimated. Proposals are put forward on how best to escape this paradox. **IA 47646**

Frébault, Jean (dir.); Bérard, Eric (préf.) Club ville et aménagement

Plan urbanisme conctruction architecture

La maîtrise d'ouvrage urbaine. Réflexions sur l'évolution des méthodes de conduite des projets à partir des travaux du Club ville-aménagement

Paris: Éditions du Moniteur, 2006.- 147 p., cartes, phot. coul., plans, ill., glossaire

The initial chapters contain reviews, analyses and comments concerning the rise in urban project leadership and its consequences for project management as defined by Jean Frébault, as well as the dynamics of urban project management and trans-

formations of the local context by Alain Bourdin, and the changeover from operational urban planning to turnkey development by Thierry Vilmin, and the relationship between project leaders and designers. There then follow case studies featuring testimonies concerning various operations or sectors with expert comments (Île de Nantes-Rives de Loire, Plaine de France, Seguin-rives de Seine, Mantes-en-Yvelines, Le Grand Lyon, Lyon-Confluence, Montpellier, Vaise) or project leadership structures (*Euroméditerranée* public establishment, SEMs – semi-public companies – or other types of structure).

CDU 59891; IA 47334; PUCA 702; DRE 10055; CTA 15341; MV B11682

Hall, Peter; Pain, Kathy

The polycentric metropolis.

Learning from mega-city regions in Europe

London: Earthscan, 2006.- XVII-228 p., maps, graph., fig., tabl., index, bibliogr.

The emergence, dynamics and planning & delivery of eight polycentric urban regions (Southeast Egnald, Randstad, centre of Belgium around Brussels, Rhine-Ruhr, Rhine-Main, north Switzerland, Île-de-France and the Dublin region) in contemporary Europe are described and analysed. The concept of the mega-urban region is introduced and its key features analysed while problems relating to regional identities are examined and the consequences for the infrastructure and transport networks are also discussed.

IA 47525

Antier, Gilles

Les stratégies des grandes métropoles - enjeux, pouvoirs et aménagement

Paris : Armand Colin, 2005. - 242 p., cartes

On the basis of extensive data recently compiled in one hundred or so city regions of northern and southern Europe, this publication analyses the principal method of metropolitan intervention: developing the territory, improving transport, supplying water, combating pollution, preventing risks, favouring access to housing and economic development, etc. These fields increasingly go beyond the specific nature of urban contexts as a new type of metropolitan governance emerges thanks to the convergence of solutions introduced to resolve the attendant problems. This trend can be viewed as even more important when we consider that globalisation is accelerating the redistribution of power between the state and local power bases, while enabling the major city regions to develop fully-fledged marketing strategies. **IA 46451**

Buck, Nick (dir.); Gordon, Ian (dir.); Harding, Alan (dir.); Turok, Ivan (dir.)

Changing cities. Rethinking urban competitiveness, cohesion, and governance

Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005.- XV-317 p., tabl., index, bibliogr.

This interdisciplinary research combines a critical analysis of the inter-relation between competitiveness, social cohesion and governance along with central issues relating to these concepts. There is also an examination of the main processes underlying the key sectors of the urban economy, physical development, social relations, neighbourhoods and urban policy. **IA 47647**

Choay, Françoise (dir.); Merlin, Pierre (dir.)

Dictionnaire de l'urbanisme et de l'aménagement. Nouvelle édition mise à jour

Paris : *PUF*, 2005 - XXII-963 p. **CDU 59058**

Groth, Jacqueline; Corijn, Eric

Reclaiming urbanity: indeterminate spaces, informal actors and urban agenda setting

Urban studies. Vol. 42, no 3, March 2005.- pp. 503-526, maps, fig., phot., bibliogr.

Over the course of the last twenty or thirty years, the cities of the western world have undergone economic, social and cultural transformations which have gradually impacted on urban policy and planning. This research effort covers three railway brownfield sites in three western capitals (Helsinki, Berlin and Brussels) and is founded on semi-directive interviews with citizen representatives, on the one hand, and institutional stakeholders (local authorities, property owners, local political representatives), on the other. The study examines the contrasting visions between the two types of stakeholder, informal and formal. The present conditions required to ensure the "success" of informal stakeholders in the process of urban planning are also discussed.

Ministère de l'Équipement. Centre d'études sur les réseaux, les transports, l'urbanisme et les constructions publiques

L'Europe des urbanistes: cultures et pratiques du projet. 9° université d'été du CFDU. 25, 26 et 27 août 2004. Toulouse

Lyon : CERTU, 2005. - 240 p., graph., phot., plans

This 9th CDFU summer school covered various themes: housing, public transport, nature in the city, urban renewal. The players reported on their differing experiences in a number of European cities. Finally, this summer school provided an oppor-

tunity to reflect on the profession of urban planner. This publication pulls together the documents arising from these exchanges in five parts: - first part: diverse approaches to the urban project in Europe. Europe and urban planning projects; the project production process in Europe; the role of the project culture in Europe; testimony by a professional practice in Central Europe; - second part: European comparisons: the means for planning, delivery and urban development in Europe; - third part: European projects: balanced residential neighbourhoods; travel policies and structuring of the city; public transport in Rotterdam's Vinex neighbourhoods; the tramway and residential development in Prague; nature's role in the city; redevelopment of the banks of the Segre (Spain); a block of rental housing units in a neighbourhood of Tübingen; inward urban renewal: the strategy for urban regeneration of Thames Gateway brownfield sites in London; the strategy for redevelopment of the Elephant & Castle largescale public housing zone in London; Spina centrale, the backbone of the urban renewal project in Turin; lessons learned from project production methods; - fourth part: professional forums. Changes in practices for representation of the territory at the planning stage: interlinkage of expertise and resources in studies; the reference system for professions and expertise; training in urban planning: opening out towards Europe; - fifth part: collection of the various speeches. The list of participants is shown at the end of the publication.

IA 46499; CTL CEDB 43; CDU 59367; CTM 17498

Moulaert, Frank (dir.); Rodriguez, Arantxa (dir.); Swyngedouw, Erik (dir.)

The globalized city. Economic restructuring and social polarization in european cities Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005.- XXII-279 p., tabl., fig.,

phot., bibliogr.

This study offers an empirical contribution to our understanding of the interaction between the processes shaping urban economies and governance and their concrete expression via the main urban development projects. Based on nine case studies in Europe, the reader is offered a critical analysis of opposing urban restructuring processes, institutions and practices in order to promote neo-liberal notions of competitive cities. This analysis reveals how the structural forces emerging from the process of globalisation are tending to shape urban transformations, underlining the fact that the resultant social inequalities are growing.

IA 46712

Ascher, François

Les nouveaux principes de l'urbanisme

La Tour d'Aigues : Éditions de l'aube, 2004.- 107 p., bibliogr. Combining references to political science, sociology and eco-



nomics, the author firstly focuses on the historical relations between urbanisation and modernisation, identifying two modern urban revolutions and the onset of a third phase in modernity tied to information and communication technologies as well as cognitive sciences and leading to a third urban revolution whereby cities end up changing scale and form. He sets out and subsequently comments on ten or so principles underpinning a new kind of urban planning: defining and managing projects in an uncertain context, favouring objectives in relation to resources, incorporating new performance models, tailoring cities to the diversity of needs, designing environments as a function of new social practices, acting within a society which is strongly differentiated, redefining the public authorities' tasks, responding to diverse preferences and requirements, promoting a new kind of urban quality, tailoring democracy to the third urban revolution. IA 43346; CDU 57895

Bourdin, Alain; Masboungi, Ariella Club ville et aménagement Plan urbanisme construction architecture Un urbanisme des modes de vie

Paris : Éditions du Moniteur, 2004.- 95 p., phot., ill., dessins, fig., bibliogr.

