

## WHEN KNOWLEDGE ECONOMY PLANS THE CITY: IMPROVING FUTURE OR INCREASING INEQUALITIES?

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### Abstract

Everyone can read, here and there, that metropolitan areas have to aim for excellence, considering global competition and expected trickle-down effects for the bigger ones. This new context blatantly modifies planning and management of cities. Within this framework, implementation of spatial policies, as for instance, the ones based on knowledge economy, are introduced as innovative ways of planning. Then, reshaping policies which affect urban space disclose social divisions, because the land-revaluing sometimes encourage gentrification of working-class areas (Van Criekingen, 2008). In the same time, in order to keep their unity, local councilors are forced to relate social issue to ecological issue. More and more often, architecture is perceived “as a second nature” able to restructure connections between these two stakes, on a theoretical mode as on an empirical mode, resorting to “a wide range of space appropriation models and to preferences in terms of neighborhood” (Lehman-Frisch, 2009 : 95). We can argue that it justify the subordination of “innovative” city to economic imperatives and its conversion into a tradable object of consumption. Benchmarking studies largely contribute to this phenomenon of “city branding”. Their communication discourses use misapplications of notions and concepts, as for example “diversity” and “sociability”, or extend new organic metaphor as “revitalization” and “renewal”, which sound legitimate facing the rhetoric of “urban shrinkage”. Indeed, looking for more spatial justice (Rawls, 1971) will lead to consider spatial inequalities, and more generally environmental inequalities. However, excellence investments bring technology and growth in a tricky issue, which creates recurring inequalities between human beings (Deléage, 2008). Those innovative cluster policies also express unequal nature of urban and facilities planning at the environmental level and regressive nature of environmental policies at the social level (Emelianoff, 2008). They convey the fact that urban space is “where strategies display and contradict each other” (Lefebvre, 1968) and put into light not only the role of knowledge economy in urban area’s social organization but also public actor’s strategies to plan this one. This paper aims to discuss spatial justice concept from the role of knowledge economy within socio-spatial organization of city. We will focus on how planning tools, land control instruments and finance mechanisms produce urban spaces. To sum up, we will

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illustrate the debate networks/ territories thought a deep presentation of digital mega-projects in two different cities. The first field located within an ancient industrialized country, in the metropolitan area of Lille (Nord-Pas de Calais Region, France). The second field located in an emerging country's tier-two city named Pune (State of Maharashtra). The purpose is absolutely not to compare both, rather than highlight the common and different key issues within planning process of knowledge economy. In fact and maybe more than anywhere else, observed gaps and geographical disparities on environmental level within territories, prompt us to inquire some aspects of collective reality, even if it's strongly linked to resources issue. To what extent urban planning based on knowledge sufficiently consider gentrification phenomenon noticed in our cases studied?

## **1. Introduction**

According to EU Lisbon Treaty (2000), innovation has fuelled post-Fordist economy, which itself is based on differentiation strategies of the territories as part of a globalized economy. These strategies aim to make urban spaces as heads of the networked knowledge economy and drive at the same time, more or less directly to the agglomeration of activities but also to metropolization of those spaces. From the perspective of spatial planning, this process is growing as urban projects for knowledge economy in fast growing business activities like education, research. The coming up of urban redevelopment, almost concurrently in different geographical contexts, and at the same time dedicated to the environment and to amenities in order to make the local economic territory more attractive, is not a coincidence. These speeches inspired by the success of US Silicon Valley's performances and benchmarking strategies for clusters, flooded the debates on competitive city of World Bank, International Monetary Fund, and regional cooperation associations such as European Union or South Asian Association. One can notice that the incentives lead by the public sector as well as the private sector to create "spaces of exception" (Halbert, 2010) within the city, carry new forms of spatial inequalities added to the existing ones, whether in formerly industrialized economies or in emerging markets.

Through the analytical description of selected sites in regional cities of Lille (France) and Pune (India), both chosen for being two metropolitan centers of excellence for multimedia industries and services, internationally oriented and maintaining somehow some technological links, we want to underline that sustainable development is the master piece of any discussion and any action on the territory. Indeed, studies of the Union (Lille, North of France) and Lavasa (Pune, Maharashtra, India), show that it represents the overall framework to register political, planning and economic decisions. So, results a strong "social engineering". However, those two instances also demonstrate the gap between the incantatory speeches on sustainable development and the practices of the city that fail to include the citizen participation in determining the directions and guidance

in land (use) management. The technological innovations expected by these new growth strategies seem to overtake the needs of social innovations.

