

# INTERNATIONAL ORGANISATIONS

Capital cities and 'Downstairs Globalisation'

# INTERNATIONAL

# ECTIVES

tIP 05 | 07

ULcDH | ERIC CORIJN

REPORT 26/27 01 12

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Deltametropolis Association is a broad public organisation that focuses on shaping sustainable development in Randstad Holland. The association brings together businesses, public interest groups, research institutions and governments. Deltametropolis Association enables and works towards creating a socially supported design of the Randstad metropolitan area, focused on welfare, prosperity and strengthening its international competitiveness.

Deltametropolis Association offers a platform for discussion: it creates the space to develop new ideas and critically discuss Randstad Holland outside the usual frameworks. It is a laboratory for prioritising innovative issues and for promoting the debate on the future of Randstad Holland. In this way, the association aims to promote new ideas on the development of Randstad Holland and to help apply these in everyday practice.

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REPORT TIP 05|07

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# The International Perspectives

*Deltametropolis Association, in collaboration with the universities of Randstad Holland has initiated several projects with the central theme: the Metropolitan Functions. In this programme, Deltametropolis Association researches how facilities and urban environments can help define the metropolitan atmosphere of Randstad Holland.*

The International Perspectives (tIP) forms part of this programme on metropolitan functions. In this series, Deltametropolis Associations explores the importance of an international perspective when (re)developing facilities and urban environments in Randstad Holland. tIP is a public series of events which reflects on how facilities or activities transform an urban area into a metropolis. It consists of a series of 7 public lectures with inspirational international speakers, and 7 private expert meetings. The tIP results will lead to a final debate and a publication in the spring of 2012.

The series take place from September 2011 to March 2012. Each of the 7 lectures will take place on a Thursday evening, starting at 19.30. Every university in Randstad Holland will host a tIP, each focussing on a different specific theme. These themes are: Cultural Clusters, Social Network City, Flagship Developments, Self Organising City, Knowledge Clusters, International Organisations and Attractive City.

In each of the 7 lectures, an international speaker will present how facilities or activities are important for the development of a city or urban area. Following the lecture, representatives from the hosting University will give a reflection, applying its content to the Dutch context.

An expert meeting with selected academic, entrepreneurial and governmental guests will take place on the Friday following the lecture. The expert meeting will take a more in-depth look at the theme of the lecture, applying it to the case study. The guest speaker will then reflect on the research presented by the hosting university.

This is the report of the fourth lecture and expert meeting held at Leiden University, Campus The Hague on the 26th and 27th of January, 2012. The theme for this tIP was International Organisations and the guest speaker was Eric Corijn.

[www.theInternationalPerspectives.nl](http://www.theInternationalPerspectives.nl)

# Introduction

Paul Gerretsen

This series of lectures, initiated by Deltametropolis Association, aims to answer a broad question on urbanity, namely: what produces it? Besides the presence of the needed hardware, infrastructures, visitors, parks, and open spaces, we believe some elements are still missing.

These lectures hope to kickstart the process of formulating the future metropolitan development of Randstad Holland. The question is particularly relevant for the Netherlands as, although it is very internationally oriented, it lacks a strong, dense, central metropolitan area, which many other comparable economies do possess. Our search thus asks: can the Netherlands build on a metropolitan identity to create such a central metropolitan area? And what is needed to produce it? What functions, dimensions, collaborative formulations and elements are necessary to improve the existing centres? And where do all these functions come together? In short: how can large scale urban developments be constructed and put forward?

This fifth lecture and expert meeting was hosted by the University of Leiden, Campus The Hague (ULcDH) and the Municipality of The Hague, in collaboration with Wim Willems (Professor of Social History, ULcDH) and Erik Pasveer (Municipality of The Hague) on the 26th and 27th of January, 2012. The guest speaker was Eric Corijn, Professor of Social and Cultural Geography at the Free University of Brussels (VUB). Besides this, he is also the Director of COSMOPOLIS City, Culture and Society Research Group. In his article 'Brussels as an international city', Corijn claims that "a true 'Capital city' should be more than the mere location of the power echelons and administrative offices. It should (...) be a place where the global vision is created, produced and represented". In order to be successful, internationalisation at the top needs to be linked to internationalisation at the bottom.

