

ESPON
ECPs Transnational Networking
activities
International Conference on
**Cities and networks in Europe:
what territorial integration?**



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**CiTIES AND NeTWORKS in Europe:
what territorial integration?**

REVEUROP
ESPON ECP transnational Networking
activity n°096/2005

Conference Report and Proceedings

February 2006

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ESPON REVEUROP

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Foreword

The present report presents the results from the ESPON ECP Transnational Networking Activity entitled “Cities and Networks in Europe: what territorial integration?” (acronym: REVEUROP).

The objectives of this transnational project have been:

- To organise an International Conference at La Rochelle (France), October 20 – 21, 2005.

In order:

- To provide a critical overview on the thematic issues of polycentrism and spatial integration in Europe
- To disseminate the results of the ESPON Programme that raise questions related mainly to cities, networks, polycentrism and territorial integration, to researchers and policy makers.
- To support networking activities between persons involved in the ESPON Programme, between ECPs, and more widely between the research and policy communities of different European countries
- To contribute from a scientific point of view to revisiting some rather too static representations of territorial systems in order to promote the emergence and the consolidation of new, critical ways of looking at the issues of territorial dynamics and spatial planning: how they are to be managed, how they should be viewed, putting emphasis both on theoretical and conceptual viewpoints, and on empirical and implementational approaches.

This project is addressed to researchers as well as to decision-makers in territorial planning. Therefore, the project is aimed at highlighting the need to share views and conclusions reached in the sphere of fundamental research with those reached in the operational spheres of territorial development.

The report is divided into two parts presented in two separate volumes:

Part 1 consists of a summary and an overview of the main issues of the conference.

Part 2 presents the abstracts that have been presented at the Conference and the programme of the Conference designed by Nicolas Lambert (UMS RIATE).

A Web site has been carried out by Bernard Corminboeuf (UMS RIATE). It makes it possible to disseminate all the information about the conference (agenda, programme, abstracts....).

<http://www.ums-riate.com/reveeurop.html>

The steering committee of the Conference consisted of:

- Nadine Cattan, CNRS, France
- Pieter Bloemen, VROM, The Netherlands
- Niels Boje Groth, KVL, Denmark
- Pierre Cornut, ULB-IGEAT, Belgium
- Sarah Luyten, KUL-ISEG, Belgium
- Marko Peterlin, MESP-OSD, Slovenia

The Scientific Committee:

- Sophie Baudet-Michel, Université Paris 7, UMR Géographie-cités, France
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- Claude Grasland, Université Paris 7, France
- Jean Peyrony, DATAR
- Alberto Vanolo, Politecnico e Università di Torino, Italy

From technical and administrative sides, the project organisation has been managed by Isabelle Salmon (UMS RIATE) supported by the services of University Paris 7. Nicolas Gaubert (UMS RIATE) brought a great help these last months (November 05 – March 06) in the administrative follow-up of this project and contributed to the drafting of paragraph III-4 of this report.

Two separate volumes for each parts and an annex

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PART I

SUMMARY AND MAIN ISSUES OF THE CONFERENCE

I - SUMMARY

I - 1. Activities and rationale of the project

The **rationale** of the project is to develop the results of ESPON on cities, networks and polycentric development issues and to confront them with other works from the European scientific community. Indeed, several presentations have linkages with several ESPON projects (Polycentricity, Transport trends, Europe in the World, Urban-rural). Moreover in order to widen the prospect, several communications present the results of other European or national programmes (INTERREG, 5th and 6th Framework Programme, national ministries) that deal with the same set of themes.

The **key action** is the organisation of an International Conference held at La Rochelle, France. The conference is on an international level, both in terms of organisation and in terms of content. French ECP, UMS RIATE, as the main organising body, is in collaboration with 4 other ECPs, Belgium, Netherlands, Denmark, Slovenia. A leading geographic research team on the issues of “cities and networks in Europe”, namely UMR Géographie-cités was invited to join this project as subcontractor.

The invited speakers are from some twelve European countries reflecting a good coverage of the ESPON space in terms of East-West balance and in terms of the size of countries. The Scientific Committee gives also an overview of the good implication of much of EU member States.

The Conference is organised in six thematic sessions and two discussion sessions:

Thematic sessions:

- *Delineating urban territories: is this a relevant issue?*
- *Benchmarking, strengths and weaknesses: what contributions can be made by urban typology?*

- *Polycentrism: a relevant concept?*
- *Polycentric urban regions: territories for the future?*
- *Exchange and cooperation networks: what potential?*
- *A critical viewpoint in the light of experiences outside Europe*

Discussing sessions

- *Introductory session*
- *Critical overview and perspectives*

I - 2. Achievement and main results

From a thematic and conceptual point of view

- Contribution to the clarification of several key concepts of spatial planning
- Contribution to sharing knowledge and experience between researchers and policy-makers and planners.
- Clarify the debates on the way European territory is being integrated
- Provide a critical overview on the thematic issues of polycentrism and spatial integration in Europe
- Contribution from a scientific point of view to revisiting some rather too static representations of territorial systems in order to promote the emergence and the consolidation of new, critical ways of looking at the issues of territorial dynamics and spatial planning: how they are to be managed, how they should be viewed, putting emphasis both on theoretical and conceptual viewpoints, and on empirical and implementational approaches.
- To provide scientific comments on ESPON findings and results

From an organisational and networking point of view

- Organisation of the International Conference on “Cities and networks in Europe: what territorial integration” held at La Rochelle, 2005 October 20-21.

- Dissemination of ESPON main results via a wide range of researchers, planners and policy makers, mainly the issues that raise questions related to cities, networks, polycentrism and territorial integration.
- Support networking activities between persons involved in ESPON Programme, between ECPs, and more widely between the research and policy communities of different European countries
- Enhance the transnational activities of ECPs and in particular their networking capacity on thematic events
- Strengthening exchanges and links between researchers from different EU countries

I - 3. Recommendations for possible future research

By favouring a reflective rather than normative approach, this conference makes it possible to map out the most promising lines of research and development strategies for the future. Therefore it contributes to the ongoing debates on the content of ESPON2 as regards the ways to tackle the urban and networking concerns.

- Put the emphasis more on flows than on structures: for example : two kinds of polycentrism i) morphological and ii) relational (exchanges of information, people and goods; consumption, leisure and activities flows; networks between cities, influence on real estate market, commuting)
- Deepen multiscalar approach: explain interactions between the different territorial levels, their new dynamics and new barriers....
- Introduce the time dimension
- Explain the engines behind the dynamics of space integrations by looking in particular to the role of companies in this process
- Discuss more in depth the main challenges of a polycentric development with regards in particular to competitiveness and efficiency (in relation to the French development of “pôles de compétitivité”).
- Review the role and place of cities in Europe by favouring the input of medium sized towns.

- Compare and understand the validity of the US concept of micropolitan areas with regards Urban areas, FUA, PUR in the European context.

A very wide recommendation must finally be underlined:

ESPON must take the risk to make more experimental and more “unuseful” projects.

II – GENERAL THEME OF THE CONFERENCE

The conference “Cities and networks in Europe: what territorial integration?” looked at the dominant representations that at present underpin the issues of territorial organisation and planning in Europe. Towns, cities and networks are often envisaged, both in scientific research and in operational debate, as inevitably driving territorial development. Study conducted over the last few years has made it possible to develop several functional urban models that have interesting features. However, because they are always positioned within a logic of competition in interpreting territorial dynamics, the models are restricted to a hierarchy of “poles” in which only processes of wealth generation are taken into account. This conference showed how “polycentrism”, viewed as an alternative to “metropolisation” and the centre-periphery model, could carry the seeds of a change in perspective even if at the end of the debates interpretations of the polycentrism concept to date are still incomplete and biased.

The papers presented at the conference show why it is worthwhile revisiting some rather too static representations of territorial systems. The discussions promote the emergence and the consolidation of new, critical ways of looking at the issues of territorial dynamics: how they are to be managed, how they should be viewed, putting emphasis both on theoretical and conceptual viewpoints, and on empirical and implementational approaches. The conference was addressed to researchers as well as to decision-makers and implementers in territorial planning. Therefore, the conference highlights the need to share views and conclusions reached in the sphere

of fundamental research with those reached in the operational spheres of territorial development. By favouring a reflective rather than normative approach, the conference makes it possible to map out the most promising lines of research and development strategies for the future.

The fact that the contributions are written by authors of different European countries who worked together in common programmes supports, in a very competing way, the discussion and the debates on territorial integration, social cohesion and spatial planning in Europe. Consequently, the conference strengthens a better division of knowledge on territorial issues in Europe and contributes producing a common language, concepts and tools in spatial planning issues providing a solid and innovative expertise on the subject area proposed.

III – MAIN ISSUES AND DEBATES

Within six thematic sessions, the Conference addresses the six major following questions:

- *Delineating urban territories: is this a relevant issue?*
- *Benchmarking, strengths and weaknesses: what contributions can be made by urban typology?*
- *Polycentrism: a relevant concept?*
- *Polycentric urban regions: territories for the future?*
- *Exchange and cooperation networks: what potential?*
- *A critical viewpoint in the light of experiences outside Europe*

These questions are of paramount importance with regards several issues of European spatial organisation and planning. Each is developed, explained and discussed in the following sections of this report. We decided to focus on the presentation on the main issues, debates and recommendations that have been underlined during each session. For further details on each presentation please report to the annex where the abstract of each communication is integrated.

1. Delineating urban territories: is this a relevant issue?

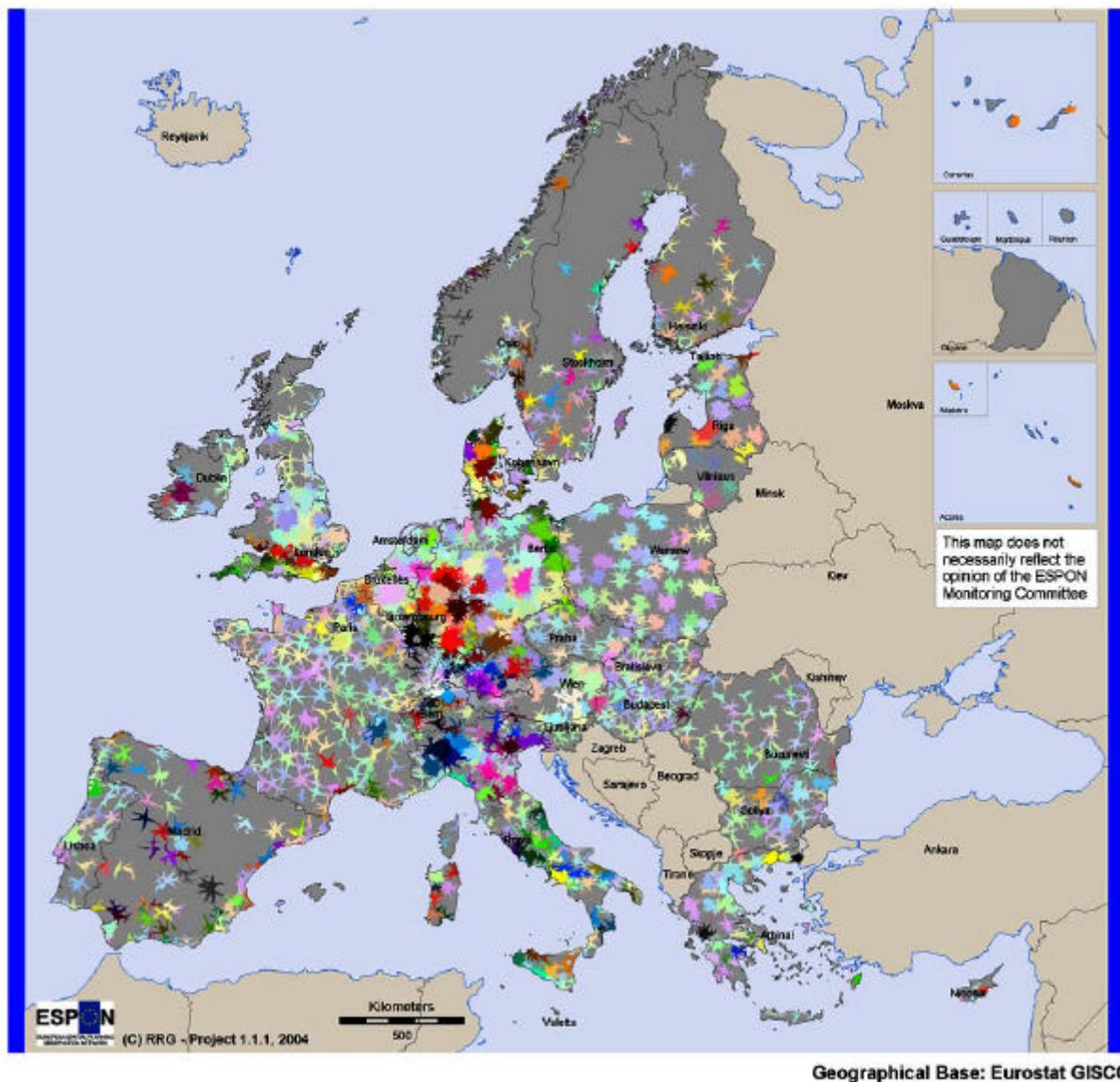
In Europe, through history, towns and cities have spread by aggregation with new territories on the previous fringes. As far as the 19th century it was still relatively simple and unequivocal to map out their boundaries. However, from the end of the 19th century, the combined effects of the industrial revolution and rural exodus brought fundamental and lasting changes in the scene. Towns and cities, which were experiencing unprecedented demographic increase as well as the development of more and more efficient means of transport, spread out within a very short space of time. As they encroached increasingly on surrounding areas, the sprawling cities “diluted” their boundaries, both physically and symbolically.

In Europe today any consideration of cities and urban systems, and beyond that of territorial development, comes up against the issue of urban boundaries. The definitions of the city, the urban area, and of the statistical systems that underpin these notions, vary from one country to another, and harmonisation is a challenge (see Box 1). The main obstacle is however elsewhere. In a context of general spread, the way in which to define the boundaries of urban areas now comes up against the conceptualisation per se of the city.

The aim of this session is to discuss the relevance of and the justification for mapping out town and city boundaries, both in general, and for Europe in particular.

BOX 1 : the 45 min isochrones delimitations

45 min isochrones around FUA centroids



Considering the potential commuter catchment areas as a proxy for each city's influence area is a major hypothesis underpinning the present analysis. The isochrone methodology has been applied in a uniform manner across the European territory; it takes into account the quality and density of the road network, as well as speed limits (see Annex D). We have taken into consideration car travel only here, which creates a bias in all areas where a significant proportion of the population commute by train. One must furthermore keep in mind that commuting times above 45 minutes do occur, for example in the most peripheral parts of Europe. This map shows the Isochrone delimitation (i.e. the area which can be reached within 45 minutes from FUA centres by car), before approximation to municipal boundaries.

The paper presented by Sir Peter Hall draws the history of the successive attempts to define urban territories. The origins of this quest for "a mythical beast" have to be traced back to US census on the base of which concepts such as "standard metropolitan area", "metropolitan statistical areas" and other similar concepts have been defined and tested throughout the second half of 20th century. These urban delimitation encountered problems emerging from e.g. the counties' varying size across USA, which are indeed very similar to EU NUTS problems. Those concept have been exported later on to Europe, first in UK from 1968 and then to the whole European continent from the 1980s. *Functional urban regions* have been re-defined and tested quite often by projects such as GEMACA or POLYNET. For the latter, the new concept of *Mega-City region* have been defined on the base of what had been described earlier in Eastern Asia that is: series of 20-50 cities separate but closed to each other and functionally networked in term of division of labour. The concept has been tested on 8 European regions, both on the morphological and on the functional point of view.

The author's conclusions, confirmed during the debate that followed the presentation, are basically that:

- defining city region or urban areas can be considered as being a solved problem, although definition should be re-questioned after each census round, and adapted to each EU countries figures (notably concerning NUTS sizes)
- defining functional relationship within mega-city region is still a scientific challenge
- polycentricity may be easy to define in morphological terms, but the functional aspects of the concept require further research

2. Benchmarking, strengths and weaknesses: what contributions can be made by urban typology?

In most work on urban systems in Europe, typological projects dominate widely. From indicators said to be “structuring”, work of this sort has always led to characterising towns or cities one against the other, independently from their geographical position on the one hand and, especially, from their interdependence on the other hand (see box 2, figure 1). This has certainly enabled the development of a certain number of useful functional urban and territorial models. However approaches of this type, because they partition and define limits, mask the very concept of the urban network.

This session questions the relevance of typological approaches. It examines in particular how far different systems of classification of towns and cities actually contribute to better understanding of territorial dynamics, and to greater efficiency in the elaboration of development strategies.

The six communications presented at this session try to answer the question “what contributions can be made by urban typology?” A general criticism could be drawn from all of the studies on typologies: usually only extreme cases are analysed. Everything that takes place at the top or bottom end of any hierarchy interests researchers. Nobody pays any attention to what happens in between, that is, to the more common facts which represent, however, the major part of the reality (see box 2).

