Urban Governance and Urban Coherence

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Introduction: Arts and cities

It´s a picture of Peter Kogler. He is an Austrian artist. In his pictures and installations he focuses on "media-based spacework", on "connections between surface and space, figure and architecture". His pictures can be looked at in an exhibition in the MuMo (Museum of Modern Art) in Vienna from October 2008 to January 2009.

You can see the art of Peter Kogler as an expression of the lost of urban coherence. That he took Los Angeles for his installation is obvious. Los Angeles has become the symbol of urban development or the model of the postmodern city in the 21st century.

Urban Governance and the loss of Urban Coherence

1. Models of the "modern" city of the 20th century

2. Models of the "postmodern" city of the 21st century

3. The worldwide "americanization" of the urban landscape

4. Contradictions
   4.1 Elements of secession
   4.2 Elements of cohesion and coherence

5. Conclusion – "Cities of excess" or the "end of the neoliberal city"?

1. Models of the "modern" city of the 20th century

One of the most persistent ideas of the modern city of the 20th century came from a group of sociologists who flourished in Chicago, the so-called „social-ecological models" of the „Chicago School". They considered the city as an expression of social relations generated by territoriality.
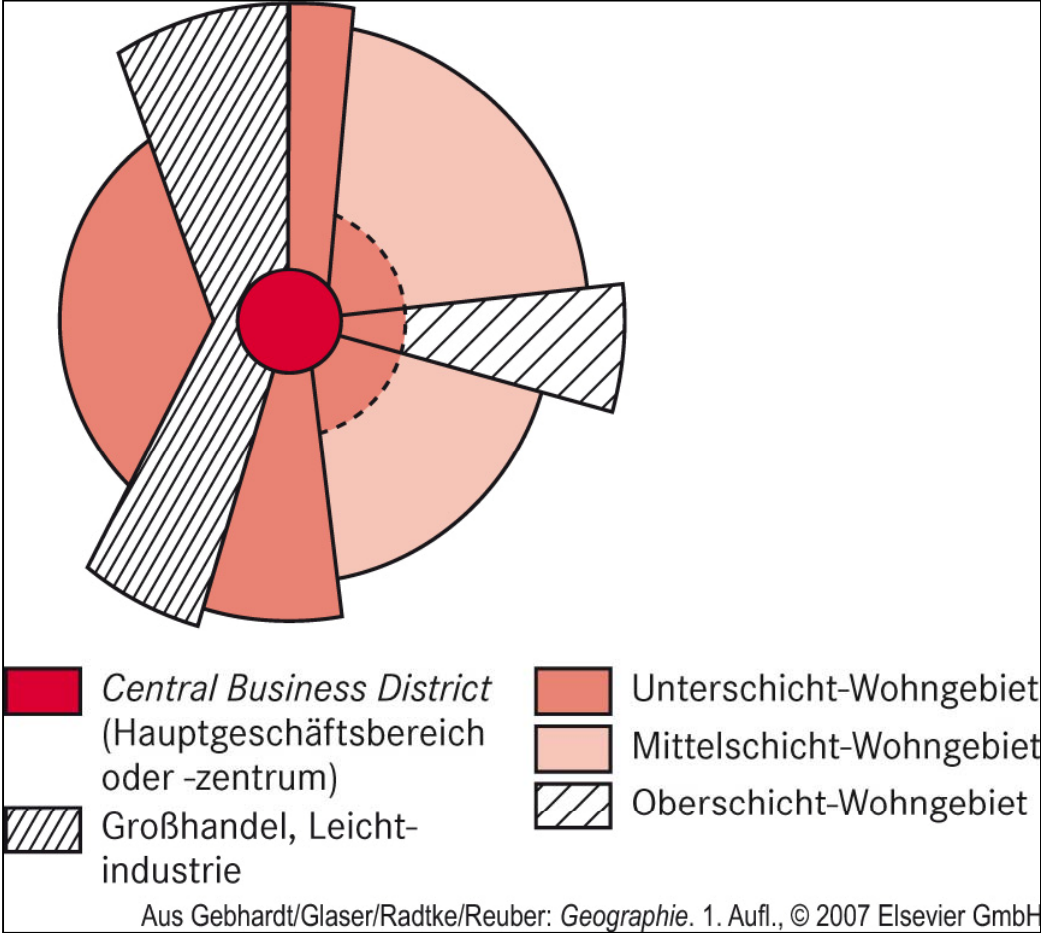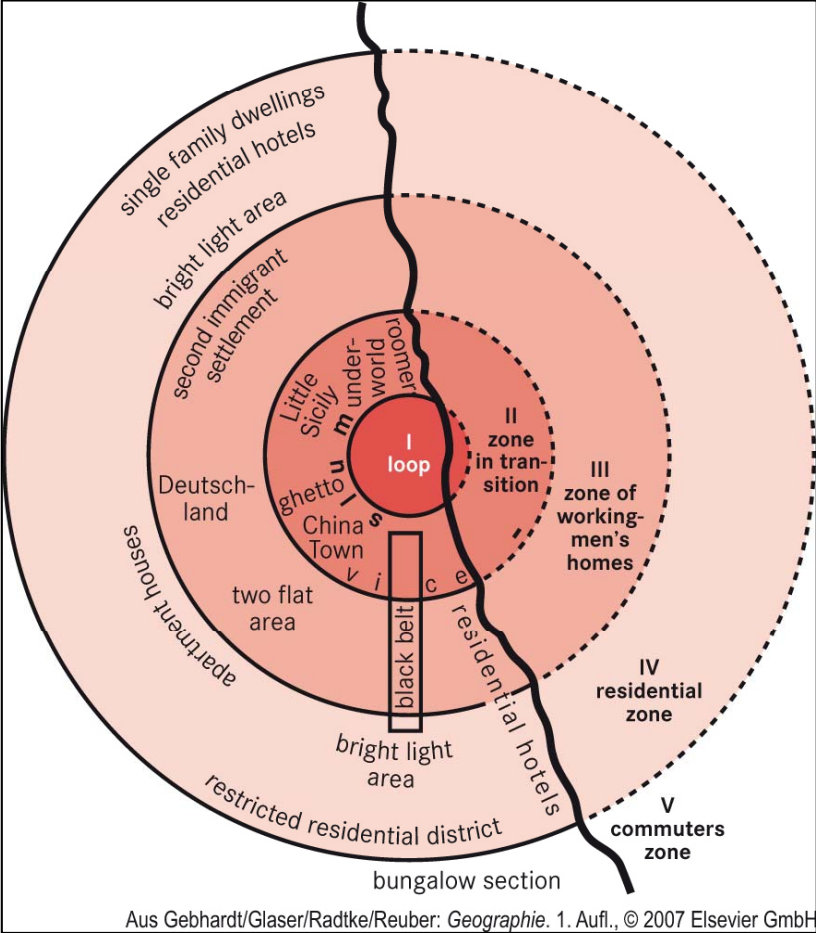
1. Models of the "modern" city of the 20th century