As our guest speaker, we asked him to reflect on the meaning of a truly international city, with Brussels as reference point. Applying the issues that Brussels faced to The Hague, he reflected on how The Hague is currently represented through its brand as 'the International city of Peace and Justice' and the implications this has for the city. [To what degree do the inhabitants of The Hague feel associated with this unique international organisation in their city? And how can the international character of the Hague contribute to further developments in the city?](#)

In the expert meeting, Aniek Smit (ULcDH) presented her PhD research on how the municipality has dealt with the international allure of the city from a historic standpoint, and how expats have been catered for in The Hague. Erik Pasveer (Municipality of The Hague, Department of Town Planning) then gave a presentation on the spatial themes and implications for the International Zone in The Hague. This led to further discussion on whether The Hague really is an international city and whether its 'International City of Peace and Justice' brand gives an accurate portrayal of how the city functions and exist in reality.

WIM WILLEMS

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ERIC CORIJN

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# Lecture

## Re-scaling the planet Remodeling the City: Plugging into the world

Eric Corijn

Reflecting on whether The Hague can truly become the international capital of peace and justice, Eric Corijn warned that he would not be answering this question directly. After all, the answer is subjective and laden with personal perspectives and biases. In giving his lecture, Eric Corijn did offer to give his personal perspective on the matter however, and did so especially from a practical standpoint. His reflection dwelt on the issues that such a question raises and what approaches he would adopt in an attempt to answer this.

The question of whether The Hague can become the international capital of peace and justice essentially questions whether The Hague can be used as an urban project at all in the first place. And if so, it can be recognised and function as such and what conditions this would imply? Eric Corijn has

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carried out much research on the meaning of Brussels as the capital of Europe and offered to give a reflection on the issues this raised for Brussels.

### World urbanity

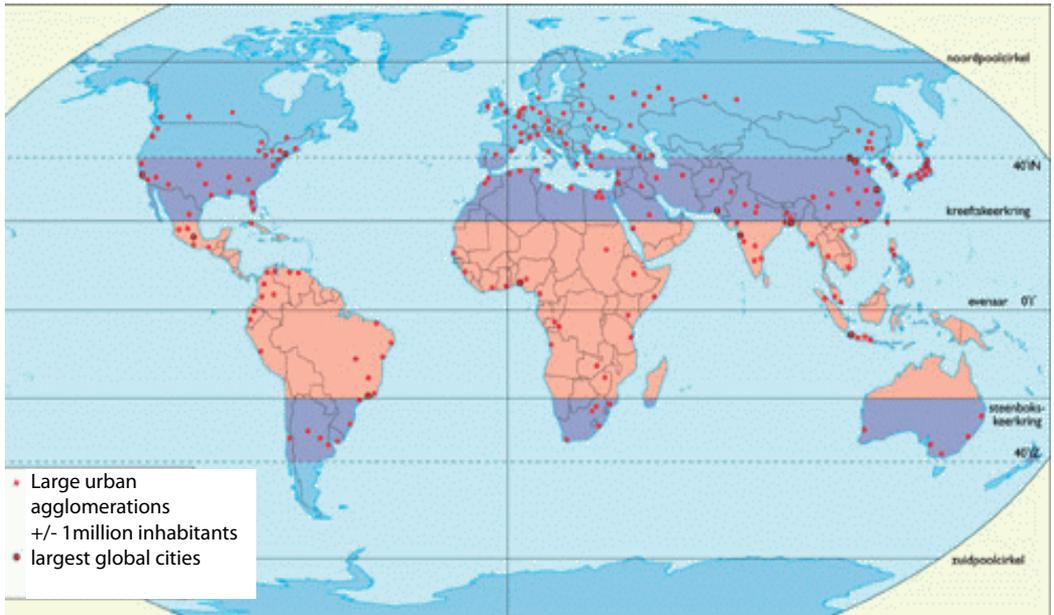
When reflecting on issues of city marketing and labelling, it is important to place the topic in context of its current climate. Urbanity is hugely growing: in the beginning on the 20th century, only 10% of the world population lived in cities, whilst today this has surpassed the 50% mark (with some of the most developed areas experiencing 80% of their population living in cities).