A very relevant and general comment comes from the OECD experience in regional typologies and benchmarking and can be summarized as follow:

“As any other economic representation of reality, a typology tends to have two main drawbacks: 1. it implies strong a priories on what is important and what is less relevant; 2. it involves a certain degree of tautology.

To deal with these two issues, a typology should meet two criteria: 1. the analytical purpose for which the typology is set up has to be clearly defined; 2. the typology should account for a significant proportion of the observed regional differences” (Spiezzi, 2005).

The main recommendations are:

Delineation of urban areas: taking into account the diversity of the European space, one should always take into account the local territorial contexts and the sizes of the agglomeration to delineate urban areas. A normative or a single method to define urban areas is risky.

Indicators: it is obvious that all the typologies depend on the choice and selection of indicators. Consequently, to produce a hierarchical categorisation of European cities, the debates insisted on the need for a serious discussion and study on the indicators and to keep in mind the very relative character of the classifications.

Concepts: ESDP is filled with concepts. The study on Hungarian urban settlement (Barta 2005) with regards a polycentric development issues led the assistance to raise the question of the transferability of the concepts and the shift of temporality between the different situations in Eastern and Western Europe. The discussion proposes moreover to critically review the assumption that a convergence is occurring in models linking urban networks dynamic and socio-economic trends.

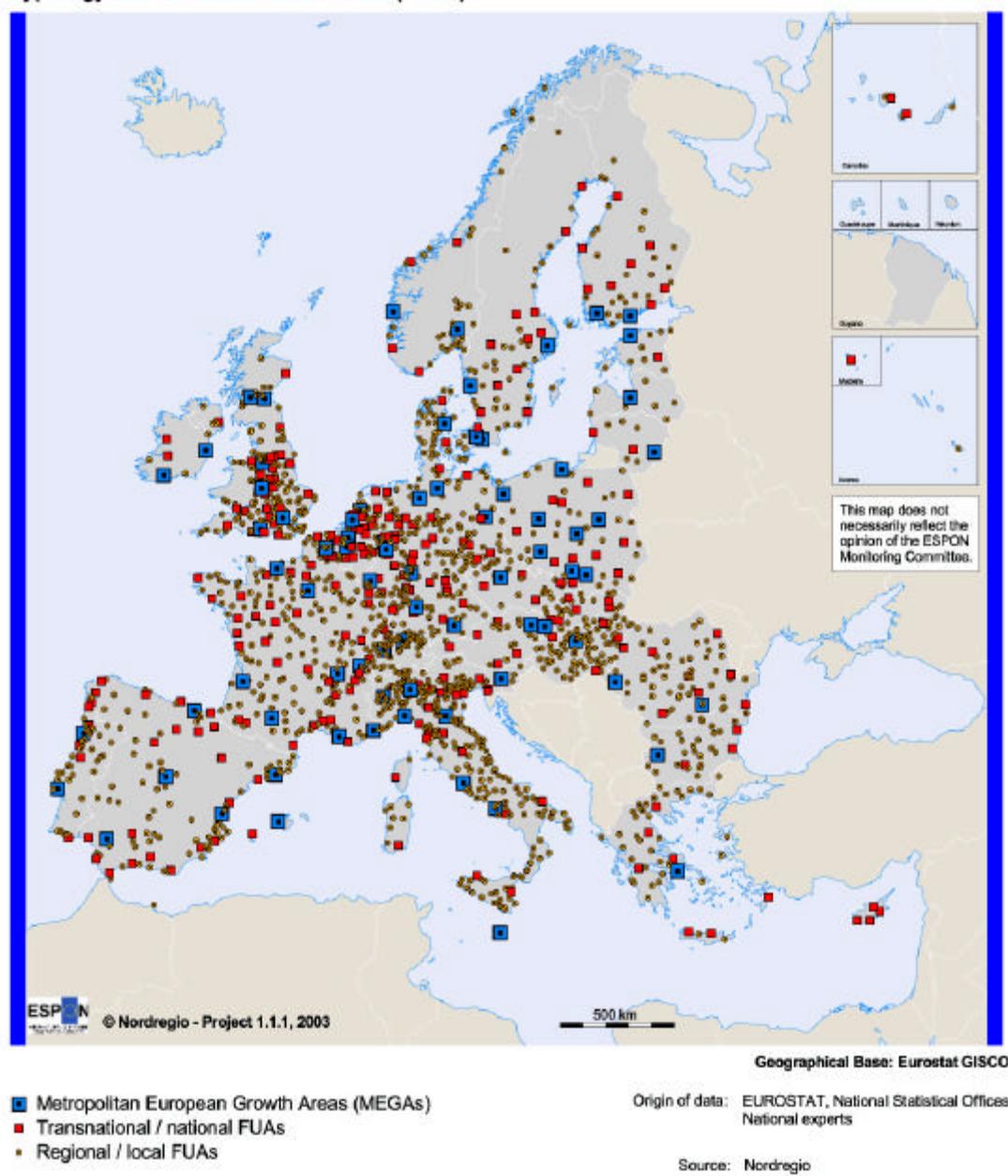
Images and perception: “Globalisation and its informational base (Castells, 1996) has created a new competition among cities at a global scale. The traditional competition among the big and capital cities has been today complete with a new one that allows many other non-capital and even little cities to compete in the global market. This fact implies a very significant change of scale of the urban policies and obliges to look for new local strategies. Many of these new urban policies have been introduced from the new economic laws of private firms, with the diffusion of strategic planning and the use of the processes of benchmarking in the comparison among international cities. All this process runs parallel to that Guy Débord called La société du Spectacle (Débord, 1992), where to be seen becomes fundamental, reinforcing the policies of image construction” (A. Garcia Ballesteros, C. Carreras, 2005).

Starting from the example of two Spanish cities, the authors show how important today are the images and the perception of the cities in public policies and how they moderate the results of typologies resulting from quantitative indicators and methods.

The debates show how the organisation of big events constitutes a popular strategy of the cities maintaining their image and perception in several benchmarking.

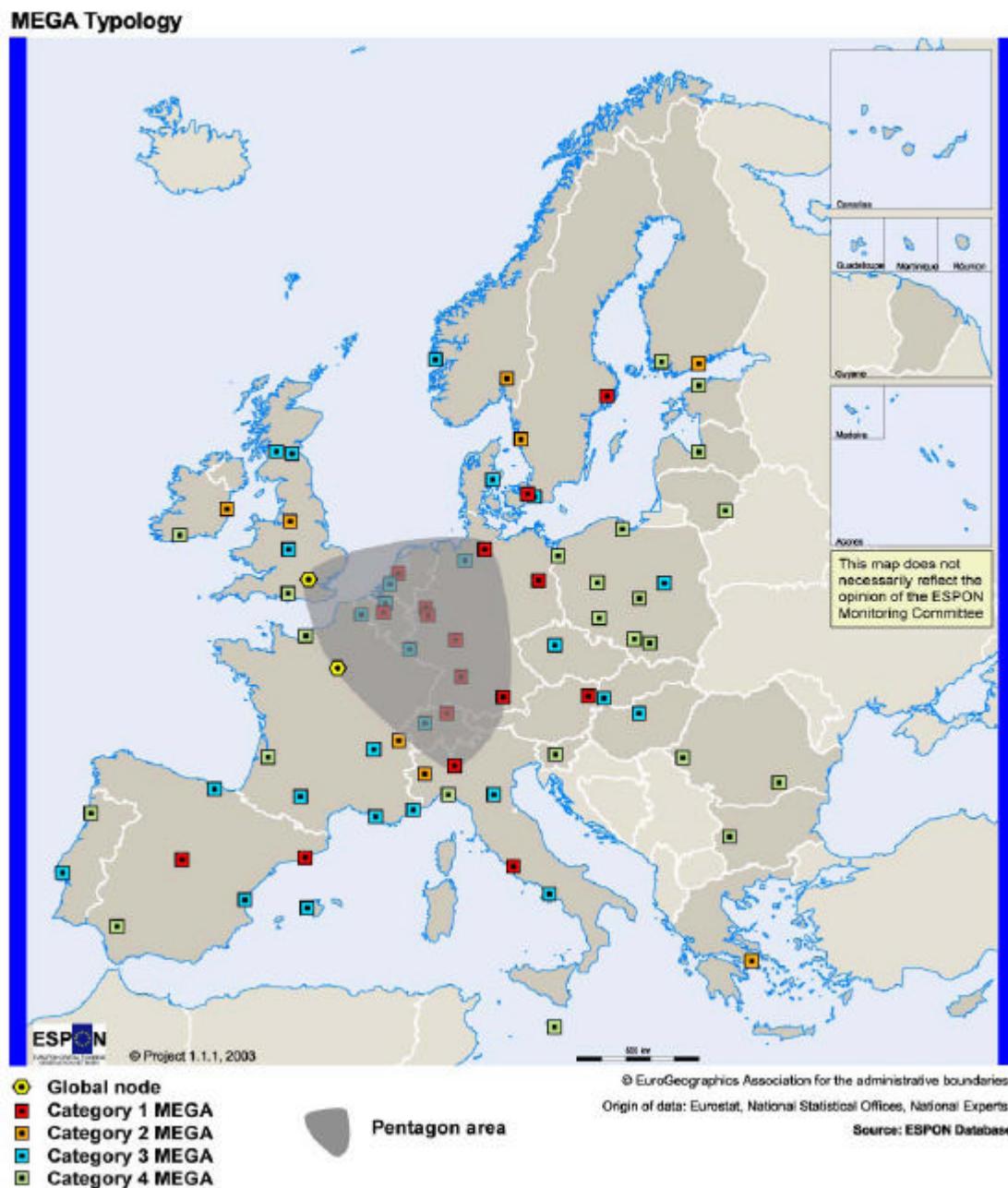
BOX 2

Typology of Functional Urban Areas (FUAs)



BOX 2, figure 1 : Typology of functional urban areas

Variables of population, transport, manufacturing, knowledge, decision-making in the private sector have been combined to give an overall ranking of the FUAs into three groups. Once again, attention is given to the 76 FUAs with the highest average score. Of course there is a relevant reason: the objectives of the analysis were to identify possible counterweights to the Pentagon and these FUAs have been labelled Metropolitan European Growth Areas (MEGAs). We do believe that other FUAs could also counterbalance the weight of the Pentagone whether for example other indicators are taken into account.



BOX 2, figure 2 : MEGA typology

The analysis of the MEGA is based on Mass, Competitiveness, Connectivity and knowledge basis indicators. The MEGAs are compared with each other for each quality, ranked and divided into five groups.

This analysis has identified the strongest urban regions in Europe. Many of them are located within the Pentagon, while others such as Rome, Vienna, Berlin, Manchester and Copenhagen are located in relatively close proximity to the Pentagon. There are only a few top category MEGAs in the peripheral parts of Europe: Madrid, Barcelona and Athens in south, Dublin in west and Stockholm, Helsinki, Oslo and Gothenburg in north. MEGAs with high scores in the new member states are also located close to Pentagon, with Warsaw being the only exception. The resulting image of the European space is again reduced to a centre-periphery model.

3. Polycentrism: a relevant concept?

The concept polycentrism made it possible to place the reflection on the territories in the centre of the strategies of development in Europe. It has, indeed, introduced the principle of territorial cohesion in the priorities of the European public policies as well as economic and social cohesion. So polycentrism, as a process, became a major challenge of the policy of regional and spatial planning of the European Union.

Today, in the reflections of the developers and the researchers, all the experts agree to think that the polycentrism is the most promising guiding principle in the search for a balanced and sustainable territorial development.

The “polysemy” of a concept is sometimes necessary in particular within a framework as varied as the European Union as well from the point of view of the public policies as well as seen within the territorial contexts. However a better identification of the processes and challenges which underlie polycentric territorialities is vital to some extends.

Nowadays, in the debates, the polycentrism refers sometimes only to the spatial forms of distribution of the cities on a given territory, whereas the concept at other times refers to the processes which underlie them. Also, polycentrism can refer strategies of territorial planning and development or refer to a spontaneous process. In all the cases, it seems to return to differentiated mechanisms and specific strategies of development (see box 2).

Far from a normative image of the polycentrism, the discussions and debates demonstrate how important is the construction of a *critical understanding* and approach to the concept of polycentrism/polycentricity.

Moreover, the discussion and debates contribute to a deeper understanding in what manner polycentrism could sow the seeds for new readings, at various scales, of the organisation of European territory in accordance with the principles of equity, cohesion and sustainable development. Contrary to the presentations conveyed, several major aspects based on theoretical thoughts and on some case studies were underlined and can be regarded as recommendations.

Polycentrism and specialisation

The specialization and the complementarity of the functions between the poles are not the only alternative for the emergence of polycentric organizations.

Moreover, based on the Brussels case, three authors explain that the economic specialization, which obeys basically a logic of market, is ongoing in Brussels but that the political structures which could make it possible to develop the co-operations between actors and territories are today absent. Consequently, one should be aware that if the promotion of the interurban polycentrism is limited to a specialization of the poles, the risk of a social and spatial fragmentation increased on a local scale. All the attempts and strategies to support polycentric structures by specialization of the economic functions of the poles must be assisted by mechanisms of networking, co-operation and governance (Van Crieckingen, Cornut, Luyten 2005).

Polycentrism and distance

Spatial proximity is not a condition of polycentrism. Urban areas can cooperate and exchange even if they are not in close spatial proximity. Urban networking is not only dependent on spatial proximity: connective networking is one of the major guarantees in the promotion and development of polycentric spatial organisations (see box 3, figure 2). The best example that summarizes this position comes from the organisation of insular archipelago where connective networking is the daily life for the inhabitants and for the economic activities. It is not a surprise if several researchers define the network of the world cities as the global metropolitan archipelago. To better understand how the new systems of mobility shape and integrate our territories we should better understand how several insular archipelago function and are organized. They were often the pioneers of the networks (Marrou 2005).

Polycentrism and spatial planning

The discussion show that the polycentrism is often the product of the history and is often associated with specific territorial contexts. It is not only the result of planned strategies of development (see box3, figure 3). Moreover, it seems that in some

national and regional policy document no extensive reference is made to polycentrism.

However, several papers mention the critical issues for polycentric development that should be taken up in future trans-national and cross border co-operatives for example the inclusion of rural fringes, the implications of climate change and the effect of demographic change (Nadin, Dühr 2005).

Polycentrism, social cohesion and equity

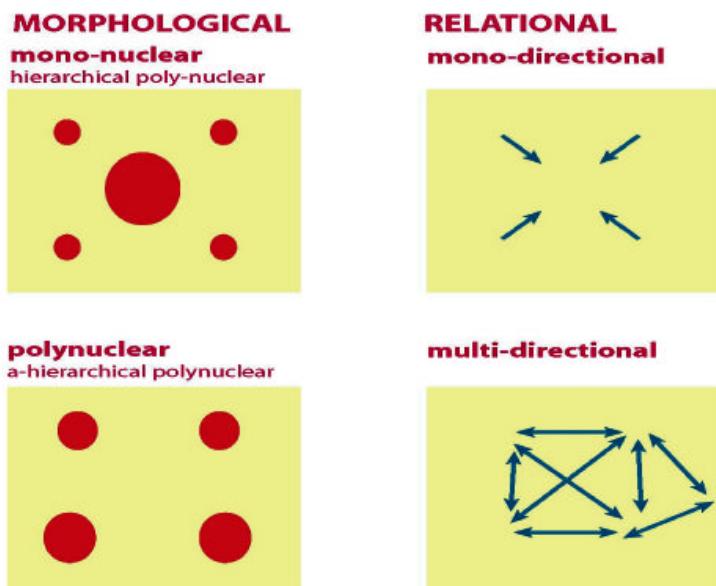
The debates focused on the scientific uncertainties which remain large as for the advantages and disadvantages of the levels of polarization or polycentricity.

In the meantime more knowledge has been gained about the concept of polycentricity by studying polycentric policies in European countries. The main issue is the seemingly conflicting cohesion and competitiveness objectives that figures in the ESDP process (Zonneveld, Waterhout 2005). The discussion demonstrates that the concept of polycentric development could bridge together the two objectives; Indeed polycentrism underlines the need for investments that are rebalanced with regard less favoured urban poles, but not in the form of a simple compensatory assistance likely to reduce regional inequalities in the short term, but in order to involve a sustained convergence based on helps that support own factors of competitiveness and attractivity.

Polycentrism and the diversity of European territories

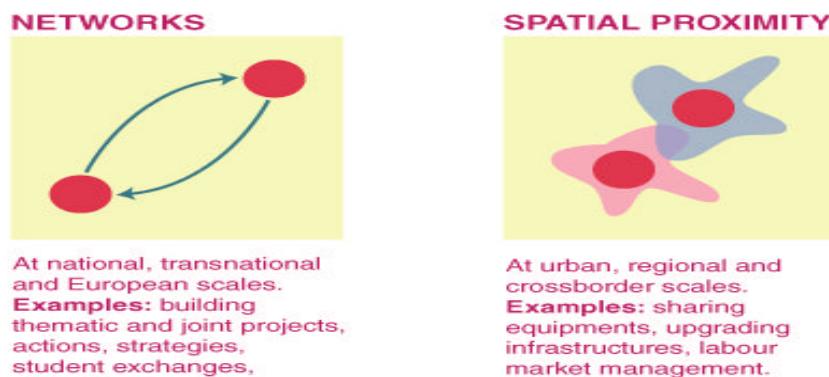
In the debates on the polycentrism which agitate developers and scientists in Europe, the discussion underline the need for preserving a relatively broad palette of the models of territorial development in Europe. It proposes a polycentric reading which holds account of the diversity of the local contexts, the differences in urban structures and the multiplicity of the forms of administration and governance at regional as well as at urban levels. One should be aware that any reference to a single model of territorial development is perilous.

