

ID 1457 | TRANSNATIONAL SPACES IN THE CITY, BETWEEN FRACTALIZATION AND DIVERSITY NEW RELATIONS BETWEEN CENTER AND PERIPHERY

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ABSTRACT: Contemporary metropolis are increasing their transnational spaces and relations such as, the CBD, the internet and cluster places directly related to the global and transnational networks. Different migrations are implemented first in areas of fordist production then in the place of the service economy. These processes challenged the relations between center and periphery (concentration, dispersion, value of urban land). These processes are also challenging the differentiation between internal migrant and the new migrant. The consequences are different on employment access and stability, on residential settlements, on participation to the city. The first question comes for a better description of the transnational metropolis, on the specific process of differentiation, competition so to settle the degree of inequalities : -Transnational areas related to center and periphery; -School policies and migrants access (interior, exterior, new) - Politics of diversity concerning national migrant and external migrants. Two types of discrimination and inequality could be specified : The inequalities and race relations of the subaltern internal migrant, linked with the foundational state; the inequalities of competition and transactional economy for the new migrants. *The second step of analysis intends to develop a better assessment of economic and public policy;Effect of economic redevelopment and conversion policy; Effect of anti discrimination politics concerning the access to market, access to civic rights, access to public service; Effect of diversity policies. The analytical challenge is to compare two metropolis inside their transnational areas concerning key social processes such as the relations between center / periphery, the anti-discriminatory policies.. The comparison will be developed between the two cities of the Paris region (12 millions), Vienne and Bruxelles metropolitan (3/5 million inhabitants). The results concerns the discriminating effects of some policies : The diversity policy manages the competition between migrants, with populist racism .Market policies for equal distribution do not act directly on differential and foundational racism. Public policies are under tension have to combine equality of access, between civic participation and enlarged transnational open networks. The question of metropolitan incorporation and its limits (education, politics, metropolitan economy) comes along with the issues of reinforcement of transnational spaces (multiple relationships, multiple player, polycentrality, dystopia). The metropolitan tensions split between settlement policy and diversity policy, between migrant from the inside and new migrants, between Inequality of access and injustice. The modernization process combining resources, skills, retraining are reframed by these side variables. * Traditional analyzes of transnationalism focus on CBD, their ability to dominate and to reorganize the metropolis by attraction and polarization ‘ Knight and Gappert, Gordon) assuming the risk of subordinating or forgetting the periphery. What has become of the peripheries in this new conjuncture of the transnational economy ?, The images of distribution networks, service society and subordinate flexible employment seem predominating. Our paper consider the double face of transnationalism, in the new regimes of economic interdependence (including neo-liberalism), in the management of populations (numerous migrations, refugees according to the type of incorporation). The regimes of urban interdependence are affected by these two sides of the transnational spaces, hence comes a series of conflict and disruption, which deserve to be specified. Our presentation examines the changing relations between the center and the periphery in popular areas social spaces (peripheral cities and pendulum mobility), in the middle classes (patrimonial city and gentrification, individualized transport). In the centrality of (European) metropolis, the peripheries of the metropolis are driven by the mass consumption, by urban bourgeoisies in their selected access to the center, by cultural tourism. We consider how migrant diversity and possible cosmopolitanism are perceived. New relations between North and South relations write their marks, their inscription and their reference in urban peripheries and in urban centers. The result is a diffracted view of the relations between the center and the periphery which urban analysis must be able to account for. It affects the relationships between urban spaces of diversity and plural identities. *The urban laboratory focus on the diversity of cultures and access to the center (Ledrut, Lefebvre). The migrant question, developed by the Chicago school, involves the reception of migrants and their social rights, and the definition of a common public space (Park, Hughes). Two models are presented; The urban mosaic of communities (Chicago Park) dispatched a plurality of territories in friction

and competition (Kivisto, 2009). It initiates the territorial dialectic of boundaries and identities (Lamont, 1998). Other theses emphasized the conditions and possibilities of gathering identities through iterative processes (Benhabib, 2005), by concrete approaches to gathering closer to bodies and subjectivities (Butler, 2016). Our approach intends to extend the parameters of the urban laboratory, not only on the central occupation, but also on the types of urban exchanges and the trajectories of access to the center. We will present the fieldworks, the communes Bagneux and, Sevran (as laboratory of social differentiation) inside Paris Metropolis. The social dynamic and spatial dynamic organization of Parisian metropolis will be compared with the social and spatial dynamics of the relation center and periphery in Bruxelles and Vienna metropolis.

