The Gaps of Urban Governance [1]

Questionings and Perceptions upon Metropolitan Lisbon Urban Management

João Seixas *

Resumo: Perante a presente situação de encruzilhada político-institucional da metrópole de Lisboa, surge a necessidade de novos (e urgentes) enfoques, bem como correspondentes acções. O entendimento destes enfoques apela para uma perspectiva dinâmica, na compreensão e gestão perante as percepções e as estratégias dos diferentes actores, e os consequentes processos de mudança urbana. Nesta perspectiva, sugere-se uma investigação de carácter indutivo, questionando os actores sobre os principais desafios de governância urbana que se colocam, após uma análise sobre os próprios desafios metropolitanos. Uma correspondente análise crítica procura clarificar as principais áreas de reflexão, e sugere níveis de aprofundamento.

Palavras-chave: governância urbana; governo urbano; Lisboa; estratégia de actores

> *"Cities, like dreams, are built upon desires and fears, although the thread of its discourse may be secret, its rules absurd, its perspectives deceptive, and all things hiding other"*
>
> Italo Calvino, *The Invisible Cities*

Governance and Fragmentation

First reflection: presently, most of the discourses around our cities seem to follow a somewhat negative and worrying thread. In fact, once considered as the pinnacle of human culture and evolution, the city is being now commonly depicted as a cruel and growing Hydra[2] expanding without limits, in a growingly diffuse and fragmented way. Notwithstanding, this restlessness seems to become stronger when we consider the present management structures of the urban territories. In front of growing complexity and immanent, fragmented realities, scattering our own urban perceptions, the exercise of a sustainable and pro-active urban management might, in our questionings, become more and more difficult to handle. We stand in front of a paradox that Nel.lo (2001) quite well expresses: through the unlimited physical and functional urban growth, transforming identities, changing social interactions, blurring expressions and characters, there is, after all, a crude limitation on the development of, firstly, social and functional conditions, and then, political and administrative frameworks and consciences. Much due to institutional and political fragmentations, to unveiled power relationships and decision making processes, to growing patterns of social divisions, consumerism and individualism, the city without limits is, after all, the city with a huge labyrinth of limits.

Innovative (and motivative) debates, and necessary actions, appear as urgent in front of continuing growing mercantile pressures, both massive or symbolic, alongside with the concomitant demission of public responsibilities, a direction that, seemingly, drives even more the city

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[1] This article composes ideas taken from the Investigation Memory presented in the Human Geography department of the Universitat Autonoma de Barcelona, as part of the thesis included in the Ph. D. Investigation. As both the investigation and its corresponding written work are being developed in English, so comes this article, albeit the concrete Portuguese subject of analysis.

[2] The Greek mythological figure of the Hydra, created by the goddess Hera, drives from the second challenge of Hercules: a growing monster living in a fertile and sacred area, with numerous heads flooding and expanding throughout the territory.

before social, physical, even economic unsustainability. The directions for the perceptioning of a wider responsabilisation for the different sectors of the society seem still somewhat obscure. To what concerns the decision-taking influences in the production and reproduction of the city, the lacks of legitimacy seem to be growing with the proliferation and diffusion of private capital little regulated activities in the design and implementation of territorial strategies and actions. This questioning of legitimacy puts a direct focusing in the state attitudes – with its actions, or better said, its re-actions of demission and casuistic regulation. However, and looking closer to the Portuguese realities, the debates themselves still look quite unstructured, very much intuitive before the speed of change and the loss of paradigms that still yesterday looked quite close. In fact, like this has evolved Lisbon and its metropolitan area: in front of growingly unsustainable evolution paths, in a crescent diffuse panorama of private relational interests and public responsibilities fragmentation, its present disintegrated institutional and political frameworks will increase a series of tensions and expectations that will succeed in the urban scenario of multiple actors and influences (as analysed before, Seixas, 2000).

Second reflection: nevertheless, it can be noticed in several cities throughout the world, the development of a series of urban management new approaches and experiments – including Portugal. Several experiments are turning out to be quite interesting possibilities of opening new paths before the new types for challenges, being triggering efforts to more complex and wide developments, which might include the beginning of changes in the politico-administrative structures themselves. New approaches and changes that came not necessarily only from the pressures of the tensions and expectations due to political, institutional and perceptive disintegration. On the contrary, most of the innovative approaches come from a sense of long-term construction of strategy and integration visions upon the city – what I would call, after all, *urban planning* (term so misused today).

Third reflection: baring in mind these innovative focus of analysis (and consequent actions) we have to call for the understanding of the city as a continuous play, considering not only each actor's status, but very much its positioning upon several views and strategies, its interdependencies, its connections – following Touraine's dynamical views (1984). It is, as Guerra states (2000), the search for the comprehension of the conduction of the processes of social change – in our case, related to urban change. And, as Crozier and Friedberg (1977) expressed, to consider that the system is in a permanent evolution, social change is understood as an "action system" through power and influential mechanisms, relational models, processual fluxes, collective norms, codes of conduct and codes of reasoning.

Reminding Weber (1921), the city is seen as a concrete social structure, where the different interests are represented and have a voice. This might be the most relevant focusing in this analysis conceptualisation – a dynamical viewpoint through processes of strategic action, of interplay influence and regulation, of empowerment interchange of the different urban actors: the state and its wide institutions, politics and policies, codes and norms, throughout the different tiers; the private sector, its norms and culture, its positioning upon the city; the civil society, its perceptions, its sense of rights and responsibilities, its cultural and associative movements; and also, other relevant actors such as the media and university. Thus the relevance of concepts such as *urban governance* (Dunleavy, 1980, Bagnasco and Le Galès, 2000) where what is searched is the coordination of the different urban actors and its strategies, in order to reach objectives collectively apprehended and understood – most especially in fragmented situations; and as *social capital* (Coleman, 1990, Putnam, 1993), centred in the relevance of identity and civicness in each actor attitudes.