BOX 3



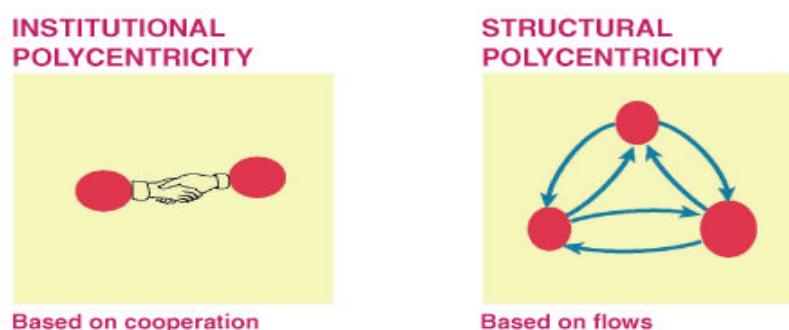
© S. Baudet-Michel, N. Cattan, E. Dumas, UMR Géographie-cités, 2003

BOX 3, figure 1, Polycentrism: two complementary aspects



UMR Géographie cités and Nordregio - ESPON Project 1.1.1 - 2004
 with contributions from S. Baudet Michel, N. Cattan, E. Dumas, E. Gleersen

BOX 3, figure 2, Polycentrism: different territorial scales



UMR Géographie cités - ESPON Project 1.1.1 - 2003
 with contributions from S. Baudet Michel, N. Cattan, E. Dumas

BOX 3, figure 3, Polycentrism: two main processes

4. Polycentric urban regions: territories for the future?

The development at regional level of polycentric urban systems is today seen as a major challenge in planning strategies. The example of the Randstad, an urban region enjoying strong connections with the rest of the world by way of the existence of several complementary, strongly interactive poles, and possessing of a large green space in the centre, is viewed as an ideal in the field of planning.

The presentations and discussions in this session present some alternative approaches about polycentric development. They question several spatial organisation models at different scales.

Since the informal Ministerial Meeting of Leipzig (1994), polycentrism is seen as a value for the European spatial planning policies. But the use of this concept is very broad: the word is used from a morphological and a functional viewpoint. It is also a scientific representation of the reality and a norm. Moreover, this concept is used at different scales and conveys some contradictory goals: equity, sustainable development and efficiency. The concept is widely used in the academic arena as well as in the professional debates.

All the presentations focus on the fact that if this concept is increasingly used both in the Commission and in member states, the exact meaning of the term has remained elusive. Moreover, several papers underline that this concept doesn't have an appropriate operational dimension. As noticed by Niels Boje Groth, if polycentricity has become attractive as a model for regional development, with the aim of join complementary urban functions, the empirical facts reveal that it is not an operational concept. Based upon case-studies conducted in a number of medium-sized cities in the Baltic Sea Region, he underlines that polycentricity is a top-down concept which should be seen as just one of several measures at the new palette of action-oriented measures in the hands of local authorities.

A cross-border approach of polycentric development about the Mediterranean Latin Arc (Vanolo 2005) and the North-West European area and the Atlantic Arc (Hamez, Lesecq 2005) sustained some theoretical discussion on innovative strategies on the

new way of cooperation between actors from the view point of excellence research and common problems. A focus on several cases studies, large regions and more local levels such as urban-rural questions, led the audience to understand the importance of networking issues. A theoretical framework has been developed based on a division of external economies between agglomeration economies and network economies (Cabus 2005). Another one presented the urban/rural partnerships in France, when urban regions are currently under strong pressures about landscape use, social segmentation and employment focusing (Bertrand 2005). This case study shows how urban sprawl has compelled the French policy-makers to outline some territorial contours by a reinforcement of “intercommunale” cooperation.

Main results and recommendations

The discussions and debates underline the importance of defining the concept of polycentrism both from a theoretical and methodological point of view (Vandermotten and al. 2005, Davoudi 2005)

The debates made it possible to exceed the vision signal down or bottom up of the concept of polycentrism and to show the need for the average cities for cooperating. Consequently, medium size towns are being strongly recommended to cooperate and create links with their neighbours or with more distant regions so as to generate forms of synergy liable to provide them with international visibility (Boje Groth 2005, Hamez, Lesecq 2005).

The main message to address concerning these questions is to always develop a critical look at the models of spatial organisation and to sketch out the scope of an alternative approach. The second aspect highlighted is to always fully incorporate all possible options that avoid a single development model arising from an unduly “economist” view of territories. Indeed, several experts agreed that from the bottom-up perspective (the perspective of the medium-sized cities) a more differentiated view on polycentricity is required.

5. Exchange and cooperation networks: what potential ?

The concept of a worldwide economy based on networks of relationships is not new. Yet the functionality of a network of relationships is rarely taken into account. There is much reluctance: institutional, methodological and ideological inertia is still today an obstacle to rethinking these issues.

The papers and debates show that, in the European territory which is in a phase of rapid integration, particular attention should be paid to exchange and cooperation networks. Deeper consideration should be given to the part played by flow as a factor in producing territory. By viewing territories and networks of cities in terms of the way they articulate one with another and in terms of functional relationships, rather than principally in terms of locality and distribution, the debates highlight all possible integration patterns for the European space that is in the process of forming. The issue is not to set out a new normative model, or a new dominant theory.

The six papers presented show how today, a reference to polycentric territorial systems with regard exchanges and co-operations issues has to some extent, at least in debate, changed the picture. Rather than being viewed in a polarised, pyramidal manner, spatial dynamics are now being read in terms of interconnection and reticulation.

Networking potential: main results and recommendations

Counterweights to the dominant visions

The six papers presented at this session provide a necessary counterweight to the dominant visions and perceptions of the researches on the world and European networks and cities dynamics. Indeed, on the one hand, the description of European flows leads many researchers to define, between countries or between several regional blocs, the main roads of the international exchange. On the other hand, the great majority of existing researches in this area seeks to produce knowledge on the cities themselves, to evaluate their strengths and weaknesses, and to estimate their growth rates. Consequently, this means that a large majority of studies constantly

produced and reproduced urban typologies. Peter Taylor (2002) denounce the paradox of researches on the world cities in the following way : “Whereas the essence of world cities is their relations to each other, studies continue focusing on case studies and comparative studies evaluating patterns within cities and neglecting ipso facto intercity relations”.

- Re-thinking the hierarchy and other concepts

By focusing on flows and networking issues, the presentations go beyond these too static images of European space that reduces it to a hierarchy of poles where the only wealth production processes are taken into account. They also go beyond several representations that give a huge importance to the way several regional blocs are emerging and are organising, giving too much importance to the concepts of hierarchy, areas of influence, borders and blocs and to their territorial effects.

- Diversifying the spatial integration schemes and the polycentric model

The discussions and debates underline that today new forms of territorial organisation and integration are emerging as a result of spectacular growth in mobility, rapidly changing transportation networks and the spread of communication and information technologies. This dynamic phenomenon nevertheless does not produce the same effects in the different areas of the European territory. The debates underline that various types of polycentricity are occurring across Europe. One cannot understand the processes of territorial integration without taking into account the complexity of each of these various types.

Indeed, European territorial integration has often been reduced to two conventional models: the centre-periphery model and the hierarchical model of urban networks. The European space is thereby depicted in one of these two ways: either in terms of strong centres to which peripheral territories manage to tie themselves to a greater or lesser degrees, or of major metropolises in whose shadow secondary cities lie hidden.

Limiting territorial integration to these two schema means that integration will be fragile and limited. The mode of organisation of European territory by networks of

cities is in reality much more diversified. On the one hand, territorial integration is supported by specialised networks of cities as defined by common patterns of either material or non-material production. On the other hand, territorial integration takes place through networks of cities that are either economic or political capitals. Intensified exchange between these types of city networks is currently the most dynamic force for territorial integration operating across the whole area of the European Union. This has been defined as Metropolitan polycentrism. Freed from the constraints of distance, urban hierarchies and political boundaries, this form of integration tends to emphasise the interrelations among cities in a network, and in this way they are the vectors of a dynamic polycentric organisation of the European space.

Renewing the polycentrism concept

Political decision-makers must understand that if a balanced and sustainable integration of the European territory is to be achieved, it will be through spatial planning that takes more and more account of networks themselves and less and less of urban poles.

The polycentrism should not be taken as a measure of rebalancing of the existing poles and masses on the European territory. Rather, it should be taken as a measure of rebalancing of the networks and channels/corridors by which the interdependences pass and this at all the territorial levels.

Example to illustrate the importance of rebalancing the position between networks and poles

Concretely, let us take the example of a French medium sized town, La Rochelle to illustrate. The questions addressed to the actors are always related to the relevant measures they should elaborate in order to attract new companies, and inhabitants, to create job.... The questions relating to the networks, the exchanges and the co-operations come less often and when they are, they are declined in the spatial proximity. One wonders then how in its regional environment, La Rochelle can co-operate with the neighbouring cities (Rochefort, Poitiers, Niort....). Specialization and complementarity of the functions are then the only alternative. However it seems here that the question of the co-operation is of primary importance and that it must be put at the same time in the proximity and with more distant cities. At a mid term, La Rochelle must develop linkages at the same time with its neighbours and with other more distant cities. But in spatial planning all is question of priority. However, if one puts in perspective the trajectories of the cities in the long term, it is often more their insertion in networks at long distance which enabled them to maintain a dynamics on the long term than their co-operation with close cities (cf Braudel and others....)!

Focusing more on the importance of “non-structuring” exchanges and co-operation

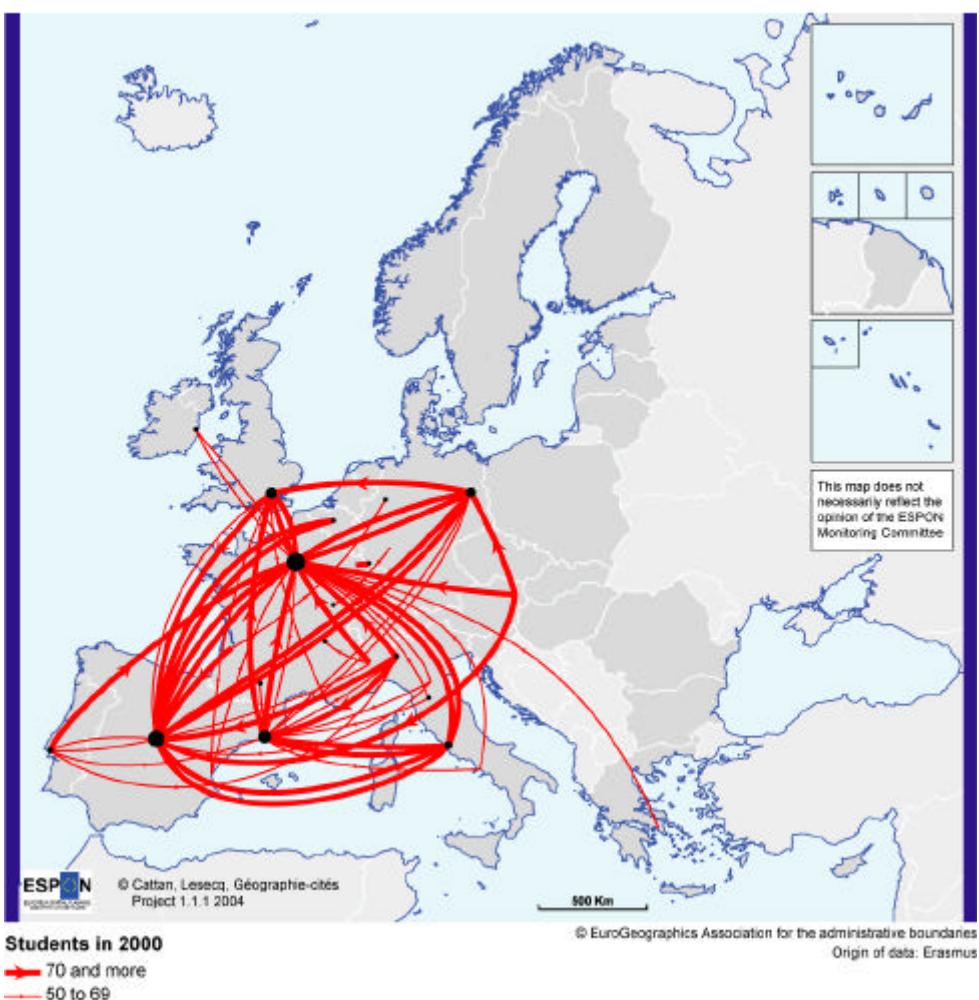
The majority of work on the networks focuses their attention on flows which are considered as structuring like financial, air passengers, tons of freight, material flows. The conference showed all the interests and challenges to pay attention on the flows which are considered as less structuring such as cultural, scientific, knowledge, information and immaterial (see box 4).... Of course, the measurement of these relational aspects is anything but simple (Rota 2005, Decroly 2005). Whatever the question is, any new programme should support all the initiatives that put insights on these issues.

The gendered dimension of networking

Starting from the example of the students mobility in Europe, the discussion confirm that in the scientific and strategic debates on metropolisation, multi-polarity, sustainable development and re-composition of living spaces, the gender differentiation of the exchanges with regards territorial attractivity and networks organisation can no longer be ignored. They make it possible to envisage reappraisal of the representations of integration processes, taking place at different rates, within the European space (Cattan 2005).

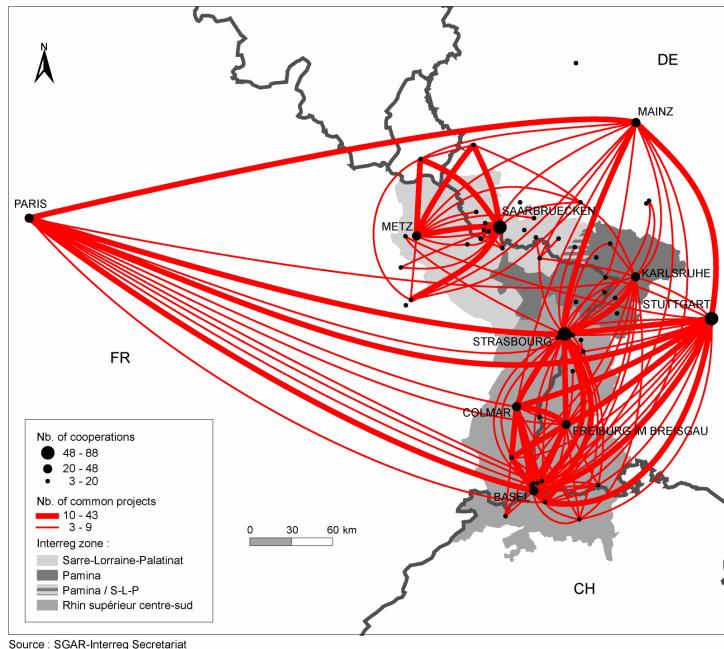
BOX 4

Main Erasmus networks



BOX 4, figure 1: Main flows of ERASMUS students

The main student inter-urban migrations show a polycentric, inter-related Europe and correspond to a polycentric structure at the Western European level that integrate the main economic or political “capitals”. These observations make it possible to describe the organisation of the main network of student migrations in Europe as metropolitan polycentrism (Cattan 2004). The students’ interurban links, more so than in other types of exchange, point to a reticular configuration of the European territory where there is greater diversity in the connections.



In ESPON 111 final report

BOX4, figure 2: Main French-German instances of cooperations in Interreg IIa (1994-1999)

Although the major cities attract an important number of projects, medium and small cities are also very active in setting up cooperative projects in the context of the INTERREG programme. Indeed, what is interesting to notice here is that if both cross-border zones taken into account, a large number of INTERREG cooperative associations emerge between medium and small towns. One can also highlight here the role of medium and small sized towns in the emergence of a polycentric urban structure and in networking at the local and regional levels.

6. A critical viewpoint in the light of experiences outside Europe

By way of comparison, this session sets European views of territorial organisation and planning, enjoying fairly wide consensus today in Europe, against representations entertained in other cultural areas.

The three territorial contexts -i.e. US, Arab world, Eastern Asia- taken into account provide very relevant insights to the discussion on the cities and networks in Europe.

Main debates and recommendations can be summarized as followed:

In US, there is a dichotomy between the economic city and the political capital on the scale of the federal State and the federate State. *Europe has much to learn from the US institutional polycentrism*. Precautions must be taken however for well determining the challenges.

Indeed the American experience is totally in relation with the political culture. Consequently, to better understand the processes which underlie territorial construction within the US context, work should better analyze the specificities of the representations which work in the American model and in particular the specificity of the dialectical relationship between logic of market and political regulation (C. Ghorra-Gobin 2005).