1 SOCIAL SPACES BETWEEN CENTER AND PERIPHERIES

The periphery can be defined by exclusion, by lackness. It can be defined by its places and its landscapes (cf royal image of the "île de France"). It is also interesting to define the periphery by its relations with center (distance, center, access to places of employment, access to legal decisions and their arbitration), in particular to combat the idea of peripheral and subaltern subjects. So comes the typologies of the middle classes on their access to home ownership, The rurban model of the 1970s (Roux and Bauer, 1976). are dominating the consumption typologies on the purchasing power of these different middle classes, depending on the type of housing and the accession process, depending on access to shops and means of transport, typology of mobility modalities (Damon, 2012). These are typically functional typologies drawn up by specialized management bodies.

It is more difficult to formulate a typology of the places and spaces of the periphery, the modalities of gathering, sedentarisation and residential, social and political cohabitation. The question of social spaces and of political spaces in the periphery disappears between functional, consumer and non-place themes, disqualification and relegation. Suburban subjects and their relation to space remain invisible. They mark a challenge for urban analysis. The question of the different residential peripheries and the complex modalities of cohabitation are quickly covered by the discourses of mediatization. With the fixation of stereotypes, the suburbs are sources of discourse and rejection, such as the rapid image of the ghetto based on the encirclement of minority populations, The suburbs can be presented as places of life style associated with attachment to the neighborhood, residential cosmopolitanism from below. The suburbs are quickly considered as discursive places, with sporting mythologies, supporting a language of the suburbs. Suburbs are proclaimed as places of creation, in search of an authenticity of suburban voices, in the rhetoric of rap (Carpenter and Horvath, 2015).

2 SOCIAL CONTINUITIES WITHIN HETEROGENEOUS URBAN SPACES

The first object of investigation and analysis will be to observe the different contents and social spaces of the periphery, working-class suburbs, residential suburbs, suburbs of middle classes, migratory suburbs. How to observe the different modes of cohabitation between the residential groups and the social groups (belonging and identity), and the corresponding modalities of articulation of the social groups? A related method of approach (linked ecology of connected systems) makes it possible to think both the urban and the collective housing, in a model of social differentiation, including multiple settlements, cohabitation between social groups with different social and cultural contents '(Park Burgess, Abbot). It is necessary to characterize the residential spaces, the social and cultural spaces of the periphery, within the new possibilities of the multiple worlds, beyond the classical image of the 1960s / 1970s of the rurban/ rural continuum. Urbanism is modified and diminished in the new post-modern formulas (exotopia and disappearance, dilution of centers in the network society (Soja, 1999)

3 TYPOLOGIES OF URBAN SPACE AND REEVALUATION OF SOCIAL SPACES

Raymond Ledrut analyzes the organization of urban social space. It distributes the typology of social spaces according to the forms of self-organization within the differentiation of the social space and the composition of the social space. The social space characterizes the relations between the center and the

periphery, not only in the distance to the center but also in the access to the public service, their accessibility their decentralization, a certain idea of diffuse republic in front of the central republic .

In his analysis of the neighborhood social space, Bourdieu highlights the weakening of the state as an explanatory variable and the crisis of social reproduction as a consequence (Bourdieu, 1993). The result is a typology of social spaces following the subordinate forms of precariousness and social fragmentation. The result concerns decline and exclusion from the inside (precarious families, young people, migrants). Hence the comes laim for public service to support social reproduction and social integration. Olivier Beaud insists on the crisis of social representation (precarious family, young disqualified) (Beaud 2003). This crisis of durkheimian sociology (representation if integration) introduces the notion of social disqualification.