Fourth reflection: confronted with the problematic gaps between the city's needs and its evolution, some crucial questionings must be underpinned. Firstly, and albeit the supposedly deepening of the governance debate, the doubts whether these reflections have created until now effective forms of action and synergies in different urban dimensions – in fact, if the governance idea might be not at all a panacea, then (and moreover) if its correlative debates might being filled with deconstructive arguments for a wider dispersion and scattering of strategic and integrative needs, enhancing the increase in the fragmentation and de-responsabilisation of political and institutional territorial infrastructures, terrains growingly filled by single pro-activity of vested interests influences

and casuistic or populist public approaches. Secondly, and in this sense, considering the fundamental relevance of the state role as trigger for new types of urban actors interplay and collective project evolution, in front of diffuse motivations before the city's needs and ideological general shifts towards the demission of public responsibilities, if the present models of state action are being pro-active in the sense of any new desired forms. And, if that difficulty stands as relevant, then why aren't being enhanced some pro-active models in front of the growing city's urgencies. Finally, considering these questionings and approaches, what happens in Lisbon? And, if a new set of hypotheses must be raised, which possible ways might be constructed upon necessary shifts towards a better management of the city's needs? Which action alternatives might be developed to fill the gaps of urban governance and to reduce the installed dispersion?

The City at the Crossroads

Apart from the most simplistic negative commonplaces, more elaborated approaches in the urban evolution paths are evidently necessary. It is most interesting that some of the main tonics stressed by several authors pass through a contemporary stress within urban politics processes on fluxes of consumerism both on spatial and time scales. This growingly immanent political culture seems to quite severely damaging structural status of social citizenship and public co-existence, replacing it with credos of urban spaces and fluxes mostly as privatised and individual dimensions of consumption. At the same time, we assist to the increase of the orientation of local politics towards a certain defence of communities of self-interests, while the "old" welfare politics of universal access to housing, health care and public services being driven away in the single-orientated name of
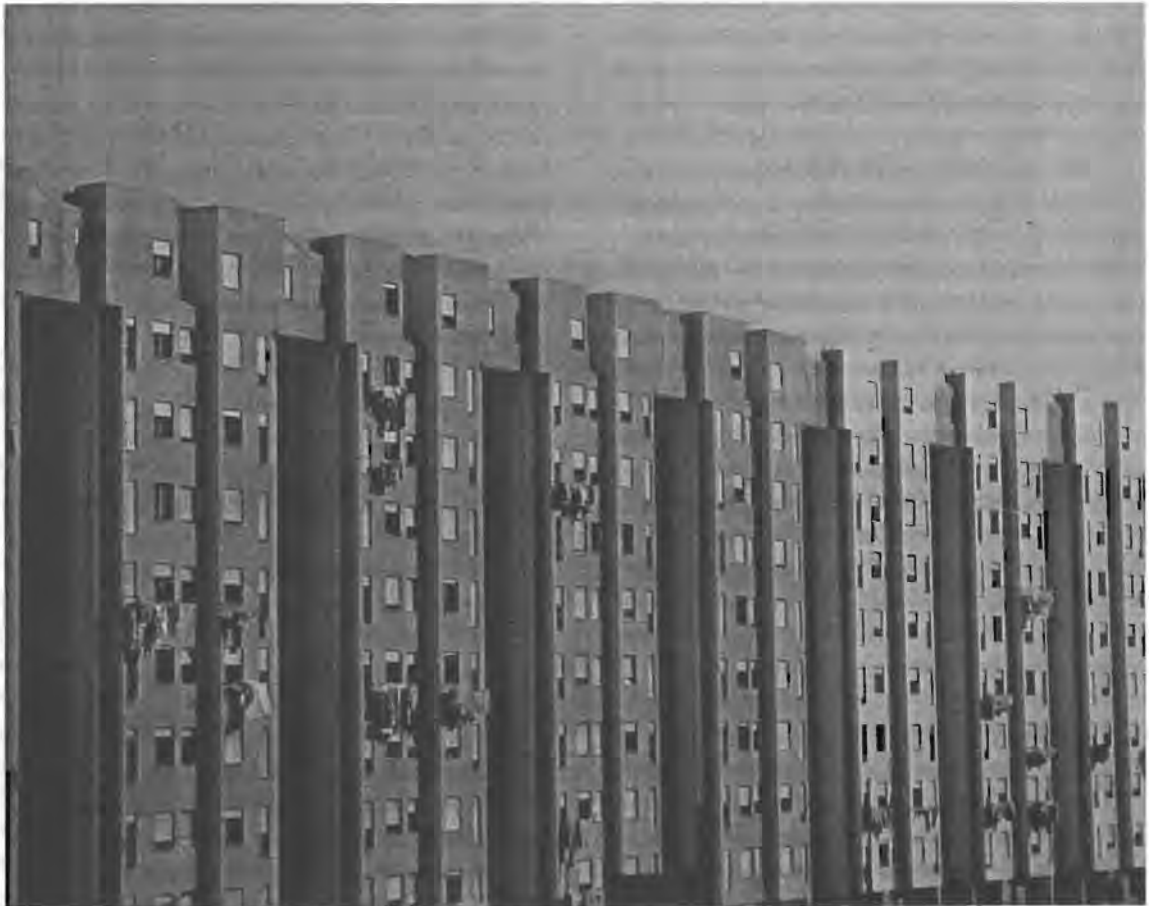