In the Middle East and the Arab world, the construction of the States and their official borders led to a centralization of the capacities in the capitals. This geopolitical situation prevents any reflection on the constitution of regional networks and potential polycentrism. Europe must always keep in mind that in the absence of economic democracy the dominating model is that of a very powerful capital and of the dependence of other spaces (M. Davie 2005).

The example of **Eastern Asia** shows that in the context of economic growth the official borders are not a problem with regards a polycentric organisation. In a context of European enlargement where the neighbouring questions are becoming more and more accurate, Europe should take as a starting point the Asian model to build co-

operations with the neighbouring States to better understand how to go beyond the official barriers and the borders. Eastern Asia is a good example to understand how regionalisation processes do not constitute obstacles to the external exchanges. At the contrary, while becoming a “regional bloc” Eastern Asia takes part better in globalisation (P. Cosaert 2005).

Critical overview and perspectives

On the basis of the themes broached, the chair (Pieter Bloemen) and the participants identified the main challenges and suggest the main lines of research for the future which appear to them to be the most promising with a view to improving understanding of the European space.

By favouring a reflective rather than normative approach, the debates contribute to the ongoing debates on the content of ESPON2 as regards the ways to tackle the urban and networking concerns.

Recommendations are:

- Put the emphasis more on flows than on structures: for example: two kinds of polycentrism i) morphological and ii) relational (exchanges of information, people and goods; consumption, leisure and activities flows; networks between cities, influence on real estate market, commuting)
- Deepen multiscalar approach: explain interactions between the different territorial levels, their new dynamics and new barriers....
- Introduce the time dimension
- Explain the engines behind the dynamics of space integrations by looking in particular to the role of companies in this process
- Discuss more in depth the main challenges of a polycentric development with regards in particular to competitiveness and efficiency (in relation to the French development of “pôles de compétitivité”).

- Review the role and place of cities in Europe by favouring the input of medium sized towns.
- Compare and understand the validity of the US concept of micropolitan areas with regards Urban areas, FUA, PUR in the European context.

A very wide recommendation must finally be underlined:

ESPON must take the risk to make more experimental and more “unuseful” projects.

Colloque international
« Villes et réseaux en Europe : quelles intégrations territoriales ? »
La Rochelle, 20 – 21 octobre 2005

International Conference,
La Rochelle, France 20 & 21 October 2005

Conférence Internationale,
La Rochelle, France, 20 & 21 octobre 2005

PART 2 OF THE FINAL REPORT

RÉSUMÉS / ABSTRACTS



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 « Villes et réseaux en Europe : quelles intégrations territoriales ? »
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Thématique

L'objectif du colloque «Villes et réseaux en Europe : quelles intégrations territoriales ?» est de questionner les représentations dominantes qui structurent aujourd'hui les réflexions relatives à l'organisation et l'aménagement du territoire européen. Les villes et les réseaux sont souvent perçus, dans les travaux scientifiques et les débats opérationnels, comme les moteurs incontournables du développement territorial. Les études engagées ces dernières années ont permis de mettre en évidence quelques modèles fonctionnels urbains qui restent d'intéressants repères. Toutefois, en se plaçant dans une logique concurrentielle des dynamiques territoriales, ces approches les réduisent à une hiérarchie de pôles où seuls les processus de production des richesses sont comptabilisés. Considéré comme une alternative à la métropolisation et au modèle centre-périmphérie, le polycentrisme serait porteur d'un changement de perspectives. Mais, l'interprétation qui en est faite est encore incomplète et partielle.

L'enjeu majeur de ce colloque est de montrer tout l'intérêt d'une remise en cause de certaines images trop statiques des systèmes territoriaux. Il s'agit de contribuer à l'émergence et à la consolidation d'un regard renouvelé, alternatif et critique, sur les savoir-faire et les savoir-penser liés aux dynamiques territoriales tant d'un point de vue théorique et conceptuel qu'empirique et appliqué. En s'adressant, à la fois, au monde de la recherche et aux acteurs de l'aménagement du territoire, ce colloque a pour ambition de souligner la nécessité de la rencontre des réflexions issues de la sphère de la recherche fondamentale avec celles débattues dans les milieux opérationnels du développement territorial. Dans une logique réflexive et non normative, ce colloque devrait permettre d'esquisser les directions futures les plus prometteuses des recherches à mener et des stratégies de développement à mettre en place.

Theme

The aim of the conference, "Cities and networks in Europe: what territorial integration?", is to look at the dominant representations that at present underpin the issues of territorial organisation and planning in Europe. Towns, cities and networks are often envisaged, both in scientific research and in operational debate, as inevitably driving territorial development. Study conducted over the last few years has made it possible to develop several functional urban models that have interesting features. However, because they are always positioned within a logic of competition in interpreting territorial dynamics, the models are restricted to a hierarchy of "poles" in which only processes of wealth generation are taken into account. "Polycentrism", viewed as an alternative to "metropolisation" and the centre-periphery model, could carry the seeds of a change in perspective. But interpretations to date are still incomplete and biased.

The main challenge of this conference is to show why it is worthwhile revisiting some rather too static representations of territorial systems. The aim is to promote the emergence and the consolidation of new, critical ways of looking at the issues of territorial dynamics: how they are to be managed, how they should be viewed, putting emphasis both on theoretical and conceptual viewpoints, and on empirical and implementational approaches. This conference, because it is at once addressed to researchers and to decision-makers and implementers in territorial planning, is aimed at highlighting the need to share views and conclusions reached in the sphere of fundamental research with those reached in the operational spheres of territorial development. By favouring a reflective rather than normative approach, the conference should make it possible to map out the most promising lines of research and development strategies for the future.

Séance plénière d'ouverture / Opening session

Monsieur le Député-Maire, Ville de la Rochelle / City of la Rochelle

Séance plénière introductory

Introductory plenary session

Peter Mehlye, ESPON Coordination Unit

Jean Peyrony, DATAR

Patrick Salez, Commission Européenne

Chair person : Nadine Cattan, France

Séance plénière thématique

Délimiter les territoires urbains : une vraie question ? / Delineating urban territories: is this a relevant issue?

De tous temps, la ville s'est, en Europe, étendue par agrégation de territoires nouveaux aux périmètres anciens. Mais, jusqu'au XIXe siècle, il est encore relativement aisément et univoquement de tracer ses limites. La conjugaison des effets de la révolution industrielle et de l'exode rural modifie, à partir de la fin du XIXe siècle, profondément et sur la durée, la donne. Connaissant un accroissement démographique sans précédent, développant des moyens de transport de plus en plus performants, les villes étendent, dans un laps de temps très court leur superficie. En grignotant toujours plus loin les espaces environnans, l'étalement urbain dilue les limites tant physiques que symboliques de la ville.

Aujourd'hui en Europe toutes les réflexions sur les villes et les systèmes urbains, et plus globalement sur le développement territorial, butent sur la question des limites urbaines. Les définitions de la ville et des systèmes statistiques qui les sous-tendent diffèrent d'un pays européen à un autre et leur harmonisation est une gageure. Toutefois, l'obstacle essentiel est ailleurs. Dans un contexte d'étalement généralisé, la délimitation des aires urbaines se heurte désormais à la conceptualisation même de l'objet ville. L'objectif de cette session est de débattre des raisons et de l'intérêt de la délimitation même des villes en général, des villes européennes en particulier.

In Europe, through history, towns and cities have spread by aggregation with new territories on the previous fringes. As far as the 19th century it was still relatively simple and unequivocal to map out their boundaries. However, from the end of the 19th century, the combined effects of the industrial revolution and rural exodus brought fundamental and lasting changes in the scene. Towns and cities, which were experiencing unprecedented demographic increase as well as the development of more and more efficient means of transport, spread out within a very short space of time. As they encroached increasingly on surrounding areas, the sprawling cities "diluted" their boundaries, both physical and symbolic.

In Europe today any consideration of cities and urban systems, and beyond that of territorial development, comes up against the issue of urban boundaries. The definitions of the city, the urban area, and of the statistical systems that underpin these notions, vary from one country to another, and harmonisation is a challenge. The main obstacle is however elsewhere. In a context of general spread, the way in which to define the boundaries of urban areas now comes up against the conceptualisation per se of the city.

The aim of this session is to debate on the relevance of and the justification for mapping out town and city boundaries, both in general, and for Europe in particular.

Chair person : Pierre Cornut, Belgique

Delineating Urban Territories

Sir Peter Hall
United-Kingdom

ABSTRACT

For a long time urbanists have understood that traditional administrative and morphological definitions of urban areas failed to capture the functional reality. Starting in the 1950s in the United States, attempts have been made to define functional urban areas (now known as Metropolitan Statistical Areas) in terms of daily connections between a core area and a suburban “ring” or sphere of influence; commuting data have been used for this purpose because of their availability. In Europe, between 1980 and the late 1990s, a number of related attempts have been made to define similar units.

However, the concept has been criticised, in the United States and elsewhere, on the ground that it assumes a monocentric unit dominated by a traditional central business district: an unrealistic abstraction from what is increasingly a polycentric reality. In Europe, as well as in regions like Pacific Asia, the reality now appears to be the development of polycentric Mega-City-Regions embracing up to fifty separate functional urban areas, which are however highly networked - not so much in terms of daily commuter movements (though these are increasing in number) but still more through flows of information, both electronic and face-to-face, in a knowledge-based economy.

Analysing these information flows, and their significance for defining complex urban regions, has been a central research task of the POLYNET project, an EU-financed study (under the Interreg IIIB programme) which is nearing its conclusion. The project, conducted by nine research teams in seven European countries – the UK, Belgium, France, Germany, Ireland, the Netherlands and Switzerland – and led by the Institute of Community Studies (the Young Foundation) in London, has used various methods to analyse information flows in eight European Mega-City-Regions: South East England, Central Belgium, the Randstad (Holland), RhineRuhr, Rhine-Main, the European Metropolitan Region of Northern Switzerland, Ile-de-France and Greater Dublin. The presentation will show some of the key research conclusions and discuss their implications for policy, both EU-wide and in member states.

Session 1

Benchmarking, strengths and weaknesses : quels apports des typologies urbaines ?/ what contributions can be made by urban typology?

Dans la plupart des travaux sur les systèmes urbains européens, les projets typologiques ont été largement dominants. A partir d'indicateurs dits structurants, ces travaux ont toujours conduit à la caractérisation des villes les unes par rapport aux autres indépendamment, d'une part, de leur position géographique, d'autre part et surtout, de leurs interdépendances. Ils ont certes permis de mettre en évidence quelques modèles urbains et territoriaux fonctionnels et restent d'intéressants repères. Pourtant, de telles approches, par les cloisonnements qu'elles opèrent et par les limites qu'elles définissent, occultent l'idée même de réseau urbain.

L'objectif de cette session est de questionner la pertinence des démarches typologiques. Il s'agit d'interroger notamment ce qu'apportent les divers classements des villes pour une meilleure compréhension des dynamiques territoriales et une plus grande efficacité dans l'élaboration des stratégies de développement.

In most work on urban systems in Europe, typological projects dominate widely. From indicators said to be "structuring", work of this sort has always led to characterising towns or cities one against the other, independently from their geographical position on the one hand and, especially, from their interdependence one on the other. This has certainly enabled the development of a certain number of functional urban and territorial models, which have their use. However approaches of this type, because they partition and define limits, mask the very concept of the urban network.

The aim of this session is to question the relevance of typological approaches. Among the central issues is that of examining how far different systems of classification of towns and cities actually contribute to better understanding of territorial dynamics, and to greater efficiency in the elaboration of development strategies.

Chair person : Bernard Morel, DATAR

Urban areas as nodes in a polycentric development

Erik Gloersen
NORDREGIO, Sweden

ABSTRACT

ESPON project 1.1.1, entitled “urban areas as nodes in a polycentric development”, has endeavoured to develop pan-European typologies of urban areas and systems. The approach has been based on Functional Urban Areas (FUA), including a central node and the labour market it organises. A number of urban functions have been envisaged, including economic decision-making, manufacturing, administrative role and demographic weight.

The analysis has resulted in a hierarchical categorisation of cities, through the identification of 76 Metropolitan European Growth Areas (MEGAs) among the 1595 FUAs that were analysed, and a further classification of these MEGAs in 4 categories of strength and dynamism.

Such a statistical exercise gives a static picture of stronger and weaker points in the European urban hierarchy. But can it contribute to strategic policy making?

A city is a fluctuating object, which can expand both in terms of its number of inhabitants, its economic activities and its spatial extent. Observing what seems to be a city today, one may fail to describe the city that will be relevant tomorrow. The city as an object for spatial development policy is therefore not necessarily empirically grounded.

A second challenge for urban typologies is to provide original inputs to the strategic thinking around cities. However, such typologies seldom provide new insight on the relative weight of cities; if it does contradict common perceptions, its methodology will generally be questioned. The value of the dialogue between researchers producing urban typologies and spatial development practitioners is therefore not obvious.

To avoid these pitfalls, useful typologies from a territorial policy perspective would look at the potentials of possible cities, organised within imagined systems of interaction. Can one design a methodology for such a prospective assessment of urban systems?

Benchmarking: A Tool for Spatial Development

Marie-Ange Orihuela
France

ABSTRACT

Historically, cities, regions and nations were primarily defined by what we knew of their culture and heritage. However, we have moved away from this relatively simple, “general” overview and towards a world in which a vastly increased number of statisticians provide us with a vastly increased amount of data which we can use to compare and classify our cities. What impact has this had on how we and others “define” our cities? Do we simply see ourselves as statistical entities; are we content to be classified simply by our population or the scale of our economic activity?

Marie-Ange Orihuela, Director of the Conference of Atlantic Arc Cities, will examine how cities have adapted to this new era of competitiveness and have sought to use it to their advantage. She will argue that different systems of classification have actually contributed to a better understanding of territorial dynamics as well as an appreciation of the interdependent role of cities and regions and how their collaboration can actually lead to greater efficiency in the elaboration of cohesive development strategies.

Marie-Ange will also examine the apparent paradox which faces elected representatives who, at one level, are responsible for their own citizens whilst, at another level, are increasingly being told that the pathway to success is to engage in wider partnerships at a regional and transnational level. In particular, she will explain how the cities and regions of the Atlantic Arc have recognised the need to strengthen their joint working through a formal partnership that will support territorial integration and look at how spatial planning techniques can help cities to understand the wider role that they will need to play in the development of successful and competitive economies at a national and European level.

In today’s competitive local, regional and national environment, and as Europe considers its own future, what is the future for transnational networks? How can they help deliver the conditions for growth in the Atlantic Arc? How can we encourage cities to work together in genuine partnerships that will deliver real territorial integration? Marie-Ange Orihuela hopes that you will help to find the answers to these questions, and more, during what is sure to be an interesting this interesting and lively debate.

Réflexions sur l'apport des typologies urbaines à partir de l'exemple des travaux du Schéma de Développement de l'Espace Atlantique (SDEA)

Jean-Paul Carrière

Département Aménagement de l'Ecole Polytechnique de l'Université de Tours (ex-CESA) et Laboratoire CITERES (UMR CNRS 6173), France

RÉSUMÉ

Les organisateurs du colloque ont assigné à la session 1 du colloque l'objectif de questionner la pertinence des démarches typologiques appliquées à l'étude des systèmes urbains européens. Notre contribution à la réalisation de cet objectif consistera en la présentation de la portée et des limites de ce type de démarche, tel qu'il a été appliqué, dans le cadre de l'élaboration du SDEA, à l'ensemble de l'armature urbaine de l'espace atlantique¹.

Comme on aura l'occasion de le rappeler dans une partie préliminaire de la communication, le but principal du SDEA² était d'évaluer dans quelle mesure l'Espace Atlantique peut devenir une Zone d'Intégration Economique Mondiale (ZIEM) au sens du Schéma de Développement de l'Espace Communautaire (SDEC), et ainsi contribuer à la construction d'un espace européen de type polycentrique. C'est en fonction de cet objectif principal que l'équipe scientifique du SDEA a été amenée, dans le cadre d'un diagnostic plus large, à réaliser une analyse typologique de l'armature urbaine atlantique dans sa globalité. Cette analyse est apparue comme un préalable nécessaire – mais non suffisant – à la mise en évidence des dynamiques territoriales atlantiques, à la définition de « sous-espaces de projet », et à l'énoncé de propositions stratégiques de développement territorial conformes aux orientations du SDEC, en particulier celle du polycentrisme.

La typologie proposée, qui fera l'objet de la partie centrale de la communication, définit quatre niveaux d'organisation territoriale : les métropoles, les villes ou systèmes de villes intermédiaires, les villes ou systèmes de villes moyennes, les espaces ruraux. Pour chacun de ces niveaux, une classification des villes et des territoires est établie en croisant des indicateurs de masse, de compétitivité, de connectivité, et d'équipements.

Nous présenterons les résultats de cette analyse, mais aussi les difficultés méthodologiques inhérentes à ce type d'approche du système urbain atlantique, quelles soient d'ordre pratique ou conceptuel, notamment en ce qui concerne la définition même des aires urbaines.

Enfin, seront évoquées succinctement les conclusions principales des travaux du SDEA qui conduisent à considérer que l'Espace Atlantique ne peut constituer actuellement, du fait notamment des faiblesses de son armature urbaine, une Zone d'Intégration Economique Mondiale, et à proposer une stratégie de développement et de coopération interrégionale au sein de cinq « sous-espaces de projet » transnationaux.