What is the best way to structure urban space which has been ceaselessly criss-crossed by increasingly mobile and unpredictable city-dwellers? How should we respond to the new trends in consumption and leisure? How can we come up with or manage urban planning which is focused on security without falling into the trap of a security-obsessed approach? How can we create new urban centres to meet the need for proximity and conviviality embodied by the notion of "living together" within a quality environment? Faced with the trend to buy standard individual houses (said to be the dream of 80% of French citizens), how can we identify an imaginative yet reasonable solution for housing focused on the future? These are just some of the questions which the authors endeavour to answer with a view to ensuring that urban planning takes greater account of the lessons learned from observation of lifestyles while combating the



dogmatism of authoritarian approaches to urban planning or a laisser-faire approach which lauds the unrestrained interplay of market forces.

IA 45673; CDU 58324; CTA 14748; MV B11215; PUCA 701

Florida, Richard

The rise of the Creative Class: And How It's Transforming Work, Leisure, Community and Everyday Life

New York: Basic Books, 2004.- XXX-434 p., tabl., graph., notes, index

The emergence of a new social class is described, comprised of creative thinkers whether scientists, engineers, architects, writers, artists, musicians or others who apply their inventiveness to business, education, health, and law. With 38 million members in the United States, this creative class has fashioned the working methods, values, desires and daily lives of US citizens and will continue to do so.

IA 47002

Jouve, Bernard, dir.; Lefèvre, Christian, dir. Horizons métropolitains

Lausanne : Presses polytechniques et universitaires romandes, 2004. - 274 p.: cartes; tabl.; graph.; bibliogr.

Over a period running from the 1960s through to the late 1990s, the various contributors analyse changes impacting six European city regions: Geneva-Lausanne, Lyon, Marseille, Naples, Stuttgart and Zurich. Although these six city regions function in different institutional contexts they can be considered of equal rank when viewed alongside the major global city regions. The purpose is to highlight the myriad ways in which transformation of capitalism and restructuring of European states is affecting metropolitan governance. The approach is founded on three indicators of trends in urban governance: a shift in relations between the city regions and the state, changes in operating frameworks for urban policies and the readjustment of relations between politics and economics. These three indicators reveal contrasting dynamics between the six city regions studied although some common features do emerge. In terms of relations with the state, we are witnessing the end of the central-outskirts model with the development of intergovernmental relations but the city regions continue to be reliant on the state and other levels of government such as Europe and the regions. In terms of the operating frameworks for urban public initiatives, two major trends emerge: the growing influence of intersectorial metropolitan politics and a rising trend in favour of consensus building.

IA 45231; CDU 57889; CTA 14257

Lecroart, Paul; Duée, Marie; Hubert, Benjamin; Spire, Amandine; Zunino, Gwénaëlle

Institut d'aménagement et d'urbanisme de la région Île-de-France

Grands projets d'urbanisme en Europe. Dix études de cas

Paris : Iaurif, 2004.- 51 p., phot., cartes, plans, ill.

Ten major European projects are presented in the form of datasheets. Each embodies the renewal of a city region, a conversion, a strategy for national and international positioning. Certain projects are intended to promote a city as an international finance centre (the Dublin Docklands) or as the Atlantic capital (the Expo Urbe project in Lisbon) while other projects such as Porto Antico in Genoa and Ria 2000 in Bilbao are the fruit of a strategy to achieve economic conversion through tourism and culture; the Frente Littoral-Bessos project in Barcelona is intended to consolidate the city's appeal in the cultural domain; and thanks to the Stratford City project, London is endeavouring to bolster its international presence and open outwards in the direction of continental Europe. Amsterdam is keen to offset its housing deficit through the ljburg programme designed to supplement the future hub of Zuidas. Finally, the Ørestad (Copenhagen), Hautpbahnof-Laim-Pasing (Munich) and 22@bcn Barcelona projects are aimed at developing new technologies. IA 45635

Lefèvre, Christian

Ville de Paris

Paris et les grandes agglomérations occidentales: comparaison des modèles

de gouvernance. Barcelone, Berlin, Lisbonne, Londres, Madrid, Manchester, Milan, Montréal, Rome, Stuttgart, Toronto

Paris : Mairie de Paris, 2004.- 78 p., tabl., bibliogr.

The author attempts to identify elements which are favourable and unfavourable to the emergence and development of a metropolitan project. He also attempts to determine the political input for these elements that a leader (individual or group of individuals) must provide to define and implement a metropolitan project while justifying the choice of selected western city regions for comparison with Paris, as well as reporting on identification of favourable and unfavourable elements in the metropolitan projects and focusing on the metropolitan projects of London, Madrid and Milan in order to analyse the political efforts (of the *Greater London Authority*, the Mayor of London and forms of *leadership* in Madrid and Milan), and set out the principal conclusions while providing food for thought with regard to the situation in Paris.

CDU 60323

Outrequin, Philippe; Charlot-Valdieu, Catherine

Analyse de projets de quartier durable en Europe

Valbonne : La Calade, 2004. - 190 p., phot., tabl., graph., bibliogr. Overview of analyses concerning several sustainable neighbourhood projects in Europe (Kronsberg neighbourhood in Hanover and Vauban neighbourhood in Freiburg, Germany, Leidsche Rijnproject in Utrecht, the Netherlands, Viiki neighbourhood in Helsinki, Finland, Augustenborg neighbourhood in Malmo, Sweden, Hedebygabe neighbourhood in Copenhagen, Denmark). The purpose of these analyses being to help professionals and elected representatives to build sustainable development into their urban renewal and development projects, whether in terms of operations related to the municipality's strategy or projects overseen by social landlords, municipal teams, private developers or administrators. For each neighbourhood, details are given of the context, stakeholders, urban project, resource management and an evaluation-assessment. CDU 58789

École nationale supérieure d'architecture de Paris-Malaquais

Plan urbanisme construction architecture

Programme de recherches comparatives sur les projets urbains dans les grandes villes françaises. Villes partenaires du programme : Bordeaux, Lille, Lyon, Marseille, Montpellier, Nantes, Toulouse

Paris : École d'architecture de Paris-Malaquais, 2003.- pag. mult. To respond to the widely differing expectations on the part of all stakeholders, a programme of comparative research on urban projects in the major French cities (seven cities have agreed to be partners) was considered necessary. The purpose of the programme concerning the project practices will be conducted over three years. The city in the process of building itself represents the end goal of the research effort and it is on the basis of concrete actions implemented as part of specific operations that key challenges for the production of knowledge lie. For each city and its metropolitan area, the analysis of urban projects will be undertaken on the basis of three distinct viewpoints: a retrospective analysis of "completed" projects; monitoring of projects in progress at their different stages of development; a forward-looking analysis and an "urban watch". The observational work should develop according to a range of situations. In relation to this project knowledge base, cross-cutting and comparative reviews (between major French cities and on the European scale) will be developed.

PUCA 431; CDU 57211

Salet, Anton; Thornley, Andy; Kreukels, Anton

Metropolitan governance and spatial planning: comparative case studies of European city-regions London: Spon Press, 2003.- XIV-406 p., maps, tabl., index, bibliogr.