All these models have in common one (or more) cores and a spatial order of rings (concentric zones) or sectors. Development takes place outward from this central core, a Central Business District (CBD) which is surrounded by a transitional zone where different functions are located and divide the urban space (industry, private housing areas and etc.).

In contrast, according to the Sector Theory of urban structure cities grow in star-shapes along highways that radiate from a center rather than in concentric forms.

City models of the "Chicago School":
Growth in concentric circles and sectors

single family dwellings
residential hotels
bright light area
second immigrant settlement
Little Sicily
under-world
roomer
m
u
l
s
ghetto
China Town
Deutsch-land
two flat area
apartment houses
restricted residential district
bright light area
black belt
bungalow section
residential hotels
v i c e

I loop
II zone in transition
III zone of working-men's homes
IV residential zone
V commuters zone

Central Business District (Hauptgeschäftsbereich oder -zentrum)

Großhandel, Leicht-industrie

Unterschicht-Wohngebiet

Mittelschicht-Wohngebiet

Oberschicht-Wohngebiet

1. Models of the "modern" city of the 20th century

All the Chicago models share the idea of an inner order or coherence of the city, with core(s) and well-organized zones around. The metaphors to describe the dynamics of urban development reflect this order: There are processes of "invasion", "succession" and "segregation". Segregation refers back to a former congregation, succession describes an inner order of the model.

In this context urban development was sometimes considered a nearly natural phenomenon and the city as an "urban organism" with coherent functional characters.

2. Models of the "postmodern" city of the 21st century

The model of the modern city was derived from the development of Chicago during the first decades of the 20th century. In contrast the model of the postmodern city was found in the recent development of Los Angeles. This "postmodern urbanism" consists of an ubiquitous social polarization and a re-territorialization of the urban process insofar as the hinterland organizes the center (which is a direct contradiction to the Chicago model).

2. Models of the "postmodern" city of the 21st century

"The traditional logics of urbanism (have) evaporated and in the absence of a single new imperative, multiple urban (ir)rationalities are competing to fill the void. It is the concretization and localization of these effects, global in scope but generated and manifested locally, that are creating the geographies of postmodern society - a new time-space fabric."

(Dear/Flusty, 1998, p. 50)

2. Models of the "postmodern" city of the 21st century

"*Los Angeles is a decentered, decentralized metropolis powered by the insistent fragmentation of post-Fordism, that is, an increasingly flexible, disorganized regime of capitalist accumulation. Accompanying this shift is a postmodern consciousness, a cultural and ideological reconfiguration altering how we experience social being.*"
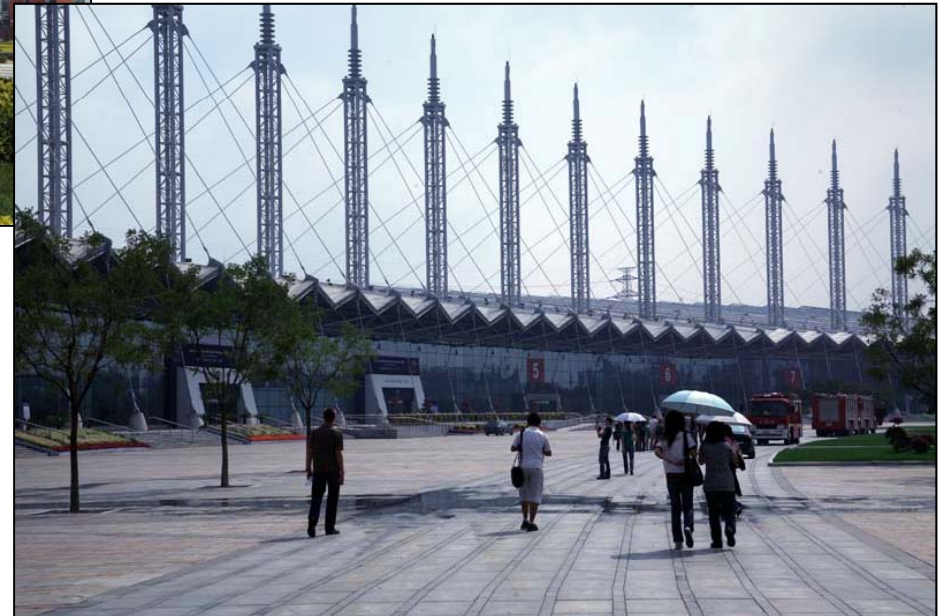
(Dear/Flury, 1998, p. 53)

Legend:
- Interdictory Spaces
- Edge Cities
- Theme Parks
- Gated Communities
- Street Warfare
- Corporate Citadels
- Ethnoburb
- Containment Centers
- Consumption Opportunities
- Command & Control Centers
- Spectacle

Aus Gebhardt/Glaser/Radtke/Reuber: *Geographie*. 1. Aufl., © 2007 Elsevier GmbH

Edge Cities

TEDA (Tianjin,China)

Theme Parks

Las Vegas (USA)