¹ Cet espace tel qu'il a été défini par le Programme d'Initiative Communautaire INTERREG III B rassemble 44 régions de la façade atlantique de l'U.E, qui elles-mêmes appartiennent à 5 pays différents : l'Irlande, le Royaume-Uni, la France et les pays ibériques

² dont le rapport final a été présenté lors de l'Assemblée Générale de la Commission Arc Atlantique de la CRPM organisée à Porto le 27 juin 2005

Images of The city in Madrid and Barcelona. Reflecting on the urban benchmarking

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ABSTRACT

Globalisation and its informational base (Castells, 1996) has created a new competition among cities at a global scale. The traditional competition among the big and capital cities has been today complete with a new one that allows many other non-capital and even little cities to compete in the global market. This fact implies a very significative change of scale of the urban policies and obliges to look for new local strategies. Many of these new urban policies have been introduced from the new economic laws of private firms, with the diffusion of strategic planning and the use of the processes of benchmarking in the comparison among international cities. All this process runs parallel to that Guy Debord called La société du Spectacle (Debord, 1992), where to be seen becomes fundamental, reinforcing the policies of image construction.

Local institutions try to develop a model of each city, as an imitation of the benchmarking process, with big impact on Internet through attracting web sites, and developing many international initiatives. Public and private firms maintain the force of urban models with the periodical diffusion on different rankings on quality of life, prices or locational ideas. Organisation of big events (Olympics, music or cultural concerts, political conferences) constitutes the most popular strategy obliging the cities to look for event after event in order to maintain the continuity of benchmarking.

Barcelona and Madrid offers significative study cases in opposite ways: Madrid tries to fight the loss of political role together with the changes of the State, and Barcelona tries to overcome its national secondary place at an international scale (Estudios Geográficos, 1993). The location, history and evolution of the two Spanish cities are absolutely different, but both have same goals and strategies, and different outcomes. This fact allows a very interesting comparison in order to do some kind of evaluation of the results and its conceptual relevance. One of the key factors to analyse is the contradiction between the citizens in their everyday life and external market. This contradiction gives some light on the problem of totality and fragmentation in the urban theory and in the urban experience (Parker, 2004).

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Hungarian towns in Europe: assessing their international functions

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ABSTRACT

Hungarian towns in Eastern and Central Europe

During the socialist era, more international functions were assigned to the capital than ever before. This trend may be attributable to different patterns of urban development. One hypothesis is that towns of this region covered a different development trajectory than did their counterparts in Western Europe. Alternatively, it may also be argued that the development of urban settlements was simply delayed in socialist countries.

Generally speaking, Budapest is the only Hungarian town to represent the country in Europe. This is due to the fact that, with the exception of Budapest, the largest Hungarian towns (between 100 and 200 thousand inhabitants) are medium-sized settlements in terms of the European urban size-structure. Changes in the spatial distribution of international functions have taken a particularly interesting course in Hungary. The main question is whether these functions are still concentrated in Budapest due to continuing disparities of the settlement structure or whether a certain decentralization of these functions has indeed taken place during the transitional period owing to the strengthening of markets and political democratization.

International functions in regional capitals

Our research focused on processes taking place in seven capitals of NUTS-2 regions (Budapest, Györ, Székesfehérvár, Pécs, Miskolc, Debrecen, Szeged). Until the middle of the 20th century, ‘mono-centrism’ was the main characteristic of urban life. Thus Budapest became the most important centre concentrating most of the country’s international contacts. Among other towns, only Györ was in a position to develop strong relationships with Vienna. As a result, during state socialism, Budapest expanded the range of its international functions due to the country’s political and economic isolation. After system change in 1990, the capital continued to be a dominant player in international traffic and modern business services (particularly in the banking sector). It is also worth mentioning that Budapest’s economy attracts the majority of foreign employees.

At the same time, Budapest’s international role has become less significant in tourism, university education and industrial FDI. Cross-border co-operations have become more dynamic. The largest towns near the border (being also the seats of regions) benefit from shopping-tourism, a large commuting workforce and education. After Budapest and its agglomeration, these towns are the main destinations for immigration.

Conclusion: Budapest has remained the main centre of international relationships. Nevertheless, political-economic transition did bring about a degree of de-centralization and de-concentration. Polarization of the Hungarian urban settlement hierarchy has probably been stronger than in Western European countries.

Regional typologies and benchmarking: the OECD experience.

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ABSTRACT

The aim of this presentation is to discuss the strengths and weaknesses of regional typologies on the basis of the experience with the OECD Territorial Typology.

As any other economic representation of reality, a typology tends to have two main drawbacks: 1. it implies strong a priorities on what is important and what is less relevant; 2. it involves a certain degree of tautology.

To deal with these two issues, a typology should meet two criteria: 1. the analytical purpose for which the typology is set up has to be clearly defined; 2. the typology should account for a significant proportion of the observed regional differences.

The presentation will discuss these issues in relation to: 1. the results of a benchmarking of the determinants of regional performances; and 2. an ongoing project on the definition of comparable Metropolitan Areas in OECD countries.

Session 2

Le polycentrisme : une notion pertinente ? *Polycentrism: a relevant concept?*

Les formes de l'intégration du territoire européen par les réseaux de villes ont souvent été réduites à deux modèles de représentation classiques, à savoir le modèle centre-périmétrie et le modèle hiérarchique de mise en réseau des systèmes urbains nationaux. Dans ces acceptations, l'espace européen est figuré de façon dichotomique. Dans le premier cas, un centre dominant auquel s'arriment tant bien que mal des périphéries dépendantes ou isolées ; dans le second cas, des pôles majeurs qui satellisent des centres secondaires en mal de visibilité. Aujourd'hui, la référence à des territorialités polycentriques a modifié quelque peu la donne, du moins dans les discours. La réflexion, engagée avec le SDEC autour d'un développement polycentrique des territoires, a incité les politiciens et les aménageurs à inscrire un principe dit de cohésion territoriale dans les priorités des politiques publiques européennes ; et ce au même titre que la cohésion économique et sociale. De polarisées et pyramidales, les dynamiques spatiales se lisent en connexité et réticularité.

L'objectif de cette session est de comprendre comment le polycentrisme pourrait porter les fermentes d'une nouvelle lecture, à différentes échelles, de l'organisation des territoires européens en accord avec les principes d'équité, de cohésion et de développement durable.

The conceptualisation of spatial integration in Europe by way of networks of cities has often been restricted to two models derived from classic representations, i.e. the centre-periphery model and the hierarchical network model for urban systems at national level. In these representations, the European area is seen in a dichotomous manner: in the first case a dominant centre to which dependant and isolated fringe areas are more or less well attached; in the second, major poles with secondary satellite centres that suffer from a lack of visibility. Today, reference to polycentric territorial systems has to some extent, at least in debate, changed the picture. Reflection undertaken in collaboration with SDEC on the subject of polycentric territorial development has encouraged politicians and planners to include the principle of "territorial cohesion" in the priorities of European public policies, in the same way as economic and social cohesion are included. Rather than being viewed in a polarised, pyramidal manner, spatial dynamics are now being read in terms of interconnection and reticulation.

The aim of this session is to understand in what manner polycentrism could sow the seeds for new readings, at various scales, of the organisation of European territory in accordance with the principles of equity, cohesion and sustainable development.

Chair person : Lena Sanders, France

Polycentrisme, équité et cohésion territoriale en Europe

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RÉSUMÉ

On se propose d'évaluer dans quelle mesure le concept de polycentrisme peut se montrer utile à la mise en oeuvre de l'objectif de cohésion territoriale dans l'Union européenne. L'objectif d'un espace européen polycentrique suscite en effet des propos très divergents, ce qui oblige à réévaluer la valeur ajoutée théorique et la portée pratique du polycentrisme : paré ici de toutes les vertus –dans le SDEC, à la CRPM ou à la DATAR–, il est dénoncé par des instances métropolitaines soucieuses de promouvoir leurs intérêts. Le débat est également académique, puisque le polycentrisme est critiqué sinon raillé par un certain nombre de chercheurs qui font valoir les avantages de la concentration et ne voient dans la promotion de nouveaux pôles qu'un jeu à somme nulle. On peut suspecter certaines prises de position d'être influencées par la position...géographique des uns et des autres, promoteurs d'idéologies spatiales opposées, ce qui ne facilite pas une juste appréciation du projet polycentrique, d'autant que les incertitudes scientifiques restent grandes quant aux avantages et inconvénients globaux de tel ou tel niveau de polarisation. De tels débats pourront surprendre à propos d'une simple « notion » à la signification mal assurée et a priori inoffensive. Cette faiblesse conceptuelle semble en effet davantage propice au consensus mou qu'à des stratégies opérationnelles. Le concept de cohésion territoriale en voie de reconnaissance officielle au niveau communautaire semble mieux convenir pour garantir l'équité spatiale. Pourtant, si l'on reconnaît que le développement régional est désormais nécessairement urbain, alors il faut admettre l'utilité du projet polycentrique qui pointe l'obligation de renforcer l'encadrement urbain des espaces les moins métropolisés de façon à leur assurer des chances égales d'épanouissement en agissant sur ses moteurs. Le polycentrisme présente donc l'intérêt de souligner la nécessité d'investissements rééquilibrés au profit des pôles urbains les moins favorisés, non pas sous la forme d'une simple assistance compensatoire susceptible de réduire des inégalités régionales à court terme, mais en vue d'entraîner une convergence durable car reposant sur la dotation en facteurs propres de compétitivité et d'attractivité. La promotion d'une organisation polycentrique présente aussi l'avantage de favoriser l'équité dans la mesure où elle améliore en premier lieu le bien-être des populations les moins favorisées à tous les niveaux de la hiérarchie urbaine, conformément aux principes énoncés par Rawls. Le polycentrisme constitue donc un modèle alternatif dont la réalisation ne peut toutefois être envisagée qu'à long terme compte tenu de la robustesse des systèmes urbains. Toutefois, certaines tendances et quelques signaux faibles indiquent une évolution favorable sur le territoire européen. La réforme de la politique régionale envisagée pour l'après 2006 prend également en compte l'objectif polycentrique.

**Italy and European spatial policies:
polycentrism, urban networks and local innovation practices**

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ABSTRACT

Cohesion and territorial development policies stated by the official documents of the EU on spatial planning, and particularly by the ESDP, might be interpreted as an attempt to recompose the territorial fragmentation of the individual national territories, by boosting voluntary forms of transnational co-operation and by referring to the principle of subsidiarity at the sub-national level. However, in the Italian context, these territorial re-composition processes principally involve changes in the intervention programmes in urban and territorial fields and innovations in local practices.

This paper presents the changes that are emerging in the Italian urban and territorial policies mainly through the discussion of the relationship between the principles of polycentrism and networking affirmed by the European Spatial Development Perspective (ESDP) and, in general, by the European official documents on spatial planning, and the role of polycentrism and networking in Italian praxis..

The paper is organised as follow. The first section presents the general framework of the concept of polycentrism and its relevance for the European Union (EU) policies. The second, third and fourth sections briefly describe Italian territorial organisation and spatial policies, and illustrate some operational examples of the application of the network model. The fifth section presents the empirical and political relevance of the concept of network and polycentrism. Finally, in the conclusion, the use of the network concept proposed by the European official documents on spatial planning and the difference between different meanings of this concept are discussed (from field of interurban relations to local mechanisms of collective action).

Polycentricity and equity: the Dutch case

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ABSTRACT

Currently the dominant discourse within the European Union is to become the most competitive knowledge based economy in the world in 2010. Although its feasibility may be questioned, this objective, better known as the Lisbon strategy, worries the minds of territorial planners in a sense that they have start asking how the territorial dimension could contribute to this strategy. This has been the topic of the last informal meetings of EU ministers responsible for territorial cohesion in Rotterdam (2004) and Luxembourg (2005). At the same time, however, the EU territory remains highly unbalanced, which is why cohesion objectives remain high on the political agenda. The seemingly conflicting cohesion and competitiveness objectives also figured in the ESDP process and were in the ESDP bridged by the concept of polycentric development.

In the meantime more knowledge has been gained about the concept of polycentricity among others by studying polycentric policies in European countries. Between these countries the Netherlands take in an exceptional position because its (polycentric) policy exclusively focuses on becoming more competitive. Moreover, the goal of an even distribution of welfare is even officially abandoned, something which obviously is easier to do in a fairly polycentric country. But even in this situation there is constant political turmoil surrounding central government spending on infrastructure development and investments into the national-economic spatial structure. Government administration on the regional level in various parts of the country embrace competing doctrines on the territorial organization of the country and on how central government should invest in the various regions. Instead the national government embraces a policy to support the endogenous potential of ten (!) economic core areas, nearly all located in the west, middle and south of the country.

In contrast, other countries focus their polycentric policies on achieving better cohesion or on a combination of cohesion and competitiveness objectives. Comparing different approaches may help to understand how a territorial dimension, and more in particular a polycentric policy, could contribute to the currently dominant objectives at the European level.

This paper discusses:

*polycentric development and territorial cohesion in the current EU policy discourse
the various competing doctrines on the organization of the Dutch territory
a brief historic overview of Dutch regional/spatial-economic policies
an analysis of the present Dutch policy
a comparison with other European countries focusing on the level of polycentricity of the territorial organization.
concluding remarks as regards a possible role for polycentricity in EU policies*

Promotion du polycentrisme inter-urbain, spécialisation économique et leurs significations sociales à l'échelle locale : cas de Bruxelles

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RÉSUMÉ

La notion de polycentrisme a évolué ces 30 dernières années depuis un statut d'outil analytique de structures spatiales émergentes à l'échelle intra-urbaine (essor de nouvelles centralités au sein des aires métropolitaines) ou inter-urbaine (région urbaine polycentrique) vers une conception normative ou politique d'aménagement de l'espace européen sensée permettre la combinaison d'objectifs de compétitivité économique, de cohésion sociale et territoriale et de protection de l'environnement (cf. SDEC). Même si le consensus sur ce que devrait être exactement cette armature urbaine « idéale » est loin d'être atteint, tant dans les sphères scientifique que politique, la plupart des auteurs s'accordent sur le fait qu'une région urbaine polycentrique associe des villes proches, de taille plus ou moins comparable, qui se spécialisent chacune dans des fonctions complémentaires tout en tissant entre elles des liens de coopération et de manière à atteindre la masse critique nécessaire à leur compétitivité à l'échelle mondiale. Si la littérature scientifique a longuement exploré les cas "typiques" de régions urbaines polycentriques (Randstad, Ruhr, Troisième Italie, Diamant Flamand en particulier), en mettant d'ailleurs souvent en doute la réalité du fonctionnement réticulaire de ces ensembles et des coopérations en leur sein, on a rarement exploré les liens entre promotion de structures inter-urbaines polycentriques et leurs significations sociales et spatiales à l'échelle locale, intra-urbaine.

L'objectif de la communication est de montrer que la spécialisation économique, l'une des composantes du modèle polycentrique, n'est pas sans conséquence sur la cohésion sociale à l'échelle locale. Le cas de l'agglomération bruxelloise illustre notre propos. Bruxelles est en effet une ville qui s'est progressivement spécialisée dans le tertiaire de commandement, d'abord à l'échelle nationale, comme capitale d'un état unitaire et centralisateur aujourd'hui en voie de dilution, puis régionale, comme région-capitale et capitale de la région flamande, et enfin supra-nationale, comme siège d'institutions internationales (UE, OTAN). En outre, Bruxelles est intégrée dans le document de planification de la région flamande (Ruimtelijke Structuurplan Vlaanderen) comme l'un des sommets du "Diamant Flamand", en dépit des doutes émis par plusieurs auteurs sur la réalité du fonctionnement polycentrique de cette région urbaine.

La communication explore empiriquement les implications sociales de la spécialisation économique de Bruxelles sur trois plans : le marché du travail, le marché du logement et la géographie des activités économique à l'intérieur de l'aire métropolitaine. L'analyse met en évidence un lien entre spécialisation et fragmentation sociale et spatiale de la ville.

La spécialisation économique, qui obéit fondamentalement à une logique de marché, est en marche à Bruxelles mais les structures politiques qui pourraient permettre de développer les coopérations entre acteurs et territoires sont aujourd'hui absentes, et difficiles à envisager dans le cadre belge. En ce sens, la communication tend à montrer que si la promotion du polycentrisme inter-urbain se limite à une spécialisation des villes sans mécanismes de mise en réseau, de coopération et de gouvernance, le risque de fragmentation sociale et spatiale accrue à l'échelle locale est grand.

Archipel insulaire et organisation des territoires

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RÉSUMÉ

Le terme d'archipel évoque immédiatement pour l'aménageur et l'urbaniste l'Archipel Mégalopolitain Mondial défini par Olivier Dolfus en 1996 comme «l'ensemble des villes qui contribuent à la direction du monde ». Il montre comment cette poignée de villes génère et concentre l'essentiel des opérations financières ou des connaissances scientifiques de la planète. Ce sont elles qui favorisent la synergie des diverses formes du tertiaire supérieur et du « quaternaire » (recherche, innovation, activité de direction). L'archipel mégalopolitain mondial renvoie à la vision classique de l'archipel : un ensemble d'îles ayant quelque chose en commun, comme les villes d'O. Dolfus dans le contexte de la globalisation et de la mondialisation.