Relations between the decision-making processes and strategies to coordinate spatial planning policy in city regions are examined in nineteen urban regions of Europe with an attendant analysis of differences and similarities. Consideration is also given to the impact of economic and social trends on metropolitan spaces, changes in institutional power structures, the strategies for development of the urban region and possible problems related to institutional and spatial coordination. **IA 44929**

Herrschel, Tassilo; Newman, Peter

Governance of Europe's city regions: planning, policy and politics

London: Routledge, 2002. - 233 p., maps; tabl, gloss., lexique, bibliogr.

This structured overview of ongoing debates on cities and regions enables understanding of current trends on different scales while investigating different European experiences which offer the prospect of effective governance of urban regions. They fall into two categories: urban regions dominated by a city centre and "polycentric" regions which link groups of cities with each category facing different challenges. The national, regional and local contexts also influence the effectiveness of urban governance. **IA 44512**

Lecroart, Paul; Sallet-Lavorel, Hélène

Institut d'aménagement et d'urbanisme de la région Île-de-France; Metropolis

Commission 1 : l'impact des grands événements sur le développement des métropoles. Metropolis. Séoul 27-31 mai 2002

Barcelone : Metropolis, 2002. - 164 p., phot.; cartes

This report summarises the work of Metropolis Commission 1. It draws together experiences of cities organising major sporting or cultural events and gauges their impact on development and the economic growth of city regions on different scales. A second section presents eight datasheets on case studies covering eleven events.

IA 43908 (1); DRE 9537

Voir aussi en version anglaise: Commission 1: the impact of major events on the development of large cities. Metropolis 2002, Seoul may 27-31.- IA 43908 (2)

Renard, Vincent; Vilmin, Thierry

Analyse comparative de structures d'aménagement en Europe : Allemagne, Angleterre, Espagne, Italie. Action n° 2

sl : *Logiville*, 2002.- 97 p., *tabl*.

After a summary of development structures observed in the four case studies (East Manchester in the UK, Fribourg-en-Brisgau and Offenburg in Germany, Lérida in Spain and the Italian province of Turin), a typology is presented along with the parameters which can be used to characterise these structures. A few profiles which may help position the French development model in relation to its European counterparts are described. It is shown that, almost everywhere, local authorities are required to generate specific structures in the form of commercial type companies uncoupled from administrative departments in order to conduct planning & delivery. Thus, the French-style approach to planning & delivery based on a tighter network of semi-public companies and public establishments is not the only one of its kind in Europe even if the characteristics of these structures differ according to the country.

IA 48094

Devoize Suzy; Lefèvre, Christian; Stévenin, Jacques; Thépin, Daniel

Institut d'aménagement et d'urbanisme de la région Île-de-France

L'évolution de l'organisation institutionnelle des États européens. Des processus de décentralisation marqués par le poids des héritages nationaux

Paris : Iaurif, 2001. - 95 p., tabl., bibliogr.

This study presents the institutional organisation of five major

European countries. These States, whether unitary, federal or intermediary, have committed to decentralisation and this report relates their different experiences. Five examples are given of the way in which regional policies are implemented: the *Greater London Authority*; the urban regeneration programmes of Greater London; development policies in Lombardy; the *Lombardia Integra programme*; the *Verband Region Stuttgart*. **IA 43298**

Pranlas-Descours, Jean-Pierre; Velly, Michel Panoramas européens

Paris : Picard; Pavillon de l'Arsenal, 2001.- 245 p., phot., fig., cartes

Produced in support of an exhibition, this publication offers an urban and architectural overview of fifteen European city regions from differing viewpoints: the historic city and its transformation, strategies of conquest for metropolitan territories. In addition, a selection of projects and achievements of the past five years reflects the dynamism of these capitals. After a general presentation of the historic trends on a European scale, each capital is covered individually with commented illustrations of the territory and the infrastructures (transport networks, railway stations and airports, civil engineering structures), urban development projects and examples of architectural achievements. **CDU 54117; IA 43304**

Métropoles européennes en projet. Stratégies de développement : rapport final des métropoles européennes, groupe de travail EUROCITES/EDURC = European cities in making. Development strategies: final report in European

cities, EUROCITIES/EDURC working party Lyon : Grand Lyon, 2000. - 28 p., photo.

The report reflects lessons learned from two years of exchange between the cities in the working group (twelve members and four partners). It shows what a modern development strategy represents and presents the toolbox available to cities, whatever their rank and context, in order to lead a development strategy and sets out a range of original initiatives identified in the cities. IA 42194 (1)

Sassen, Saskia

La ville globale. New-York, Londres, Tokyo. Trad. de l'américain par Denis-Armand Canal. Préf. de Sophie Body-Gendrot

Paris : Descartes et Cie, 1996.- 530 p., notes, tabl., bibliogr.

Publication whose major theme is the manner in which the organisation required by the various forms of globalisation within the economy establishes power on the basis of strategic sites located in a number of the world's largest cities which the author dubs

"global cities". In three distinct sections and with a particular focus on New York, London and Tokyo, the economic and financial clout of major cities is analysed. The first part sets out the strong trends towards dispersion of production and reorganisation of the finance sector. The focus is on the geography, composition and institutions representing globalisation of economic activity in the 1980s. The second part then examines the industries which constitute the central core of these cities as well as their national and international economies. The third part develops certain key aspects relating to the way in which the profits and costs for this specific form of growth are distributed. Finally, the conclusion covers the political implications of these developments. **CDU 34395; CA C9562; EPC NS20629**

English publication at laurif: IA 37333

Veltz, Pierre

Mondialisation, villes et territoires : l'économie d'archipel

Paris, PUF, 1996. - 264 p., bibliogr.

The links are explored between three major processes: globalisation of the economy, growing spatial polarisation in favour of the most developed zones, major city regions in particular, and deep-seated changes to production organisation methods. The risks of the new geo-economics are highlighted: rising inequalities, undermining social cohesion and short-term dictatorship, incompatible with the requirement of people and businesses to evolve within durable, long-term frameworks.

IA 37227; CDU 32999

Benevolo, Leonardo

La ville dans l'histoire européenne

Paris, éditions du Seuil, 1993. - 284 p., ill., photo., bibliogr.

A history of the European city through the ages: the break with antiquity through to the tenth century, the formation of medieval cities, the age of finishings (1300-1500), the discovery of the world, the difficult adaptation of European cities to the rules of perspective (1600-1750), the impact of industrialisation, the transformation of European cities in the European world, from 1890 to the present day.

IA 32812; CDU 28233; IAB B655; EPC NY4773

Lefebvre, Henri

La production de l'espace

Paris : Éditions Anthropos, 1974.- 485 p. IA 7667



Case studies

Amsterdam

Majoor, Stan

Amsterdam Zuidas: the dream of "new urbanity" In: Framing Strategic Urban Projects. Learning from current experiences in European city regions London : Routledge, 2007.- pp. 53-83, cartes, tabl., phot., bibliogr. The Zuidas sector: (Southern Axis) of Amsterdam is the biggest contemporary urban development project in the Netherlands and one of the country's most ambitious. In the course of its short history, the project's goal has changed since the creation of a new site for office buildings in the region of Amsterdam through to the establishment of an internationally competitive zone with a significant urban aspect including housing and amenities. The urban project is examined from an institutional perspective while the complex practices of decision-making are viewed against the backdrop of institutional innovation.

IA 48033

Lecomte, Dominique

Institut d'aménagement et d'urbanisme de la région Île-de-France

La stratégie d'aménagement et de développement économique de la Randstad-Hollande. Note de synthèse

Paris : Iaurif, 2006. - 10 p., carte, tabl., ann.