Gated Communities

Khon Kaen

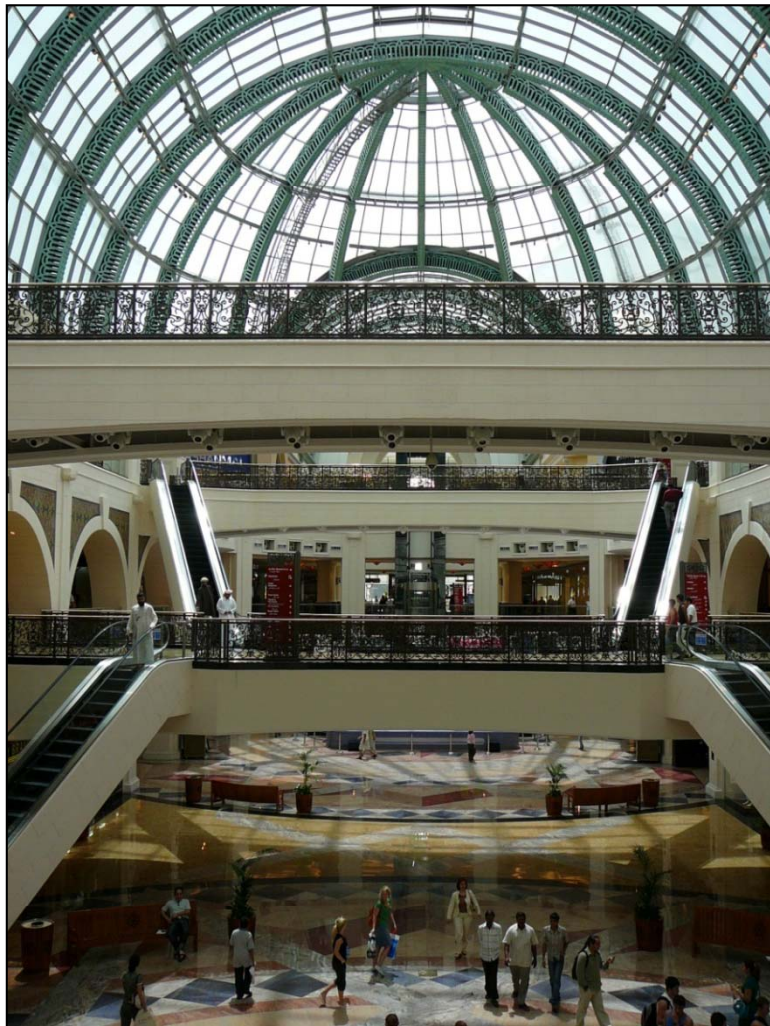Northeastern Thailand

Street Warfare

Riots in Paris (France)

Corporate Citadels

Financial district of Frankfurt (Germany)

© M.Berninger / 2004

Consumption Opportunities

Emirates Mall (Dubai, UAE)

Spectacles
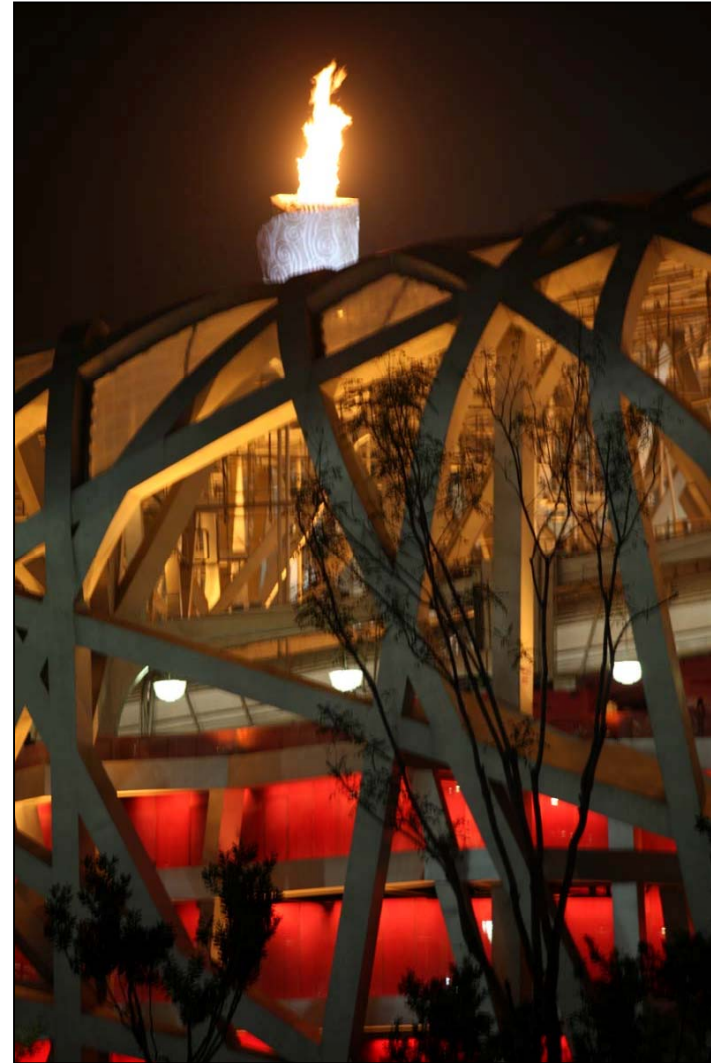
Six discourses on the Postmetropolis

Ed Soja (1997) describes "six discourses on the Postmetropolis":

- **Post-Fordist Industrial Metropolis:** The transformation from the fordist to the postfordist production

- **Cosmopolis:** The development of Global Cities

- **Exopolis:** Restructuring of urban forms

- **Fractal City:** Segregation and socio-spatial polarization

- **The Carceral Archipelago:** The fortification of cities through private security services

- **Simicities:** A break in our imaginations of what a city could be

3. The worldwide "americanization" of the urban landscape

Of course one can dispute whether the Los Angeles model is emblematic for more general urban dynamics. But I think some processes described by Ed Soja, Mike Davis or Michael Dear are to be found worldwide in different countries and cultural regions, may be in South America, the Near East or in Southeast Asia. Especially the fast growing megacities in Southeast Asia show numerous characteristics of this development.

Frauke Kraas describes in an article three types of urban development in Southeast-Asia:

Pathways of development in Southeast Asian cities

Cities with a strong urban planning system:

New development areas, for example waterfront development is implemented, flagship development (monuments, art, parks etc.) with landmarks and worldwide urban symbols is the task. We find such types of development in Singapore and partly in Kuala Lumpur (Malaysia).