Les archipels insulaires maritimes nous apparaissent comme des laboratoires grandeurs nature des territorialités polycentriques qui nous intéressent aujourd'hui. Réfléchir au fonctionnement ancien et actuel des archipels nous semble porteur d'idées et de propositions pour mieux comprendre les cohésions territoriales dans un contexte de réseau imposé par la discontinuité territoriale entre les îles et la mer environnante. Que nous disent donc les archipels ?

Ils nous disent que tous les regroupements insulaires ne sont pas des archipels. Un archipel nécessite une mise en commun. Il peut s'agir d'éléments de la culture, de l'histoire, mais aussi d'un projet politique ou économique. De tous les regroupements insulaires, les archipels sont une minorité, les autres n'étant que ce que nous avons proposé d'appeler des « conilats », des ensembles d'îles proches, sans liens particuliers. C'est dans la nature des liens et des relations (et de leurs combinaisons multiples) que réside une partie de l'originalité des archipels. Ils ont souvent été des pionniers des réseaux.

Le fonctionnement en archipel a inspiré en France des sociologues comme Jean Viardet sa société d'archipel¹ ou Pierre Veltz et son économie d'archipel². Tous deux montrent comment les nouvelles mobilités ont des implications importantes sur le fonctionnement et l'organisation des sociétés ou la vie des citoyens (dans leurs relations avec leurs territoires d'appartenance). L'observation de certains archipels (archipels atlantiques de la Macaronésie par exemple) montre des spécificités dans la hiérarchisation des parties composant l'ensemble insulaire mais aussi dans le rôle des villes ou la répartition des pouvoirs. L'une des idées principales qui se dégagent de cette étude est le caractère labile des associations territoriales. Le fonctionnement en archipel est quelque chose d'ouvert et de changeant. L'éventualité d'un choix archipeléen est à prendre en compte dans la mise en place des politiques d'aménagement. En effet, la complicité unissant la mer et la terre dans les regroupements insulaires peut permettre, en la transposant, de mieux comprendre les formes d'intégrations des territoires continentaux.

¹ Viard Jean (1994), *La société d'archipel (ou les territoires du village global)*, Éditions de l'Aube, La Tour-d'Aigues, 126 pages

² Veltz Pierre (1996), *Mondialisation, villes et territoires-L'économie d'archipel*, Économie en liberté, PUF, Paris, 262 pages

Le Polycentrisme : Une chance pour la créativité des territoires

Jacky Denieul
IAAT

RÉSUMÉ

L'approche transdisciplinaire de la créativité ; nécessaire et indispensable de surcroît dans le cas de la recherche qui est la nôtre : à savoir y-a-t-il un lien entre créativité et territoires, de quel ordre est-il ? Illustre et illustrera assez fréquemment la proximité des caractéristiques liées à ces deux concepts que sont : créativité et polycentrisme. Il ne s'agit pour l'heure que d'une invitation à développer plus largement, bien entendu, cette approche transdisciplinaire de la créativité et d'en observer les parentés avec l'approche transdisciplinaire du polycentrisme :

- *en psychologie, voir les travaux de todd LUBART ;*
- *dans le domaine des arts, ayons à l'esprit toute l'approche autour de la dérive, de l'imaginaire... ;*
- *en sociologie, un ouvrage de référence : la créativité de l'agir de Hans JOAS aux Editions du Cerf ;*
- *en histoire, l'histoire de l'innovation, l'organisation des cités grecques peuvent éclairer nos deux concepts ;*
- *en philosophie, un livre récent de Paul AUDI "Créer" aux Editions Encre marine ;*
- *etc.*

Cette approche transdisciplinaire sera évidemment utile à l'étude de la relation "créativité et territoires" et se révélera elle-même féconde pour le développement d'une ambiance créative. Pour notre part, vu notre position d'interface, voire à la marge, nous avons développé dans le cadre du Club partenaires pour agir inter-regional Poitou-Charentes/Limousin/Centre, il y a un peu moins de deux ans, une approche empirique, pragmatique qui ne demande qu'à être poursuivie et enrichie par des travaux de recherche plus conséquents.

Ce travail débutant et tâtonnant a porté principalement sur les facteurs susceptibles de favoriser la mise en place d'une "ambiance créative", d'une ambiance propice au développement de la créativité sur les territoires. Ces caractéristiques doivent être naturellement approfondies :

- *tolérance aux idées nouvelles ;*
- *nécessité de synergie ;*
- *ouverture au monde ;*
- *approche participative ;*
- *développement de l'auto-didaxie, de l'auto-formation ;*
- *importance de la culture ;*
- *développer l'art de voir les choses autrement (rôle de l'art contemporain) ;*
- *organisation de débats très contradictoires ;*
- *importance de l'imaginaire ;*
- *apport du négatif, du "critique"...*
- *etc.*

Ces premiers travaux ont permis également de rencontrer des recherches déjà plus élaborées :

- *travaux de Richard FLORIDA ("The rise of the creative class", etc.) ;*
- *réseau des villes créatives au Canada ;*
- *notion de cluster créatif : travaux de Christophe CARIOU et Raphaël > SUIRE à Rennes ;*
- *premier colloque à Saint-Etienne en 2005 des réseaux d'entreprises et territoires ;*
- *etc.*

Travaux qu'il serait utile de mieux faire connaître en France y compris avec les controverses suscitées outre-atlantique.

J'ai évoqué précédemment le positionnement du Club partenaires pour agir en parlant de notion "d'interface et de marge", ce positionnement fait appel à la fois à des notions intéressantes pour le développement de la créativité et utilisées dans l'approche polycentrique du territoire.

Polycentricity: a relevant concept for transnational co-operation? Evidence from North-west Europe

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ABSTRACT

This presentation reports on an investigation into the main transnational challenges for polycentric territorial development in the transnational region of North-west Europe which covers eight countries. The investigation was intended to contribute to further action on transnational co-operation on polycentricity through co-operation projects. It was based on a comprehensive review of objectives set out in national and regional policy documents and the views of key actors.

The spatial development characteristics of north-west Europe tend to challenge the notion of polycentricity. The region is dominated by a strong core of dense urban development, global command functions and knowledge economy activities. This concentration presents great challenges for sustainable development and there is evidence of continued polarisation of economic strength. However, the economic and quality of life performance of regions is not fully explained by the core-periphery model.

The investigation used an amended version of the broad definition of polycentricity set out by the ESPON 1.1.1 project with three interrelated dimensions: the geographical distribution of physical development; socio-economic relations and flows among a network of centres; and the interconnection of governance. We recognised that polycentricity is used as a concept to analyse spatial development patterns and normatively to promote certain forms.

A few Interreg projects In North-west Europe address polycentricity, mostly in terms of physical infrastructure connections and networks and to a lesser extent governance networks. Few projects deal with wider issues related to polycentricity, for example, the implications of the Lisbon Strategy, demography, migration and enlargement. National and regional strategies and policy documents do not make extensive reference to polycentricity. Where they do, they most often concentrate on issues to do with physical infrastructure, sharing service provision and networking among city and regional governments.

Many key actors responsible for analysis and policy development in relevant sectors see polycentricity as an abstract, complex and ambiguous concept that has dubious value as a policy tool. Many are also not convinced of the desirability of pursuing polycentric territorial development or the potential for public policy to effectively affect spatial development patterns at the transnational or even national scale. Polycentricity is not generally considered to be a useful concept by policy makers, especially at the transnational scale. Reasons for this include the higher priority afforded to cross-border co-operation with near neighbours, competition among cities and regions; the perceived abstract nature and urban bias of the concept; and the artificial boundaries of Interreg regions. However, there are a number of critical issues for polycentric development that should be taken up in future co-operation programmes, particularly the implications of climate change, demographic change, the Lisbon Strategy and the inclusion of rural ‘meshes’ in polycentric networks.

¹ In addition to the authors, the team comprised Erik Gløersen and Alexandre Dubois, Nordregio – Nordic Centre for Spatial Development, Stockholm, Sweden; Christian Muschwitz, Berta Rato, Michaela Gensheimer, Nadine Essel and Thomas Braun, TAURUS Institute at the University Trier, Germany; Philippe de Boe, PhDB consultant, Brussels, Belgium ; Bart Lambregts and Robert Kloosterman, AMIDSt Amsterdam Institute for Metropolitan and International Development Studies, The Netherlands; Juliette Cristescu and Guy Baudelle, UMR CNRS Laboratoire Rennes Espace et Sociétés, Université de Haute Bretagne, France ; Klaus-Dieter Schnell, Institute for Public Services and Tourism , IDT-HSG, Switzerland

Session 3

Des régions urbaines polycentriques : des territoires pour le futur ? Polycentric urban regions: territories for the future?

Le développement, à l'échelle régionale, de territorialités urbaines polycentriques est aujourd'hui défini comme un objectif majeur des stratégies d'aménagement. L'image de la Randstad, région urbaine fortement connectée au reste du monde grâce à plusieurs pôles complémentaires en forte interaction et maintenant, en son centre, un grand espace vert, passe pour être un idéal type en matière d'aménagement. En conséquent, il est fortement recommandé aux villes de taille relativement moyenne de coopérer et de nouer des liens avec leurs voisines afin de favoriser la création de synergies capables de leur donner une visibilité internationale.

L'objectif de cette session est d'interroger ces modèles d'organisation spatiale. Son ambition est d'esquisser les contours d'une réflexion alternative qui concilie pleinement les différentes options possibles loin d'un modèle unique de développement résultant de visions un peu trop économistes des territoires.

The development at regional level of polycentric urban territorial systems is today seen as a major challenge in planning strategies. The example of the Randstad, an urban region enjoying strong connections with the rest of the world by way of the existence of several complementary, strongly interactive poles, and possessing today of a large green space in the centre, is viewed as an ideal in the field of planning. Consequently, medium size towns are being strongly recommended to cooperate and create links with their neighbours so as to generate forms of synergy liable to provide them with international visibility.

The aim of this session is to take a critical look at these models of spatial organisation. The ambition is to sketch out the scope of an alternative approach fully incorporating all possible options, and avoiding a single development model arising from and unduly "economist" view of territories.

Chair person : Sandrine Berroir, France

**The Mediterranean Latin Arc:
innovation and polycentrism in the urban structure**

Sergio Conti and Alberto Vanolo
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ABSTRACT

The paper proposes an analysis of the territorial structure of South-Western Europe (the so-called Mediterranean Latin Arc, considered as in figure 1) organized around two main concepts: on the one hand, that of polycentric development, one of the policy aims identified by the European Commission in the European Spatial Development Programme, and on the other hand, that of technological innovation, explored with reference to the theory of industrial clusters. In order to proceed with the empirical analysis, the two concepts have been investigated and broken down in order to set up a methodology of research. Then, the empirical analysis has been carried out at the geographical scale of the local systems of the Mediterranean Latin Arc (i.e. local labour areas in Italy, zones d'emploi and France; urban areas in Spain), considering a wide amount of statistical data in order to draw a general picture of the development dynamics of the area and to evaluate both the high-technology potential of the local systems, and the emerging territorial patterns in terms of monocentric or polycentric structures. Then, some geographical representations of polycentrism in the Mediterranean Latin Arc will try to propose and discuss some images and visions concerning this macro-area. Finally, the paper proposes some theoretical reflections concerning the concepts of polycentric development, particularly how it overlaps with innovative strategies.



Figure 1 – The Mediterranean Latin Arc

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Les villes mises en réseau par la coopération transnationale, dans l'Europe du nord-ouest et l'Espace atlantique

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RÉSUMÉ

Depuis le début des années 1990, un nouveau mot-clef s'impose dans la politique régionale communautaire : la coopération. À travers le programme Interreg IIIB, cette coopération vise à faire travailler ensemble des acteurs de différents pays au sein d'une même zone transnationale. De nombreux réseaux se sont mis en place, où les acteurs échangent leurs bonnes pratiques et travaillent à des réalisations communes.

Ces réseaux constituent un révélateur intéressant des liens entre acteurs et entre territoires. À quelles logiques obéit la mise en réseau des villes ? Dans cette contribution, plusieurs facteurs seront pris en compte tels que la proximité, si l'on coopère surtout avec les voisins ; la langue, dans la mesure où les partenariats peuvent se nouer préférentiellement au sein de mêmes aires linguistiques ; les logiques réticulaires fondées sur la recherche de l'excellence (eurocities), ou sur la communauté de problèmes (périphéricité, régions de tradition industrielle).

La recherche porte sur deux espaces transnationaux bien différenciés : l'Europe du nord-ouest, zone la plus dense et la plus peuplée de l'Union européenne, et l'Espace atlantique, regroupant les régions périphériques maritimes occidentales. Deux périodes de programmation sont prises en compte, la première période qui s'étendait de 1997 à 1999 (Interreg IIC), et la période actuelle, 2000-2006 (Interreg IIIB), ce qui permet de replacer la mise en place des réseaux sous un angle temporel.

The ideo-centrity of urban poly-centrity

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ABSTRACT

Polycentrity has attracted much attention as a model for regional development and for good reasons: It seems rational that urban tissues get much stronger when joining complementary urban functions and it seems in line with the goals of territorial cohesion to enhance the development of more medium-sized centres than just a few large centres. However, also it seems that the good intentions behind the concept have fostered a kind of ideological blindness to the empirical facts that often reveal several contradictory qualities of polycentrity as an operational concept. Thus, in order to promote European polycentrity, the CPMR (Conference of Peripheral Maritime Regions of Europe) "Study on the construction of a polycentric and balanced development model for the European territory" recommended a growth-pole strategy and the ESPON 1.1.1 on polycentrity showed that a general policy of enhancing polycentrity at the FUA level (Functional Urban Areas) would foster development of the European pentagon rather than the European peripheries. Also from the bottom-up perspective, i.e. the perspective of the medium sized cities, a more differentiated view on polycentrity is needed. Based upon case-studies conducted in a number of medium sized cities in the Baltic Sea Region the relevance of polycentrity will be discussed. It is one of the observations that medium sized cities have supplemented and to some extent substituted the role as mediators of national programmes for development of the welfare state by a new role as originators of local development. In this role, the medium sized cities make use of a palette of new operational means only one of which is the co-operation with neighbouring cities. Cities cooperate with the best in the market and the most relevant actors matching their goals and projects. Focus has changed from cultivation of interests to exploiting and fostering competencies. Matching partnerships with policies has become more relevant than matching policies with partnerships. Thus, co-operation is not ruled by proximity-relations, and hence not by aspirations of polycentrity. Due tribute should be paid however, to the diverging relevance of proximity relations in metropolitan, selfsustaining and peripheral regions.

In brief, polycentrity is a top-down concept, the application of which reveals contradictions in empirical research. In this paper, it is argued that polycentrity is but one of the measures at the new palette of action-oriented measures that the medium sized cities are building up in taking an increasing responsibility as originators rather than mediators of local development.

Efficacité économique comparée des régions polycentriques et monocentriques : analyse empirique et réflexion critique

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RÉSUMÉ

La communication partira d'une réflexion critique sur les concepts et mesures du polycentrisme à l'échelle des régions urbaines tels que proposés par le projet ESPON 111. En effet, même si ce projet avance une proposition de mesures empiriques du polycentrisme, il soulève néanmoins une série de questions méthodologiques que nous essaierons d'identifier.

La seconde partie de la communication tentera, au départ de mesures simples du niveau de polycentrisme dans les différents états européens, d'une part, et dans des ensembles régionaux de population similaire de taille plus réduite, d'autre part, d'établir si l'on peut effectivement observer des différences significatives de développement économique selon le niveau de polycentricité de ces ensembles territoriaux. Ces niveaux de polycentricité seront estimés tant au niveau morphologique que fonctionnel.

En conclusion, les résultats empiriques seront discutés et confrontés tant avec les postulats de base du polycentrisme qu'avec les constatations d'experts en ce domaine.

Polycentricity: Panacea or pipedream?

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ABSTRACT

The notion of polycentricity is gaining widespread currency in both academic and professional debates. It has opened its way in the spatial policy documents of the European Union (EU) and member states alike, and has become one of the key components of the integrated spatial development strategy promoted by the European Spatial Development Perspective (ESDP). Whilst polycentricity is increasingly shaping the spatial policy discourses both in the Commission and in member states, the precise meaning of the term has remained elusive.

The first two sections of this paper aim to unpack the concept of polycentricity, trace its origin and its development and clarify the confusion over its multiple interpretations at various spatial scales. The third section of the paper explains how the concept of polycentricity which has traditionally been used as an analytical tool to explain an existing or emerging reality is now increasingly being used to determine that reality. This is based on the analyses of the use of polycentricity within the European spatial planning framework and in particular the ESDP. Here, the paper raises a number of questions regarding the promotion of the polycentric urban regions as one of the ESDP's key policy options for a balanced territorial development across Europe.

The territoriality of the network economy, evidence from Flanders

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ABSTRACT

As the network economy is continuing to develop external economies are taking over internal economies and they are increasingly determining the entrepreneurial logic. To evaluate the territorial impact of this new logic a theoretical framework is developed based on a division of external economies between agglomeration economies that play a role in the economic functioning of urban areas and network economies that result from the networking among firms.