This report is a summary of the development and urban growth project proposed in June 2004 by Randstad-Holland entitled "Economic Strategy Randstad Holland" (IA 47539). Among other aspects this project argues for strengthening of the region's internal cohesion, increasing the corporate property offering and facilitating development of the knowledge economy. It must serve as the basis for budgetary discussions between the national government and local authorities with a view to identification of priority investments.

IA 47537; DRE T.2860



Majoor, Stan (dir.); Salet, Willem (dir.) Amsterdam Zuidas, European space

Rotterdam: 010 Publishers, 2005.- 198 p., maps, phot., index, bibliogr.

Development of the *Zuidas* sector in Amsterdam provided a unique opportunity to link up the regional economy with international networks and promote new models for the regional city. In an initial phase, along with an analysis of Europe's principal large-scale projects, the *Zuidas* is repositioned in its context and those responsible discuss its planning and objectives. There then follows examination of the possibilities for economic development, three socio-cultural environment scenarios and the development strategy for *Zuidas*. **IA 48106**

Baaren, Mariëtte; Kompier, Vincent; Lange, Lia de

Plan Amsterdam 1. Voorzieningen op ljburg. Het programma voor wonen, werken en vrije tijd = Plan Amsterdam 1. ljburg. The programme for housing and other amenities

Amsterdam: City of Amsterdam, 2003.- 28 p., ill., phot.

On 21 November 2002, the first residents took possession of their homes in *ljburg*, a new neighbourhood of Amsterdam. Ijburg is built on artificial islands close to the city centre in an attractive environment. This quality of environment combined with a varied programme of housing and other amenities boosts the neighbourhood's value in relation to other locations. The various programmes for housing and social, educational and leisure facilities are also presented.

IA 48104

Boyer, Jean-Claude Amsterdam. La plus petite des grandes métropoles

Paris : l'Harmattan, 1999.- 215 p., index, tabl., cartes, bibliogr. The city of Amsterdam has been unable to hang onto the sta-

tus it enjoyed in the 18th century. Despite its minimal involvement in new technologies and facing strong competition from other Dutch cities in terms of prestige, it remains an important European city nonetheless. This publication shows what it is about Amsterdam that makes it a pioneering "sustainable city". A hotbed of cultural exchange and innovation thanks to successive waves of immigration, pioneer in legalisation of soft drugs (a sign of its exceptional spirit of openness) but also a player in international high finance, Amsterdam occupies a unique place on the European stage. Its scope of influence somewhat belies its size since it is clearly one of the major city regions in Europe today. **IA 46564; CDU 51366**

BARCELONA

Luzon Benedicto, José Luis; Vila Carrasco, Jordi Barcelona universal Forum 2004: culture as driver of urban economy. In: Framing strategic urban

projects: learning from current

London: Routledge, 2007.- pp. 84-114, map, phot., bibliogr.

The Universal Forum of Cultures 2004 is a cultural event organised by the city of Barcelona with the backing of Unesco. This Forum of Cultures might be described as the most symbolic action enabling the industrial site of Poblenou to be redeveloped as well as the entire north-eastern part of Barcelona. Its principal socio-economic objective was to attain a high degree of spatial specialisation in order to attract new knowledge-intensive activities and bolster revitalisation of the most run down parts of the city, namely the neighbourhoods of La Catalana and La Mina.

IA 48033

Transforming Barcelona

London: Routledge, 2004.- XI + 263 p., maps, plan, phot. coul., notes, tabl., index, réf. bibliogr.

Analysis of the process of urban transformation under way in Barcelona since 1986, in the form of a collection of articles featuring contributions from elected representatives, urban planners, architects and academics involved in the fields of urban planning, history, economics and urban ecology, with a focus on the linkage between political decision-making and the intervention of professionals involved in this process. The book examines the way in which those in power, planners, urban architectures and, in a broader perspective, residents have championed, designed, implemented and gradually adopted the urban project which earned the Mediterranean city international acclaim for the quality of its urban renewal policy. The publication successively presents events by detailing their historical, geographical, political, and social contexts as well as the models for data collection, the administrative and professional organisation in which they were able to thrive and by paying particular attention to the questions of public participation, the intervention methodology, problems concerning the centre-outskirts relationship and deindustrialisation. There is also an attempt to touch on the quality of public spaces and explain the project's options. In addition, the projects in progress are presented prior to a conclusion which takes the form of a critical attempt to place the project in perspective aimed at enabling the Catalan action plan to be referred to a broader perspective. CDU 59615

Esteban, Juli

Town planning project: valuing the periphery and winning back the centre

Barcelona: Aula Barcelona, 1998.- 20 p., tabl., bibliogr.

In 1976, Barcelona's development framework was approved and in 1979, the first democratic municipal council took up its duties. After focusing on the 1976 development framework, consideration is given to the new municipal council's first urban projects, the various projects planned for the Olympic Games, and urban transformation projects after 1992.

IA 48099

BERLIN .

Bachmann, Marie

Berlin-Adlershof: local steps into global networks. In: Framing strategic urban projects: learning from current experiences in European urban regions

London: Routledge, 2007.- pp. 115-145, maps, tabl., phot., bibliogr.

Since 1994, the City of Science, Technology and Media of Berlin Adlershof has been under construction in the neighbourhood of Treptow. This project is the second most important project in terms of urban planning and it is also the largest development zone in the German capital. This major project, which is located within the city limits, offers large volumes of space for industry and offices. It also presents interesting characteristics in terms of decision-making processes, sustainability and the mixity of uses. **IA 48033**

Haussermann, Hartmut; Simons, Katja

Facing fiscal crisis: urban flagship projects in Berlin. In: The globalized city: economic restructuring and social polarization in European cities

Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005.- pp. 107-124, map, bibliogr.

The tumultuous and highly ambitious redevelopment of Berlin is examined via the project in Adlershof for a new science and technology city. The far-reaching transformation of governance in Berlin is also examined as well as its impact on socio-spatial organisation.

IA 46712

Grésillon, Boris; Kohler, Dorothée Berlin, capitale en attente

Hérodote. No 101, 2^e trim. 2001.- pp. 96-121, cartes, schémas, tabl., notes, bibliogr.

While describing the political history of Berlin and drawing on data concerning the recent flow of businesses into the city and trends in the working population as well as comparative employment data across various sectors in Berlin and the rest of the country, this article offers an analysis of developments and the state of progress for various projects hosted by the city: political and institutional project (marked by the opening of the Reichstag and the setting up of several ministries), economic project (restoring the city's former status as an economic hub, mainly based on the service sector), urban project (development of the Potsdamer Platz into a new American-style neighbourhood), identity project (the city is often viewed as the reunification laboratory) and geopolitical project (reorganisation and revitalisation of the territory surrounding the city which is the least affluent region in Germany).

CDU; MV B10413

Duhem, Gilles (coord.); Grésillon, Boris (coord.); Kohler, Dorothée (coord.)

Paris-Berlin. Regards croisés sur deux capitales européennes

Paris : Anthropos, 2000. - 259 p., fig., tabl., graph., bibliogr.

Despite their different characteristics and urban backgrounds, Paris and Berlin are now facing similar difficulties such as the growing urban sprawl and the volatility of the financial markets. Structured around five major themes, this study offers a comparative analysis of the processes of transformation at work in these cities in order to better understand their structure as well as their economic, social, architectural and spatial trends. **IA 42060; CDU 52594**

Jaquand, Corinne

Portrait de ville : Berlin

Bulletin d'informations architecturales. Suppl. no 159, 1992. -58 p., ill., phot. coul., plans, ann., bibliogr.