Singapore – land use planning
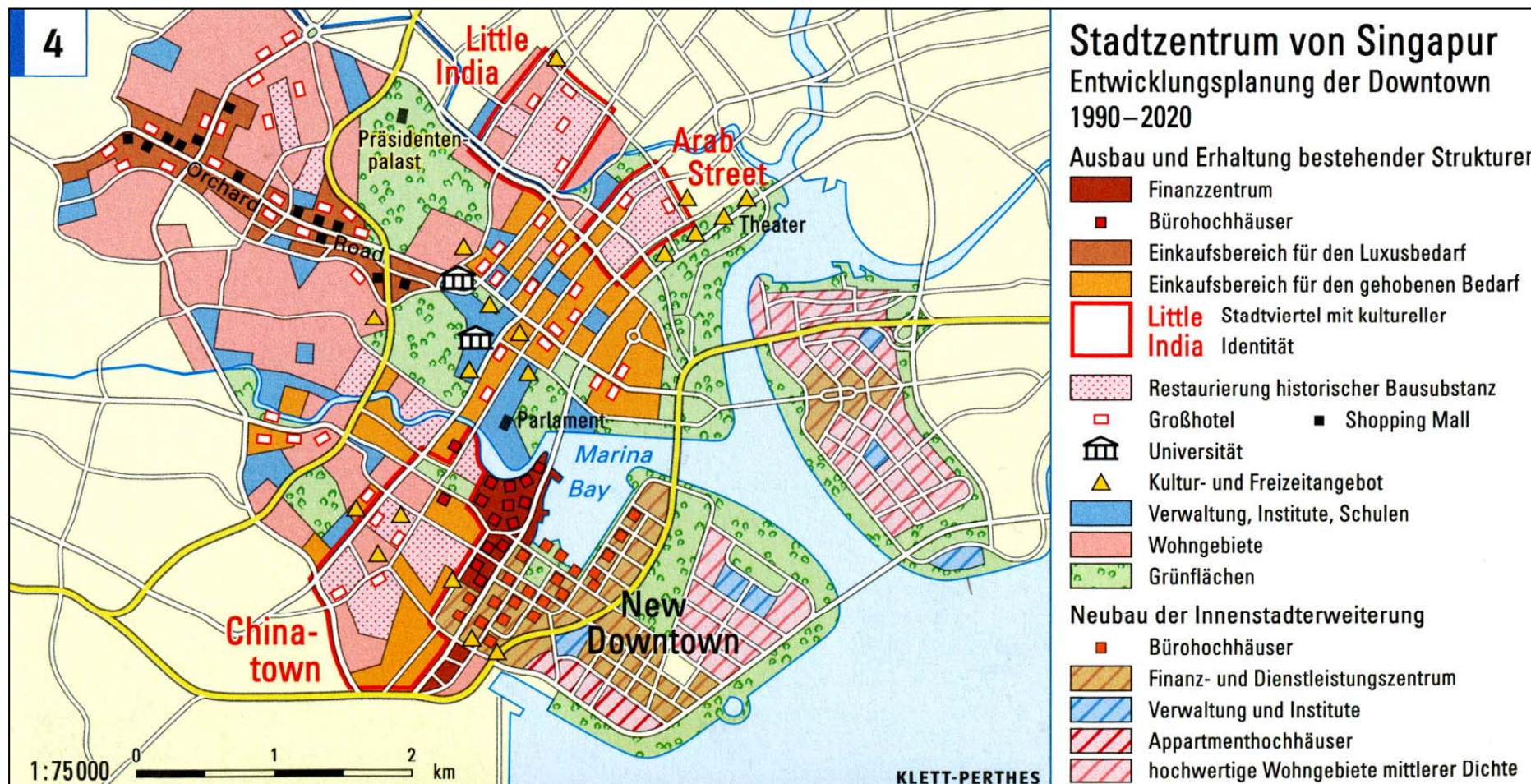
Source: Haack Weltatlas

Singapore – land use planning

"Maybe Singapore is too well-planned. Let´s say you go to New York´s CBD, there´s a mix of activities besides working life. Our own CBD after office hours has no life."

"And perhaps Singapore is too clean. A Global city comes with an enormous diversity of activity, not just glamour. It comes with sleaze because things are not sterile."

# Petronas Towers in Kuala Lumpur

Pathways of development in South-East Asian cities

The lack of any consistent urban planning is much more common. Urban governance is weak and the "unvisible" (but sometimes very visible) hand of the free markets dictates the urban development. "Expended metropolitan regions" with a typical „ribbon development" along the main highways spread out. A rapid functional disintegration, social fragmentation and inner-urban disparities with marginal settlements as well as gated communities are the result. Bangkok is the typical example of these processes, also some metropolitan areas in Indonesia.