* The post-modern approach developed by Andrew Merrifield and Ernest Soja (Merrifield, Soja, 1999) describes the fragmentation processes and the polarization of the city (revanchist city) with the demands of justice, spatial justice: environmental justice. The method of marginal alterations (margin / alia), highlights the spatial, social and relational differences that are added in the extension of metropolises. The notion of "exopolis" formulated by Foucault is associated with the reading of the socio-spatial differences. But social space remains fragmented, segmented without political reformulation of civic space. It is a matter of describing the illiberal space. The fragmentary current has been reinforced to the detriment of the reading of social space, the civic reading of space. Michèle Lamont overemphasizes the boundaries and identity of each social group in a process of marking and competition between social groups (Lamont, 2012).

4 EXTREME SOCIAL SPACE.HOW TO COMBINE THE EVENT AND THE STRUCTURE ?

Surveys after the 2005 riots in North of Paris Region focus on the revolts of young people classified as racial riots tried to analyse back the social problems of the periphery (including social housing). Michel Kokoref, Hughes Lagrange and Marco Oberti emphasized the urban segregation and the school problems (Kokoref, 2008, Oberti and Lagrange, 2006). They shared the diagnosis on different groups of young people, forming a unity in the anti-CPE struggles, dividing into urban riots. The questions of culture then come on the socialization significance of the school (Verpraet 2001), the life styles of the families, the possibilities of speech and the conquest of autonomy The urban development of the theme of tradition and modernity can be expanded in access to social housing standards, in the design of residential housing (Stébé, 2016), in the way in which peri-urban housing and small towns assume the conflict between traditions and modernity (Roques, 2009).

5 SOCIAL SPACES AND COEXISTENCE

The central question of urban analysis focus on the qualities and modalies the social space, the different ways of sedentarization and spatialization of social groups. It is a matter of reading the human settlements and the modalities of cohabitation. How to consider and to evaluate the human settlements and the modalities of cohabitation. The approach is to read the relational space and the solidarities that form in the public space and its crisis, ie the disjunctive space.The second objective is to reassess social space in suburban communes, in relation to typical residential spaces, forming communal combinations between social groups.

6 POLITICS OF REQUALIFICATION AND REEVALUATION OF THE RESIDENTIAL SPACE

The requalification policies assessed the notion of residentialization to denote the modes of weak appropriation of the inhabitants (Verpraet, 1991). It is then necessary to specify the modes of social relations within the same space of residence, between relations linked to the locality and external social relations, independent of the locality (Guerin Pacé et al., 2003). The Ined survey (2003, 2009) conducted

with 10 000 inhabitants by questionnaire underlines the diversity of territorial anchorages with regard to migratory paths (Guérin Pacé, 2009). Multiformal spatial identities are distributed according to the diversity of social relations, especially for young people. Residential attachment and inscriptions take s within a broader set of social relationships. The concept of residential space is important for the anchoring of precarious, The survey finds divergent attachment and identification behaviors between relational and non-mobile young people, rooted ones, difficult paths (migrant precarious adults and the elderly).

The discourse on peri-urban space tends to minorize the suburbs in number and growth, in their capacity for integration and incorporation. The peri-urban pattern overemphasizes integration by the village (social control, between oneself, low density, service chosen) by marking the opposition reported with the mass society in the public housing suburbs (mass housing, Heterogeneous diversity) (Charmes, 2011, Guilly, 2014). This opposition undermines the incorporation of single unit homes inside suburban societies, the coexistence of several models of residence, between several types of mixing in the suburbs of the 1950s / 1970s. It would be more appropriate to envisage and explain an increase in the diversity of cohabitation models.

7 THE REQUALIFICATION OF RELATIONS BETWEEN THE CENTER AND THE PERIPHERY

The notion of center and periphery set up spatial relations (attraction versus rejection) and relations of power (occupy the center versus reject in the periphery). It takes meaning in the deciphering of the different power relations and the different types of subject (Chevallier, 1977). The notion of social space formalizes the balance of relations between social groups. The notion of political space characterizes the balance between political forces and systems of power. Three socio-political models seem to dominate the sociological analysis of the urban periphery.