Three years after the wall came down, Berlin is in the process of becoming Europe's biggest redevelopment site: the history of the past and future capital of Germany, its development, housing, architecture, the Nazi projects, the divided post-war Berlin and the future development are all examined. A brief guide lists 270 architectural sites some of which are better known than others. **IA 31819; EPC NY4234; CDU 23413; CA RC28 (Berlin)**

BILBAO

Masboungi, Ariella

La culture comme projet de ville: Bilbao

Paris : éditions de La Villette - 2001, 130 p., phot., dessins, cartes The urban renewal experiment conducted in Bilbao at the end of the 1990s presented by politicians, developers, urban planners, and architects, etc. The first part is focused on how the programme of urban renovation founded on a partnership between public and private players is aimed at renewing the image of the city and favouring its economic revival through the creation of major cultural amenities and infrastructures. The second part describes the major projects in greater detail: the main urban projects (Abandoibarra, Ametzola, Bilbao la Vieja, Barakaldo) along with the infrastructure projects (conversion of the port, metro, railway network, bridges and airport). The third part retraces the cultural strategy implemented, particularly via the background to the Guggenheim Museum project which has come to symbolise the city. A number of architects, politicians, urban planners and journalists discuss the architectural marketing policy. Finally, the Bilbao project is placed in the context of the Spanish nation during the 1980-2000 period. The city is presented as a veritable urban laboratory and compared with other Spanish cities: Saint-Sébastien, Seville, Valencia, Gerona, Oviedo, Saint-Jacques de Compostelle and Toledo.

IA 46465

Chadoin, Olivier; Godier, Patrice; Tapie, Guy

Du politique à l'œuvre : Bilbao, Bordeaux, Bercy, San Sebatian. Système et acteurs des grands projets urbains et architecturaux

La Tour d'Aigues : éditions de l'Aube, 2000.- 237 p. ann., bibliogr. This publication is based on a study funded by the PUCA (urban development construction and architecture plan) as part of the Euroconception programme. Through analysis of four case studies of architectural and urban development projects, in France and in Spain, the authors have endeavoured to highlight a number of themes: define the stakeholders who participate in the preparation of these projects, show how they cooperate and manage their divergences while also highlighting these projects' similarities in two countries boasting different traditions. IA 43788; CDU 52186

BIRMINGHAM

Masboungi, Ariella (dir.)

Birmingham: faire la ville en partenariat

Paris : Éd. de la Villette, 2006.- 159 p., cartes, phot., plans

One of those heroic cities which have managed to reinvent themselves and rise from ashes, Birmingham was faced with many obstacles being badly damaged by the war and modernist urban planning and devastated by the industrial depression. Its spectacular rebirth has been founded on a strategy implemented for over twenty years aimed at attracting business tourism and prioritising the enlarged, revitalised and upgraded city centre. The means deployed have been pragmatic: ambitious public projects which revitalise private investment, transformation of the city into a zone focused on quality leisure and commercial activities. Public-private partnership which have become such a standard part of the UK development landscape, offer many lessons including questions as to their impact on urban quality and social cohesion.

IA 48041

Berg, Leo Van Den; Meer, Jan van der; Otgaar, Alexander H.J.

Birmingham "Europe's meeting place". In: The attractive city, catalyst for economic development and social revitalisation. An international comparative research into the experiences in Birmingham, Lisbon and Rotterdam

Rotterdam: EURICUR, 2000.- pp. 21-43, map, tabl.

The initial focus is on the Birmingham municipality's strategy to position itself as a city which is expert in hosting conferences. The public and private investments required to attain this objective and the partnerships established are also covered. The impact of these efforts is discussed and an assessment is made of how they impact on Birmingham's wider appeal.

BRUSSELS

Criekingen, Mathieu Van; Guisset, Christophe; Vandermotten, Christian Brussels Tour and Taxis: entrepreneurship versus

the fragmented city. In: Framing strategic urban projects: learning from current experiences in European urban regions

London: Routledge, 2007.- pp. 146-171, maps, tabl., phot., bibliogr.

The urban landscape of Brussels has undergone radical transformation since the end of the Second World War, particularly due to the presence of European institutions but since the 1980s, none of the projects implemented in the Belgian capital concerns large-scale strategic projects set up by public-private partnerships as in Bilbao for instance. If there is one area which symbolises this absence of a large-scale urban project it is the Tour & Taxis zone which has become a massive brownfield site since the end of the 1980s and which nonetheless represents a first-class opportunity for economic and urban revitalisation. Today, several redevelopment projects are in progress such as the Cité de la Musique and Cité de la Connaissance initiatives. The fact that both have failed demonstrates that the Tour & Taxis zone is a highly contested site where numerous players are in something of a stand-off. The governance and urban planning practices in Brussels are also examined.

IA 48033

COPENHAGEN

Majoor, Stan; Jorgensen, John

Copenhagen Orestad: public partnership in search of the market. In: Framing strategic urban projects: learning from current experiences in European urban regions

London: Routledge, 2007. - pp. 172-198, maps, tabl., phot., bibliogr.

Orestad, located on the Île d'Amager between the historic city centre and Copenghagen international airport is the largest urban planning project in the Danish capital. The concept which underpinned the project was to create an annex of the city which could draw in Danish and international visitors. The Orestad project resembles other major European projects to the extent that it is part of an entrepreneurial strategy on the part of the city and the region with a view to improving their competitive position and attracting foreign investment. Consideration is given to the limited links between the project's strategic framework and the operational decision-making process. **IA 48033**

IA 40000

Andersen, John

Gambling politics or successful entrepreneurialism? The Orestad project in Copenhagen. In: The globalized city. Economic



restructuring and social polarization in European cities

Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005.- pp. 91-106, map, tabl., phot., bibliogr.

The development and implementation of a new urban ensemble outside Copenhagen, Orestad City, is a highly symbolic illustration of the deep-seated and contradictory transformations within the Danish political/institutional framework.

IA 46712

DUBLIN

Bartley, Brendan; Treadwell Shine, Kasey

Competitive city: governance and the changing dynamics of urban regeneration in Dublin. In: The globalized city: economic restructuring and social polarization in European cities

Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005.- pp. 145-166, maps, tabl., phot.

Here, the focus is on transformation of the Dublin Docklands into a business and high-level-service district. The background to the urban project makes it possible to explore and analyse the transformation of development and governance systems in Dublin in terms of their interrelation with national and European policies and the role of the "Celtic Tiger" in the dynamics of a globalised economy.

IA 46712

Hurley, Jennifer

Dublin, un village capitale

Paris : L'Harmattan, 2002.- 101 p., cartes, tabl., graph., phot., bibliogr.

Though undoubtedly a modern capital, Dublin remains one of the few city regions which is on a human scale, even being described by some as a large Irish village. An overview is given of the city, its urban development and current physiognomy, as well as the diverse cultures and economic vitality.



Gazzola, Antida

Perception sociale et localisation du droit. Construction et déconstruction de la confiance. In : Les règles du jeu urbain : entre droit et confiance

Paris : Descartes, 2006.- pp. 127-147, fig., bibliogr.

Genoa

The role of what is termed social perception seems central to the construction of the reciprocal relationship between trust in the city and in the legal zone and framework. Here the focus is on existing relations in the inhabited area, between the legal framework, the perception of legitimate possibilities for use of the zones and the establishment of a relationship between the residents and the city founded on trust with regard to the enormous operation to transform the port of Genoa.