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effectiveness. Following this reasoning, there could be pointed out main present social (therefore, also economic and political) urban preoccupations:

i) One aspect, which Harvey calls the 'production of symbolic capital' (1994), points out the exploitation of differentiated markets through middle and high-income groups, into accumulation status enhancing luxury goods and lifestyles. The effects in this process are not only the worrying spatial and social segregation within cities, but also the acquisition of greater power in urban politics by a reduced number of interests, through its privileged position in an urban economy increasingly based on the consumption priorities;

ii) A second aspect, "the mobilisation of the spectacle" (id., 1994), refers to the enormous proliferation of shopping and leisure activities, driving politicians to redirect urban policies and political priorities away from investments in production of welfare and from meeting urbanistic and social needs through strategic and integrative planning. A style of casuistic city management is installed, through flagrant concessions to much more mediatic and populist driven policies;

iii) The third point follows the ideas above stressed, but now considering a more public political vision: through the enhancement of symbolic and spectacle capital, and its influences, most of the elected politicians follow a much more mercantile and short-term driven city management, leaving insufficient support and resources for the development of more structural interventions, like the embeddedness of socio-economic inter-linkages, the strategic relevance of public spaces, or effective social and environmental measures. The urban planning instruments themselves reflect these issues, or better said, the lack of them: mostly purely technically driven plans and instruments, growingly unadjusted to the substantive necessities of the fast realities (Font, 2000);

iv) The fourth point is the growing gaps in the social spectre, stressing mainly the epidemic rises in poverty, immigration and informal activity. The present simplistic economic and financial processes are developing underclasses of low-income communities, increasingly abandoned by structured welfare programmes. This reality, with its evident outcomes in poverty, degradation, crime, dehumanisation and isolation, is more and more apart from the new styled spaces of consumerism and from aesthetics urban lifestyles. It emerges quite worrying issues related to social inter-connection, starting from school and evolving to the labour market, developing fears of racism, intolerance, and dangerous political and ideological social shifts;

v) Finally, the ecological unsustainability of the present city evolution processes. Through the massive consumption of land by widespread urbanisation processes and diminishing population densities, through the exponential mobility increase, the utilisation of private transportation and consequent air pollution, through issues like the imperviousness of soils by construction, the ecological footprint of the present evolution implies an enormous invoice that we all, and our descendents, are like to pay in the near future.

However, and notwithstanding these worrying reflections, there is the increase of the challenges upon the city that continues to be, by its own nature, a privileged arena for the convergence of a myriad of perspectives, visions, actors, cultures, and, very significantly, scales and fluxes. It seems paradoxical, but the present evolution of the city, through its multiple forms, can also be an unavoidable opportunity to rethink and act upon political, social, economic and cultural new underpinnings.

Like Nel.lo expresses (2001), now more than ever, it is necessary to enhance *Manifestos for the City*, to build *Collective Strategies and Collective Projects* (as other authors also claim, like Indovina, 1991, Jouve and Lefèvre, 1999, and Ferreira, 2000) projects capable of managing urban development and the different interests in the benefit of most of the population. It is necessary to widen "the city debate", and act upon it, on every different scales and dimensions. This widening demands, clearly, for political envisioning.

Through the informational and mobility exponential development, the "spaces of flows" are becoming the evident norm for interaction (as Castells points out since 1972, and strongly expresses it in his latest trilogy, 1996-1998). Therefore, in the understanding and action upon the city and its dynamics, it comes essential the

prioritisation into a process view, much more than a solely *form* view. These visions transmit the need to pass from a fordist type of conscience to a post-fordist one, where flexibility, interaction, negotiation and processes are the key elements of evolution, key elements alongside with more stable institutions, rules or plans. Also Touraine (1984) reflected about social life as a process, arguing upon the necessary substitution of the *Society* concept by a *Social Life* concept, much more centred on the actor's actions and interactions: "The essential is that the growing separation between the actor and the system might be substituted by its interdependency, by the idea of action system (...) instead of describing the mechanisms of the social system, of its integration or disintegration, its stability or its change (...) substitute the study of the social answers by the analysis of the mechanisms of auto-production of social life" (id: 31)

Through this dynamical view, the inherent comprehension of the social representations and perceptions by every different urban actor's counterpart on the processes that are producing (and reproducing) the present city is essential, so much as the comprehension of the consequences that such processes cause. This "knowledge pulse" is crucial for an effective cultural empowerment that stands upon each actor's motivations and actions, influencing the state and local governments commitment upon territorial management, influencing civic motivation and social movements, influencing, after all, the ways the city structures itself, its quality of life, and both its ecological as its socio-economic sustainability.

Questioning Urban Government

This idea of an urban Collective Project im-plying cultural perceptions, strategy, integration and social interaction around a clearer unders-tanding of the urban representations, is not necessarily a metaphysical utopia. In this sense, the present framework interaction mainly by flows claims for what Nel.lo calls for "a voluntary geography", within which each actor's repre-sentations and interests, each territorial scale and corresponding issues, are democratically analysed, expressed and decided upon. Obviously, this implies a strong political project, a coordination strategy and territorial openness (2001, p. 52-53).

In this sense, main vectors following these proposals crystallize very much around the relevance of the State role. Jessop (1994), for instance, suggested a neo-statism local system (a State-guided economic reorganisation) to face the neo-liberal and neo-corporatist trends that are following the different institutional and vested interests. And this State-guided reorganisation passes much through the local scale envisioning and building of the procedures for debate and action, and consequent instruments for interaction and negotiation. Once again, there must be stressed the increased salience on the local management sphere, denoting the growing relevance of the local identity and active motivation, through the proliferation of local different influential scales, measures, institutions and coalitions.

However, albeit some considerable efforts in a certain political re-orientation, mainly through political vectors as decentralisation, local empowerment, or some trade-offs between welfare and growth, what can be said is that the conjugation of institutional single re-activity and private influences growth are too strong to sustain creative and pro-active public attitudes. In fact, by questioning its own capacities to manage growingly complex territories, by turning to market-driven approaches and leaving large areas of territorial management to single accountability efficiency logics, by absorbing symbolic-type mobilisation focusing, by not accompanying the post-modern pace for interactive steering creativity, and loosing its own territorial perceptions, the state, throughout most of its tiers, is more and more a demissionary state. As Ruivo (2000) quite well supports on his analysis of the Portuguese situation, the relational style of local government, albeit being naturally complex, implies governing through interdependent networks and no longer through single hierarchical positions – which, in the present framework, and by other hand, might have to do more with influences than with effective governance.

According to Thurow (1997), we are living in a period of 'punctual equilibrium' that searches for new models for action. Asymmetry and diffusion can still be managed in these 'transition periods', if territorial governments assume their capacity of strategy and integration. That means political efforts like, for instance, the integration of fundamental policies in a metropolitan scale, together with parallel empowerment through the local scale.