The general picture of firms located in Flanders is one of intense networking within agglomerations, especially in their networking with suppliers, together with intense short and long distance relationships, where urban areas dominate the scene.

A comparison between the urban networks introduced in spatial policy and the geography of firms' networks, which has been investigated in this paper as the outcome of a large scale questionnaire, reveals that the nature of the firms' networked territory can in fact not be translated in terms of urban networks but in terms of relationships between firms located in territories with dynamic industrial communities, and where cities, as a contextual place, play an important role.

Le lien Rural – Urbain au centre de l'organisation des régions urbaines

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RÉSUMÉ

Les processus de concentration de la population et des activités économiques constituent aujourd’hui une tendance majeure et de long terme d’attraction des pôles urbains (INSEE, 1998). Plusieurs traits les caractérisent : une fragmentation et étalement de la nappe urbaine (Beaucire, 2001), une demande de maison individuelle et une consommation accrue d'espace (Lacaze, 2002), un engorgement des infrastructures de transport (Clément and alii, 2001).

Ces processus peuvent s’exprimer différemment en Europe, mais posent de façon générale la question des relations villes-centres / zones rurales environnantes au sein de régions urbaines marquées par les déplacements journaliers domicile- travail et par les relations fonctionnelles qui s’instaurent entre le centre et la périphérie. Loin de la ville compacte, une donnée essentielle de la ville contemporaine est aujourd’hui celle de l’étalement urbain et de la discontinuité spatiale. Il est question de ville « diffuse » (Secchi, 2000) qui essaime des modes de vies urbains dans des territoires ruraux, de « ville émergente » qui intègre la campagne et la nature (Dubois-Taine, Chalas, 1997), ou de « ville campagne » (Donadieu, Fleury, 2003) qui souligne la mutuelle dynamique d’urbanisation des campagnes et de ruralisation de la ville. Ainsi, loin de s’opposer, rural et ville semblent s’entremêler de plus en plus qualifiant ces nouvelles formes urbaines qui intègrent en leur sein des superficies toujours plus importantes d’espaces naturels.

Alors que les objectifs politiques du SDEC (Schéma de développement de l'espace communautaire, Potsdam, 1999) soulignent l'enjeu que constitue les relations rural – urbain pour une cohésion économique et sociale à différentes échelles de l'espace communautaire, dont celle des régions urbaines, quelle est la nature de la dynamique urbaine d'intégration entre le ou les « rural » et « l'urbain ». Peut-on parler de « partenariat » entre les villes de différentes taille et leur proches campagnes (Commission européenne, 1999, 25) alors que les régions urbaines sont souvent marquées par des tensions sur l'utilisation de l'espace, une segmentation sociale et une polarisation de l'emploi ?

En France, le rapport rural / urbain a longtemps été pensé en termes d'opposition. Les dernières lois nationales relatives à l'Aménagement du territoire (LOADT 1999, Chevènement 1999) et au renouvellement urbain (SRU 2000) tendent à rompre cependant avec cette opposition, soulignant la nécessité de redessiner les contours territoriaux par un renforcement de la coopération intercommunale¹. Peut-on dans ce contexte parler de réaménagement de la relation entre l'urbain et le rural, et dans quelle mesure contribue-t-il à la durabilité du développement des régions urbaines? Si les mutations liées aux dynamiques périurbaines sont bien connues aujourd’hui, on peut s’interroger sur les tensions rural - urbain que continuent à porter les régions urbaines.

Cette communication s’intéresse donc dans un contexte de reconfigurations territoriales françaises à ce qui change dans la relation rural urbain et dans quelle mesure elle répond à l’objectif de partenariat rural-urbain tel que le formule le SDEC. C'est donc au travers de cette analyse que nous nous proposons de relire les dynamiques à l’œuvre au sein des espaces périurbains français. Deux régions urbaines rhône-alpines - Annecy et Valence - de moyenne importance nous serviront d’illustration.

¹ (LOADT, 1999 targets sustainable development and is based on territorial projects ; Chevènement law (12 July 1999), targeting the reinforcement and simplification of intercommunal cooperation ; SRU law (30 December 2000) deals with urban planning, city policy, housing and transport in setting up an approach to urban zones based on solidarity and urban renewal)

Session 4

Réseaux d'échanges et de coopérations : quelles potentialités ? Exchange and cooperation networks: what potential ?

La réalité d'une économie-monde basée sur les réseaux de relations est très ancienne. Pourtant, la prise en compte de la fonctionnalité d'un réseau de relations n'a que très rarement été effectuée. Les résistances sont nombreuses : pesanteurs institutionnelles, méthodologiques, idéologiques continuent aujourd'hui de freiner ou d'empêcher une certaine modification de nos savoirs-penser.

L'objectif de cette session est de montrer que, dans un territoire européen en phase d'intégration forte, une attention particulière doit être accordée aux réseaux d'échanges et de coopérations. Il s'agit de consolider une réflexion alternative sur le rôle du flux comme élément de production territoriale. Le propos n'est pas de proposer un nouveau modèle normatif, ni une nouvelle théorie dominante. En considérant les territoires et les réseaux de villes en termes d'articulations, de fonctionnalités relationnelles, et non plus essentiellement en termes de localisations et de répartitions, l'ambition est de mettre en évidence toutes les modalités de l'intégration d'un espace européen en formation.

The concept of a worldwide economy based on networks of relationships is not new. Yet the functionality of a network of relationships is rarely taken into account. There is much reluctance: institutional, methodological and ideological inertia is still today an obstacle to rethinking these issues.

The aim of this session is to show that, in the European territory which is in a phase of rapid integration, particular attention should be paid to exchange and cooperation networks. Deeper consideration should be given to the part played by flow as a factor in producing territory. The issue is not to set out a new normative model, or a new dominant theory. By viewing territories and networks of cities in terms of the way they articulate one with another and in terms of functional relationships, rather than principally in terms of locality and distribution, the ambition is to highlight all possible integration patterns for the European space that is in the process of forming.

Chair person : Jean-Marc Offner, France

Mobilités étudiantes genrées et réseaux de villes en Europe

Nadine Cattan
CNRS – UMR Géographie-cités, France

RÉSUMÉ

Les formes de l'intégration du territoire européen par les réseaux de villes ont souvent été réduites à deux modèles de représentation classiques, à savoir le modèle centre-périmétrie et le modèle hiérarchique de mise en réseau des systèmes urbains nationaux. Dans ces acceptations, l'espace européen est figuré de façon dichotomique et l'intégration est limitée.

La communication proposée explorera la manière dont les mobilités étudiantes constituent aujourd'hui en Europe un potentiel de renouvellement des modalités et des représentations que l'on se fait de l'intégration territoriale. Dans la société de l'information et du savoir, l'accès à la connaissance devient un facteur de compétitivité aussi vital que l'accès aux infrastructures de transports. En effet, les universités, en s'inscrivant dans des réseaux de partenariats appropriés, deviennent des agents actifs des dynamiques territoriales. De ce fait, le rôle de la coopération inter-universitaire et celui des mobilités étudiantes sont, de plus en plus, des enjeux considérables tant pour les villes dans lesquelles se localisent les universités que pour les territoires régionaux dans leur ensemble.

L'étude que je présente analyse la mise en réseau des villes en Europe au prisme des échanges d'étudiants qui s'effectuent dans le cadre du Programme ERASMUS. Elle montre que les migrations étudiantes entre les villes dessinent un réseau métropolitain polycentrique où les logiques d'interconnexion et d'intégration sont réticulées et symétriques. Cette analyse met ainsi en lumière tout l'apport d'une approche relationnelle des espaces c'est-à-dire d'une approche qui considère les territoires et les réseaux de villes en termes d'articulations, de fonctionnalités relationnelles, et non plus essentiellement en termes de localisations et de répartitions. Dans une dernière partie, la différenciation, selon le genre, des pratiques de mobilités des étudiant(e)s permet de comprendre comment les comportements migratoires des étudiantes se jouent, plus que ne le font les pratiques des étudiants, des modèles néo-classiques de la mobilité spatiale et de l'organisation des réseaux de villes.

Cities as nodes of global networks: Co-operative research and technological development projects in the European research space

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ABSTRACT

In the theorisation of the urban phenomenon the necessity to go beyond “attribute data” and engage in the analysis of relationships between cities became plainer and plainer (Amin 2002, Bagnasco and Le Galès 2001, Beaverstock, Smith and Taylor, 2000, Cattan, et al., 1997, Dematteis, 2000, 2001). In the 90s, Castells (2000) described globalisation in terms of network society: revolutionary changes in communication technologies steer the rising of a “space of flows” characterised by the presence of some structural nodes (global cities) organised in a global network. Recently, the analysis of cities’ relational aspects eventually attained to more systemic and topological approaches (Smith 2003a, 2003b, Smith and Timberlake, 1995): changes in the global urban system are related to the presence of a large set of localities held together by multiple direct exchanges, as well as by complex interactions influencing their global ranking. The analysis of the immaterial flows rising from knowledge exchanges has a lead in this respect: since knowledge is the key factor of the current economic system, the analysis of actors and medium through which knowledge is exchanged gives a critical input to the understanding of the geography of cities’ interaction, as well as some insights concerning the territorial effects of global networks. There is no doubt, that interesting results might come from the analysis of the relations between the geography of European knowledge flows and two pillars of Communitarian policies: competitiveness and territorial cohesion. However, the measurement of these relational aspects is anything but simple (Taylor, Catalano and Walker, 2002a, 2002b).

In the paper scientific and technological flows within the European research space are detected on the basis of the analysis of cities’ co-participations in research and technology development (RTD) projects. Data come from the EC database Cordis, and refer to research projects concerning the Fifth Framework Programme (1998-2002). The sample comprehends a set of 228 European regional capitals (Ietri and Rota, 2004), whose participation to RTD projects is analysed comparing the number of projects with socio-economic figures: what is worked out is a strong positive correlation between project participation and cities’ dimension. Major cities traditionally concentrate material and immaterial assets facilitating international co-operative research (Simmie, 2001). Nevertheless, co-operative projects are also favoured by networking capabilities that are characteristic of an innovative milieu not necessarily corresponding to a major urban context (Malecki, 2002, Simmie 2002). Starting from a reduced sample of cities, the graph of inter-city co-operative RTD projects is thus reconstructed in order to identify, via qualitative as well as quantitative analysis, cities networking capabilities, so as the characteristics of the resulting networks.

In particular, the following questions are addressed:

- How is the spatial organisation of the network? Does it assume a polarized or a polycentric shape? Do national patterns overcome international linkages? Are cities hierarchically organised?
- Is it possible to identify major European scientific and technological hubs?
- Which are the strengths and weaknesses of the network, especially with respect to the policy aim of competitiveness and territorial cohesion?

Results from the analysis will be then used in order to evaluate the role of European co-operative RTD projects as factors of territorial integration or differentiation (Milhaud, 2002). A tentative effort in this sense might come from the qualitative analysis of the spatial distribution of networks and links, described in comparison with four different urban network models: centre/periphery, hierarchy, specialised networks and capitals networks (Cattan, 2003, Cattan and Saint-Julien, 1998).

Finally, particular attention will be paid to the consideration of the cases of Turin, Cambridge, Utrecht, Göteborg, Firenze and Grenoble, i.e. medium-size cities (not national capitals) strongly active in European research networks.

Integrating the European space: Flows and Places in North West European City-Region Networks

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ABSTRACT

This paper focuses on the results of a major European study funded by the North-West Europe INTERREG IIIB Programme: ‘POLYNET: Sustainable Management of European Polycentric Mega-City Regions’. The study involving nine academic teams based in the UK, Ireland, France, Belgium, Germany, the Netherlands and Switzerland, investigates a new phenomenon in Europe: the ‘global mega-city region’ – an area surrounding major cities that is increasingly functionally interconnected through virtual communications and travel.

The ‘mega-city’ concept is more usually associated with mushrooming cities of the South, for example, the Pearl River and Yangtse Deltas in Pacific Asia where functionally networked towns and cities form clusters around one or more major cities. But in North West Europe similar development patterns are emerging as processes of functional specialisation and agglomeration in the advanced service economy construct regional inter-city linkages through the business networks represented there.

Nearly a decade ago, Manuel Castells suggested that global cities downplay “linkages with their hinterlands on the basis of information flows” (Castells 1996). But are these relationships changing? POLYNET examines eight ‘mega-city regions’: South East England, Greater Dublin, Bassin Parisien, the Randstad, Northern Switzerland, Rhine-Main, Rhine-Ruhr and Central Belgium to find out. Academic teams in each country have co-operated in four intensive quantitative and qualitative studies over a two year period from 2003 to 2005 - the final results will be published in May/June 2006.

Advanced services, first identified by Saskia Sassen as defining functions of the global city (Sassen 1991, 1994), have become widely acknowledged as key activities in knowledge production. They have crucial importance for the achievement of Lisbon Agenda and European Spatial Development priorities for competitiveness in the global economy and balanced regional development. POLYNET studies eight core knowledge-based services - banking and finance, insurance, accountancy, law, management consulting, advertising, logistics and design – to examine how far processes of integration in functional inter-city networks are operating at the regional scale and to what extent this is leading to increasing functional polycentricity.

The results show that North West Europe is a highly connected functional space with complementarities between cities that are vital to regional integration in the global city network and to development of the regional knowledge economy. But the space of informational flows and the space of places are shown to be highly interdependent. An appreciation of these complex interrelationships will be essential to inform the future management of sustainable European spatial development.

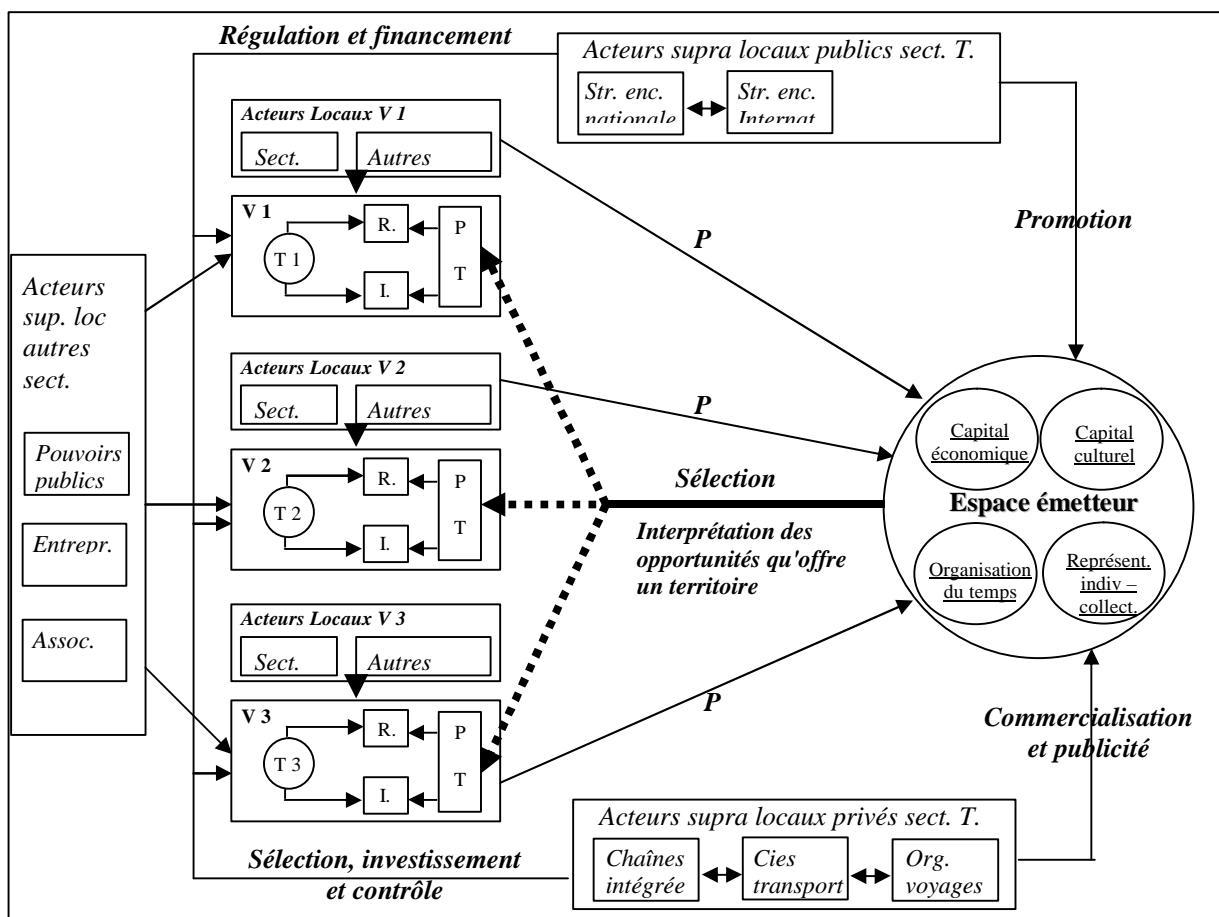
Reproduction et transformation des réseaux urbains par les mobilités hors du quotidien

Jean-Michel Decroly
Belgique

RÉSUMÉ

Par les infrastructures qu'elles suscitent, les revenus qu'elles engendrent et les représentations qu'elles construisent, les mobilités temporaires hors du quotidien (tourisme et voyage d'affaires) participent pleinement à la production des territoires. L'affirmation récente sur la scène internationale de certaines métropoles espagnoles (Barcelone, Bilbao, Valence) en fournit une illustration saisissante. Dans le même temps, ces mobilités peuvent contribuer à la reproduction des hiérarchies territoriales. Il existe ainsi, pour les 180 agglomérations de 200.000 habitants et plus en Europe, une très forte relation entre le nombre de nuitées touristiques annuelles et le volume de la population.