This paper is organized around the two examples - French and Indian - that are developed to highlight three points of the urban planning for the knowledge economy. This method aims to highlight similar processes and similar strategies in spite of divergent contexts. Since the 80's, the Lille metropolitan area developed an ambitious project of "renewed city" on a wide range of intra-urban land, called "ZAC de l'Union" (73 ha) which became an urban brownfield following the triple crisis of coal, metallurgy and textiles. Later on, this site, scheduled to host the "CETI" and "La Plaine Images", also combined an eco-district, included in the Agenda 21 for Lille Métropole. In India, the take off of the city of Pune and its appearance in the rankings of biggest software cities starts in the mid-2000s, while Bangalore and Mumbai began to experience saturation phenomena. Since then, a number of urban projects, planned on the fringes of the Municipality tried to reconcile support for ICT growth and support to urban development. One of the latest case is "Lavasa Hill City Project", which is not only a private new town in the heart of the Western Ghats, but especially a project of New Urbanism design (NU) looking for a quick profit induced by a continuous and strengthening technopolitan effect, particularly around the Hinjewade InfoTech Park, and despite the economic downturn at the end of the last decade.

## **2. Case studied**

### **2.1 L'Union, Lille Metropolitan Area, France**

The history of the Union site is emblematic of "unsustainable development" and environmental inequalities (Roussel, Schmitt, 2009). The site lies at the crossroads of three cities: Roubaix, Tourcoing and Wattrelos and the characteristics of an industrial site under redevelopment. Historically, the life of this area is organized around factories and the Canal de Roubaix, built from 1827 to 1876, which allows the delivery of coal and raw materials for the wool industry, and provides water and rinse water for steam engines.

Farmland until the mid 19th century, the site was the scene of industrial booming during the 19th century with the building of plants in open fields, quickly surrounded by rows of workers houses. Urbanization develops spontaneously, an "oil spot", in an unplanned way and promotes the creation of a poor urban fringe. From 1970, the area suffered industrial decline, many factories were give up or relocated gradually. The last factory closed in 2004. The habitat, consisting of 50% of workers poor quality houses build before 1949, degraded and devoided of comfort. Many homes were demolished, but the "captive" poorest population is forced to stay in the area. By 1971, a major restructuring of the site was thought by the Chamber of Commerce and Industry (CCI LRT) around the location of a tertiary activities area, which resulted in the construction of the Tour Mercure

supposed to provide "an attractive element they were needed". The site was then left as a brownfield and in 1992, the Urban Community of Lille (CUDL) identified through the project before the SDAU, the Union area among the five major metropolitan projects selected, but the EURALILLE project focused all energies and funding. The estimated 12,700 inhabitants of the area of the Union (1999) present singularities. It has the following characteristics: a significant proportion of young people and immigrants, low purchasing power, low mobility, low-skilled population, a high unemployment rate, a predominance of rental housing and the social accentuated difficulties. In 2000 this area is composed of many vacant plots resulting from the progressive destruction of homes and factories when it was originally scheduled to become a business district. That's when the site is again identified as a location priority in the new contract of agglomeration of the CUDL and in 2002 "metropolitan economic center of excellence". This is clearly to reassure the politicians of the North East slope by registering a project that balances the territory. While the first phase of the project Euralille ends, the time seems ripe for the Union. In 2004, the Union has been designated to host two clusters: one on the image and the second on textile innovation. At the same time, LMCU realizes that it must substantially increase its land supply to businesses and finding land to build housing. The land scarcity encourages brownfield redevelopment and gives, if necessary, the boost that facilitates implementation of an economic or habitat project.