By other hand, and considering the obvious private sector relevant role in city production, the tonics in interaction processes (as above expressed) like negotiation, partnerships and contractualisation (albeit by other perspectives) should still be nourished, if one wants for strategy and integration to have a solid political and cultural strength. This is surely one of the main conditions and priorities for a directed collective strategic action.

The public sector needs undoubtedly to reassume a much more pro-active role, developing strategy, being actively productive in urban development, and using its resources to meet local social, economic and environmental needs. Also, building "delegation vectors" for the territorial actors, enhancing political debates and exchanges, which necessarily imply compromises in the search of common and sustainable procedures. As Brugué and Gomà (2000) pose it, around theoretical fields on public politics, there is the need to pass from a deductive, rational and prescriptive character, to a much more inductive, less modelling and "post-rational" focus, developed on how actors interact in the political reflection and decision processes.

Lisbon Challenges

For the purpose of our analysis, it would be important, at this stage, to analyse what might be the most crucial challenges posed to the Lisbon metropolis in this beginning of the century. Challenges upon which there will be made an extended analysis of the most daring challenges in terms of government – and governance.

In this sense, and to keep our feet on the ground, I would propose a somewhat deeper vision upon one of these challenges: The challenges driven by the city diffusion and the constructive pressures dynamics. In Lisbon, fluxes and impacts changed enormously in the last decades, with a continuous spontaneous growth being characterised by seemingly unstoppable forces driven by strong urban planning lacks, scattered public intervention in the territory, and property speculation – as Salgueiro recently wrote (2001). According to this investigator, the city continues to evolve in a difficult balancing between processes and representations of centrality and periphery (both internationally and locally) – which drives to

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difficult identity and political senses; and at the same time, the internal restructuring towards fragmentation drives to growing exclusionary dynamics. There is no doubt that the geography of the entire city region changed, fragmentation becoming a paradigm. In fact, the notion of diffuse city expressed by Indovina (1990, 1998) applies in striking evidence to Lisbon and its metropolitan area[3].

In these reflections, there is the need to stress the vast influence of the property market, its main financial culture and its strong irrationalities, becoming the main instrumental area to produce and reproduce our physical and psychical urban landscapes in the last decades, provoking dispersion dynamics such as the continuously population movement towards "rurubanised" peripheries, banal urbanisations in the most diffuse spaces, and the loss of vitality in structural centralities, whose socio-economic mobility fluxes continue to be driven to faster, wider and more dispersed uses of resources and energy. Beyond serious ecological sustainability issues that include vast land consumption and pollution problems, this model of urbanisation also imply social end economic negative externalities, like losses in time, in economic productivity itself, and other more direct consequences like the huge cost of opportunity paid by resources driven to infrastructure and equipment investments. In fact, Lisbon is becoming a huge and diffuse Hydra – without head.

One very important indicator to analyse is the evolution of the number of dwellings (according to the recent data of INE, dados definitivos, 2002). The constructive pressure in the second crown (beyond the first crown of the old suburbs around Lisbon council) is severely high (85% increase in the two decades). Actually, the entire metropolitan area had a rate of 46% increase in the number of dwellings, which means an increase 7 times greater than the population rates. The problems of decentralisation do not arise only to the old city centre – in fact, the centralities of the first crown are also loosing its dynamics. Clearly, the city centre itself didn't started yet (like other European cities had), any type of a sustained population recovery

process (the reflections in this sense made by Ferreira, Lucas and Castro, in 1997, remain quite present). This issue is particularly important, not only for the revitalisation and urban socio-economic equilibrium of important areas, but also to try to avoid the development of inner city type problems that are common in typical North American cities, and that even some European cities have experienced in recent years.

It seems obvious that the political dimensions and its dominion over important self-capacities, its institutions and actors, in the enhancement of a more perceptive and collective governance path is crucial both in terms of responsibilities, and in terms of the curtail, by different manners, of continuing dangerous evolutions. But, as sustained above, continuing to manage the city in a symbolic--type vision, carrying urban politics to populist, mercantile and fragmented competitive ways, will difficultly improve the situation. There seem to be not many doubts in the necessity for a political and administrative driven approach, seen in a processual and influential manner, reflecting upon interconnections both intra the public sphere, and through its relations with actors such as the ones acting in the property market.

Obviously, there are more challenges of crucial envisioning beyond the fragmented urbanisation one. Considering the relevance for a clearer analytically driven framework, I would propose to synthesize these challenges in four main vectors:

Baring in mind these main urban challenges, I will expand the analysis throughout a transversal vision towards the challenges of government (and presumably, of governance) that aspires to address them. In that sense, a prospective analysis of the urban actors, its strategies and concomitant actions will be followed. These visions are supported mainly through a series of interviews made both to "urban actors" as well as to "urban investigators", or experts.

Urban Actors and Positioning

According to Guerra (1999), to understand the evolution of urban territories implies to accept that

[3] Like recent investigations that are trying to better define what can be understood as the Lisbon Metropolitan Territory (the most recent and interesting investigations can be followed in Pereira, 1999, and in the recent report of DGOTDU, 2002), I have to agree that the present territory of the administrative 'Metropolitan Area' is not the best geographical urban reference for what might be understood as Lisbon's urban territory. This is, actually, a very important and urgent debate that needs to be further developed beyond the interesting project above quoted. For our analysis, and very much due to the lack of clearer views, I would assume, mainly, a substantive vision of the Lisbon urban territory, following the 'Metapolis' (Ascher, 1998) base, with its considerations on the functional and dynamics channels of communication and interchange in an urban region, considering the whole of the possible 'Metapolitan' influences, even when there are, in such a wide and certainly dispersed territory, many continuities and discontinuities.

