

“The 19th century was a century of empires, the 20th century was a century of nation states. The 21st century will be a century of cities.” Wellington.



THE RISE OF WORLD CITIES : EXPLANATION, HOMOGENEITY, ASSEMBLAGE.

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The urbanisation of the human population (Kingsley Davis, 1965) since the industrial revolutions has been consequent. Observed at different speed and time between northern and southern countries, this intense process led to urban migrations and depopulation of rural areas. Urbanisation was once the consequences of industrialisation. Therefore many scholars claimed the end of the urban fabric with the shift toward the capitalist "World economy system" (Wallerstein, 1984). Even if the end of urbanisation is arguable, the population growth won't stop and human beings will increasingly live in mega cities of 10 millions inhabitants. The combined growth of new services and population resulting from the development of communications, transports and many other factors, admit people and companies to go, travel and live beyond their borders. Non agricultural activities are still using urban lands as preferential sites for both clustering and specialisation. The complexity of the new organisation of flows between cities and states throughout a global network, impacted the spatial organisation of urban areas. The restructuration of activities and population settlements stress the call for a modern governance in our ungovernable metropolis (Patrick Le Gales, 2014).

The Chicago school defined a city as "a large, dense and permanent settlement of sociably heterogeneous individuals" (Louis Wirth, 1938). A world city is not a large city, the numbers of inhabitants, as well as the size in terms of land consumption and urban sprawl are not pertinent characteristics to give a city such a classification. Economic functions as well as political, cultural power and spatial patterns are becoming very complex. According to Friedman and Harvey a world city result from a sum of social forces working together within capitalist relations of production. Since the 80s more scholars have been following and enforcing the previous theories on World Cities. Two pertinent definitions are given by Manuel Castells and Saskia Sassen. According to him, cities are basic points of the economy playing as concentration sites of international capital and therefore are preferential sites for migrants. According to her, Cities are command points and finances and services location, leading the place for production and innovation.

However hegemonic cities are not new phenomenas, in the first stage of the world system ,world cities like Amsterdam or Venice organised trade and executed imperial, colonial and geopolitical strategies. Then the industrial cities like Glasgow and Detroit were symbols of success for the world middle class. Now worlds cities like London, Tokyo and New York capture the impulses of globalisation and becomes transnational elites based infrastructures.

As cities have been and are still in constant mutations, this essay will try to explain, characterised, and criticised the different urban processes occurring within our urban contemporary world. What are the influence of globalisation toward urban and spatial development ? What are the needs in term of governance and urban planning? What issues and new possibilities do we have? Our three sections will analyse and discuss the importance of globalisation in the rise of a new global city network, the effects of economic transformations on social and spatial processes, and the issues and new possibilities relative to the governance of this new form of territorialization.

I/ EXPLAINING THE RISE OF WORLD CITIES

A/ Urbanisation as a result of the new division of labour

"The world city hypothesis" described by John Friedman, which have placed cities as basing points for global capital (John Friedman, 1986), linked urbanisation processes to the spatial organisation of the new division of labour. It is an early leading statement on the role of cities with globalisation which opened a new wave of research and debates.

Cities' integrations and functions within the world economy are from the first importance. Their position within a hierarchy of cities will define structural change in terms of spatial patterns, national policies and social conditions. The market and production are organised by World cities, located in the core countries, concentrating the leading economic sectors with financial activities, business services, new technologies and an important presence of headquarters. They play a role at different scales since they articulate flows between smaller and specialised entities, or secondary regional nodes present in both the semi-peripheries and the cores.

This theory is a starting point for political enquiry (John Friedman, 1996) since the accumulation of capital in these places lead to political issues and social conflicts. Because of the high level of employment they present, they are a preferential destination for the dichotomised labour force composed by high skilled and low skilled migrants. Moreover the costs of world city status often outweighs the "fiscal capacity of the state" which results in continuing "fiscal and social crisis" (John Friedman, 1986). Transnational capital and social reproduction are owned by the elites which condition the state policies often toward marginalisation of the poorest people. However Friedman limits his arguments to economic variables focusing on the urban "upper class" and the notion of hierarchy.