Since the early 2000s, the Public Land Institution (EPF) has embarked on repurchase procedures for housing development in this regard. However, land management is difficult to acquire. In 2007, LMCU decides that the Union will host an "eco-district pilot" to be the "environmental showcase" of the metropolis since this space enjoys a unique cross-border, a quality service for transportation, including individual and a large area (80 ha), all assets which constitute a real opportunity to accommodate a development of national and European dimension. From there, the site originally scheduled to host a textile center and a multimedia cluster completed by 400 homes got suddenly 600 additional housing units. Thus, more than forty years elapsed between the time it was decided to locate on this declining site and the services center implemented in 2012 and where you can experiment the temporary facilities, including the not-woven test platform set up by one of the central player in the cluster, Up-Tex. But today, the environmental and social challenges associated with industrialization and de-industrialization in L'Union area are still numerous and make this site an interesting field of investigation to carry out a reflection on the co-construction of an urban project. Indeed, the process of inhabited areas reinvestment originally destined for demolition by people and associations including the island Stephenson is a privileged entry to understand what could be a sustainable city and to understand its meaning. A sustainable city is above all "a city where everyone can take ownership of surrounding, to co-construct, to make it a public good, to make his city a place of happiness to which he aspires" (Genin, 2010: 10). Now, it sometimes feels that sustainable development depends on environmental technologies and technical tools applied to urban buildings,

management of water, waste, transport, but as Michel Bonetti (2010) said "all those aspect can't be considered as sustainable urban design" (p. 250). Rather it is to develop both "the potential for social interaction, the landscape potential and the historical potential for identity" (p. 251) for an area. The purpose of this site rose to numerous studies on culture and sport projects, and/or a services center, then a "center of excellence" itself with a variable geometry content on a non-determined space. This space deemed stricken and without amenity has been constantly thought to receive potential projects planned as part of plan contracts such as GPU, GPV and/or INTERREG II. All this dithering on the site's purpose were based, according to these projects actors, on the political target to change the image of a desolated area by its economic, social and urban transformation (Gaudefroy, Estienne, 2008). But elected politicians of L'Union, despite the fact they come from the same left party, don't share the same projects on what to do for this area. Thus, for the representatives of Tourcoing and Wattrelos, they must focus all for "economy" while Roubaix' representatives want a project focusing on city dwelling. What is surprising, according to us, it is ultimately a form of escheat in the definition of a consistent project for this area. This last argument is reflected by the market definition launched in 2004 by LMCU calling precisely for a site program. So, what we observed in this area is the lack of planning to serve a collective purpose and still the inconsistency and discontinuity of policies over a period of more 40 years. Finally, the "governance" system don't really know where it goes because the site of the Union's vocation may have been not to constraint the town centers affected by the crisis of the concerned and concurrent municipalities (Roubaix Tourcoing, Wattrelos), and not to overlap with the Euralille project that has absorbed much of the Metropolitan Area resources for the only benefit of Lille. Evidenced by the first porting task of the land project (1998) assigned to EPF Nord-Pas-de Calais by LMCU, following a perimeter definition of urban seizure right (DPU). Indeed, the EPF throw itself on a first campaign of buying homes and vacant premises (Vanhoutryve). A second multi-annual program of land intervention extends its action on the Union until 2006. During this period, the EPF has amicably acquired 22 acres under its mission to land recycling. However, it appears that homes purchased by the EPF are dilapidated, the windows are bricked up, the vegetation takes possession of the houses so that fungi make it unhealthy, factories are partially dismantled and empty spaces don't received any projects. It seems that the project justifying this land control was not clearly defined. Yet, legally, the delegation of pre-emption of LMCU to EPF must be substantiated. Worse, the pre-emption area has been redefined after residents (about sixty families) resisted selling their accommodations, formed a residents association ("Don't demolish my neighbourhood") and define an expression strategy for unoccupied spaces. Later on, a second association called "Collectif de l'Union" formed by former employees of companies also decided to invest in the economic future of their area because they perceived, at that time, the working return opportunities thanks to new business locations. Although the site is strongly marked by the demolitions and escheated urban environment, the project owners will have to take into account the fact that some inhabitants do not want to leave despite the pressures

(electric meter closed, maintaining insanitary conditions of the place and so on). February 14th, 2004, "La Voix du Nord" entitled "We won't demolish their neighborhood!" and the houses will no longer be redeemed. LMCU is finally turning back. Also, what observations can we make? Firstly, if this project had been designed differently from the beginning by integrating the poor of this area, they wouldn't have been concerned by the pre-emption area and would have taken benefits from the amenity related to the new center of excellence. Then maybe, we would have avoided the equivocation on the final purpose of this space. Finally, behind all this, it is hard not to imagine that every actor has played only for himself.