Foto de João Seixas, Lisboa.

its morphologies, structures and dynamics are very much based in an economical and political system, upon which a complex game of forces and influences are moved and induced by a series of diversified actors, through its strategies, its interconnections, its empowerment and stake-holding positioning. In this sense, urban territories are by excellence conflictive spaces of multiple logics and diversified roles, in a society seen as a continuity of dynamic processes (reminding again Touraine's ideas, 1984). These considerations evidence the understanding that if one considers the implication of each different actor in which it can influence urban spaces, it has also to consider a vast range of completely different variables and perceptions upon each actuation in the territory, which naturally includes a strong emphasis on dimensions such as social perceptions, political influences, bargaining and negotiation procedures. Managing city areas is, thus, to understand these

Table 1 – Lisbon Challenges

A - The challenges of the enhancement of the Main Success Factors of Lisbon
B - The challenges driven by the city diffusion and constructive pressures dynamics
C - The challenges of economic development and social cohesion
D - The challenges of urban identity and the growth of symbolic capital

dynamic views, and also to co-manage and have a collaborative view with the different urban actors, as fundamental sources of production and reproduction of urban society. Urban management and planning can no longer be only a question of decisores and executers (Perestrelo and Caldas, 1996).

For the case of Lisbon and of this analysis, the identification of the urban actors intervenients in the city follows this reasoning, trying to address the understanding upon the logics of the system dynamics, processes and empowerments, and concomitantly on each actor's variety of representations and positioning in front of the different challenges above expressed. Considering the *prospective methodologies* in the analysis of the dynamics of social actors in an urban territory, the *Sceneries Method* proposed by Godet (1993) is here somewhat followed. The development of sceneries goes through a "processual systematisation" of each different actor representations and strategies upon a "moving system", based on constant processual and prospective dynamics.

Searching for an interconnection between these methodological settings and the reasoning followed throughout this analysis, namely in the consideration of urban management and its government viewed as strong cultural dynamic fluxes, I would propose an initial frameworking that could somewhat follow through these visions. It is important to stress that this approach is not at all a complete investigation of the Lisbon urban dimensions based upon these methodologies. That is surely a path that deserves a different attention (upon which some investigators are developing its present work). The "call" for these methodologies comes in the sense of support of the fieldwork and the consequent conductive/inductive analysis developed. A similar reasoning applies to the "grouping" of the urban actors here used. Albeit this "grouping" is implicitly searched, it is not an analytical path for the moment.

In this reasoning, a series of interviews were made. Overall, there were made 45 interviews to urban actors and urban experts, in the different "grouping" meanwhile qualified and developed: 12 interviews to local government institutions in the AML, 2 to regional institutions[4], 3 to local government institutions outside the AML[5], 4 to central government institutions, 5 to private entities, and 5 non-governmental and civic organisations. In what it could be called a second phase, 14 interviews were made to experts[6], focusing more directly on the urban government issues, and most especially after the development of the systematisation upon the main Lisbon Government challenges. Through the synthesised framework of the four main dimensions of challenges posed to Lisbon, the consequent analysis materialised through an extended fieldwork based on the interviews to the different urban actors. These interviews showed the main focusing areas suggested by the different actors – and its strategies, in relation to the four main challenges. Finally, and through the systematisation of the different actors positioning, a "sceneries analysis" could be made. In this sense, different methodological considerations were followed, for the purpose of this analysis. The "sceneries" here proposed follow a transversal viewpoint, in the sense that reflecting upon urban government directed the analysis to "Lisbon government challenges". These government challenges are therefore, the "sceneries" proposed and upon which this investigation as been followed until the moment.

Obviously, in each interview there were many different and interesting ideas expressed related to the several issues around the city. However, and considering an important systematisation line of thought, for each interview I concentrated the analysis through pointing out the most relevant field in the different positioning points for each one of the challenges – a 'first entry' methodology.

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[5] In which there were discussed relevant dimensions in a wider scale than the local and metropolitan Lisbon.
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Table 2 - Lisbon Challenges and Actors Positioning

	MSF's enhancement	City diffusion / Sustainability	Economic development / Social cohesion	Identity / Symbolic capital
CML Political 1	Decentralisation to local authorities	Fragmented local and functional policies	Mobility	Mercantil urban production
CML Political 2	Urban actors cooperation	Mercantile urban production	Housing market	Festivalisation / perceptions
CML Dept. A	Localgovernment cooperation	Mercantile urban production	Institutional support to investment	Public Spaces / Centralities
CML Dept. B-1	Decentralisation / Metropolitan Integration	Procedural bureaucracy	Housing market	Project-driven urban policies / Centralities
CML Dep. B-2	Strategic planning enforcement	Procedural bureaucracy / discretionarity	Mercantile urban production	Cultural perceptions / participation
CML Dept. C	Local government cooperation	Local resources / Fiscal system	Housing market	Project-driven urban policies
Economic Dev. Agency	Urban actors cooperation	Fragmented local policies	Real Estate	Real Estate
CM Setúbal Political	Collective city project / Strategic planning	Fragmented local and functional policies	Resources to social policies	Cultural perceptions
CM Setúbal Local	Decentralisation to local authorities	Fragmented local policies	Mercantile urban production	Mercantile urban production
CM Oeiras Dept.	Public authorities enforcement	Procedural powers	Cooperation in economic and Social policies	Public spaces
CM Palmela Political	Decentralisation / Strategic planning	Metropolitan integrative policies	Actors dialogue / collaboration	Civic perceptions / participation
CM Barreiro Political	Public administration flexibility	Procedural rigidity / discretionarity	Real Estate	Mercantil urban production
CCRLVT Political	Collective City Project	Political discretionarity	Housing market	Mercantil urban production
Central Govt. Technical	Regional integrated planning	Fragmented policies	Resources to social policies	–
Central Govt. Political	Regional integrated planning	Strategic planning enforcement	Resources to social policies and economic cooperation	Cultural perceptions
Central Govt. Technical	Urban actors cooperation	Procedural powers / discretionarity	Mercantile policies	Project driven policies / Festivalisation
Central Govt. DG	Urban actors cooporation / negotiation	Fragmented local and functional policies	Mercantil urban production	Project driven policies
Central Govt. Agency	Urban actors cooporation	Legal / administrative rigidities	Housing market	Cultural perceptions
Business Association 1	Strategic negotiation procedures	Lack of strategic policies	Lack of stratergic policies	Cultural perceptions
Business Association 2	Collective City Project/Strategic Planning	Procedural powers	Fragmented policies	Local / civic empowerment
Propert developers Association	Negotiation / cooperation culture	Procedural powers	Fragmented local policies	Revitalisation policies
Private Developer	Urban actors cooperation	Processual bureaucracy / political powers	Lack of strategic planning	Cultural perceptions
Commercial Association	Strategic planning enforcement	Informal agreements	Mercantile urban production	Project driven / Mercantile urban production
NGO 1	Decentralisation / Strategic planning	Political powers / discretionarityy	Mercantile urban production	Project driven policies
NGO 2	Decentralisation and local participation	Fragmented policies / political powers	Lack of strategic planning	Mercantile urban production
NGO 3	Strategic Planning enforcement	Local authorities bureaucracy	Disintegrated functional policies	Festivalisation
NGO 4	Decentralisation and local participation	Fragmented local policies	Mercantil urban production	Local / civic empowerment
NGO 5	Collective City Project / Actors dialogue	Political discretionay powers	Mercantil urban production	Mercantil urban production