- a. The civic / national/ republican integration around the city center's shops and communal institutions is the classical model of urban sociology. (Ledrut, 1968). The overflowing of these urban institutions by new populations, rural and provincial migrants, European and non-European migrants) implicates the urban analysis of transition periods, the time to shape some new social actors who will relay to the institutions Public and communal institutions,
- b. In this gap between the center and the periphery, the analysis of margins, of conflict, are developed within the analyzes of self-organization and decentralization, analysis of progressive political acculturation. (Merrifield, Oberti).
- c. The dispersion of the middle classes on the urban periphery combines the processes of urban dispersion and proximity with the nature and the residential, processes of social differentiation and social distinction.

In this framework of plural analysis, it becomes possible to specify the methods of anchoring and associating new populations, especially migrant populations, within these sociopolitical models. To what extent do the distances and the distinction between the middle classes and the urban periphery change the reception of new populations in the periphery? Can we observe and explain the formation of new transnational spaces in the periphery with qualities of sociabilities ?

8 TWO CITIES INSIDE PARIS METROPOLIS

Of the two mixed suburbs, on similar urban types, were formed with different histories between the 1960s and the 1980s, with different rates of migration, different ways of organizing the partition of space, designing Urban and residential mix. The research and analysis approach focuses on the relationship between social space and residential life, - between residential and associative life, on the city management of residential spaces . It is necessary to distant the conflict analyzis of the years 2005 (youth revolt) and their polarizing interpretation to better understand the stakes of residential space, the formation of social space and political space; to examine the measured potentialities of polycentrism Bagneux is a city of 59,000 inhabitants, an industrial city converted into a housing estate. It includes 58% of social

housing, but also single unit housing. Industrial restructuring and housing operations have generated the successive strategies of residential occupations. With the factories /firms of the 1930s and 1950s and the HLMs of the 1950s are associated labor class pavilions and small incomes. With the relocations of the 1970s and 1980s (Thompson, Westinghouse), the degradation and precariousness of social housing is compounded.

The years 2001/2010 ensure the development of many city projects under the egide of the anru. Numerous urban redevelopment operations follow one another: a) a one site renovation of mathurins, a former Thompson factory site in 1983, then the DGA until 2014, 16 ha. The urban project concerns the opening up of urban areas, combining housing, public facilities and green spaces, and reserving 25% of social housing (rental and accession) to guarantee a social mix and offer opportunities for residential development.

* We underline the importance of community life in the suburbs cities. Alongside the ecological associations, alongside the republican associations (Movement for Peace, Attac), associations for concrete solidarities (women, nature, africa) are founded, an association of Mali linking different villages, an association of Malian women's associations and ecologists., Community association (Mali, Soninke). The cultural and residential plurality of the municipal life is realized by the associative networks. A cosmopolitanism from below is designed with an associative tone. It is possible to support an anchoring and an opening up of the public space combining republican associations and migrant associations, especially with the presence of migrant women on concrete residential issues (crèche, youth education, response to violent behavior). The strategies of requalification and residentialisation stabilize a diversified associative life. This social and residential ground encourages anti racist actions on the school, carried by the project of the Mouss

*The action of the municipality is coordinated on two registers: The repertoire of neighborhood social development develops as a support to the steps of residentialisation of families and households as a vector of urban socialization anchored in transitional spaces and public spaces concrete. Opening and supporting associative networks for newcomers ensures a relay of municipal policy. The result is the formation of a substantial republican fabric on housing, school and cultural action conceived as vectors of socialization for newcomers.

9 AULNAY / SEVRAN, TWO MODELS OF COHABITATION

Sevran / Aulnay seem to characterize by two models of social incorporation. Aulnay, a predominantly suburban town has gained its wealth on the incomes of the Peugeot PSA plant. It develops a security model based on the social control of the populations. Sevran with its numerous public housing dwellings and its diverse populations displays a policy of republican and ecologist integration. The addition of social housing estates in the 1970s and 1980s, oriented towards motorways and industrial zones, creates a disorientation of space following centrifugal logics. Sevran comprises a population of 50,412 inhabitants, relatively stable since 2004 of which 20% foreign nationality. The policy of republican integration around the republican village and its services seems to be bypassed by the industrial space and its crisis, by the migrating multiplicity and its transnational orientation.