In 2007, the urban development operation is delegated by the Mayors and LMCU to two companies (SEM Renewed City and SAEM Euralille). Actually, it covers a 80ha area dedicated to economic triptych Textile, Distribution and Image, included also the habitat with 80,000 m<sup>2</sup> of housing and utilities with 63,000 m<sup>2</sup> of facilities. In addition, the project evolved into the creation of an eco-friendly neighbourhood project where stakeholders have to meet the requirement of a participatory approach, register in LMCU Agenda 21. The action of various associations was beneficial because in 2008 a renovation program for the houses of the Stephenson block has been launched, fulfilling the consideration of requests from residents. The social dimension seems to be included to the commercial rehabilitation development of the area since on the 54 homes affected, 24 are still occupied or rented out by their owners (establishment of a self-rehabilitation plan) and 30 are in the renovation step. This mobilization prompted City Renewed SEM to devote homes renovation to Patrick Bouchain, a well-known architect who decided to undertake an innovative approach of "co-production of housing". In 2009, he settled on the site "The Electric Workshop", a real common house for the site where residents involve for the rehabilitation of their future homes. However people do not show as much enthusiasm as they believe "We should be associated for a long time. Working together, this is not presenting us the forthcoming model". In April 2012, they challenge the traditional tile replacement by red, blue, pink or purple plates in the planned rehabilitation project of L'Union to an eco-friendly area. According to them "These sheets don't fit the traditional architecture of the neighborhood. "It reminds me the roof of the chicken farm buildings during the sixties" says Lino Sferrazza. "In addition, the chimneys are found lower than the additional floors" notes Marguerite Parent, Chairman of the Association. If the objective was to choose bright colors to brighten up the Stephenson Street's neighborhood, the fact remains that the dialogue is lacking. To justify the project, the site manager argues that "Architectural innovations improve the welfare of these old houses" since "the energy aspect has to be considered". Here we stress the limits of the technician's answers. If the technological contribution is certainly significant, the "other factors" must not be overlooked or underestimated. Change cannot happen without "ownership" by the inhabitants, which comes close under the sociocultural register.

Through L'Union area, one can notice that models of economic and urban development must be embedded both in a sustainable development and smart growth contexts to instill sustainable, fair and environmental development of the territories.

## **2.2 Lavasa City Hill, Pune, India**

In Maharashtra, 2nd exporter of software and computer services, urban development support in the knowledge economy has led to the vote of two InfoTech policies (2003 and 2009), and to the application of the Central decrees consolidating Special Economic Zones (2005) and the adoption of a law entitled Township Development Act (2006). This incentive regulatory framework encourages the private sector to invest together in the software activities and in the housing and urban development sectors. Pune is the fourth pillars of the Indian digital factory, in view of turnover now exceed those of Mumbai (Leducq, 2011). However, as its competitors, the city faces lots of problems such as intra-urban mobilities, pollutions, poor waste management, and water supply or electricity discontinuities. These negative externalities induced by an outdated Master Plan (CDP, 2006) and all management barriers induced by a lack of resources exacerbated by recurring corruption cases, tend however to decrease as far as we move away from the historic centre. Thus, if the ICT business and technological parks, such as the Rajiv Gandhi Infotech Park, located at the East of the metropolitan area, between the ward of Aundh and the Village of Hinjewade, are relatively protected, they indirectly suffer pollutions cited above. Meanwhile, a number of developers realized the growing demand for new housing from the more and more numerous "upper middle class", who work in riding high knowledge economy sector. Huge real estate projects mushroom. They are characterised by a poor development plan, embellished by little green spaces and don't take into account soft traffic patterns. Nonetheless, more recently, precepts of the NU, a contemporary architecture thought challenges the principles of zoning uses and urban sprawl (as addressed by the Charter of Athens, CIAM, 1954). The neo-traditional town planning, by creation of new towns (ex-nihilo), is therefore responding to the sustainable development imperatives putting emphasis on high liveable density and short distances between collocated urban services.