The radical urban changes taking place currently have two important elements. Firstly, the human species is becoming an urban citizen and our current mindset is not prepared for this. We, as human beings, men-

tally still live in societies that are non-urban: the city is still seen as the exception or the problem of our social life, as opposed to being placed in the centre of our mental maps. This is however unrepresentative of the actual world trend. The world has essentially become a rapidly growing city: a fully urbanised space that has developed out of globalisation mechanisms. The first point is thus that **urbanisation and metropolitanisation are now the norm: it is the standard situation and context of human life.**

A second important element of this change is the fact that **urban economies are exceeding their national economies.** In the Fordist welfare state period between the 1960s-1980s, cities typically performed the overall national level of performance. The industrial society of the day was thus sub or peri-urban. Today, however, most larger cities that suc-

# THE BIG CITY IS THE WORLD



## THE RENEWAL OF THE METROPOLITAN GROWTH

Reference	Metropolitan regions	1960-1980	1995-2003
Belgium	Bruxelles/Brussel	+	+
	Antwerpen	-	-
	Walloon urban regions	-	-
Netherlands	Amsterdam	+	+
	Rotterdam	=	-
United Kingdom	London	+	+
	Manchester	n.d.	+
	Liverpool	-	-
	Sheffield-Leeds	-	+
	Birmingham	-	+
	Glasgow	-	+
Ireland	Dublin	n.d.	+
Denmark	København	+	+
Sweden	Stockholm	+	+
Finland	Helsinki	+	+
Germany	Berlin	-	-
Northern Germany (a)	Hamburg	-	+
	Bremen	-	+
	Düsseldorf	-	+
Southern Germany (b)	Köln	+	+
	Stuttgart	-	+
	Frankfurt	+	-
Eastern Germany (c)	München	+	+
	Berlin	n.d.	+
Germany (c)	Dresden	n.d.	+
	Leipzig	n.d.	+
Austria	Wien	+	+
Switzerland	Basel	n.d.	+
	Zürich	n.d.	+
	Genève	n.d.	+
Italy	Milan	-	-
	Other Northern main cities	n.d.	+
	Rome	n.d.	+
	Southern main cities	-	+
Greece	Athina	+	+
Spain	Madrid	+	+
	Barcelona	-	-
Portugal	Lisboa	-	-
France	Paris	+	+
	Other main cities (without Lille)	n.d.	+
	Nord-Pas-de-Calais	-	-

Relative economic performances vs. national or sub-national reference

- a) Former FRG Northern Länder
- b) Former FRG Southern Länder
- c) Former GDR and Berlin

ceeded their post-industrial turn are performing better than their country average. In other words, “Cities make the world today”. They are the centres of activity and innovation: they contain the businesses, information technology and multicultural aspects that attract talent and thus the majority of economic activity. The success of the cities increasingly make the success of the national economy, as economic activity needs the urban centres, or some coherence in the urban centres, to thrive.

These elements of urbanity have transformed cities into nodes. Nodes in various global networks that are connected and interlinked. The spaces where these flows of exchange take place are overtaking the importance of cities as places and this has reshaped the urban situation. Urban problems can no therefore longer be resolved in

terms of zoning and separating, as Le Corbusier and other modern urban thinkers have done. Dividing urban problems into smaller, separate problems is a wrong approach: urban problems should be tackled in their real complexity and real relationship within the overall network and world system. In order to move with the growing urban trend, we therefore need to change our mindset from seeing the city as something alien, different, anonymous and full of strangers, to a frame of mind where the city and urbanity is at the centre of human society. Only by doing so, will we be able to form a true urban story (and not a territorial or national one) for cities like The Hague, that want to profile and develop their identity further.

### New Geographies of flows and connections

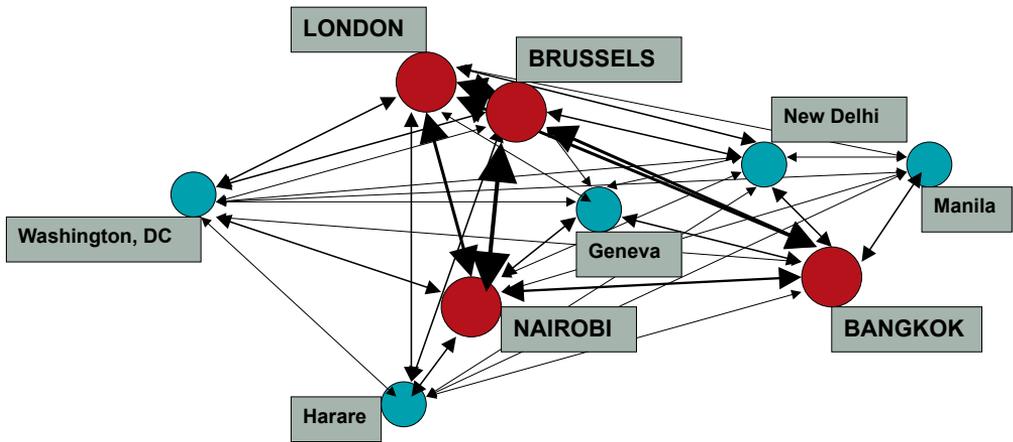
In order to transform our frame of mind, it we need to take the new geographies of flows and connections into account. Cities, and especially post-Feudal European ones, have always been nodes in connected networks. The way in which cities are portrayed in the media and daily storylines (i.e. cities as places), is therefore unrepresentative of how cities truly function. In actual fact, cities are much more removed from place: they operate at an international, inter-country, global territorial level.