Table 3 - Positioning of local actors outside the AML[7]

	Local MSP's enhancement	City diffusion / Sustainability	Economic development / Social cohesion	Identity / Symbolic capital
CM Abrantes Political	Regional integrated planning	Fragmented local policies	Fragmented local policies	New consumption / public spaces
CM Aveiro Political	*[illegible]*	*[illegible]*	*[illegible]*	*[illegible]*
CM Viana do Castelo Political	Decentralisation to local authorities	Fragmented powers	Mercantile urban production	Cultural perceptions

The above systematisation of the interviews, following the Sceneries Method, directed this investigation in a clearer way to main focusing areas of research, including the conceptual analysis (complying, therefore, with the induced-style investigation proposed). Through this positioning systematisation the "sceneries" now proposed follow transversally, reflecting upon the issues of urban government. In fact, almost all of the main positions expressed have a clear political sense.

Reflecting upon the positioning points above stated, synthesized approaches can be expressively induced:

i) Firstly, the political and institutional (municipal and functional) fragmentation in the urban territorial management is soundly sensed throughout most of the interviews as a serious problem to integrated policy decision-making. The executive weakness (or simply non-existence) of the metropolitan authorities, mainly due to partidary reasons, originates weak empowerment for the coordination of efforts between the different urban scales and municipalities, and severe constraints in an integrated and collective development. There is a clear competition for economic development and residents amongst the most dynamic municipalities of the metropolitan area. These lines of thought are stressed not only when the interviewees express their positioning by the fragmented competitive and scattered budgetary practices, but also through its emphasis in stronger strategic and integrative enforcements. The enforcement on the coordination and integration of territorial strategies is made also via a demand to the decentralisation of important powers, resources and responsibilities, in some areas felt as still quite dependent on central government hands;

ii) Secondly, in what can be seen as another form of this fragmented and disintegrated atmosphere, the procedural and administrative bureaucracy, and its technical rigidities – including the main planning tools and instruments, at different scales – are important 'limits' in the management of the city without limits (reminding Nel.lo again, id.). These procedural webs drive most of the substantive evaluations and decisions to discretionary powers, in its myriad of closed circles and different political communities. It is of remarkable significance that most of the public politicians and officials themselves stress this envisioning, which drives to a discredit of the existing planning instruments;

iii) Political communities that, amongst other reasons like the re-active and demissionary attitudes from the state apparels, and a fiscal municipal system mostly dependent on revenues from new property construction, drive the decision-making processes very much through the enhancement of property-led and mercantile driven urban production, with the consequent curtails in the collective / sustainable city objectives. Project driven urban policies, also followed by the public authorities themselves, and seemingly apart from an integrated strategic realm, make pressure upon the main urban problems. The property/housing market, in this sense, is viewed as one of the main areas of problems, considering not only the relevant diffusion of the centralities, but stressing quite strongly the social fragmentation trends and cohesion difficulties. The calls for stronger social

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[7] Considering, therefore, actors who have the Portuguese local scale dimensions as 'stage', but do not interfere at all within the AML governance. The objective was to analyse different Portuguese local positioning, that could counteract or reinforce the above extended analytical dimensions.

policies – naturally, mostly dependent on the public administration realm – also address these opinions;

iv) The development of new types of symbolic capital in the city, reframing territorial identities, is very much seen through the festivalisation of urban production, strongly linked with project-driven policies and deficiencies in the development of collective and public urban reproduction spaces. Urban cultural perceptions, the consequent appeal towards a more active citizenship, and the concomitant "trigger" role from the public authorities, developing informative and partici-patory instruments, are undoubtedly understood as one of the most important dimensions to tackle Lisbon urban problems. This means the enhan-cement of the urban perceptions and urban social representations by the different actors;

v) Lingering this enhancement of higher urban perceptions with the tackling of the fragmented political and institutional settings, a convincing tonic is overall stressed in the efforts towards actor's cooperation, partnerships and negotiative-driven urban management. Once again, this argumentation focuses quite strongly in the development of collective strategies and collective projects.

The focus proposed is, obviously, the focus on the governmental dimensions, and the proposals come both from the inductive investigations and the researches upon more conceptual arenas. The points above synthesized give fundamental clues and drive paths to what I would call the main "Lisbon government challenges". The following systemization is, therefore, a much more sustained development of analyses initiated before (see Seixas, 2000).

Certainly, each of these challenges is not directed to only one of the topics above stressed. Instead, in my view these challenges follow a transversal line of thought, precisely to address as far as possible the different issues that the analysis of the city's challenges, and the ideas of the actor's themselves, strongly state. Therefore, if the political and institutional fragmentation must surely be tackled by a more integrated political culture, that will be not enough – a fundamental enhancement in pro-active attitudes can certainly steer those efforts. In the same sense, the enhancement of the urban perceptions and social representations by the different actors comes not only from a searched pluralistic and participatory dynamics, but also from the wills of the civil society itself to participate and commit to relevant urban issues.