B/ "Global cities" are due to globalisation

Following Friedman's theories, Saskia Sassen explored cities as different entities in relation within an international network. She explains the declines of industrial centres as consequences of two phenomenas. First of all the internationalisation of production in the 60s led to a massive dispersal of activities via relocations in suburbs and peripheries as well as the destruction of local markets. Many little shops disappeared in cities, letting the place for monopolistic market with for instance the development of the giants Walmart and Carrefour. Moreover the rise of services oriented society since the 80s has increased the demand for regional specialisation.

The network of cities joining the global market is growing. For Sassen, London, New York and Tokyo are “gateways” dominated the world system realising the most complicated financial operations. London is a preferential site for headquarters and global finance, while New York assures a supremacy on investment banking and innovative products. Amsterdam, Frankfurt, Los Angeles, Miami influence large regions. Paris, Madrid, Seoul are very specialised international cities, while Atlanta and Ohio are imaginative and aggressive local cities. This hierarchy is in constant evolution and is different at the time. Indeed Tokyo has collapsed from the top of the hierarchy because of the real estate bubble and the choice of the government which previously refused to accept international accounting and financial norms. The Japanese capital will be soon replaced in the ranking by Moscow and Istanbul which are quickly emerging as new strategic businesses sites.

Global financial centres (Saskia Sassen, 1999) are due to national consolidation of finance (London) or emerging markets embracing deregulation (Sao Paulo). Their location is very important since businesses need a central base with massive resources, physical infrastructures and concentrated technologies. It is why spatial clustering have recently emerged everywhere under new Central Business Districts (La Défense, Paris) and suburban office parks (Righley technopark, United States).

Before the wave of deregulation of the 80s, the collaboration between closed domestic markets was rare. Now Mergers, joint-ventures, supranational alliances (ex: The euro-zone) and strategic cooperations between firms have become essential for companies to survive and compete since a few powerful multinational and lobbyist are leading the global market. Reaching the growing global network is made possible for countries who privatise their public sector, open their economy by standardising their operations to international norms and abolishing impervious borders.

C/ From “Space of Places” to “Space of flows” ?

Global and World cities are not places but they are processes of the Information Age (Manuel Castells, 1989) connected by new technologies which allow a reconfiguration of economic and political power. The space of flows is characterised by worldwide local concentrations of activities without territorial continuities since technological infrastructures and communication sites (telecom, and fast transportation lines) allow specific interactions between the different nodes.

For the last two decades the Rise of information and communication technologies allowed an infinite way of new possibilities to change our capitalistic and consumption oriented societies. With its open access, internet allow people to communicate, visualise, stock, and create many informations in many forms at any time. The “cyberspace” (Batty, 1994) is becoming a fundamental frame for strategic decision making.

Moreover new form of Horizontal transfers of cultural capital (Pierre Bourdieu, 1986), under education and knowledge, becomes visible for marginalised populations. Internet broadband connections and informations flows allow everywhere and in every field faster development as well as more educated populations. For instance the creation of MOOC platforms allow people to follow the best classes of Harvard University without spending money or reaching the United States. The accessibility to this new tools depends on the existence of technological infrastructures which are not fairly widespread in the non-industrialised countries. The development of the 5g in 2020 will allow the connections to internet for many more households in the peripheries but connections inequalities remain very high.

The worldwide development of the NTIC also stress a new civilisational paradigm. On the one hand the dissolution of physical boundaries of space and time are creating a cultural homogenisation of the fast changing metropolitan lifestyles. On the other hand, cultural diversity and social inequalities are getting stronger. This “creative cacophony” (Manuel castell) transforms the space of flows in a contested, plural and diversified place. For Manuel Castells the space of flow dominates the space of places. For Jacques Lesourne, the space of flow is diffusing a “culture mondiale”, the one from the elites who owns the media and uses them to diffuse a standardised culture to the masses. This domination, as a physical and experienced result of globalisation, is also the source of social conflicts and revendications.

If cities are facing homogeneous economic processes, social conditions on the ground are leading to the empowerment of a minority toward the exclusion of a majority. The relations of political power via internet and new technologies are changing and offering new possibilities for the “losers of globalisation”. While the Tahir square is the symbol of the successive Egyptian revolutions, the net has been used as a tool of horizontal unification and emancipation passing both media and government controls. The rise of new communities fighting for specific values such as the anonymous, Greenpeace or the Indignados are using the space of flows in order to express their revendications from the space of places which will keep existing since it represents the experienced world.