Obviously, the networks all differ in terms of how they are structured and themed. Some nodes in the network are more dominant, whilst others function less predominantly (e.g. if you look at the space of flows of Non-Governmental Organisations, London and Brussels form the central global cities, whilst Nairobi and Bangkok act as peripheral dis-

patching centres). It is thus important to keep an eye on the hierarchy of the network cities in each system. If you want to develop an urban project, as is The Hague’s ambition, it is important to look beyond the city and its hinterland, and to really consider its positioning in the larger global network. After all, some flows pass through cities, and some do not, so it is an interesting leverage in thinking about cities. If the city is positioned in a way to have certain flows pass through it, then the city should try to find a way to keep them there and to relate them back to the city. It is about the opportunities and possibilities of building a locality in such a networked reality that will keep hold of these flows for a longer period of time.

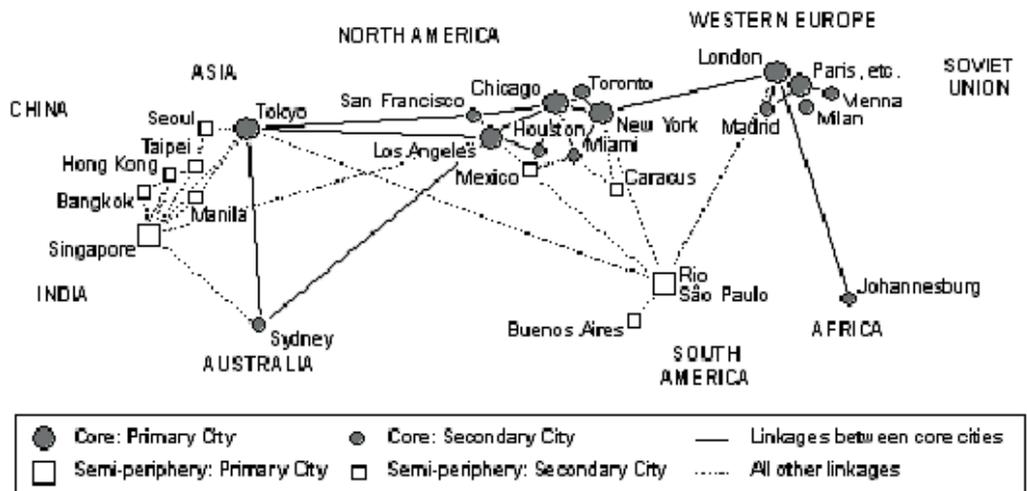
### Changing our mental maps

In presentday planning, we should adopt



Source: Taylor 2004; Presentation at Vrije Universiteit Brussel on 19 october

CITY HIERARCHIES



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a mindset towards a **triangular relationship between the world-system, nation-state and cities, instead of the current hierarchical relationship. In this way, big cities can develop their own relationship with the world-system, and that relationship will then form a subsequent relationship with the nation state.** It is comparable to a *ménage à trois*: where two can arrange themselves together to ‘cheat’ on the third one. For example, the nation state and world system can organise themselves to concentrate problems of social exclusion and systemic changes in city centres; or cities and the world system can arrange themselves to detach themselves from their national containers. This is happening around the world: the Lille metropolitan area now includes Kortrijk and Tournai, for example, and when Lille was the European Capital of Culture in 2004, its Board of Institutional Governance

consisted of 24 mayors, including the mayor of Kortrijk and Tournai. This reflects how the national container is unable to maintain urbanity within it: the development of cities today has thus moved beyond the national boundaries. This movement is dominated by two main concepts: glocalisation (a contraction of globalisation and localisation) and networking.