Table 4 - Lisbon Government Challenges

A - A more decentralised, but integrated political culture of reflection and decision-making processes
B - The development of an organisational structure focusing on strategic and substantive planning
C - The evolution towards a more pro-active, productive and negotiative culture in the public institutions
D - A reinforced envisioning dynamics towards more pluralist and participatory processes and instruments
E - The embeddedness for civil society movements and third-parties to participate more actively in urban planning and its processes

Through the conducted fieldwork, there were also made interviews to Portuguese experts in the areas related with the urban management and government dimensions. The questioning of these experts was searched in directly consolidating or questioning the investigation directions suggested above. It is followed a similar one-entry table synthesis:

Table 5 - Lisbon Government Challenges and Portuguese Experts Positioning

	Decentralization Integration	Strategic Anticipative Planning	Institutional Pro-activity	Pluralist Processes	Civic Participation
Expert 1	Municipal Cooperation	Private / Project driven interests	Processual bureaucracy / political powers	Collective City Project	Lack of cultural perceptions
Expert 2	Municipal Cooperation	Partly ... urban planning	Administration ...	Private interests	Lack of cultural perceptions
Expert 3	Fragmented local and functional responsibilities	Private / Project driven interests	Discretionary political processes	Discretionary political processes	Civic empowerment
Expert 4	Lack of strategy ...	Partly ... urban planning	Legal ...	...	Lack of cultural perceptions
Expert 5	Fragmented local and functional responsabilities	Local government tensions	Discretionary political processes	Corporatist interests	Pedagogy / Cultural pereceptions
Expert 6	Central Government	Planning ... limitations	Pro-activity administrative processes	Lack of ... and incentives	Civic empowerment
Expert 7	Central Government	Administrative Public culture	Lack of tools and incentives	Lack of tools and incentives	Lack of cultural perceptions

Following a similar reasoning, there were also made several interviews to foreign experts, now obviously not considering the specific framework of the Lisbon management situation, but nevertheless around the main fields of urban governance issues and debates considering the most relevant vectors, which naturally include the Lisbon's challenges areas too. These interviewees include experts both in Barcelona and in London. They are, therefore, also quite important in the consubstantiation of the desired interpretative paths. Concerning the Portuguese situation, it can be said that the questioning of urban governance has still a quite reduced debate, albeit somewhat steadily rising, mainly through the investigation arenas. It is quite interesting to verify that the academic bibliography produced in these areas, with some notable exceptions, is very short. In the political and administration spheres, any sort of reflection resulting in relevant policies, statements or some sort of "white papers" is quite little, although most of the actors feel quite strongly its urgencies. Obviously, this situation reinforces even more the importance for a critical debate in the urban government areas.

Critical Analysis

There is the necessity to have a critical sense in front of the vast (and diffuse) vectors that, by a myriad of forms, influence the evolution of our cities, and of its urban management evolution. If the vertigo of change seems definitely installed, an immanent reality driving decisions that strongly affects city's evolution, we have, as Lash proposes (1999), to try to understand and have a critical positioning upon which emerging principles and new types of legitimacies might be in construction. I believe that it is through this critical understanding between the cultural and spatial domains that a new human geography, and consequent territorial political action, can be sustained.

A similar reasoning of fundamental interpretative accompaniment is linked with the proposed emphasis in dynamical flows: the search for the comprehension of the conduction of the processes of social and urban change (Guerra, 2000). That is, and reminding again the theses of thinkers like Touraine (1978) or Crozier and Friedberg (1977), to consider the system in a permanent evolution, where social change is understood as an 'action system' driven through actor's positioning and strategies, power and influential mechanisms, relational models, processual fluxes, collective norms, codes of conduct and codes of reasoning. Therefore, concrete developments and degrees of openness, of democracy and responsiveness in front of the social urban needs will depend on how actors act and seize over the processes, opportunities and forms existent in this complex and diffuse period.

As seen in this analysis, the evolution of the gaps in urban management is enhanced by vectors

such as the conjunction of a non-proactive, even demissionary state attitude, in front of growing production of symbolic, mercantile and casuistic activities. In fact, the desired development towards effective governance dynamics and collective city projects seems quite difficult in front of diffuse social and cultural motivations in the urban enhancement. Therefore, which possibilities might drive change in those directions? The emergence of a more pro-active attitude by crucial actors in the urban arena – namely the state – or a series of re-active attitudes, by consequence of the inevitable social, economic and ecological pressures before the present city's paths – which will deal, at least at a primary point, to harder, but continuingly purely technical and casuistic approaches? What seems obvious is that in front of these necessary (and inevitable) vehicles of change, tensions and expectations will rise in the complex social interplay – as analysed before (Seixas, id.).

In the metropolis of Lisbon, it seems vastly consensual the urgency to address and to tackle the main challenges the city is confronting today. The continuous loss of centralities vitality, the infinite suburbanisation processes, the fears of social fragmentation, the guidance of territorial occupation (and urban identity itself) through symbolic immanent and mercantile flows, all these vectors develop quite worrying gaps and internal fractures. Meanwhile, and alongside with difficult perceptions and understandings upon these different city's dimensions, the state apparel crisis enhances the development of new forms of urban regimes, providing growing differences between 'institutional city power' and 'effective city empowerment'. That wouldn't be a big problem if alongside with the loss of institutional rigidity, more strategic, substantive and pro-active forms of collective governance were being created. At least until recently, it seems hard to believe in such an endeavour. In fact, formal vehicles of power, both institutionally and processually, find harder to act upon growing fragmented strategies, purely technical dominated processes, and informal political influences.