Therefore, economic, social and cultural regulatory conditions, were combined to allow Lavasa Corporation, an Indian private fund, to create an "eco-friendly city" meeting all the charters of the American Society of Landscape Architects in Ghats valley, along the Knowledge Corridor identified by Maharashtra as a strategic corridor for post-industrial growth between Mumbai and Pune (MIDC, 2002), thus ensuring profits within short and mid-terms. Conceived in 2003 and launched by 2009, this project was designed by HOK, an architectural and planning company from New York, with the support of biggest software names in GIS Master Plan and for benchmarking this pilot project as a flagship one. Lavasa, with a surface area of 100 sq. km, is built on seven hills around several lakes in one of the most important biodiversity area in India. It is expected to host 300,000

inhabitants by 2020. The first 1,500 apartments located in one of the seventeen districts of Lavasa were sold off-plan, before the excavation start. In addition to the 60,000 apartments for rent or purchase (apartments, villas and bungalows), six hotels, an international conference center, a hospital, schools and shopping centers will be built. Since Dasve area is already built “and furnished”, supplied with technical networks and inhabited, the world famous Indians succeed. They come from politics or entertainment “beau-monde” and, in fact, participate in advertising strategy of Lavasa, such as French hotels group Accor, Lausanne Hospitality Management School (leisure), Oxford University, Symbiosis International College (higher education) and Apollo Hospital Group (health and wellness).

Some would argue that perhaps the term of “palimpsest”, chosen in our sub-title is inappropriate or exaggerated, since no industrial or manufacturing plots were even installed in this location looking back to the loath to human settlement. Nevertheless, we will see later, that reality can't be as simple as that in a state where population exceed 110 millions people, and while a number of villages were present and thwart the planned "new" town scope Lavasa, built without any consultation of the existing population. Firstly, if technical sustainability is partly met through the use of green technologies in the buildings construction or in their energy supply, one can mention that also there is no plan for wastes treatment either for the project itself either for the construction companies working in the valley. Moreover, from a purely architectural and cultural point of view Swiss village's chalets or Italian brilliant colours might surprise visitors to Lavasa. The NU would be a ready-to-make kit model to export around the world, whatever are the specifics of vernacular architecture. Secondly, sustainable economic growth is also challenged by the life conditions of workers and employees who work for the proper functioning of the “new Ghats idyllic city”. Despite advertised social diversity announced as one of the sustainable development principles of NU, housing of the non qualified-workforce boils down to bad-ventilated dormitories or rooms for 4 to 6 people without air-conditioned, all-in-all leaving little space for family or personal development. In addition, BHK apartments to be rented to low-income people will be built in the 2nd phase of the project in the “Mugaon village”. Meanwhile, city managers say they want to accommodate computer-software companies or to comfort people to practice telecommuting, but for now the phenomena of firms' relocation from Mumbai and Pune doesn't exist except few cases, so software employees continue to go massively to Hinjewade. For now the city look like more to a ghost bedroom community during the day-time - outside the presence of curious and tourist buses who are potential investors - than to a city where integrated functions does not reproduce the failures of functional zoning. Environmental sustainability of Lavasa is also a growing source of questions, from the origin to the practical implementation of the project. Thus, the Ministry of Environment and Forests has first adopted denial behavior (2010) on the future issue of water supply of Pune city, confiscated by the implantation of Lavasa near a strategic dam, and for problems of landslides induced by the repeated explosions of the hill. It was

during the year 2011, which under the combined pressure of environmental NGOs, «looted» rural people and committed journalists associated in State prosecutor, a reversal was made by the Board of Pollution Control of Maharashtra and by the new Indian Minister of Environment, accusing A.G. (HCC) to cause significant environmental damages. In addition, Indian laws protect mountain landscapes located more than 1000 m above sea level by limited building regulations and planning standards. Lavasa, located at 1055 m altitude, but considered below the limit of 1000 m, was not bothered by those sections of the Town Planning Code of India. Finally and more generally, the governance of the project clearly calls into question the entire concept of sustainable urban planning in this project directly related to the information society flourishing in Pune. Upstream, there has been no consultation on the future of Adivasis peasant populations, or even honestly compensation system (employment and housing rather than cash) in return for the destruction of villages that dot the hills. An added complexity stems from the fact that 600 ha of land were subsidized by Maharashtra and therefore benefits, restoring some spatial justice, should have been tripartite: State - owner - operators. In addition, lucrative management of the place by a City Manager - American by the way - chosen by HCC Directorate Board questioned the relevance of this model advocated by national, regional and local officials as “the” solution to the rapid fragmented urbanization and economic growth. Indeed, how to reconcile and satisfy both rights and duties of citizenship and the demands of not more than customers? This management inevitably leads to phenomena of “entre-soi” reinforced by the presence of a security and monitoring service and putting emphasis on safety in Lavasa green city. Therefore, gentrification doesn't operate here by the transformation of an existing urban area, but by creating an “urban fabric” in predominantly rural areas, where new populations, with contradictory aspirations, replace the previous ones. Using example of Lavasa, the knowledge economy is both an origin point of gentrification and latter feeds the hopes of increasing shares of high value-added activities in the metropolitan area's GDP. The last limit to clear governance of this knowledge economic project, the suspicions of nepotism and corruption, like in another major project in multimedia economy in Pune (Amanora Film City, located in West of the city, ward of Hadaspar), revealing names of SP, former Prime Minister of Maharashtra and MP elected to Lok Sabha, his daughter and nephew. They were pursued for abuse of power for personal enrichment purposes in permits issued and active speculation on about 20 % of land sold by 2004 at Lavasa. Instead of strengthening the urban competitiveness and ICT economical bifurcation of Pune (software, images, Bio-InfoTech and Internet), it seems this project reveals additionally the growing contradiction between the project principles displayed by sustainable development and the accomplishment reality that comes at the expense of pre-existing populations, arguing that one's legitimacy overtakes another one.

