

Accommodating Differences

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The special issue on *Economic Growth and Innovation in Multicultural Environments (ENGIME)* collects a selection of papers presented at the multidisciplinary workshops organised by the ENGIME Network.

The ENGIME workshops address the complex relationships between economic growth, innovation and diversity, in the attempt to define the conditions (policy, institutional, regulatory) under which European diversities can promote innovation and economic growth.

This batch of papers has been presented at the sixth ENGIME workshop:

Diversity as a source of growth

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- **Governance and policies in multicultural cities**
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Accommodating Differences

Summary

Urban Planning is a discipline that covers the whole of spatial expressions of social processes. Like economics and culture, spatial development has an impact on all sectors of policy.

The theme of this event focuses on diversity, growth and sustainable development, which are the key points for urban development in general. This paper concentrates on the creation of physical conditions, with particular emphasis on the accommodation of social differences in our built environment, the processes that lead to segregation, and how planning methods could provide a counterweight.

Keywords: Urban planning, Spatial development, Diversities

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Similarities

Before talking about social differences, I would like to say something about similarities.

First of all, because all urban dwellers everywhere in the world have the same basic needs: a house, a safe environment, schools and shops around the corner and work nearby, to mention just a few things. But the circumstances under which these conditions are to be realised differ in place and circumstance. China is different from Argentina or Canada; even on a much smaller scale, in a tiny country such as the Netherlands, the overpopulated west differs from the under-populated north. Throughout the world, the work of planners and urban designers is always tailor-made, although planning serves approximately the same human needs. It is this similarity that is the most important binding factor on which planners can build when trying to translate social systems into spatial systems.

Different potentials

Keeping in mind the comparable basic needs of all urban dwellers, it is obvious that people's potential to realise good living conditions also varies. Their access to urban resources, such as affordable housing, employment and various services is not the same, and neither is the spatial expression of these differences in terms of land use. The result is differentiation in tenure and housing types, in densities and in the accessibility of areas of employment or city centres. Generally, it leads to different spatial behaviour patterns, such as the use of cars and public transport and the formation of personal networks.

In general, what urban planning tries to do is to create better conditions for these different groups, focused on the realisation of basic needs, where special effort is made to support those with fewer opportunities, due to a lower position of power among the free forces of society. In fact, urban planning tries to regulate the free market in favour of quality for all; it aims to overcome the more opportunistic or self-centred needs that ignore a common goal.

Development Policies

The basic aim of the spatial development policies of cities and regional or national governments is to enhance optimal spatial conditions: one, by improving or preserving the status quo, and two: by creating a new built up environment.

As I explained, the basic needs of people are comparable. The best thing we could try to do to promote the integration of cultural and economic diversity is to enhance general quality at an up-to-date level, which meets everybody's requirements. If we can manage to do that first, then differentiation becomes important, in order to allow people to identify which spatial expressions they assume to be their own: their social or economic class, their lifestyles and their cultural identity.

Right now, we are living in a time of great emphasis on the economic success of cities. They need to be competitive in order to attract businesses that have a power to propel the urban and regional economy or even the national economy. Therefore, most cities have an active city marketing strategy.

Besides the aspects of accessibility, good educational climate, well-trained and low-wage labour supply, it is important that cities have an urban life that reflects a low conflict level, and a rich and varied cultural life. A variety of lifestyles and cultures has become a mainstay for the attraction of the living environment of cities. Therefore it is essential to accommodate these differences. However, the question is how to do so while avoiding social frictions.

Urban Dynamics

The best way to deal with this is to make use of the spontaneous urban dynamics that we see today. The major issues in urban development policies are how to handle continuous growth and how to keep the inner cities vibrant and alive.

There is no question about it: cities are growing continuously. And they should, in order to renew themselves and stay viable. But there are limits. Urban dwellers need a sense of horizon, and they seek recreational distraction from the hectic urban lifestyle within close proximity to where they live.

Shops and services need a certain number of clients to keep afloat, and therefore require a certain density of habitation. This implies an inward as well as an outward growth. Regional functions need solid city accessible centres with good urban transport, where many people like to go shopping, or dine out, or visit cultural facilities. There are quite a few cities in the

world that give way to sprawl and unlimited growth at lower and lower densities, leaving their city centres unattended and suffering from congestion and degradation. This is a process of growth that does not bring a positive balance. More space is used while the centres implode, and mobility increases: the donut city. This is a most unsustainable form with high social costs.

Network cities

Therefore, modern urban planning focuses on what we call network cities: a system of several medium-sized nodes, consisting of compact multifunctional concentrations of urban functions and living conditions, with open green spaces in between, connected to each other by efficient multi-modal transport.