### What Europe?

With this revaluation in mind, the question of forming a capital city becomes more complex. In terms of making Brussels the capital city of Europe, for example, the first question raised was: of what Europe? If you look at the population distribution in Europe, Europe is by no means a homogenous territory. **It contains a centre-periphery area (a.k.a. ‘the blue banana centre’), which brings with**

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**it tensions between nations, and regional tensions within various centre-periphery zones.** These tensions (e.g. Northern Italy refusing to finance the poorer South, but still wanting to be part of Italy’s centre; a similar case with Barcelona and Andalucía; and Flanders in terms of Wallonia etc.) promote different mindsets of mental mapping. Globalisation has thus transformed our thinking, where - in the context of Brussels - **inhabitants no longer see themselves as Belgians, but as Walloons or Flemings and the political structures that these institutions involve have to adapt to this reality.**

The problem with the European project is that it is always projected as a territorialised space made up of nationstates, while in actual fact it does not function as such, but more as a central area in a network. Our current mental map of the future of Europe is thus

also flawed: it is culturally and ideally different to the existing reality of Europe, which functions as a network of flows.

### The city as a political project in the new world

The new way of urban thinking should thus see the city as a political project in the new world. The Hague should think about what role it plays in this new world: **in what areas does The Hague stand central in terms of global developments?** The Hague needs to be seen as a junction for political and social reconstruction in this sense: it should recognise that representative democracy is basically concentrated in the urban situation (and that participatory democracy and co-production are therefore basically urban agendas) and that **a city is not a country.** This latter point should be emphasised, as an



... NETWORK CITIES?

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urban culture is not a tradition, but a constructed culture. National culture is based on the idea of a common history, and this is something that cities do not possess. The image and project of creating an urban shared identity is therefore merely a product which aims to make you believe that such a position exists.

The integration model of the city (i.e. integrating strangers into the national culture) should therefore not be based on the traditional trained approaches of the last 150-200 years. This model is based on viewing strangers as problems, because they are not identical to the original, native person. This is a flawed and outdated representation as the world currently is essentially 'a world of strangers'. A new approach is therefore needed, which develops a cohesive story around the opportunities that strangers bring to a

city. This is the challenge that international cities currently face.

### Brussels: Mixity and a common destination

In examining Brussels, and its role as a capital city, it is important to place the city in its context. Brussels is after all no longer the *real* capital of Belgium. Belgium is in fact a nation state that is fading away and Brussels is separating itself from its traditional role as a national capital city. Instead, it is becoming the capital of Europe, which, in the eyes of Eric Corijn, is "the only alternative urban project for such a city".

The problem with such a construction, however, is that Brussels, as a city, is not Belgium: it is not a nation state and therefore does not represent the product of a long history. A nation state represents a continuity of

history, in which identity plays a role. This identity effectively sustains that continuity and tradition, and representative democracy takes place in such a container. Not only does it represent the possible differences, but it also guarantees the continuity of the institutions of the constitution. It thus has two sides: on the one hand, it limits the debate on that continuity and on the other, it is territorialised (i.e. a country has a border and within that border, a homogenous society is created in which the differences outside the border are greater than those within it). Urbanity functions very differently.

Developing a cohesive story for Brussels can be tricky to say the least. It is a city in which 56% of the population does not have Belgian roots. It is made up of two communities in a single Federal state, effectively meaning that there are two different cultural