La communication examine le rapport dual que les mobilités hors du quotidien entretiennent avec le réseau urbain, contribuant à la fois à la reproduction des structures héritées et à leur transformation. S'appuyant sur un schéma systémique des relations qui s'établissent entre pratiques de mobilité et réseau urbain, elle met en évidence à la fois les facteurs de reproduction des hiérarchies préexistantes (inertie sur le long terme de la taille de villes, poids du tertiaire de commandement, logique de déploiement des chaînes intégrées, ...) et ceux de la transformation de ces héritages (par exemple les politiques entrepreneuriales mises en œuvre par les pouvoirs publics urbains ou le déploiement des compagnies low-costs).



Quels réseaux de transport pour le polycentrisme européen ?

Alain L'Hostis, Philippe Mathis
France

RÉSUMÉ

Principe essentiel du Schéma Directeur de l'Espace Communautaire, le polycentrisme émerge comme l'orientation principale de l'organisation du territoire européen. Les réseaux de transport européens, conçus jusqu'à présent en premier lieu comme devant faciliter la fluidité des déplacements dans un marché unique, acquièrent une nouvelle finalité, celle du renforcement de la cohésion spatiale.

La communication exposera comment cette question a été traitée dans une recherche menée dans le cadre de l'Observatoire en Réseau de l'Aménagement du Territoire Européen, montrant les potentialités de la mobilisation des modes de transport rapides pour le renforcement d'un réseau de métropoles européennes.

From Relations To Form And Back

Marko Peterlin

Ministry of the Environment and Spatial Planning, Office for Spatial Development, Slovenia

ABSTRACT

Every human activity belongs to one kind of network or another, more precisely several of them. Although networks are abstract systems each of these activities can eventually be also spatially defined, placed somewhere in the territory.

In essence networks are very simple. They consist of nodes and connections among them. Connection represents relation between nodes, that is an exchange of matter or information between two nodes. In abstract terms, as a topological description, both nodes and connections are without dimension. But persistent patterns of nodes and connections in actual space result in physical structures possessing dimensions. Furthermore, we can nowadays observe how for instance transportation networks became the largest man-made structures forming the environment in which we live. The paper examines this self-reinforcing loop between transport flows and the distribution of human activities. It observes how territory is produced and developed through the transition from exchange networks to physical networks and how these physical networks affect back the relations in exchange networks. Special attention is also given to the interdependence between physical form of infrastructure and urban form.

Séance plénière thématique

*Un regard critique à partir d'expériences hors d'Europe /
A critical viewpoint in the light of experiences outside Europe*

Dans une perspective comparative, l'objectif de cette séance est de confronter les visions européennes de l'organisation et de l'aménagement du territoire, aujourd'hui largement partagées en Europe, aux représentations qui ont cours dans d'autres « aires culturelles ».

By way of comparison, the aim of this final general session is to set European views of territorial organisation and planning, enjoying fairly wide consensus today in Europe, against representations entertained in other cultural areas

Chair person : Thérèse Saint-Julien, France

**Le développement territorial made in USA:
entre logique de marché et régulation politique**

Cynthia Ghorra-Gobin
CNRS-Université Paris IV, France

RÉSUMÉ

Adopter une perspective comparative et prendre pour exemple l'expérience américaine exige quelques précautions. En effet, il ne s'agit pas de prendre pour modèle ou contre-modèle les principes qui sous-tendent le développement territorial made in USA mais plus simplement de préciser les spécificités des représentations indissociable de la culture politique. Certes, la construction du territoire national relève de la volonté d'un Etat fédéral mais d'un Etat qui a également autorisé les entreprises privées de chemin de fer à décider de l'organisation des réseaux, facteur incontournable de l'urbanisation du pays.

Aussi après avoir mis en évidence (1) l'absence de toute référence à la ville dans la Constitution fédérale, (2) les représentations limitées du territoire national par l'Etat fédéral (en dehors de l'épisode historique bien connue de la Tennessee Valley Authority (TVA) et de tout ce qui concerne la sécurité militaire) et (3) la dichotomie entre ville économique et capitale politique à l'échelle de l'Etat fédéral et de l'Etat fédéré, l'analyse présente quelques arguments pour expliquer le polycentrisme à l'américaine. Elle met notamment l'accent sur la spécificité du rapport dialectique entre logique du marché et régulation politique.

Territorial integration : Perspectives and experiences across the OECD

Andrew Davies
OCDE

ABSTRACT

Many economic regions have outgrown their decision-making and service delivery systems. The governance structures in place are often outdated and reinforce unsatisfactory policy environments that are not conducive to solving major problems, such as sprawl, congestion, redevelopment of old industrial sites, and environmental pollution, that affect the quality of life, and economic opportunities of entire regions.

Concern that the current framework for policy delivery is out of step with the nature of the policies that are increasingly required is heightened by the implications this has for the cost-effectiveness of public policy, as well as negative impacts on territorial cohesion. For example:

sub-optimal use of public funds where sectoral policies are not integrated and their objectives are contradictory; as, for example, between environmental standards and economic policy, or between transport and housing policy. Negative spillovers from one region to another.

poor quality of public services where administrative boundaries inhibit efficient use of resources and investment.

disincentives for resource and information-sharing among sub-national authorities caused by competition for resources and investment

dispersal of limited funds to a multiplicity of agencies that have overlapping jurisdictions and similar mandates

This is particularly true of “global” cities where concern about competitiveness is drawing attention to the inadequacies of the policymaking environment and its impact on economic performance...

Improving governance for metropolitan areas implies:

increasing the incentives for co-operation and resource sharing across often fragmented regional and intra-regional boundaries

building cross-sectoral frameworks for strategic planning and policy formulation/implementation

addressing imbalances in the fiscal capacity of local authorities in metropolitan areas; and, developing region-wide decision making mechanisms that are transparent and accountable.

But this requires flexibility and imagination that goes beyond normal departmental and political-territorial boundaries; this is a serious challenge to OECD governments.

Le Monde arabe : privilégier la construction territoriale nationale, exclure des mises en réseaux inter-régionales

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RÉSUMÉ

La question des villes, des réseaux et de leurs intégrations territoriales ne peut être traité — et n'a pas été traitée — de la même manière en Europe et dans le Monde arabe. Pourtant, on aurait pu s'attendre qu'un espace aussi vaste, s'étendant de l'Atlantique au Golfe arabo-persique, avec ses 300 millions d'habitants et ses nombreuses villes millionnaires, montre des similarités quant à l'organisation et l'aménagement du territoire. En bonne logique, on aurait dû retrouver les mêmes modèles de la structuration de l'espace du monde contemporain de l'autre côté de la Méditerranée. Il n'en est rien.

Une explication est à chercher dans l'histoire contemporaine de la région. Pendant que les États de l'Europe consolidaient ou centralisaient leurs espaces nationaux pour en faire des nations au courant du XIXe siècle, ces mêmes États allaient à la conquête du monde arabe. Par leur action de colonisation, mais surtout par leur « invention » de frontières, ils ont définitivement déstructuré les organisations territoriales préexistantes. Au milieu du XXe siècle, quand ces États décident de donner naissance à l'Europe et de gommer progressivement leurs propres frontières et de se mettre en réseau, les États arabes accèdent à l'indépendance. Les frontières coloniales ne seront pas remises en question au nom de nationalismes étroits. De surcroît, ces nouveaux États seront des enjeux géopolitiques de la Guerre froide.

On retiendra que cette donne géopolitique permettra la consolidation de pouvoirs souvent personnels et farouchement nationalistes qui territorialiseront leur espace sans partage et qui interdisent aux sous-espaces toute velléité de décision spatiale autonome. Les pouvoirs économiques, politiques et culturels sont par ailleurs concentrés dans la capitale, qui est le sommet de la pyramide des hiérarchies directives.

Cette réalité interdit alors toute réflexion autour de la constitution de polycentrismes potentiels ou de la réelle mise en réseau des villes du Levant (Beyrouth-Damas-Amman, les villes du Delta du Nil, par exemple) ou du Maghreb (villes marocaines du littoral atlantique, la mise en réseau de Tunis avec l'est algérien, par exemple). Il est également impossible de réfléchir à la mise en réseau des États ou des villes arabes avec des territoires européens eux-mêmes en réseau à l'intérieur de l'Union, en quelque sorte des satellites des polycentrismes émergents.

À l'échelle infra-étatique, l'organisation du territoire procède selon les mêmes contraintes, avec la confirmation du rôle des capitales, autour desquelles gravitent des villes de l'espace national ou des territoires hiérarchiquement inférieurs. Des territoires historiques, ethniques, culturelles ou religieuses ne peuvent prétendre organiser une mise en réseau indépendante avec des territoires du même pays ou avec ceux des États mitoyens, du fait des frontières, d'occupations militaires, d'ingérences étrangères ou de décisions politiques arbitraires.

Cette réalité est intériorisée par les chercheurs et les professionnels de l'analyse du territoire. Aucun projet d'aménagement ne met en avant la possibilité de liens transfrontaliers, de complémentarités entre territoires, de mises en réseaux de villes. Le modèle dominant est encore celui de la toute-puissance de la capitale et une subordination des autres espaces.

Des cas particuliers existent cependant dans le Monde arabe, et qui méritent d'être mentionnés : des Émirats du Golfe comme Dubaï ou Abou-Dhabi, qui sont plus en réseau avec le monde occidental qu'avec les autres émirats pourtant très proches, ou avec le Monde arabe de façon plus générale. La Palestine constitue le contre-exemple extrême, avec la déstructuration totale des réseaux à toutes les échelles, le morcellement physique des territoires et la diasporisation de sa population. Cet exemple est à mettre en parallèle avec la véritable mise en réseau de certaines villes israéliennes avec la mondialisation de l'économie. L'Irak, avec l'éclatement de ses logiques nationales unitaires et les nouvelles territorialisations, comme le Kurdistan, par exemple. Enfin, Beyrouth, avec une reconstruction ratée, car reposant sur un choix de réseaux, déphasés par rapport aux réalités actuelles de la mondialisation.

L'Asie orientale : un exemple d'intégration régionale par les réseaux et par les flux

Patrice Cosaert

Université de La Rochelle, France

RÉSUMÉ

Du détroit de Singapour à celui de Corée, un axe – ou couloir – de croissance rassemble toutes les dynamiques économiques de l'Asie orientale. La matérialité de cet axe qui est structuré par quelques grands “nœuds” de circulation (Singapour, Hong Kong, Tokyo-Yokohama), ne fait plus aucun doute : il structure par ses flux toute l'Asie orientale. Aujourd'hui, cet axe méridien voit ses fonctions démultipliées, ses trois principaux nœuds dédoublés (respectivement vers Séoul-Pusan, Taipei-Kaohsiung et Bangkok), ce qui renforce son rôle intégrateur. Le commerce maritime, modernisé par la conteneurisation, sert aux pays de la région à développer leurs stratégies exportatrices ; il les relie aussi entre eux au fur et à mesure que se développent les échanges intra-régionaux. L'expansion du transport aérien n'a pas modifié les flux de circulation, les grands aéroports s'alignant sur le même axe. Les “autoroutes” de l'information, qui empruntent des supports qui lui sont liés, le consolident également. Plus immatériels encore, les flux financiers les accompagnent.

Cet axe de croissance correspond à une route commerciale ancienne qui fut empruntée par les marchands-navigateurs occidentaux lorsqu'ils investirent durablement la région, au XIX^e siècle. Il s'est confondu un temps avec la “ligne de front” de la guerre froide, après la Seconde Guerre mondiale et le basculement de la Chine dans le monde communiste.

La modernité des métropoles du “corridor maritime” asiatique s'est toujours située au niveau des services : organisation en emporium, comme a pu l'être Malacca, puis en entrepôt, à Hong Kong et à Singapour. Aujourd'hui, “l'intégrateur de services” a pris le relais, avec une forme particulièrement achevée à Hong Kong. Les nouvelles grandes plates-formes logistiques ont été en effet amenées à cumuler les fonctions et à combiner plusieurs métiers, de la recherche d'approvisionnement à la gestion de l'information en passant, bien sûr, par la gestion du transport maritime, elle-même toujours plus complexe. C'est ainsi que le corridor maritime de l'Asie orientale est constitué de plusieurs grands ports ou zones portuaires à la fois complémentaires et rivaux : le complexe de la rivière des Perles, où Hong Kong organise les synergies avec les ports de la zone de Shenzhen ; Singapour plus au sud, puissante plate-forme de transbordement à l'entrée occidentale du Pacifique ; Kaohsiung à Taiwan, grand rival de Hong Kong et de Singapour mais handicapé par ses relations conflictuelles avec la Chine ; Shanghai enfin, qui reste encore un port de transbordement plutôt qu'une véritable plate-forme d'éclatement. L'avenir de ces ports dépend de leur capacité à marier des infrastructures de haute qualité et des services sophistiqués.

En fin de compte, tout confirme l'importance de l'axe littoral dans la structuration du développement propre de l'Asie orientale devenue une région en elle-même, et non plus seulement une destination pour les capitaux ou les touristes, ou un lieu d'embarquement pour marchandises et travailleurs. Des flux diversifiés l'épaissent sans cesse alors que s'y croisent capitaux et compétences et, en bataillons de plus en plus serrés, travailleurs et touristes, mobilisant aussi les nouvelles technologies de l'information et de la communication. Ces flux croissants et convergents produisent de facto une intégration économique qui conditionne la régionalisation dans cette partie du monde.

Table ronde / Round table

Synthèse critique et perspectives / Critical overview and perspectives

En fonction des thématiques abordées, des enjeux soulevés et des principaux défis pressentis lors de ce colloque, les intervenants sont invités à proposer, dans une vision prospective, les principales orientations de recherche qui leur semblent les plus prometteuses pour améliorer nos connaissances de l'espace européen.

On the basis of the themes broached, the issues identified and the main challenges pinpointed in the course of the conference, participants are invited to suggest the main lines of research for the future which appear to them to be the most promising with a view to improving understanding of the European space.

Nacima Baron-Yelles, DATAR

Claude Grasland, France

Sophie Baudet-Michel, France

Marjorie Jouen, France

Peter Mehlibye, ESPON Coordination Unit

Chair person : Pieter Bloemen, Pays-Bas

Steering Committee - Comité d'organisation

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- Pieter Bloemen, VROM, Pays-Bas
- Niels Boje Groth, KVL, Danemark
- Pierre Cornut, ULB-IGEAT, Belgique
- Sarah Luyten, KUL-ISEG, Belgique
- Marko Peterlin, MESP-OSD, Slovénie

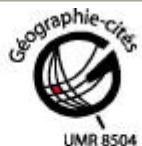
Scientific Committee - Comité scientifique

- Sophie Baudet-Michel, Université Paris 7, France
- Jean-Michel Decroly, Université Libre de Bruxelles, Belgique
- Cynthia Ghorra-Gobin, CNRS, France
- Claude Grasland, Université Paris 7, France
- Jean Peyrony, DATAR
- Alberto Vanolo, Université Polytechnique de Turin, Italie

Organizing institutions - Les institutions organisatrices

- Réseau Interdisciplinaire pour l'Aménagement du Territoire en Europe UMS 2414 RIATE, France
Bernard Corminboeuf, Nicolas Lambert, Isabelle Salmon.
- Institut de Gestion de l'Environnement et d'Aménagement du Territoire IGEAT, Université Libre de Bruxelles, Belgique.
- Institute for Social and Economic Geography, ISEG, Katholieke Universiteit Leuven, Belgique.
- Ministère VROM - Directorate General for Spatial Policy, Pays-Bas.
- Danish Centre for Forest, Landscape and Planning, KVL, Danemark.
- Ministry of the Environment and Spatial Planning, Office for Spatial Development, Slovénie.

These organizing institutions are all ESPON Contact Points within their respective country.



Danish Centre for
Forest, Landscape
and Planning • KVL

ANNEX of the Conference report and proceedings

International Conference on Cities and networks in Europe: what territorial integration ?

REVEUROP, ECP Transnational networking activities

List of participants:

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Guy Baudelle	France
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David Guerrero	France
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Bas Waterhout	The Netherlands
Jean-Louis Zentelin	France
Wil Zonneveld	The Netherlands
Georgette Zrinscak	France
Mr le député maire	Ville de la Rochelle

Programme of the Conference

The programme of the Conference can be downloaded from the following website:
http://www.ums-riate.fr/documents/programme_final_60x21.pdf
(2 minutes to download)

The description of the sessions and the presentation of the participants are summarized in parts I and II of this report.