This is a policy that can only be applied where growth is still manageable, of course. The real mega-cities in the world are far beyond that stage. But generally in the western world, these megalopolises can teach us about the why and when of steering growth, much more than the how. God knows what the future will bring for Mexico City or Rio de Janeiro, but if no spatial strategy is imposed to create open spaces, break through mono-functionalism and ensure the development of a multi-centred structure with good transport facilities, then ultimately, these cities will almost certainly implode, causing much human misery.

Unequal chances to access urban resources

What we see around the world is that if different groups are not given equal opportunities to attain the urban resources of good living conditions that match both their economic standards and their need for social and cultural identification, then a scarcity will evolve. This applies particularly to affordable good quality housing for lower income groups. They depend very much on the existing housing stock which is cheaper. The problem arises when part of the affordable stock is either in the wrong place or of the wrong quality. We see that as soon as new housing projects are realised, in most cases at a higher rent, those who can afford it will move, leaving behind those who are trapped and moving downward. The less desired places will suffer from a further negative market pressure. This is how segregation begins. Next, vacancies will emerge, setting off a negative spiral.

We find good examples of this principle in the large mono-functional prefab high rise housing areas of the Soviet regime in many Eastern European cities. However idealistic they were intended to be, with equal conditions for everybody, they have developed into a disaster. This

is particularly attributable to their scale: 40 million people live in these areas, which are extremely problematic in terms of management and governance: an almost unsolvable problem. There is no segregation. Or rather, there was none. After the change of the regime into a more capitalistic system, it was apparent that cities needed to compete with each other in order to survive economically, and so city centres and other central areas were developed into modern and attractive multifunctional urban quarters, including housing. These are attracting the higher income groups, leaving the high rise estates to growing segregation.

Planning for diversity

Spatial and morphological diversity is a most essential quality item in urban planning. It serves the need for identification of the different social groups in cities, but variety is also an asset for the whole of urban society, especially in relation to the perceived value of the living environment. This applies to red and green areas, but also to all the cultural differences through which we would like the city to express its character: architecture and urban morphology. It is a question of respect for the historical background of the city on the one hand, and the need to accommodate the different demands of modern-day standards on the other.

It is clear that we have to learn to live in an increasingly complex mixture of cultures, and so we have to learn how to deal with that in our planning approach. This is a social learning process that, in my view, should be looked at from the perspective of urban growth in general. The city of Singapore has solved its cultural frictions while implementing a rather top-down growth policy of large-scale housing production, combined with a formal division of housing rights. There was certain quota of apartments for each of the three major groups: the Chinese, the Indonesians and the Philipinos.

Now that this city state has solved its major housing arrears, it can afford opening up to more participatory processes, and it will be interesting to watch how this will develop further.

Globalisation

Another aspect of modern times that is related to urban growth is the phenomenon of globalisation, a process which causes the centres of larger cities in the world occupied by globally operating firms and businesses to influence the urban social climate. Many cities centres do not belong to the inhabitants anymore. This implies a loss of commitment to the city's well-being. This is not something the local government or municipality can solve on its

own; there are other actors as well. One is social control and another is the self-regulation of behaviour. It is about the perceived value of the living environment that people need to manipulate themselves, in order to make it suit their needs. This means that they need to have some power over the things around them. If nothing is locally anchored, like Manhattan in New York, for example, then manipulating things as an individual is out of the question, and the perceptual value can only go down. So, if you can afford it you move out. Those who remain are the trapped or the few cosmopolites that favour the atmosphere. Mono-functionalism of economic functions will take over. And so segregation as a process is at work here too.

Long term perspectives

Urban planning can influence physical urban conditions in the long run. Planning therefore needs long-term perspectives and strategies, looking 20 to 30 years ahead. This is because building takes time, and the average lifetime of the built environment is long. For houses it is 100 years, for offices 30 years and for the infrastructure it is practically timeless.

But the resulting planning product will only be valuable if it allows urban society to follow its own dynamics. Planning as a way of governmental steering has its limitations. Working top down offered a solution for the spreading of ethnic groups in Singapore, but is not a lasting solution.

In democratic processes, government should not be too controlling. In this era when the complexity of society is growing, in many cases with a downward economy and smaller budgets, government must accept that it has to follow a more horizontal broadening of its strategies by involving other social actors, the private sector and the NGOs.

Planning today should focus more on the processes than on the exact physical outcome. It can avoid urban sprawl, overcrowding, traffic congestion, the collapse of city centres or neighbourhoods, mono-functionality and so on. But to be successful it needs a social basis.

The process of making connections

In modern times, we have to adapt to neighbourhoods that accommodate many different lifestyles, religions and skin colours, and we need to connect in order to understand.