Bangkok traffic jam
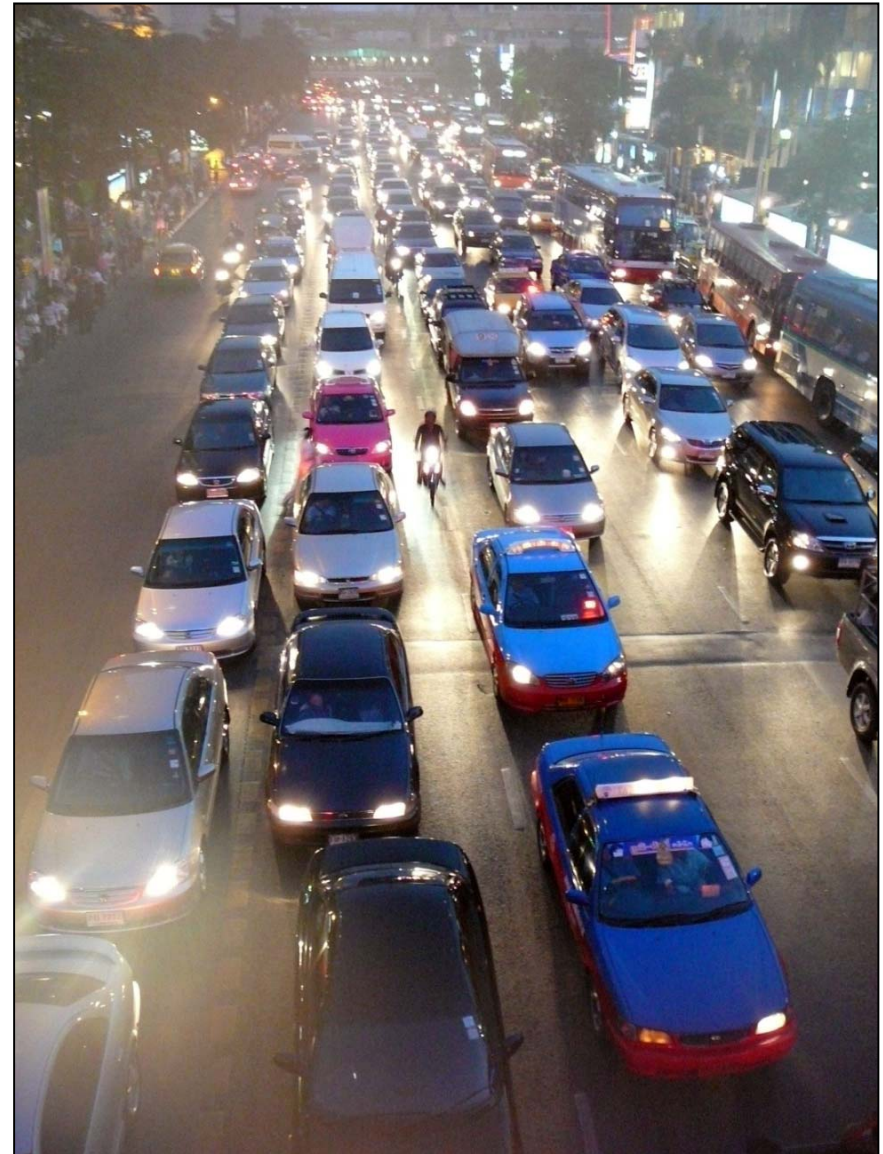
Pathways of development in South-East Asian cities

The **former command economies** in South-East Asia head for a similar way. As a result of their integration in the global market economy cities, especially capitals and major conurbations, are pushed to the limits of their physical capacities, also to the limit of their political and administrative frameworks and reference systems for management. „Ruralisation processes" and the retreat of the state produces survival strategies in the informal economic sector or sometimes the reestablishing of agricultural structures. We find this type of development in Phnom Penh, Vientiane or also in Vietnam.

Pathways of development in South-East Asian cities

South East Asian cities (apart from those with strong government) are characterized by a „clash of styles" with elements of colonial architecture, native elements and elements of modern western urbanization. Weak urban governance allows the destruction of the environment and creates pollution problems, traffic problems and dual cities with a growing lack of urban coherence. In some sense they really have adopted Dear´s model of 21th century cities.

Destruction of
environment in
Phnom Penh

4. Contradictions

So far the lost of urban coherence through processes of privatization and segregation under the rule of a neoliberal global economy seems evident. But there are some contradictions to the thesis of a general secession and segregation in city areas.

We will analyse some processes of secession as well as still existing elements of connection and cohesion

4. Contradictions

4.1   Elements of secession:
       the „dual" and the" quartered" city

- The world of slums

- The gated communities

- Skywalks and other elements of the dual city
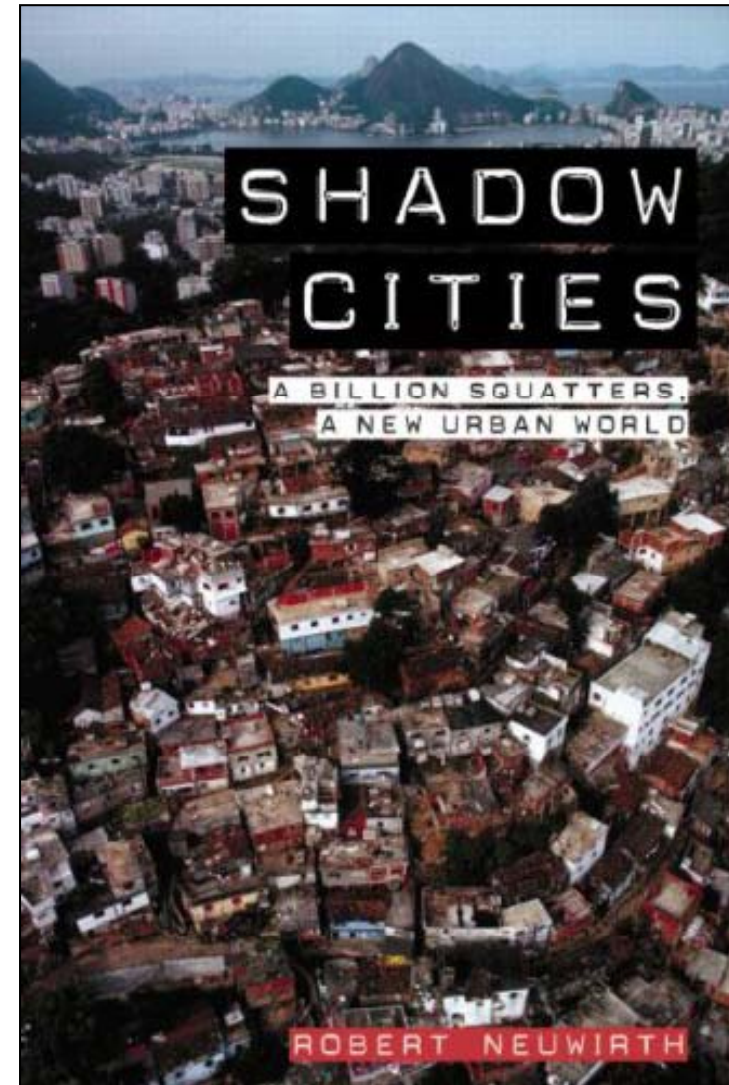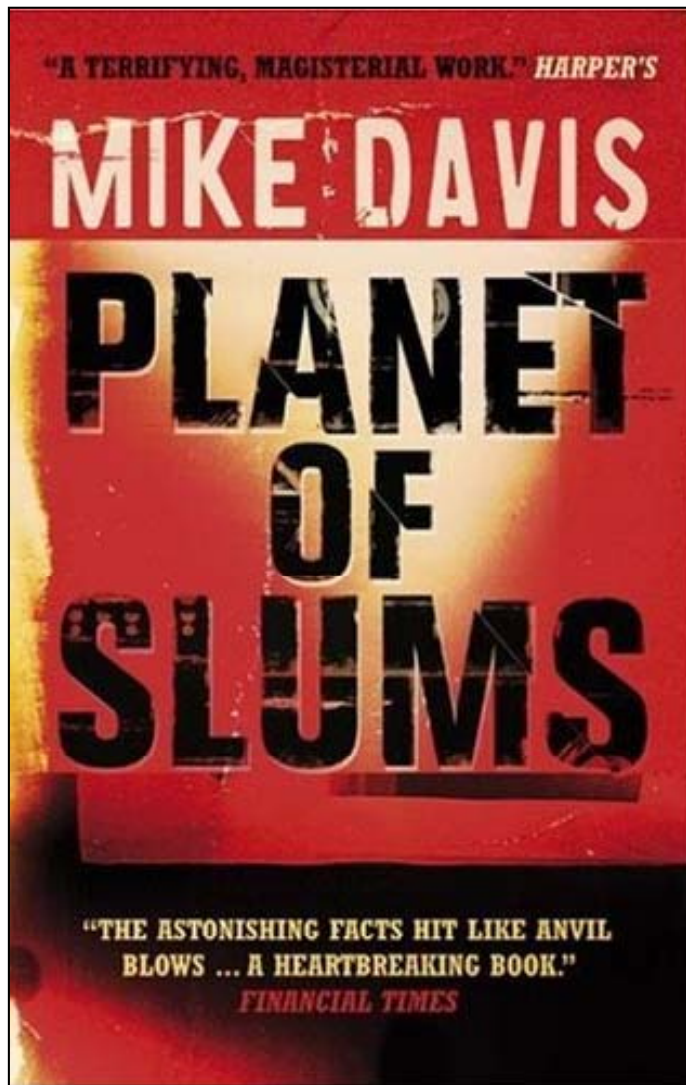
The dual and the quartered city