IA 47150

Basile, Maria

La transposition des modèles belge et britannique de gestion de centre-ville dans les quartiers historiques des agglomérations de Gênes et de Lille

sl : *chez l'auteur*, 2005.- 401 p., *plans*, *tabl.*, *phot.*, *bibliogr*. This research endeavours to demonstrate how the city centre management approach changes our perceptions (particularly by taking account of the contribution by commerce) and enables identification of the current problem set concerning urban action. In an initial phase, the major themes of the management of city centres are covered: the British and Belgian models make it possible to present the procedure for management of city centres according to two different applications. The city centre management approach is questioned in relation to the two structuring aspects of urban planning and organisation of the action. The spatial question is covered via the notion of ambience and an analysis is made of the specific features of the way stakeholders interact which are structured around city centre management. The city centre management systems are analysed in two case studies in Lille and Genoa.

IA 48084

Gravelaine, Frédérique de; Masboungi, Ariella (dir.) Penser la ville par les grands événements : Gênes. Photographies Albert Jaubert

Paris : Éditions de la Villette; DGUHC, 2004.- 114 p., phot. plans, cartes, ill., schémas, bibliogr.

Illustrated with numerous photographs, this collective publication offers analyses and commentaries on the transformation and renovation of the city, on the role of the main players in these transformations (architects, mayor, planners). It also presents a number of implementations and developments which like Barcelona for the Olympics, have successfully used events to ensure their own creation, while stressing the importance of the planning model which has been applied based on varied projects (historic centre, business hub).

IA 46279; CDU 58635; DRE 9500 (4); MV B11166; CTM 17458

GLASGOW

Clyde waterfront regeneration. Annual report 2005

Glasgow: City Council, 2005.- 81 p., maps, ill., phot.

This report gives a run-down on completed projects and work in progress concerning the various urban initiatives to revitalise the banks of the River Clyde in Glasgow. For each sector, a presentation is given of the financing structures, the progress of work, the implementations and the projects. **IA 48089**

HAMBOURG

Knieling, Jörg

Big projects, fetivalisation and visions as strategies of urban planning in global times -Case study metropolis Hamburg. In: City images and urban regeneration. The European city in transition, vol. 3

Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 2004.- pp. 169-187, tabl., bibliogr.

The HafenCity project is Hamburg's centrepiece urban planning project. This initiative, the city's bid for the 2012 Olympics and the "Hamburg – the growing city" concept are the three examples of urban planning conducted within the city region which is a member of the Hanse league.

IA 47857

Noel, Denise; Kossak, Florian Hambourg

Archiscopie. Suppl., nº 27, nov. 2002.- 72 p., cartes, fig., phot.

Covering an area seven times that of inner Paris, Hamburg is Germany's second city in population terms after Berlin with 1,715,000 inhabitants as at 2000. Despite the attractive bell towers and abundant greenery, the urban landscape of Hamburg which emerged from the great fire of 1842 and the allied bombing in the Second World War (particularly in 1943) is that of a reconstructed city. After a review of the urbanisation process from its very beginnings through to 1945, a description is given of projects to redevelop the city in the immediate post-war period. Attention is then turned to the rediscovered identity of the city, modification of the urban landscape as of the 1980s, the densification of neighbourhoods, and the creation of a new neighbourhood with the free port, HafenCity. A selection of around 250 sites and constructions is presented classed by neighbourhoods and by building proximity. IA 44188; CDU 55691

Lisbon

Cabral, Joao; Rato, Berta

Urban development for competitiveness and cohesion: the Expo 98 urban project in Lisbon. In: The globalized city: economic restructuring and social polarization in European cities

Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005.- pp. 209-228, tabl., phot., bibliogr.

The ambivalent attempts of the municipality of Lisbon to reposition the Portuguese capital as an entrepreneurial and competitive city on the international stage are covered via the prism of the Universal Exhibition of 1998. The contested dynamics of this emblematic project are outlined. Emphasis is given to the difficult balance act between satisfying aspirations to maintain social cohesion and improving urban competitiveness. IA 46712

Berg, Leo Van Den; Meer, Jan van der; Otgaar, Alexander H.J.

Lisbon: the impact of EXPO 98. in: The attractive

city, catalyst for economic development and social revitalisation. An international comparative research into the experiences of Brimingham, Lisbon and Rotterdam

Rotterdam: EURICUR, 2000.- pp. 45-71, map, tabl., graph. Consideration is given to the way in which the city of Lisbon and Portugal have successfully used the Universal Exhibition of 1998 to increase their appeal among inhabitants, businesses and tourists.

IA 46470

LONDON

Thames Gateway Interim Plan. Policy framework

London: Department for Communities and Local Government, 2006.- 57 p., maps, ill., phot.

The *Thames Gateway* project is the biggest urban regeneration projects in Western Europe and one of the British government's key priorities. Hosting of the 2012 Olympics and Paralympics should help accelerate and consolidate the regeneration of Stratford and the Lower Lea Valley. The spotlight is turned on the expected challenges, the Olympic opportunity, conditions for economic growth, transformation of the environment, construction of housing and social mixity, transport infrastructures and the improved quality of life in this part of south-east England. **IA 48088**

Vision for the lower Lea valley

London: London Thames Gateway Development Corporation, 2006.- 37 p., phot.

The Lower Lea Valley is the last great land redevelopment opportunity in London. The Olympic Park and the village for Olympic and Para-Olympic athletes will be situated in the northern part of the valley. Consideration is given to the projects for the river, the various urban districts such as Stratford and Canning Town, the construction of housing, restructuring of jobs and activities, transport infrastructures and sustainable development. **IA 48087**

Raco, Mike

A step change or a step back? The Thames Gateway and the re-birth of the urban development corporations

Local economy. Vol. 20, n° 2, 2005.- pp. 141-153, bibliogr.

In February 2003, the Labour government launched its urban regeneration programme which includes the creation of thousands of jobs and housing units in the Thames Gateway zone to the east of London as well as the Thames Estuary, zones in which brownfield sites should be redeveloped and which provides for the

establishment of two new Urban Development Corporations (UDCs). The form and characteristics of these new UDCs are described and their impact on governance of the Thames Gateway is evaluated. It is shown that although these new UDCs have been established in line with the same legislation as the previous UDCs from the 1980s and 1990s, they were introduced under different social, economic and political circumstances. These new UDCs reflect the trends and tensions which exist in the governmental modernisation plans in favour of governance at local level.

IA T.7033

Greater London Authority

The London Plan. Spatial development strategy for Greater London

London: Greater London Authority, 2004.- 317 p., maps, tabl., graph., phot., bibliogr., ann., gloss.

Established under the authority of the Mayor of London, the London Plan is a strategic instrument establishing a social, economic and environmental framework for the future development of London around 2020-2025. It includes the geographical and physical dimensions of other strategies developed by the Mayor of London and is the response to the European principles for development of the territory. The plan's purpose is to develop the UK capital in line with the principles of sustainable development. The Mayor of London's six objectives are: to accommodate London's growth within its boundaries without encroaching on open spaces; to make London a better place to live in; to make London a more prosperous city with strong and diverse economic growth; to promote social inclusion and tackle deprivation and discrimination; to improve London's accessibility; to make London a more attractive, well-designed and green city. The London Plan is presented in six chapters: positioning London; the broad development strategy; thematic policies; cross-cutting policies; the sub-regions; implementing the London Plan. IA 48107

MADRID

Guigou, Brigitte; Lecomte, Dominique (coord.); Lecroart, Paul (coord.); Palisse, Jean-Pierre; Navarre, Danièle

Madrid, une région en forte croissance. Aménagement et planification.