Sevran is formed of many new urbanizations built after the years 1975 to the north of the city, welcoming populations of recent immigration. They came in addition the republican village and on residential buildings in the suburbs. The first qualification of these peripheral areas are made in terms of poverty, social inequalities and urban relegation. Sevran Beaudottes, 10 000 inhabitants, groups 33% of the households with the foreign head of household, 23% of the population is unemployed, 1/3 rmi of the city, 80% of the population below the bac, 25% below the resource minimum. etween 1960 and 1974, 2000 housing units were built on the Rougemont district. This district is concerned by the "Grand Projet de Ville" (Urban Renewal Operation) devices. The district has 6,634 inhabitants (in 2007).

The economic space around Sevran is widening between industrial areas Garonor, the Peugeot -Citroen production site decommissioned in 2004, the Villepinte exhibition center, Roissy airport. The Roissy le Bourget territory (IAU 2015) comprises 234,000 jobs for 47,000 companies, organized on very specific functions of the logistics metropolis: 30,000 jobs, airport 92,000 jobs. . Inside the 329,000 active residents in the area, 63,000 do not have a 8% degree. The socio-professional categories are distributed on

qualifications below the regional averages (managers 16%, intermediate occupations 24%, employees 35%, workers 26%).

* The residential life of the city is organized around the village center town; reinforced by many public services, school, cultural center, house of associations, The town hall conducted a policy of "soft security", in opposition to the security policy posted in Aulnay. . The space of the city is marked by a partition according to the type of urbanization and production of the housing, between the residential south, mixed with the majority French and the northern predominantly residential African with poor resources. The social housing units of the 1970s are appropriated by the new migrant populations (Mali, Comoros, Haiti). The African residential area remains poor and relegated distant from the french spaces.

The diversity of the community life presents the diversity of the cultures of the city. But the associations present culture as an affirmation and an exteriority and much less as a residential relational dimension,: Association of the Comores in Sevrans, Association of Friends of Mali, Association of Young People for the Development of Mali, Association of Buddhists Khmers Krom, Association of Sufis of Macedonia in Paris Franco-Guinean Intercultural Association, Haiti dynamic, Cultural Youth Caribbean Heritage, House of Armenian Culture etc ...

10 DEVIANCE, URBANITIES, SECURITY

A recent qualitative analysis of urban conflicts reveals the pervasiveness of insecurity and suspicion, with media focus (Sanchez, 2012). In Sevrans beaudottes (10,000 inhabitants), 38% aged below 20 years, 1/3 rmi of the city, 25% households are below the ceiling of resources. Municipal political life can be exposed on the themes of integration and ecology. It faces the problems of delinquency and insecurity within the partition between the northern and southern districts. Should we talk about urban apartheid and urban separation? The migrant presence in the municipal council includes representatives of migrant european origin 20% migrants of European origin (Portuguese, Romanian) dispute with the migrants of the maghreb, in particular of Morocco. It seems more accurate to analyze the distantiation of the republican village center.

11 DISJUNCTIVE COHABITATION

Integration with a republican and ecologist aim seems to be overwhelmed by new populations, networks and youth. A decentralized transnational space can be formulated with regard to republican integration. A more recent population leads to a weaker residentialization (Guérin Pacé, 2009). As a result, security discourses occupy the public space. The multiple vectors of social support in Sevrans appear divergent and uncoordinated. The economic vectors are dispatched on economic sites. Institutional vectors attempt to converge on the city center and the administrative centers (Bobigny, Paris). But the relational vectors of young people are scattered between community relations and the spaces of mass consumption.

12 COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS : INCLUSIVE INCORPORATION AND CENTRIFUGAL INCORPORATION

Sevrans and Bagneux are two similar mixed suburbs with different histories between the years 1960 and the 1980s, with different rates of migrations, different ways of organizing the partition of space, designing urban and residential mix

- Bagneux - The incorporation of peripheral HLM housing estates is supported by an intense and diversified associative life. The coupling of the municipal institution and the peripheral districts passes through the school and the numerous associative relays (except maghrebins)

Aulnay / Sevrans set up the limits of associative inclusion, for recent populations experiencing the outsourcing/ externalization of employment, Social relays pass through families, social centers and children.

The second thesis deals with a diversity of forms of cohabitation between the suburbs, the neo rural village, the village of executives and their external economic space, the fordist suburbs, the suburbs flexible service, urban mixtures.