The term "dual city" describes growing polarization between low- and high-income neighborhoods.

The term "quartered city" decribes the quartering of the postmodern city in the following elements:

- Gated communities of the upperclass
- Quarters of gentrification
- Suburbs of the middle class
- Ethnic ghettos

The world of slums

Slums – urban dissidence

Worldwide cities are more and more becoming fragmented spaces: Gated areas for wealthy citizens vis-à-vis the "abandoned" spaces for the poor, for the people of the "ruralisation process" of cities.

The deprivation of well-being is becoming concentrated; lack of housing and basic services, access to education and employment accumulate.

Slums – urban dissidence

"One may define urban dissidence as a set of collective practices by city-dwellers generally belonging to unofficially structured networks, organized on the basis of an extended family, territorial proximity or religion, or all three. This is currently the most common form of urban dissidence but also the least understood by urban policy-makers."

(DIRECTION GÉNÉRALE DE LA COOPÉRATION INTERNATIONALE ET DU DÉVELOPPEMENT URBAN GOVERNANCE: QUESTIONING A MULTIFORM PARADIGM. ANALYSES AND PROPOSALS OF THE WORKING GROUP ON URBAN GOVERNANCE. Summary report for the Division of Democratic Governance (Directorate for Development Policies in the DgCiD), Ministry of Foreign and European Affairs (MAEE)
Urban dissidence and secession, **Thematic session of 22 June 2007 (chaired by Annik Osmont and Emile Le Bris)**

The world of slums

Seam Reap
(Cambodia)

The world of slums

Curitiba
(Brasil)

Spaces of social and political "otherness"

Palestinian refugee camps in Lebanon

Gated communities – the new citadels

Gated Communities – spatial secession

"These "ghettos" challenge the homogeneity of inhabited territory and endanger territorial coherence. They also call into question the inclusive model of urban development, based on mobility and social mix. The dominant attitude is that each person seeks to escape from the economic, security and educational drawbacks that come from living close to those who do not have the same advantages as oneself. This type of city, described as emergent by some observers (Jacques Donzelot) is a chosen city that deterritorialises social relations and reveals a new type of peri-urbanisation"

Skywalks and other elements of the dual city

Bangkok
(Thailand)

Skywalks and other elements of the dual city

Privatization as the driving element

Privatization, as a new form of appropriation of the soil utilization and urban regulation, can be considered as a consequence of different phenomena. It´s first a result of weak urban governance in developing countries as well as in industrialized areas. "Deregulation" of former state-runned infrastructure (water supply, health care, planning of housing areas etc.) is discussed as a positive thing under the general neo-liberal believe that markets must work freely and government has to minimize its functions.

Privatization as the driving element

Privatization is secondly a result of fear. Urban violence and the uncertainty of the future invaded the urban scenery in the last few decades. There is the well-known discussion about "societies of risk" in the sociological literature and in some sense we can see privatization as a result of "subliminal feelings of risk" in the large urban areas of this world.

Privatization as the driving element
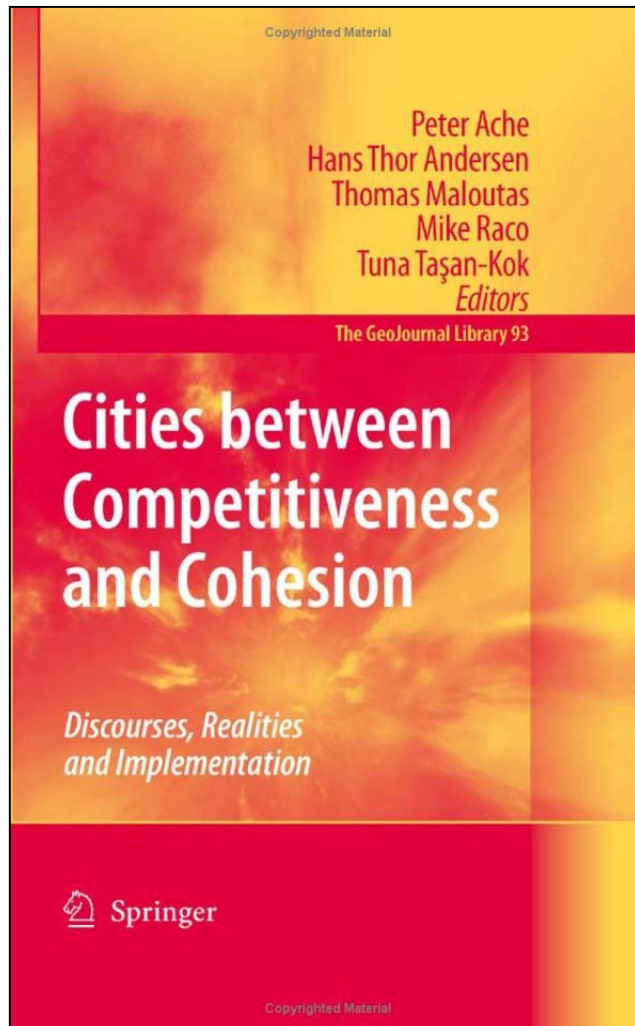
The processes of urban development are driven by new forms of urban governance arising since some decades. New types of private-public partnership, new models of business improvement districts are tried out. In the growing competition of cities under the conditions of a global economy the cohesion erases.