Compte-rendu de visite (3-5 mai 2006)

Paris : Iaurif, 2006.- 47 p., phot., cartes, tabl.

This report covers a visit by the IAURIF to the Urban Community of Madrid. Between 3 and 5 May 2006, the autonomous community of Madrid and METREX together organised an international congress on the theme of "Planning and sustainable development of Capital Regions". This congress provided an opportunity to better understand the Community of Madrid, particularly through four problem sets: the economy, urban development, transport and mobility, housing and social segregation. **IA 48005**

MILAN ...

Di Ciommo, Floridea

La régénération urbaine à Naples, Paris et Milan. La fiabilité du politique, condition de participation des acteurs économiques

sl : *chez l'auteur*, 2004.- 335 p., *cartes*, *tabl.*, *graph.*, *bibliogr.*, *ann*. In an initial phase, the socio-economic policy and urban planning measures are analysed with a view to defining a new urban policy: urban regeneration. In a second phase, attention turns to the theoretical approaches which questioned the participation of the economic stakeholders in the management of urban change and the political consequences of urban development. Finally, an analysis is made of the conditions under which the economic stakeholders participate in the process of urban regeneration.

IA 48093

Provincia di Milano

Provincia di Milano: progetto di piano territoriale di coordinamento

Milan: Franco Angeli, 1999. - 156 + 469 p.: tabl.; maps; photo. + 23 cartes h-t.

The territorial coordination plan arose from a need to tackle the major problems facing the Milan city region. After a document originating from the Provincial Council which fixed guidelines and objectives followed by presentation of an initial general plan, the draft territorial coordination plan covers the alternatives and the strategic choices in relation to the environment, residential areas and economic activities, transport and infrastructures. The polynuclear development contrasts with the mononuclear development with suburbs and the oil spot effect. It makes it possible to optimise use of public transport and preserve the continuity of green spaces and non urbanised spaces by creating a breach in the urban continuity.

Ciommo, Floridea-Di; Lefèvre, Christian (dir.); Plan Urbanisme Construction Architecture Acteurs économiques organisés et réformes institutionnelles dans les métropoles européennes : études de cas du Grand Londres, de

Milan et de l'Île-de-France

Bû : *Metropolis*, 2002.- 83 p., *fig.*, *cartes*, *tabl.*, *réf. bibliogr*. This research focuses on organised economic stakeholders (chambers of commerce, employer associations, business associations) and the reasons for their involvement in the process of institutional reform under way in the majority of European metropolitan areas. After examining the various theoretical approaches and the empirical work of three city regions which present varied institutional reform configurations both in terms of the content

and the territorial scale taken into account, four solutions emerge and are duly analysed. These concern the national political culture, the vision which organised economic stakeholders have of political players and particularly the State, the territoriality of these political players and their reliability. Consideration is also given to the governance of today's leading city regions. **PUCA 240: CDU 55550**

Rotterdam

Zandbelt and Vandenberg. Rotterdam Big and beautiful: comparing Stadshavens in Europe

Rotterdam: Zandbelt and Vandenberg, 2005.- 120 p., maps, ill., phot., gloss., bibliogr.

A presentation is given of the urban transformation projects in ten European cities with their different characteristics: organisational structure, financing, partnerships, transport services, development programmes, strategies, etc. IA 48100

Berg, Leo Van Den; Meer, Jan van der; Otgaar, Alexander H.J.

Rotterdam: the Kop van zuid (Southern Headland) and mutual benefit. In: The attractive city, catalyst of economic development and social revitalisation. An international comparative research into the experiences of Birmingham, Lisbon and Rotterdam

Rotterdam: EURICUR, 2000. - pp. 73-96, map, tabl.

With the construction of a new bridge in the 1980s, the city of Rotterdam endeavoured to extend the city centre in a southerly direction through the *Kop van Zuid project*. The purpose of this project was to improve the economic, social and physical aspects of the adjacent neighbourhoods and of *Kop van Zuid*. Public and private investments are described with a view to identifying whether *Kop van Zuid* has managed to evolve into a new city centre and if the municipality has succeeded in overcoming social divisions and the city's north-south divide.



VIENNA

Borsdorf, Axel ; Enichlmair, Christina

Vienna Erberger Mais: public-actor driven longterm planning strategies. In: Framing strategic urban projects: learning from current experiences in European urban regions

London: Routledge, 2007. - pp. 223-246, map, tabl., phot., bibliogr.

The collapse of communism meant that instead of being marginalised, the Austrian capital was able to assume a central position within the new Europe. Vienna is a traditional, densely populated capital but in the course of the past fifteen years, its economic and social characteristics have evolved and the growing presence of the service sector within the urban fabric is there for all to see. Numerous office tower block projects have been completed in the past decade. The Vienna municipality has encouraged the urban projects overseen by public-private partnerships and been flexible with regard to private projects. The project to revitalise the four gasometers in the zone of *Erdberger Mais* was one of the most successful initiatives. A detailed analysis is provided of *Erdberger Mais*, the most ambitious project in Vienna today.

IA 48033

Book Review



Paris en Île-de-France, histoires communes Sous la direction de Bertrand Lemoine

Éditions du Pavillon de l'arsenal Éditions A. et I. Picard

Throughout its history, the city of Paris – which for decades hosted almost the entire population of the lle-de-France region – steadily acquired land to meet its growing needs whether in terms of water, energy, treatment of wastewater or solid waste, as well as more recent requirements for nurseries and, naturally, housing. These stretches of land which were previously located in outlying rural areas now lie at the heart of urbanised zones. Their purposes are varied: property developments, business, housing, public amenities or use by intermunicipal associations.

Since April 2001, twelve protocols of cooperation have been signed between Paris and Ile-de-France municipalities and relations have been established with more than one hundred and thirty local authorities, with a view to developing common projects which themselves are evidence of a shared destiny.

This publication and the "Paris en Île-de-France, histoires communes" exhibition, is intended to turn the spotlight on the history of these territories for the first time. Moreover, they shed light on the trends under way which will help create the lifestyles of tomorrow.

It also helps change our perception of areas which history might otherwise have reserved to meet the capital's logistical needs. Today, an alternative future is being offered to them.

Construis-moi un lycée Du croquis au chantier...

Cent projets d'architecture de la Région Île-de-France

Conseil régional d'Île-de-France

Since the decentralisation laws, the Île-de-France region has been responsible for running secondary schools. In order to ensure that as many young people as possible are able to benefit from higher education, the old establishments need to be refurbished and new ones built. In the space of twenty years, the rise of a new generation of school establishments has allowed a new page in public education to be written.

In order to present the wealth of work by an entire profession and demonstrate the architectural challenges facing the secondary schools of tomorrow, one hundred architecture projects were showcased in the context of the "Construis-moi un lycée" (Build me a secondary school) exhibition, produced by the planning department of the municipality's secondary school unit in partnership with the *Maison de l'architecture* in Île-de-France.

From the drawing board to the building site, the same spirit of creativity brought together designers, businesses and the educational community in order for secondary school pupils and their teachers to be able to benefit from the best possible conditions in which to study and work.

The catalogue produced highlights the kaleidoscope of talent and creativity. It provides an "in vivo" representation of how the secondary schools of the future are being created.