III/ THE WORLD CITY SYSTEM'S CHARACTERISTICS

A/ Polarization : Pauperisation, Migration, Residential enclaves

While Karl Marx used the term proletarianization to define the result of accumulation of capital concentrated in a fewer and fewer hands during industrialisation. Marcuse with his concept "From the egg to the hourglass" stresses the pauperisation of the welfare state's middle class. Following the end of sustained growth, the rich are getting richer, the poor poorer and the middle class is now difficult to localise. It appears that more a city is integrated within the world economy system, more the polarisation processes between classes are strong and visible. The concentration of services and capital, which is very attractive for both high and low-paid jobs, comes to reinforce income polarisation (Sassen, 1999). Two major kinds of new residents are observed in cities. The transnational elites who wants to live and work in the places providing the best resources and massive unskilled workers coming from southern countries and seeking for a better existence. The dual city represents the extreme opposition in terms of quality of life experienced by both the poor and the rich in the same place.

The pauperisation of the middle class as well as the arrival of poor and rich migrants emphasises the spatial restructuration of the residential areas occupied in the city. The physical manifestation of occupational polarisation results in socio spatial segregation processes characterised by unequal accesses to the services produced in the city, as well as ethnic and social processes of residential agregations and relegation.

Gated communities and citadels such as "Sun City" in Arizona and "Sentosa Cove" in Singapore expend everywhere with the concentration of a very high income and educated population looking for a certain lifestyle, privacy and security. The political will of redynamising poor industrial city centres led to intense regeneration projects and prices speculations in central neighbourhoods. Therefore high incomes residents are back in town, and the low and middle classes are more and more fleeing to affordable suburbs or satellite towns. A major party of the inner-suburbs are now characterised by poor amenities, low income and undesirable housing. In the north of Paris, the after war social housing projects are in delurections, forgotten by the politics, the population living there is poor and mainly coming from Magrehb and Africa. Associated to ethnic enclaves and "ghettoisation", the rise of violence, criminality and the drug informal market help the medias and public opinion stigmatising these populations

The evaluation public systems of transportation's continuity is also very important to evaluate the level of segregation touching a certain community. It is why the non presence of public services in Southern cities such as Cairo or Bombay marginalised even more the populations living in the informal settlements. Indeed income and occupational polarisation are more visible while making an analyse of the north/south divide between the cities from the cores and the ones from the peripheries. The corruption is less hidden, democracies if they exist are much more recent than in the western countries, ghettos are slums com-

posed of informal constructions. To conclude inequalities as a result of globalisation are getting stronger and more visible in both the cores and the peripheries.

B/ Urban entrepreneurialism

Cities are seeking new investors to implement regeneration policies. The decline of manufacturing left abandoned industrial districts such as waterfront and old docks vacant for new activities. The loss of employment, investment and residents has been addressed by pursuing pro-growth policies (Brian Doucet, 2009) aiming at transforming old places of production in new places of consumption and leisure. Twenty years ago, Harvey described the privatisation of the city governance such as being a passage from managerialism to entrepreneurialism (Harvey, 1986) characterised by new public and private partnerships between municipalities and private businesses. These kind of projects tend to be speculative in nature.

Indeed since the 60s the physical regeneration of urban areas has been the centre point for promoting places (Brian Doucet, 2009). Our economies to gain in wealth have to attract skilled people, tourists and capital flows. The concept of territorial attraction put our cities at the front-yard of globalisation. The creation of the "technopole" Sophia Antipolis, based on the heliotropism model of the Silicon Valley has been an échec. Indeed the conception of this ambitious project was turned toward the implementation of international companies and talents but not local ones. This stresses the importance of a new local economic development based on the retention of local talents.

But European cities have been keeping trying to attract the "creative class" (Florida). Since its presence is synonymous to a high level of economic development, cities have to be "sanitised" with an emphasis on the aesthetic of the building environment. Since the 80s flagships infrastructures (Brian Doucet, 2009) have been used as catalysts of gentrification in cities. Stadiums, shopping centres, museums have been built by star architects everywhere. It often led to the increase of national debts in European cities. Spain, for instance, is a paradigm since the country keeps building expensive infrastructures: Madrid, the economic Spanish capital, has just been provided with a new international airport able to receive billions of new travellers, the ring road has been buried on 12 km long and an amazing park has been designed at the top. However manifestations took place every Saturday in Grand via, and Spanish citizens are claiming the need for simple public services such as housing wholeness, public health, and more democracy.