4.2 Elements of connection and cohesion

In the scientific literature marginal groups are often reduced to survival tactics with varying degrees of support from fragile internal bonds of solidarity. Some researchers see in this urban marginality a culture of poverty. In fact dissidence is anything but an involuntary phenomenon: it is a social and economic dynamic, avoiding exclusion as such, that is a form of integration into the city. Market share belongs to the formal economy and urban consumers, and some capital goods come from the modern sector.

4.2 Elements of connection and cohesion

- Interconnections between formal and informal economy

- Social segregation is not spatial segregation

Interconnections between formal and informal sector

In terms of labor and occupation the informal sector of economy is much more important than the formal economy. More and more parts of the urban economies drift in the area of informal or criminal economy. The International Labour Organisation (ILO) calculate that 4 bill. people are working in the informal economy. The global „Gross Criminal Product" is estimated 1500 Billions US-Dollar per year.

These different sectors are rather closely conjunct in the urban economy. The rich people in the gated community need servants (frequently illegal occupied) in the household, small enterprises produce auto parts, shoes or textiles for international companies, sometimes with child labor, the prostitution of poor women enriches their pimps.

Social dissidence means not spatial segregation

There is a clear tendency of social exclusion, social dissidence in the urban areas. But it must not be a spatial dissidence. One may live in a gated ghetto but work, shop and dine in areas that display a social mix. Economically, the more the territories within the city specialize (logistics, research, etc.), the more their functional interdependence contributes to urban unity. There is indeed an urban fragmentation and a spatial segregation, but there is no strict dualism. Residential distancing does not involve an institutional distancing from the city. It may be visible in a walled city, but it is not a deliberate act against the city as a whole.

Social dissidence means not spatial segregation

There are other reasons for spatial congregations. NGO´s or religious people, social people visit run-down areas to offer their help. In a more cynical way there is also some sort of post-modern "chic" for the middle-upper class to visit shabby, but not dangerous areas. It´s not only the pope who visit a "favela" in Rio de Janeiro. For example in the refugee camps in Lebanon there is a regular "camp tourism" to visit these people like animals in a zoo. The Palestinians reflect this situation in a movie "welcome to Shatila camp" where they make fun with all the expectations to see "terrorists" or other "dangerous" people.

Social dissidence means not spatial segregation
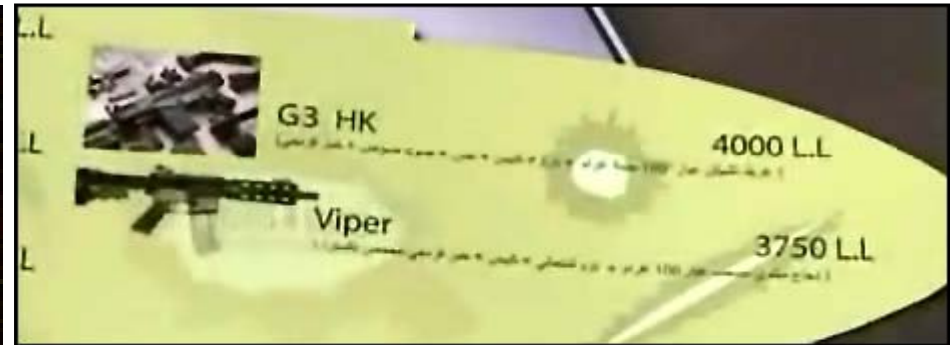
A fast-food restaurant in Beirut's war-torn southern suburb has hit upon an explosive way to attract customers.

Buns and Guns is made out to look like a military post and diners eat to the sound of gunfire instead of muzak.

Social dissidence means not spatial segregation

## 5. Conclusions – "Cities of Excess" or the "end of the neoliberal city?"

Looking at the numerous examples of disastrous urban development in the world with a growing informal or criminal sector of economy (prostitution, drug trafficking), with traffic breakdowns, water resource problems, widespread corruption and humiliating living conditions of the slum people it is not astonishing that there are calls for better or "good governance".

"Problems in distressed neighborhoods in cities are nowadays often linked to a decline in social cohesion. Recently, some authors have discussed the link between the concept of social cohesion and the concept of urban governance. One of the important questions they raise is whether the process of urban governance can create more social cohesion in a neighborhood"

(Michael Toye: Social Cohesion: International Initiatives for Cities. October 2007).