So how does this process of connection go? This is partly determined by the physical conditions. Planners realise that contacts develop in a series of steps: watching the new neighbour, casually meeting in the street, the first greeting, the first chat, and so on. Very tall high-rise apartment buildings do not enhance this process. Row houses and gardens with

common fences work better. Mono-functionality is a bad thing, because there are no other reasons to meet than coincidentally entering the building at the same time. So, we should not build large housing estates with no shops or schools or businesses. And the immediate surroundings must be safe, with an encouraging public space to use for a variety of purposes, such as playgrounds, parks and parking.

Incentives for common action

Obviously, a social and cultural mix is a great asset, provided we manage to avoid social frictions or avoid isolating certain groups or individuals. We cannot regulate people's lives, but what we can do is try to bridge the gaps by creating incentives for common action.

For example, governments could follow a planning policy that involves horizontal coordination in planning policies with other actors: NGOs or interest groups and private investors or developers. This process, if well organised and based on the political will to deregulate and decentralise, could mobilise people from various backgrounds to pursue the same interests. This might be a crucial mechanism to bridge differences and stimulate empathy with other cultures.

Common frame of reference for quality

From the perspective of planning, one could follow this reasoning in reverse: we need to connect in order to discover the possibilities of a common frame of reference for the sort of conditions and quality everyone needs to have in the living environment. This would depend on our abilities to define values and build consensus. If well organised and fed by educational activities, this could be a most effective incentive for community building in a multicultural society. For example, as a special acquisition policy for their core business, neighbourhood-based educational institutions could organise programmes for inhabitants in which they offer training and information seminars about how to value the direct living environment and which position they should take in that context.

A counterweight for divisions

Spatial policies recognise diversity and difference, and seek to accommodate this recognition in positive ways. Yet we also acknowledge deep divisions, particularly at neighbourhood level. People feel cut off, marginalized and alienated.

Although planning will never be able to solve the root of the problem, there are ways to create at least some counterweight from the spatial policy angle. In many cases, the street and the square no longer provide the social meeting places where people from different worlds could meet. Streets are often places of threat and tension, squares sometimes controlled by powerful groups. This reflects the loss of control over the public realm in general. Politicians are not trusted; public services are delivered by a plethora of agencies, so we do not know where to go with our worries. We prefer to withdraw to the private realm, where we can cut ourselves off from communication with others, and even refuse to go and vote at election times.

Therefore, we need to rebuild our institutional public realm, and see to it that participation, partnerships or empowerment do not wane once the first initiatives have been taken. This is not just about controlling the streets; it is about building trust and understanding so that we can come to agreements and build social and intellectual capital. This is about new ideas in collaborative arenas, and establishing the institutional capacity to do so. Planning issues can be used for this purpose. Like in Paris, by lifting the neighbourhood as a result of new investments in public space, such as creating space for a new park or a new playground, and linking it with a management task for the people that live around it.

Creating work through work

All in all, urban planning as a governance discipline offers great opportunities to realise physical conditions for social coherence, community development and a sense of home for the multi-layered society that occupies our cities today. An important vehicle is the principle of creating work through work, a concept that we know from the construction industry, where contractors improve efficiency by combining tasks on the building site. In urban planning, it is best to combine the general growth tendency of cities, with the renewal challenge facing older neighbourhoods, and incorporate social or political improvements into the urban process as well.

Accommodating differences as a principle should be combined with building new neighbourhoods, restructuring the older ones and modernising the city as a whole. To do so, we need a clear urban development vision for the long term, which allows people to imagine a place of their own in the greater scheme of things. And sustainable spatial policy is required that seeks to balance compact structures, with short physical connections and a variety of functions, with open green spaces nearby, a policy that ensures the city centre remains

accessible and provides for both urban housing needs and serves as a point of identification for all citizens by offering attractions such as shops, cinemas, theatres and typical larger scale urban functions.

A spatial policy should include a paragraph on housing production that ensures the right mix of different housing types, on the right spot, in order to respond to the demand side and avoid a shortage at the lower end of the spectrum: the low rent and social housing stock.

We need a spatial policy that allows people to be involved in the making of policies and the implementation of these policies on a neighbourhood scale, supported by educational activities and the right physical conditions.

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- (lxvi) This paper has been presented at the 4th BioEcon Workshop on “Economic Analysis of Policies for Biodiversity Conservation” organised on behalf of the BIOECON Network by Fondazione Eni Enrico Mattei, Venice International University (VIU) and University College London (UCL) , Venice, August 28-29, 2003
- (lxvii) This paper has been presented at the international conference on “Tourism and Sustainable Economic Development – Macro and Micro Economic Issues” jointly organised by CRENoS (Università di Cagliari e Sassari, Italy) and Fondazione Eni Enrico Mattei, and supported by the World Bank, Sardinia, September 19-20, 2003
- (lxviii) This paper was presented at the ENGIME Workshop on “Governance and Policies in Multicultural Cities”, Rome, June 5-6, 2003
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