Les grands témoins de l'architecture

Le Palais de Chaillot Pascal Ory

128 pages + DVD Actes Sud

32

The occupation of Chaillot Hill down through the ages has given rise to monumental and public architecture intended to serve specific functions (palace, museum, theatre) and convey a political message.

This book retraces trends in the site's architecture: the Palais du Roi de Rome, the Palais du Trocadéro, the Palais de Chaillot, including the redevelopment related to opening of the Cité de l'architecture et du patrimoine.

Behind its spectacular 1930s facade, the current *Palais de Chaillot* conceals a morphology inherited from a 19th century palace which is no longer visible.

The eclecticism of the Trocadéro echoes the "pre-war style" of Chaillot, which can be rediscovered thanks to the Le *Palais de Chaillot* book and DVD.

Faire la ville en partenariat City Renewal through Partnership Frédérique de Gravelaine

Projet urbain DGUHC

15

One of those heroic cities which have managed to reinvent themselves and rise from ashes, Birmingham was faced with many obstacles being badly damaged by the war and modernist urban planning and devastated by the industrial depression. Its spectacular

Book Review

rebirth has been founded on a strategy implemented for over twenty years aimed at attracting business tourism and prioritising the enlarged, revitalised and upgraded city centre. The means deployed have been pragmatic: ambitious public projects which revitalise private investment, transformation of the city into a zone focused on quality leisure and commercial activities. Public-private partnerships which have become such a standard part of the UK development landscape, offer many lessons including questions as to their impact on urban quality and social cohesion.

Grand prix de l'urbanisme 2006 : Francis Cuillier Prix spécial du jury : Jean Frébault

14

"Urban planner, militant and smuggler" this is how Francis Cuillier, director of the Bordeaux City Region's Urban Planning Department describes himself, demonstrating that the profession of urban planner is founded on a close and intimate "collaboration" with the territory where it is exercised.

Inspired by an in-depth understanding of the city as a public space, he demonstrates through his actions that it is possible to "create" cities which combine density and mobility and are pleasant to live in.

If Jean Frébault first coined the term "urbaniste de traverse" ("shortcut urban planner") it is because his multifaceted and atypical career covered all fields concerning production of the urban environment between regional authorities and state functions. His career reflects the history of urban planning and development in France for over thirty years.

The book also provides a forum for two talented men: François Ascher, a free thinker when it comes to urban planning who sets out his fascinating "positions" and Yves Lion, whose work as an urban designer is founded on the housing/urban planning relationship and who continues to believe that no territory is beyond hope.

Cahiers du Patrimoine

Inventaire général du patrimoine culturel Patrimoine urbain de l'Antiquité à nos jours Melun, une île, une ville

270 pages

35

Prefecture of the Seine-et-Marne – the biggest and most rural department of Île-de-France – Melun is an average town of 37,000 inhabitants lying some fifty kilometres to the southeast of Paris.

Nestling in a valley on a bend in the River Seine, the city region grew up around a crossing point in the river created by a natu-



ral outcrop in the form of the Île Saint-Étienne.

The permanent occupation of the site since the Celtic period runs parallel with the continual urban changes favouring in turn the plain of the left bank, the slopes of the right bank and the island in the middle of the river.

This book retraces the history of these transformations and presents the principal monuments which have symbolised the city at each successive era: churches, chateau (which no longer exists), prefecture and city hall, secondary school and factories.

Le Thoronet Une abbaye cistercienne Yves Esquieu, Vanessa Eggert et Jeacques Mansuy Cité de l'architecture et du patrimoine

Aristeas / Actes Sud 76 pages + DVD 29

In the heart of a Mediterranean forest, the Abbey of Thoronet stands as a silent witness (much like that of Sénanque, but more than the Abbey of Silvacane), to the tradition in the Middle Ages for monks to retreat to the "wilderness" as well as the determination of Cistercian reformers to strictly abide by this aspect of monastic life.

It is considered to be one of the leading examples of Roman architecture in Provence in the same way as the Abbeys of Silvacane and Sénanque. The three are often collectively referred to as the "three sisters of Provence". Although this expression wrongly implies that they are the only three Cistercian establishments in the region it accurately reflects their undying kinship.

For the first time, the book and DVD on this highly symbolic example of Cistercian architecture which is the Abbey of Thoronet allow us to fully understand and visualise representations of all the architectural forms within the Roman abbey according to their original dimensions and functions, whether still surviving today or long since disappeared.

Events



Futures of cities 51st International Federation for Housing and Planning (IFHP) World Congress Copenhagen, September 23-26, 2007

The main forum for ideas and debate for policymakers, practitioners and researchers regarding the futures of cities. The World Congress will feature keynote speakers addressing the impacts, indicators and implementations influencing the futures of cities. Parallel sessions will feature the presentation of papers, and offer special interest groups such as the IFHP Working Parties the opportunity to assemble. Study tours will take the congress out into the field. Øksnehallen will offer the physical framework for the World Congress.

Registration to come...

Registration will be possible from the beginning of June 2007. Register online or via the Registration Brochure.

Futures of Cities

IFHP 2007 Copenhagen Realdania Nicolai Eigtveds Gade 28 DK 1402 Copenhagen K - Denmark info@ifhp2007copenhagen.dk www.ifhp2007copenhagen.dk T: +45 32 88 52 41 F: +45 32 88 52 97

IFHP

43 Wassenaarseweg - 2596 CG The Hague - The Netherlands congress@ifhp.org www.ifhp.org T: +31 70 328 1504 F: +31 70 328 2085

Futures of cities

IFPH 2007 student congress Copenhagen, September 24-25, 2007

The 2007 IFHP Student Congress – the academic forum for ideas and debate of the understanding and approach to the challenges facing the futures of cities from a student perspective. The Student Congress will feature a number of the same keynotes, who will also be speaking at the World Congress, panel discussions, and parallel sessions. The presentation and review of the Student Competition is central to Student Congress, both the process and projects underpinning the competition entries will be addressed. The School of Architecture in Copenhagen will offer the physical framework for the Student Congress.

Futures of Cities

IFHP 2007 Student Congress

The Royal Danish Academy of Fine Arts - School of Architecture Philip de Langes Allé 10 - DK-1435 Copenhagen K - Denmark ifhp@karch.dk T: +45 32 68 66 69

Sustainable City Development

Malmö, Sweden, September 12-14, 2007 A regional SB07 Conference at Malmö Exhibition and Convention Center

The first Sustainable Building Conference was held in 1998 in Vancouver. It has been growing steadily ever since and gathers large numbers of building researchers, practitioners officials, industry representatives and students from all over the world. A fundamental condition for creating more long-term sustainable cities is that the sustainable alternative becomes better, more beautiful, more economically advantageous and "hipper"in short, more attractive. How can we bring about a desire and demand for sustainability? Be involved in shaping future urban solutions through active workshops and study visits. Experience examples of working partnerships between the private and public sectors that produce results. This conference is aimed at those working with sustainable urban development in the private sector, in universities, and in public authorities in Europe.

The Sustainable City Development conference in 2007 will include 18 workshops and 10 study tours. There will be opportunities for exhibitions connected to the Sustainable City Development conference, if your organisation would like to participate in the exhibition, please use the contact details.

Programme contacts

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Some latest IAURIF publications



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Supregation. an issue which is more acute in morthern cities For some two datales, the to <text><text><text><text><text><text><text>

PULATION - MODES-DE-VIE

MARCH 2008

The challenge of urban cohesion in Europe: update and public policies

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