These gaps and "blanks" in the public institutional and legitimate power framework develop a dubious situation of "unwritten rules of permission" in city management, a relational and influential style (as analysed by Ruivo, 2000). In fact, effective growing managerial guidance both

by quite visible, but usually more invisible and de-materialised, non-legitimate private interests. This situation widens with the fast development of the "society of flows" and immanent sound-bytes in which we presently live (as Castells extensively demonstrated in 1996-98, and again when considering the main relevant challenges for urban researchers in the twenty-first century, 2002). The reticular spaces, by threads of common interest communities (DeMatteis, 1996), mostly informal and non-legitimate, extend their influences in the disintegrated city. Even if it might be understood as a quite different reality by many, I understand that the specific and more Anglo-Saxon situation of the urban *growth machines* (Logan and Molotch, 1987), a clear private sector driven urban development and strategy, stands more and more relevant for the European city situation. Especially when the power ambiances also stand upon influences and relations constructed through political interdependencies – like *political machines*, quite dependent on private resources for its aims.

Confronted with the main Lisbon challenges, most of the actors stressed their tonic upon the necessity of a strong public enforcement in collective urban strategy and concomitant action. In fact, the Lisbon governmental challenges proposed follow quite much that sense – 4 out of 5 of these challenges stand within the public dimensions.

The tonic upon the public sector relevant trigger role in the directions towards a cultural urban engagement emphasizes the questionings upon its present capacities to have pro-active attitudes. Certainly, in Lisbon, most of the statements and opinions defended upon the present action grievances and governance possibilities drove directly through its internal issues. The fragmented state stands in front of the fragmented city, when there is a dismantlement of "the perceptive frontiers of action" by immanent symbolic fluxes and populist reasoning; when we have a continuous transference of public policy strategies and responsibilities towards a diffuse panoply of organs, agents and closed discretionary political influences which main reason for action seems to be purely ego-centred; and when an administrative and normative culture contributes to purely technical and casuistic characters of regulation.

Foto de João Seixas, Expo'98, Lisboa.

Widening Dimensions

The big questionings raised form the beginning stay obviously open – nevertheless, hopefully more orientated. Three classical dimensions for extended research are proposed: a) the deepening of the research upon the state motivations before its governmental challenges; b) the analysis of the private sector and private initiatives, its market dimensions, its attitudes and influences upon the city; c) the possibilities for the enhancement of civic cultural motivations before the city.

The State Motivations Before Its Governmental Challenges

If it is expected for the state, both at the local and central level (albeit through different forms) to play a substantial part of the trigger role, it appears clear that a relevant part of the main tensions and expectations surrounding possible governance paths entrench directly with several public sector characteristics. Therefore, there is the necessity to deepen the reflections upon several topics: a) at the local/municipal level, the analysis of the forms and processes through which is made the definition of strategic priorities, the development of reflexive spaces and the decision--making attitudes; b) at the central level, the analysis of the forms through which the fused administrative and political system 2influences the city; c) by its crucial importance, the need to extend further investigation upon the most relevant areas that enhance the continuous fragmentation of the state in front of the metropolis; d) by other side, the analysis upon the readiness of the state for new types of collaborative, negotiative and contractual activity with other sectors of the society; e) the analysis of the successful cases of public pro-activity, in what forms they have become, and they stand as pro-active departments; f) The analysis of the collective project and governance wills that surely might exist in different organs; g) A special attention to specific areas of public policy that affect directly the city and its actors interplay, like the land and housing policy areas, and the financial/ fiscal flows of resources.

The Private Sector Logics Before The City

The focusing upon the private areas of the city governance is still very little analysed. Albeit considering its highly relevant positioning as strong influential vehicle in city evolution, the necessary focusing towards a deeper understanding of its logics and effective influences has still to be made. Inclusively, I wouldn't like to reduce this relevant area only to the private companies reasoning – the consideration of the specific market characteristics has also to be analysed. In that sense, and baring in mind the necessary analysis upon concrete situations, it will be important to investigate: a) The private sector logics, strategies and dynamics upon the production and reproduction of the city, and its challenges; b) The forms upon which concrete public-private partnerships are made, and in which ways they might (or not) contribute to urban governance; c) In which ways the development of more collective (or lobby) forms of private actuation before the city is being enhanced; d) The analysis of concrete market logics, namely the land and housing markets – where must be included the analysis upon the ever growing global financial influences, greatly affecting market outcomes, and obviously, having large urban consequences.

The Enhancement Of Civic Cultural Motivations

As we have seen, the analysis of the civic cultural motivations before the city is highly relevant for the governance debate. As we know, the desired pro-active sense from the part of specific and institutionalised sites passes very much through the cultural empowerment towards the urban dimensions. It would be relevant to extend the analysis upon: a) The importance of city identity, in terms of the social representations and perceptions (mostly intangible) – is the city felt like something for which citizens imply and commit? Through what forms urban commitments are embedded; b) The analysis upon the enhancement of concrete civic movements, through what forms of empowerment, what sustains them, the stake-holding dynamics, connections and influences; c) From which sectors of the society comes more incisive questionings in terms of collective reflection upon the city – and how. In this sense, the attitudes of relevant actors of the society that might contribute a great deal to urban creativity, innovation and governance, like professional sectors, the media, the university, or different types of NGO's.

As Guerra expressed (2000) when talking about the inductive processes leading through the theorisation of practice, and the consequent needed investigation-action, the finality of this type of researches has as central concern the proposal for alternatives of action. That is a difficult task – but surely a motivating one. Side-by-side with the growing vertigo of informational fluxes, immanent realities and fragmentation of spaces and scales, it

seems that for a very important part of our society there is being followed a simplistic (once again, full of symbolism) kind of "nirvana" or "hell" situation, a commodity notion which even excludes any other political possibilities (Harvey, 2000). We all know that this simplification of the debates strongly affects the city, with its complex dimensions of cultural interchanges and claims for

sustainability. Baring in mind that the city is today an experimental social and political area by excellence, it seems crucial the development of processes, both in time and in space, to critical and collective reflection, to social interaction, and to concomitant strategic and integrative building. Widening dimensions, reducing the gaps. There are certainly very good reasons to follow ahead.

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