The comparison between Bagneux / Sevran highlights the centripetal incorporation (associating the municipal center as village with the requalified periphery of Bagneux) and the centrifugal requalification resulting from a strong partition of the social and urban space (the republican village overflowing). The integration of peripheral populations into the social and political life of the city, costs more effort for the municipality. Some populations are placed outside the republican framework, especially the youngest and more mobile, the most subject to media mass orientations, with possibly pregnancy of religious models.

13 ANCHORING AND MOBILITIES IN THE PERIPHERAL CITY

Transnational population flows are important at the periphery of agglomeration, but they must proceed through the anchoring, association and integration modalities developed by each city, by each commune. Centripetal integration enhance the integration of transnational populations through residential relations and associations, through the support of residential requalification. The centrifugal integration remains marked by the partitions of the space, possibly the political partitions. It excludes certain specific populations (according to a stigma due to the absence of an integration policy). Parallel social spaces are developing, partitions between national and extra territorial, The methods of anchoring and associating peripheral flows remain an important sociological and urban planning question. Diversity politics concerns not only the distributive flows but also the modalities of residential settlements, the type of cohabitation, the community links, the linked ecology of each place and residence. Our fieldwork distinguished between disjunctive cohabitation, converging cohabitation, accomplished cohabitation

14 CONCLUSION : POLYCENTRIC METROPOLIS, POLITICS OF DIVERSITY V POLITICS OF COHABITATION

*The metropolis can be conceived as diffusion and as dispersion, it can also be conceived as an arrangement of residences, cohabitation, mixing and incorporation at the time of the city flow. It is then necessary to distinguish between the different types of social groups, the different types of residentialization and incorporation. The issue moves on the relations between peripheral and metropolitan worlds, between social worlds and the regimes of urban interdependence.

The notion of peri-urban covers a set of landscape and socio-geographical meanings where the definition of space is organized by the distance to the center, according to the relation between oneself and the relation to nature (Charmes, 2011). We must reintroduce the dimensions of lifestyles in order to envision the relations between centralities (consumption, recreation, studies) and peripheries (residential, family, ecological landscapes) (Marchal, 2015). The subject develops a distanced relationship with political institutions.

15 SOCIAL SPACE AND RESIDENTIAL SPACES

The analysis of social spaces and residential areas on two cities, inside suburbs, first and second crown of suburbs, highlights the important articulation between the residential and social areas of the communes. Residential space concerns also the set of social relations developed between families in their daily appropriation, shopping, children, families, associative relations. The requalification operations highlight the constitution of the residential space, its intermediate objects (family game), but also the overall appreciation of the inhabitants on the functioning of the neighborhood; The appreciation of the social space underpinned by residential practices: stay or leave. Guérin Pacé and his team crossed cut the diverse have modes of identification with space and the modalities of belonging. It marks the components of a multiform identity inside spatial relations. (Guérin, Pacé, 2009)

- An attachment to the place of birth for people with little mobility 9%
- A place of anchorage after a difficult life course often 20%

- Geographical inscription, an identity component left behind by decommissioned young people 25%

Attachment and identification behaviors diverge between young people who are more attached to relational practices (24%)and populations that are not mobile, rooted (11%) , difficult paths (20%)(precarious migrant adults and the elderly).

The diversity policy as a flow management, a distributive and non-spatial vision must also recognize and assume the social diversity according to types of association, types of cohabitation and types of rights.

Political space includes cohabitations and bounded alliances between residential and social groups. Municipalities takes an important role to define their support for associative life, in the management of populations as biopower (Esposito2006), inside urban planning decisions, in order to compose and articulate the different modes of production of space (diffuse residential, dense residential, collective housing, residential housing).

16 MULTI-LEVEL METROPOLIS AND URBAN INTERDEPENDENCES:

The social and urban analysis of the current peripheries can be specified by the following substantive and analytical categories

The residential space is framed between the center and the periphery, stressed by the escape of the center, individual autonomy, the new relations between nature and culture.

The social space is stabilized and embedded in the relations between center and periphery (Ledrut 1968). It characterizes the modes of relations between social groups. The central State intends to regulate the relations between social groups, according to civil peace and political space.