The welcoming of international events such as the Olympic games can also be proficient in terms of city growth. Barcelona transformed itself in 1992 with social and environmental benefits by creating more than 20,000 permanent jobs. The creation of the new waterfront neighbourhood has been planned and designed to enhance the citizen life in a permanent way. This is now the challenge of Rio de Janeiro which is trying to do the same for 2016 with the new neighbourhood Barra de Tijuca, supposed to stay after the games with new shopping, cultural and sport infrastructures. But who will be the beneficiary of such new infrastructures? What is the priority in terms of urban development to satisfy the need of the masses in Brazil? Marseille transformed itself too. In 2013 the city welcomed the European capital of culture. 7 billions of euros have been spent, 480 ha of lands have been transformed to create new stadiums, new museums, 600 000 m² of offices... The cleaning of the city which got rid of a consequent part of popular inhabitants in the central areas worked pretty well. Apart from international companies, one of the main investors was the

European Union seeking to transform the city in a new european finance and business playground.

Cities in trying to reinvent themselves are even becoming marketing tools with their own brand. To resume, iconic landmarks through new monuments help to improve their international image such as Rotterdam with the Erasmus Bridge which succeed in re-inventing itself after deindustrialization. Moreover branding with slogans such as "I LOVE NEW YORK" or "I AMSTERDAM" are getting usual tools aiming at attracting always more people and compet with other attractive nodes.

C/ Gentrification : equity or political strategy ?

While suburbanisation was seen as a life improvement for the middle class of the industrial era correlated to a downgrading of city centres, Through globalisation governments and companies re-invest in central urban voids with new rehabilitation and renovation massive projects. Gentrification is "the class remake of the central urban landscape" (Smith, 96), "an upward class transformation and the creation of affluent spaces" (Brian Doucet, 2009).

Two different theories explain gentrification processes. The potential value of a site at its best use (Neil Smith, 96) allow an evaluation of economic opportunities for developers to invest or not in a specific location. According to the potential benefits of transformation of such or such location, the neighbourhood is going to be under gentrification. A new public library or a new sport centre will be starting points for massive housing projects. For David Ley, the high demand explains the gentrification of a city. Because young urban professionals, hipsters, students, gays, artists are looking for amenities, aesthetics, proximity and a place of emancipation, they choose city centres as a preferential sites of residence. It has evolved from a sporadic process starting with individual middle-class households in a few world cities, into a global urban strategy, where municipal governments are actively making new partnership with corporate actors to change the up and down of the full urban hierarchy.

The city of Paris will be soon fully gentrified. The excessive housing prices allow only the rich classes to live within the ring road. Paris is in France associated to a Museum city, a place that you can watch without consuming it. Gentrification is therefore sold as a lifestyle for potential consumers with high incomes. Indeed the non incorporation of community participation in urban regeneration projects led to the increase of prices and the emergence of new local association protesting against the displacement of people who can't afford anymore to pay their rent.

In The french mediterranean capital of Marseille two successive urban project *Mediterranée 1 and 2* aimed at the transformation of the colonial harbour into a modern and dynamic Central Business District. But a CBD surrounded by ethnic enclaves was not attractive for new investors. The regeneration of a full “arrondissement” led to massive displacement of poor populations into other surrounding popular neighbourhoods. The “rue de la République” has been abandoned by the bourgeoisie at the end of the 19th. The different waves of white collars coming mainly from Africa during the 20th century reinvested the neighbourhood. In 2008, Lone Stars Found, an american firm bought the all street to rehabilitate the baroque architectural patrimony of the building environment. Now the traditional activities and the ethnic minorities have been replaced by international companies such as Zara, Starbucks, banks and insurance firms. The high standing apartments are now rented by students or bought by international workers and high middle class families. This gentrification was also a will for the European Union to create a strategic hub of Globalisation. While Rotterdam is dealing with import/ export in northern europe, Marseille will be the new european harbour facing the global South. To gentrify or not to gentrify? It is quite difficult to answer this question since a city which does not start regeneration housing projects will face issues to compete within the urban hierarchy.