5. Conclusions – "Cities of Excess" or the "end of the neoliberal city?"

To discuss about "good governance" is a little bit boring. To much thousands of papers have been produced by international companies, donors and NGO´s. All these nice and political correct discourses will not impress the stakeholder of power.
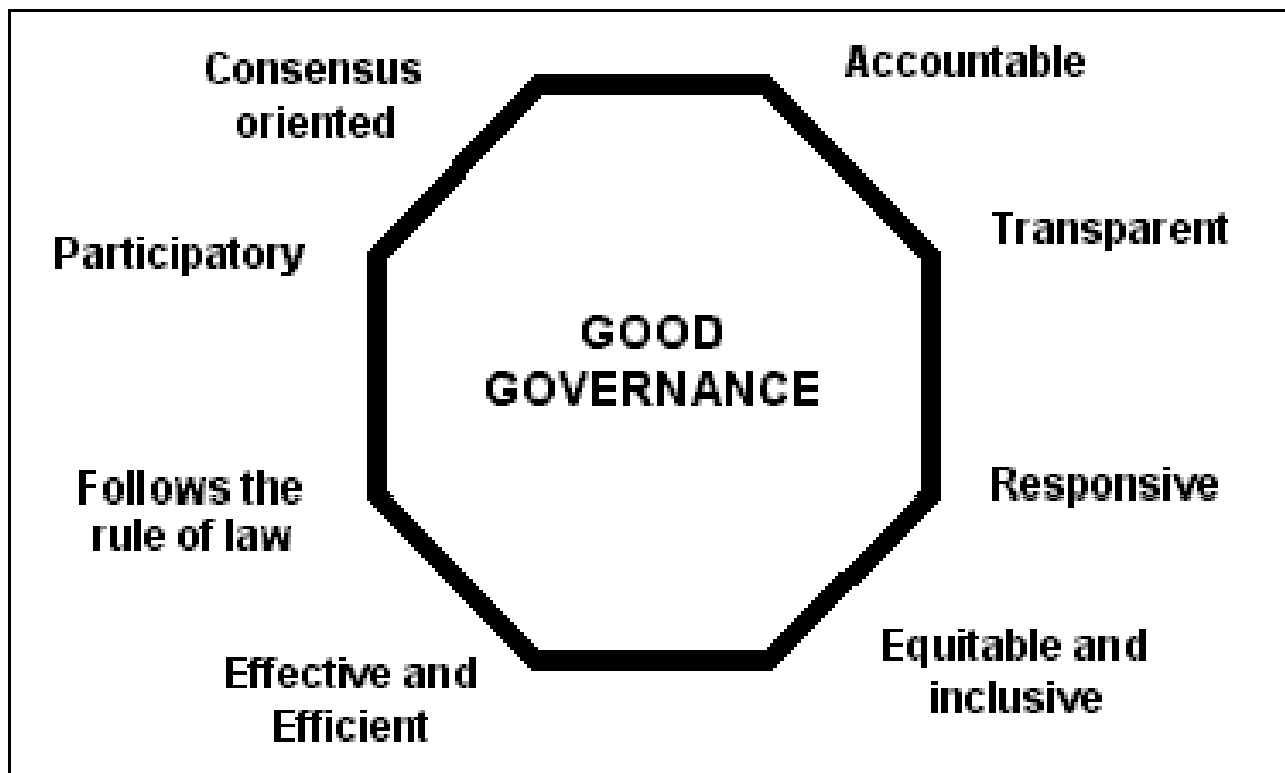
Models of Urban Governance

TABLE 1: Models of Urban Governance: Defining Characteristics

Defining Characteristics	Models of Urban Governance			
	Managerial	*Corporatist*	*Progrowth*	*Welfare*
Policy objectives	Efficiency	Distribution	Growth	Redistribution
Policy style	Pragmatic	Ideological	Pragmatic	Ideological
Nature of political exchange	Consensus	Conflict	Consensus	Conflict
Nature of public-private exchange	Competitive	Concerted	Interactive	Restrictive
Local state-citizen relationship	Exclusive	Inclusive	Exclusive	Inclusive
Primary contingency	Professionals	Civic leaders	Business	The state
Key instruments	Contracts	Deliberations	Partnerships	Networks
Pattern of subordination	Positive	Negative	Positive	Negative
Key evaluative criterion	Efficiency	Participation	Growth	Equity

Pierre, J. (1999): Models of Urban Governance: The Institutional Dimension of Urban Politics, Urban Affairs Review 1999; 34.

5. Conclusions – "Cities of Excess" or the "end of the neoliberal city?"

A turnaround of urban development is not to be expected in a globalized, neo-liberal world. But "Good Governance" has in this context the task to mitigate the effects of the neoliberal "economies of excess"*. It can help to come from a government driven to a consumer driven urban development.

*Sociologist as John Urry speak from „economies of excess" to describe the processes of urbanization and the abundant use of resources in western industrialized societies, but also in post-socialist states. The new "cathedrals in the desert" like Las Vegas or Dubai have become to symbols of this excessive use of resources and the hubris of urban excess.

5. Conclusions – "Cities of Excess" or the "end of the neoliberal city?"

Good governance with all its ingredients – transparent, consensus oriented, participatory – is sometimes a rather practice frustrating project. In Germany we have some decades of experience with "round tables" , "moderation of decision processes" and other "soft " tools of decision making. All this takes a lot of time, and in Germany nearly no new highway can be built without long lasting protest actions, no new master plan will be approved without endless discussions, and no projects of infrastructure can be sure to be really established. There is a strong feeling that planning processes should pass of less sophisticated.

5. Conclusions – "Cities of Excess" or the "end of the neoliberal city?"

But on the other hand all this is an essential precondition for public acceptance of urban planning. Urban coherence comes not from government or the global investor, but from people. The planners of the real estate markets as we have heard in the interesting contribution of Mr. Shordon, don't feel responsible for urban cohesion. That may be correct, but this type or "remote planning" (as well as the urban planning sponsored by Jica – Mrs. Hoa gave us an overlook) is highly responsible for the effects of their planning, may be for the destruction of urban cohesion.

5. Conclusions – "Cities of Excess" or the "end of the neoliberal city?"

Social coherence bases on factors as local embeddednes, shared values and identity, inclusion, participation, respecting differences in a pluralistic society and legacy, in a more general sense also on social equality (social differences should not too big, to be rich man must not be a value), shared political, ideology, the presence of a well respected person with personal charisma, and basic needs must be fulfilled to protect people from immediate vulnerability.

5. Conclusions – "Cities of Excess" or the "end of the neoliberal city?"

That means the driving forces of coherence come from the civil society, from NGO´s, from the Media Sector, also from councils and administrations. Government, the business sector and the civil society must work together as Dr. Mercado showed us two days before.

Urban coherence, urban cohesion can only work - that´s my personal opinion- within a democratic, parliamentary political system. Participation, respect of other opinions, self consciousness to work out things from below needs the frame of an open society to do this.