The formation of a political space is marked between the center and the periphery. The center ensures centralization, rationalization and regional reforms to delegate problems (Chevallier 1977). The state is formed by these different relations bounded between integration, and dispersion, between revolt and social control. The transnational spaces push the fragile residential political space to form a post-modern state.

Neo-liberalism takes advantage of the regimes of urban interdependence, distribution channels, infrastructure and logistics, resources and shared raw, access to networks. This private appropriation of externalities must access to the political space in order to ensure these captures .

*The hypotheses on the urban continuum-urban-rural perimeter highlight the inflexion and turn points (the preservation of nature, the weight of the residential) that change the pressure of urbanization on diversified urban sequences.

Inside the classical sequence of the 1930s / 1960s the individual pavilions and the rural space are added, to the city center and the dense suburbs of collective dwellings (Bardet), Inside the classical provincial sequence, the natural space and the peri-urban are added inside a diffuse sequence Provincial (Sechi).

The great metropolis, by encouraging the development of transnational spaces, displaces the peri-urban sequences where transnational spaces and peri-urban residences are confronted: between dense suburbs, transnational space, pavilions and rural areas; Between dense suburbs, transnational space, pavilions, natural space, peri-urban areas.

The effects of the transnational flux accelerate the uncertainties and the shortcomings of the centrifugal urbanization between hype place and road for flight. . The social stakes concern the redefinition of political spaces within the relations between center / periphery, between bureaucratization and control, between revolt and autonomy, according to new forms of self-organization (a continuation of socio-political debate). Transnational interdependences tends to distort urban (so-called) interdependencies .

Neo liberalism spaces can develop through different types of incorporation and biopower, the fordist city, the consumer service city with flexible jobs, the knowledge society for high rank professionals. It requires

different types of social space, different labor qualification and stabilization, different bio v institutional powers

17 VIENNA SIEDLUNG, DIVERSITIES AND PERIPHERIES

Vienna (1.7 million inhabitants) is a central city of central Europe which experienced the withdrawal of its empire (in 1920 (Hungary, Czech Republic, Slovakia), but the city welcomes many migrants and refugees of its former Empire. After the war in Yugoslavia in 1993 1995, it hosted refugees from Bosnia, Croatia and Serbia with a large Turkish migration (cf simmering Ottakring district) The important issue of the Syrian refugees in 2015 merely highlights the traditional importance of these transit routes (25% of migrants).

The capital Vienna is an historic passage of the Danube between 'west europe and' east europe (turkey middle east) (Musil). The social space is marked by polarization and social segregations but also characterized by patchworks settlements (Hammadinger). The socio-political relations of the last twenty years also opposed the metropolitan social democratic integration model Vienna (siedlung politics) and a more authoritarian periphery opposite to the migrant presence such as Caranthe. These political formulas have been polarized on the possibilities and limits of incorporation in the case of Syrian refugees 2015.

Diversity policy can take place by enhancing the diversity in social neighborhoods and semi-peripheral neighborhoods (Simering Ottakring). It can also promote the extension and structuring of the metropolitan periphery in a more solidary metropolis. The growth of the service and high-tech sectors has now transformed into office.

The pressure of peripheral urbanization is marked by the organization of the polycentric periphery (Kramar). Urban-Suburban-Management's affirmed policy ("SUM: Stadt-Umland Management", 2006) want to develop an emancipated cooperation between Vienna and suburban municipalities 2006 such as-regional coordination, mediation involving all relevant actors). So results the development of secondary centers in the metropolis, such as Donau city, Erdberger Mais' (5000 habitants), Wienerberg-City

18 BRUXELLES COMMUNITY POLICIES SETTLEMENTS INSIDE FEDERALIST CAPITAL

The metropolis of Brussels is of average size 1, 1million habitants, associating an average administration, a diversified working class and affordable mixed housing. The multipolar city is developing on numerous industrial zones, shopping centers and a few service centers (Lemmert) in relation with residential periphery of middle classes in the Flanders region, forming an alveolar region based on these solidarities of interest (Remy)