“There are many ways to study and understand cities, from networks to crisis, from illegal settlements to running elites, from disaster, informal markets to violence, from economic production and clustering to segregation and inequalities, most of the time suggesting chaos and complexity and the absence of rational government.” (Patrick Le Galès, 2013).

III/ THE ISSUE : GOVERNING THE URBAN LOCALITY

A/ A Community based infrastructure

While people starts feeling a social or economic crisis and while their way of life decrease, the legitimation of the political elite (Max Weber) governing the country is getting weaker as well. It can be reflected in the rise of nationalism and the extreme right movements in Europe. Moreover a form of institutionalisation is a necessity to create cohesion within large groups of individuals (Simmel George). While A common strategy can be only elaborated by a small group of people, the rules of the game have to deserve the majority of the population. It is why elites wont disappear, it is why governance is still relevant and has to be adapted to our new era.

The Deterritorialisation’ of identities (Appadurai, 1996) stresses the tension between on the one hand an homogenisation related to commodification and americanisation of the world, and on the other hand an heterogenization resulting from classes polarisation and their fear of cultural invasion. This “universalisation of particularism” (Robertson, 1991), stresses the call for a new governance unifying cultural and social interests, both in the

space of flows and the space of places. But City governance is an hard duty, the creation of social cohesion through mixed urban identities is not an easy task.

Communities can be the central elements of investments for companies. The uses of the local resources and the concentration of various expertise of knowledge and new technologies can allow the emergence of a network of cooperation between public, private actors and citizens. Such a climate would be favourable for innovation and employment since it produces technologic transfer on a local scale (Cooke et al. 2004). In the context of the information Age (Castells, 2000), these transfers are intensified by intense relationships between the triad University-Industry-Government (Etzkowitz and Lydesdorff 2000). Moreover Talent and technology are not enough to create innovation because a rich society needs tolerance (Richard Florida, 2002), that is to say a strong social cohesion through dialogue, consultation, open-data platforms, meeting places, participative events and informative campaigns between the different actors. The call for leaders to use the technologic tools available on the market in order to inform and connect people (Kanter, 2009) is imminent and will lead to a transformation of the society relationships.

Amsterdam in this way is a precursor and leads the way. Indeed in 1998 the municipality gave the historical building of "the Waag" to the citizens to create a digital city server. (Castells, 2000). Called the Amsterdam's Digital City, the building allowed the connection of the people and the political experience. Since 2009 with the development of the smart city programme more collaborative platforms and buildings have been created to enforce the community. The city has created a website which is explaining very clearly all the actions, actual urban projects and events organised by the government. Bringing money and creating an attractive place for investors and tourist is important but the local development of the city comes first for those who live there.

Some basic and democratic tools are very useful while there is implementation of new policies. Let's give a simple example. in Europe following Londres and Stockholm, many cities are implementing restricted schemes for cars. Following the clause of the European to reduce CO2 and NO2 emissions, cities are applying different measures from pricing policies and high taxes, to the development of alternative and innovative modes of transport. As a result, the cities where the implementations where a success were not the ones applying the highest prices to dissuade people to take their cars. For instance, in Bologna the scheme was a success because the city used marketing strategies and mass media communications and such methods are crucial steps during the implementation of a new policy. Apart from the attractiveness they provide, they allow the progressive emotional acceptance of a change in the citizens' daily habits. People have to get to like new practices and to promote them. The first targets of these campaign have to be the children at schools and the students in order to reach the full society. In a period of crisis and economic recovery plan, the human participation is even more important.

Moreover, if citizens become the central point of innovation for companies, they will therefore be the main beneficiaries. Telefonica is currently developing a sensing technological support infrastructure in Valencia, the company is investing and implementing tools and will afterward solve problems. The citizens should be include in the project right now with informative campaigns and events explaining what is happening in the city and why this is happening. Once the deployment of technologies will be done, they will be therefore the first actors playing the "rules of the games" (Patrick Le Gales, 2015). Efficiency, competitiveness and sustainability are the new trends. But is a 0 carbon city such as Masdar very useful if it does not lead to high life standards for the majority? How manage to start transition

toward liveable and realistic cities (Jane Jacobs). The new challenge today is the insurgent citizenship (Holston, 2008) where new forms and experiences are being invented.