November 2011's decision, taken by Indian State and State of Maharashtra, to stop construction of Lavasa Hill City Project, in order to make light on outlawed dealings that plague both politicians and businessmen, is less motivated by a new

conviction from the Government's officials that there is a need to regulate projects by real sustainable development principles and than by the political dissidents threat (from environmentalists to Naxalite guerrillas) might oppose all economic development projects (industrial ports, free zones...). However, this decision constitutes a turning point in the way of understanding the public-private partnerships, which until now sacrifice environment to economic growth. This decision is far-reaching for the implementation of post-industrial spaces.

### **3. Discussion and conclusions**

Finally, we conclude with some remarks about the political decision that cannot be conceived as a discretionary act in its purest form. To bring out the sustainable city, the debate can't be reduced to "all for technology" because the city should not be only physically beautiful, but socially integrated. Also, major projects for the city must rely less on technological innovations and more on social mobilization, involving particularly the lower classes and the forces that constitute formal or informal associations. The concept of "governance" encourages any regulation to take place from the analysis of concrete system of agents or actors, from their "configuration", from their logic, from their respective powers, and from their relationships because the geographical and social space is a dynamic construction resulting from an interaction between the different players involving within the territory. Social innovation should combine the use of regulatory instruments as economic disincentives (taxes, fees) or incentives (grants, subsidies), and other instruments such as dialogue, persuasion, awareness, training, etc.

In Lavasa, up to present four main types of actors were involved in the knowledge economy urban projects: real estate developers and builders, the political authorities (regional and municipal) and public managers of technical networks, major ICT companies directly or through their investment subsidiaries, international investors (banks, pension funds, private institutions of higher education ...) that will always be kept under the local stakes. The Lavasa project claims to be representative of the NU, and therefore claims to work for sustainable urban development. Nevertheless, we find that a number of criteria are being challenged by practices that run up against the economic, social and environmental sustainability of the project. Expressing their disagreement with decisions taken in the absence of consultation, the 3,000 inhabitants of the 18 pre-existing villages invited themselves to the table of new urban models, by introducing directly the issues of environmental and social sustainability of knowledge economy urban projects. Lavasa was set up to be a replicable model 400 times in India, combining urban growth and knowledge activities, hosting a branch of the prestigious University of Oxford (UK). In view of the growing controversies on respect for human rights and for the environment, the project has lost confidence of academic UK investors and thereby, its initial target of becoming a new technopolitan area. A bundle of messages, along of a more

sustainable with less wealth ghettoization and spatial gentrification, has been sent to global, regional and local players in the economic planning in India.

In L'Union, the eviction of residents in the definition and initial development of a planning project results from a combination of factors that reflects:

- A negative representation of the history of an industrial site without regard for its inhabitants who could imagine a new project of their site. The inhabitants of the area are simply displaced and land reinvested in an excellence project;
- A classic vision of land use that does not sufficiently take into account the expectations and needs of resident populations and neglects citizen participation;
- A vision that reduces excellence as the first step of an economic project and in a second step, to an area of technological and technical performances;
- A vision of inaccessible and unfair city.

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