The CBD was recently formed around the European affairs district, the Nato and more recently the office centers around the stations were developed according to the 2009-2020 development plan. This development policy was accompanied by the requalification of certain districts and expropriations protest (station du midi (Kesterloot, 1998)

The place of foreign communities in the city is important following the desindustrializations of Liège and Namur. Mixed neighborhoods include Moroccan communities and communities of Turkish origin juxtaposed, Sharbaeck, Mollenbeck and others. These neighborhoods correspond to the poorest district of Brussels (Martiniello). Bruxelles attends 350,000 foreigners so 30% of the resident population. This immigrant presence is an argument of contest for the nationalist parties (Vanlaer). Community policies in a federal state authorize and require the explicit presence of immigrants in the municipal lists associated with the political parties, immigrants present, associated with the PS list, democrat). In terms of cohabitation, we can recognize very mixed neighborhoods, supported by a federal community integration policy with some points of radicalism stemming from the capture of young people radicalized by external networks.

Several interpretations of the periphery may be grasped inside the Bruxelles case. Beside the diffuse city, peripheral urbanization, the alveolar metropolis(J Remy); are rising the Flemish suburbs, highly educated

homogeneous families who opposed the multicultural city center , as a source of community conflicts in Belgian federalism. The interpretations of community treatment tend to diversify between the Flemish communities, the French communities, the multiple migratory communities .

19 METROPOLITAN SOCIETY AND POLYCENTRISM

The geographical and sociological literature set up the diversity of modes of formation of space in the periphery corresponding to the diversity of territorial modalities of social groups by associating sociability and territories, spatial identities, by arranging networks and associations, networks and clubs, for senior managers in urban centers.

* The study of the polycentric metropolis, of the relations between center and periphery inside two communes (first and second crown) frames several models and regimes of polycentrality, as an extension of the relational city, of these connected ecologies. We have exposed some variations inside the existing models :-a/ Diffuse urbanization and centripetal incorporation,

- b/ Diffuse urbanization and centrifugal incorporation, c/ Urbanisation diffuse and transnational networks. Our case studies differentiate between diffuse urbanization, community incorporation and federalism in Brussels, the centripetal and isolation of the metropolis in Vienna, the diffuse polycentrism and the uncertainty of political life (the Paris region). The notion of a diffuse city (extension of urbanization) does not specify the types of association, civic centers, secondary centers, cohabitation policy whoa may connect these expanded urban and social processes

20 PLANNING FACE THE EXPANSION OF THE POLYCENTRIC SPACE

Polycentrism is a subject linked to the planning scheme. A criterion analysis highlights a more complex spatiality formed, between the attraction of the center, the polar network and polycentrism. The challenge concerns the capacity of the center to fix the norms on the various peripheral territories, on the different modes of spatialization, territorialization and socialization. Three solutions appear in the present situation:

In the diffuse polycentrism, the middle classes with status are organized on a residential dispersion, with a social distinction and a social distinction, protected by nature. Some workers' groups follow them in the same patterns on a residential status but within degraded districts of second choice. This urban pattern opposes the middle classes in the center (gentrification), the middle classes in the periphery (residentialization, club society, eco city)

With dense polycentrism, the suburbs recover the city, the suburban areas alongside public housing, shopping centers. Semi-diffuse polycentrism combines high-tech fittings (high-technology research center, technological park ie "cluster") and ecological resources, the "smart city" model completes the model of the residential city peri-urban. It is then possible to specify the identity configurations that are established in the allocation of space (the partition of space), in the qualification of space (according to view and point of view), in citizenship .

21 PLANNING, DIVERSITY OF SOCIAL SPACE AND POLYCENTRICITY

This redefinition of the relations between the center and the peripheries, these plural forms of polycentrism in the urban periphery, makes it necessary to define the role of urban institutions in order to compose the norms of exchange between center and periphery, to articulate centripetal models and centrifugal models of incorporation social..

The assemblage of metropolitan cities (EPCI, commune community) have been able to prove their capacity in urban production, in the organization of sustainable development on an enlarged scale. The questions remain about their responsibilities and their potential in the management of populations, residential flows, cultural exchanges within the periphery, and the social equilibrium between centrifugal

urbanization and centripetal urbanization. It implies the development of new forms of urban citizenship at the periphery.

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