B/ Urban planning for modern governments

In some points national governments have become irrelevant (Patrick Le Galès) because politics, like religion, is an ideology that allow men to justify their behaviours (Karl Marx). The french government bought social peace by providing to the excluded classes the necessary found (minimal income for social insertion, the universal health insurance, the help for the children) to survive. But this did not solve social problems. Moreover the global development of residential enclaves runs against the democratic concept of a just society and should be condemn by public policies. Cities should control and have stronger directives on their lands' production. The result of urban segregative projects in terms of bad implementations or non implementation of policies often led to blame avoidance (Christopher Hood). Political actors and the public opinion used to transfer the negative impacts and responsibilities on wild capitalistic promoters and big firms. But in reality, cities are the decision makers who decide to sold their lands and to authorise new housing or commercial projects. This is necessary to enlighten the problem of clientelism and corruption which stay very high when it leads to power, money and human beings. How to govern ? Who should govern? and how to solve the precedent urban failures? These are the current questioning we should be able to answer very soon. The restructuration of the urban space has to be follow by very quick and efficient new regulations, planifications and implementations. As Governance reject or integrate people, urban planning is a sub study of governance of first importance.

Planning fragmented and uncertain environments (Le Galès, 1998) is very complex, therefore it has to involve many experts, from planners, architects, economists, to engineers, sociologists and political scientists. Planners should not focus only on the renewal of potential attractive neighbourhoods but on the sustainable development of the city as a whole. Indeed the scale is very important, planning the city within its natural and economical region is also becoming central within the governance debate. City plans needs to include reserved areas to protect green patches and the protection of public places and historical monuments. They have to evolve according to the needs of the population and to be modified constantly in order to not repeat urban failures. Moreover environmental impacts linked to urban sprawl are very important, therefore vertical and compact expansions have to be forecast in order to avoid social segregation and the destruction of natural areas. The challenge of planning megacities in the global south is even more important. Even if minimally planned western cities still exist, the very fast expansion of the urban population in the south needs planners in order to implement comprehensive zoning ordinance.

Moreover the technological and sustainable transition cities are making since the 2000s is interesting since it concerns the contradictory relations between the new social integration offered by the liberalisation of new technologies and the privatisation of our cities governance. A city should be "seeing like a state", (J. Scott, 1998). The tool of a modern governance is to accumulate knowledge and to transform societies in a rational way (Le Galès, 1998) and this can be done by planning cities in a modern way. New technologies can be used as tool of information and amelioration of actual services by stocking, providing and analysing datas on traffic, gazes emissions, water consumption, unemployment and all the cities' activities. Through public open-data platforms, universities, citizens, companies and

municipalities can now share informations in real time to improve their cities and services. (Harrison and Al 2010).

The intelligence in term of governance refers to an informed and interconnected community to create a “creative cacophony” (Castells, 2000). To do so the participation of all the actors living and practicing the city in decision-making is essential in this new approach to limit the negative effects caused by spatial polarisation and social exclusion (Hamnett). As “cyberspaces” (Bathy, 1994), cities are places of experiences and social interactions (Castells, 2000) that politicians must use to inform citizens and to take into account the population needs and demands in real time. This is fundamental for the creation of efficient decisions making processes.

Therefore the optimisation in term of efficient management and decision making will be to innovate with new instruments and behaviours, instead of creating a technological infrastructure (Castells, 2000), cities should use technologies to become inclusive. To reinforce social cohesions and weakened civic leaderships are priorities to improve lifestyles and fight against social isolation (Kanter, 2009).

C/ Local implementations for local societies

More than one century ago, Tocqueville was claiming the decentralisation of power toward cities and local entities in order for citizens to exerce their duty. Today national planning decisions have become in many country inefficient strategies. To do so this task has been in many western governments reinvested toward regions or cities themselves. This decentralisation of power is essential to perform efficient decision making processes and pertinent spatial planning policies on a local scale. But what is an efficient planning strategy? Should we implement successful international model everywhere?