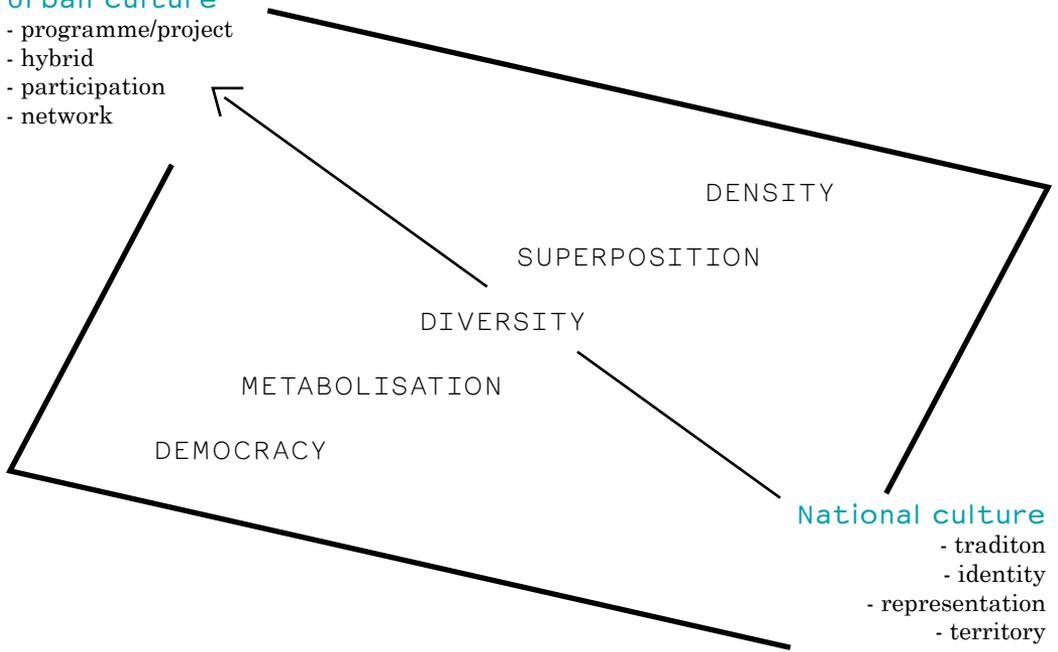
integration mechanisms within the same city. Neither of those truly speak to the majority of the population, which is characterised by mixity: 42% of households are multilingual for example. This means that within the national project, parents need to choose whether they will send their children to a Flemish or a French-speaking school, both of which have their own separate traditional approaches of integrating their pupils into the national community. This simply does not work. The sociology of Brussels cannot be told in terms of a common tradition and common roots, as this simple does not exist.

What Brussels does have, however, is a common destination. The inhabitants of Brussels are forced to share the city with each other, and this is their common destiny which needs to be formulated. Unifying the city of Brussels is therefore more related to

# A CITY IS NOT A COUNTRY

## Urban culture

- programme/project
- hybrid
- participation
- network



## THE BRUSSELS CASE



building a project than related to a shared history and tradition. It therefore also has no strong identity. In this sense, it could be described as a building site without a master plan: Brussels is a combination of various differences, where construction and destruction is taking place and where it is impossible to define what the future outcome will be. This urban project is thus made viable through its hybridity, mixity and marginal interfaces: all of which are extremely difficult to represent. Politically it is almost impossible to truly represent the population and their needs. For this reason, participation, co-production and frequent opinion polls are essential to reflect the real population of Brussels and this functions better in networks than in territories.

From a programming perspective, it should be emphasised that [it isn't the case that urban culture is growing and national](#)

[culture is disappearing. The point is that both exist simultaneously and from an analytical point of view, there is a big difference whether people interpret Brussels as a place in a country or as a node in a network.](#) These two reflections have to coexist and need to be combined in a realistic way and city marketing should be geared towards this. Essentially, it is extremely difficult to tell the story of Brussels from one perspective, as the true story is a combination of both approaches.

### Brussels: the capital of Europe

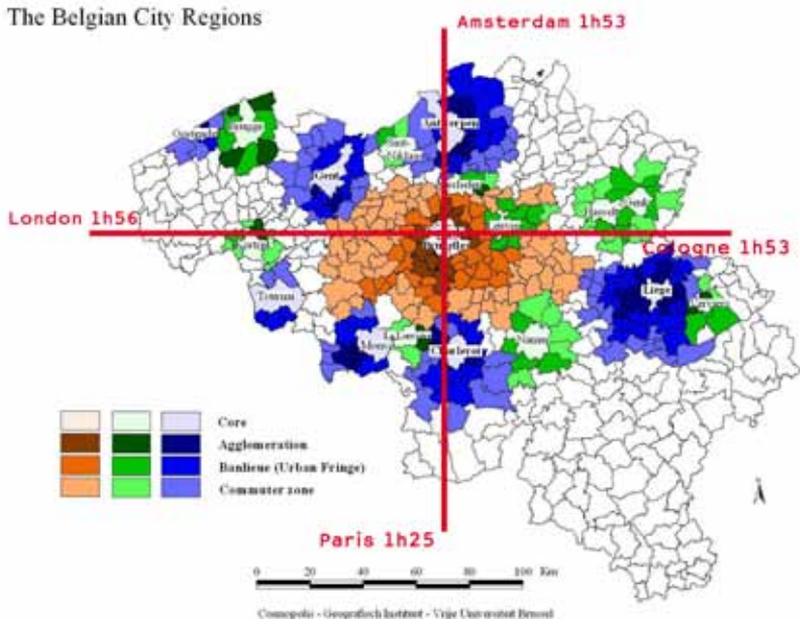
As an urban region, Brussels accounts for one third of the national economic production. It is highly connected with the other (inter)national zones (much more densely than Randstad Holland for instance) and could be compared to Los Angeles as a big urban poly-

centric territory with multiple nodes. Within a two hour journey, you can travel to Amsterdam, London, Paris and Cologne and for this reason, it is a very attractive city.