Many countries decided to decentralise human activities and flows from to new satellite towns. These policies led to the absorption of a significant part of urban population growth, and the creation of new centralities. Following the Greater London Plan in 1944 and the french “villes nouvelles”, the Chinese government is building hundreds of new cities to absorb massive rural migration and reorient the population growth on new centralities. In Spain big promoters helped by regional and local governments started an uncontrolled financial frenzy. After the 1998 “law of the soil” which made every land constructible and since the property boom of the 2000, huge constructions of new towns such as Ensanche de Vellacas and Sesena started around Madrid. Ghost cities with thousands of empty square meters are now standing everywhere. Nobody could have anticipated the 2008 crisis, but the overdosed of infrastructural and housing projects initiated in the young democracy, conducted to an economical catastrophe.

In the Egyptian capital, with the help of the U.N. and the World Bank, the Cairo 2050 urban master plan was elaborated in 2008 to counter the informal urban sprawl growing since the 60s in the Egyptian capital (Nada Tarbush, 2012). Inspired by projects such as Tokyo 2050, this unadapted policy led to the rise of spatial segregation in the southern parts of the city. By decentralisation and redistribution of the population into satellite towns in the desert, slums got more isolated, and the elite more aggregated. Getting rid of the informal residents was seen as a gain of space for modernity. While Mubarak, supporter of the

car, built many highways around the city, 65% of the Egyptian population could only afford to walk or use minibuses.

An other example is correlated to the the successful model of the Bus Rapid Transit in Curitiba which has been copied and implemented in Bogota. The Transmilenio has been implemented inadequately according to the local institutional and social contexts. The political difficulties of multi-level coordination, the lack of logistic and maintenance of the roads led to an urban conflict the “guerra del centavo”. This situation stresses the importance of private groups which are not anymore under control of governments and lead the way for logistics in term of their interests.

Moreover, the informal activities and housing have been a rational responses countering the lack of planning and coherence of the governments in the global south (David Sims, 2011). The western model of modernity won't work on southern cities (Shatkin Gavin, 2007), upgrading the informal areas instead of getting rid of them (Jennifer Bremer, 2013) can be the key. Such activities based on people's ingenuity don't have to disappear but should be mapped and developed on a local scale since the main problem is not the informality but the lack of services to integrate these areas within the modern cities. The “ashwa'iyat” in Cairo are not slums but solid built structures and financial sacrifices for their owners (David Sims, 2013). The concept of the Syncretic city (Lindsey Sherman, 2013), shows the development possibilities offered by the interaction between the formal and the informal borders. For instance, getting people involved in improving their neighbourhood (in collaboration with architects and urban planners) in exchange for new infrastructure and amenities is an example of local and democratic upgrading which could be explored.

It is a necessity for architects and urban planners to use “the tools available to them” (Damon Riech, chief urban planner, Learning from Cairo, 2013). The transfer of model from one locality to another is something dangerous. According to Shatkin, “We should adapt frameworks that embrace complexity and differences, and that contribute to cross-national comparison and learning” (Gavin Shatkin, 2007). Indeed is difficult to predict if successful implementations can be generalised or not. A rapid contextual understanding through static analysis can lead to oversimplification of the social forces and a lack of historical perspective (Sekhon, 2004). Each policy has to be implemented on a local scale, according to the existing geographical, cultural, political, infrastructural local existing conditions. What has worked at one period in a specific location is not aimed at functioning everywhere. Moreover today the principles of smart growth and new urbanism have to be developed according to the physical, financial, and social capabilities on the ground.

CONCLUSION

From physical regeneration to communities integration, from global flagships to the necessity of driving reinvestments with individual and clear business plans, cities need new political agendas announcing what is incidental from what is inexorable (Meckstroth, 1975). Listing urban priorities in terms of space upgrading, population accessibility and infrastructural projects is getting essential.

On a local scale, the participation of public and private actors in urban life is essential, the formation of mixed communities and new forms of collaborations are emerging everywhere from Cairo to Philadelphia. The renewal of planners through various domain of expertises can lead the way to improve lifestyles and increase liveable and rational urban environments. The utilisation of new technological tools and the collaboration with private companies can be oriented toward local growth and social interests.

To conclude the place of economic and social developments in national and local policies are still relevant. The rise of world cities, with homogenised spatial patterns, economic behaviours and social restructuration, stresses the call for scholars and experts to develop and experiment new theories and local practices. Each city is different and despite the homogenisation of efficient traditional planning tools, cities will remain particular playgrounds of opportunities and innovations.

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