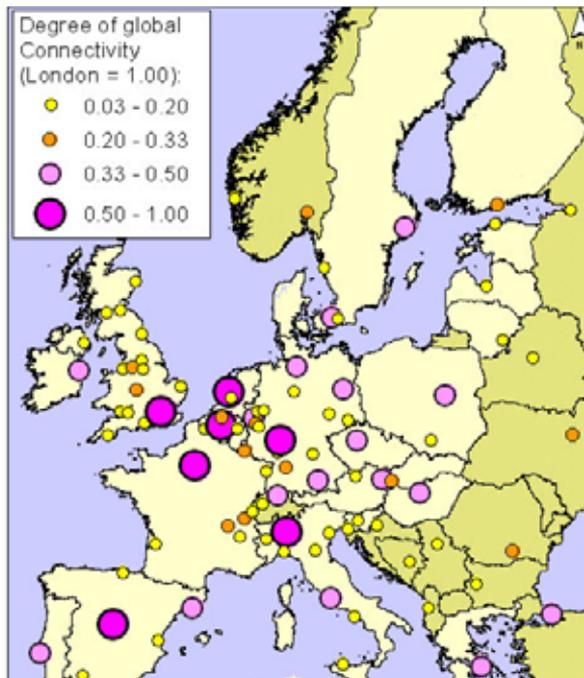
Currently, the biggest immigrant group is of French origin, and understandably so: compared to Paris, Brussels offers quick commuting routes (it is a 1.5 hour journey away from Paris, which Parisian commuters easily spend commuting within Paris itself), has affordable housing (20% cheaper than Parisian prices) and as Belgium does not impose a tax on wealth, it makes sense why many people choose to locate themselves in Brussels. This kind of connectivity is becoming increasingly important and in the future, this will globally form a whole new type of territorial map. It is thus important to speculate this global connectivity for the future.

In terms of positioning and connectivity, Brussels is very well located as a potential capital city of Europe. Not only is it a multilingual city, it also lies at the edge of the Germanic and Romanic cultural spheres and is easily (and cheaply) accessible. On top of this the presence of the international institutions that are located there cannot be ignored. Over 30,000 people work for the European Commission, 3,300 people work for the Parliament and 3,600 people work for the Council of Ministers: these are all located in Brussels.

On an annual basis, 55,000 meetings take place in Brussels, which attract over 14 million participants. These people basically come to Brussels for the day, attend their meetings and leave in the evening. Potentially, there is therefore a lot that the city can do to attract these people to different parts of



DEGREE OF GLOCAL CONNECTIVITY



source: S. Krätke, The Metropolization of the European Urban and Regional System, GaWC Research Bulletin 193

the city. At present little is done to lure these people to see the rest of the city however: the cultural sectors are not yet servicing these flows, as Brussels is too focussed on servicing a different kind of public.

Furthermore, with all the international institutions that are based in Brussels, the city has an impressive profile. It is the world capital city of lobbyists (15-20,000 registered lobbyists are located in Brussels) and it is the home for over 1,400 journalists, 300 regional representatives, over 5,300 diplomats, 4,000 NATO employees, over 2,000 international companies and 150 international lawyers offices. When added together, this accounts for over 105,000 international jobs, all purely related to the presence of international institutions in the city. If you then assume that some of these people also have families, then the estimate is between 180-200,000 people

that live in Brussels solely due to the international institutions that are located there.

In terms of territory, the majority of these people are located within one km<sup>2</sup> of the city. This is obviously located where the main European institutions are situated: the European parliament, the council of Ministers and the European Commission. The city is thus territorially affected by the presence of these European institutions.

In terms of economy, Brussels is the second richest region in Europe. Surprisingly, however, it also has a relatively poor population: 16% of its inhabitant live in poverty and one third of the youth in Brussels live in families that do not earn an income. These poor areas are mainly located in the centre of the city, which is unusual compared to other cities where the rich tend to be concentrated in the centre and the poor live in the peripheral

areas. The poorer areas of Brussels are very multinational however, with much cosmopolitan potential. What it lacks, nevertheless, is an urban project or vision to materialise this potential.

### Making Brussels a true capital of Europe

In order to answer whether Brussels can really become the capital of Europe (or whether The Hague can become the international capital of peace and justice for that matter), such a project first needs to be related to its objective position in the justice system. In terms of Brussels, the relationship between the international institutions and the city over the past 30-40 years could be described as “a bad marriage”. The development of the international institutions was not seen as

part of the urban project or fabric of the city and it thus developed in a campus-like way. Buildings were organised in a very securitarian manner, with all the services placed within the buildings themselves, separating neighbourhood life from the expat communities.

The European project, or quest in forming a European capital city, only officially became part of the European agenda following the Treaty of Nice (2001-03), however, and this changed the way that the summit meetings now function (one in every two summit meetings has to be held in Brussels). This means that, for now, the European institutions are part of Brussels and this is a fact. Whatever urban project Brussels opts for, the European institutions are therefore rooted in its urban fabric and cannot be detached from it.

A CAPITAL CITY

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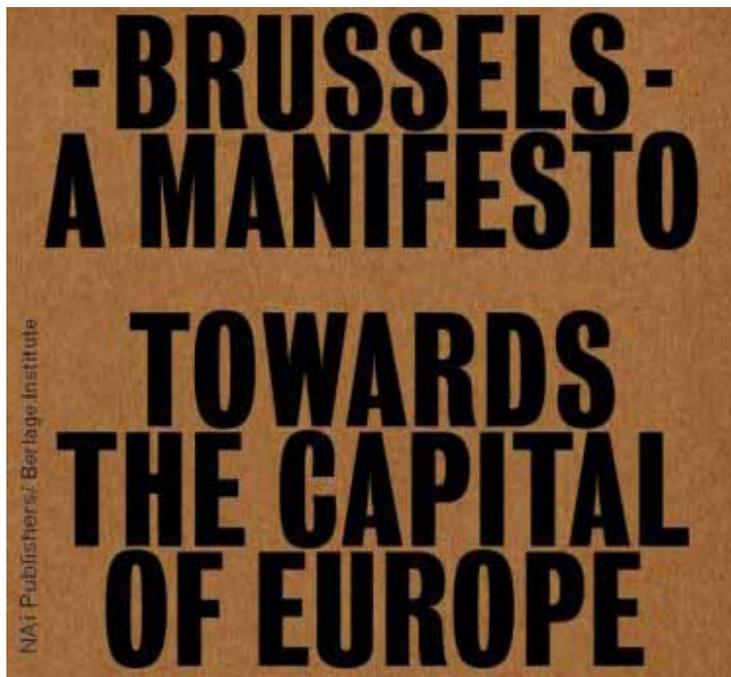


The international quarter



BRUSSELS – EUROPE

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In articulating Brussels as the capital of Europe, it is important to understand what such a title entails. Capital cities, up until now, have always been experienced as national capital cities, which contain two main elements: firstly, it is the place where the state is located (i.e. the king/queen/president, the parliament, the administrations, the government seats etc.) and secondly, it is where the project is fuelled and imagined. In other words, it is where the great universities, important museums, artists, yearly festivities etc. are located and where the project is made tangible. In this sense, capital cities are ahead of their countries. In terms of Brussels being the capital of Europe, it fulfils the former requirement of a proper capital city (Brussels is the institutional capital of Europe), however it does not fulfil the second requirement. Brussels does *not* carry the con-

centration of people that are needed to carry along the rest of Europe, nor does it represent the creative, dynamic side of it.

The reason for this is because **Europe has no such project. Simply said, it is a constructed (economic) project with some administration and state projects.** The European project is not (yet) embedded in our mental maps: i.e. the reproduction of the mental state of people is still in the hands of the nation states. Brussels does not contain a European university for example, or a European museum: there is no common European history or great European arts festival. These type of projects simply do not (yet) exist and this has caused a big problem for the European project, because citizens cannot relate to it. The European project is mediated by institutions and administrations, and not by the cultural fields that determine a national community.

Eric Corijn's suggestion for Brussels (and any other city with similar ambitions), is therefore that these elements need to be developed. If you want to profile a city as an international or European city, you need to think about what such a city should produce, and then work with that model. This development should always be in line with the natural composition of the city, however: the social geography should never be forgotten. In the case of Brussels, this means a clear difference between the group of foreign immigrants and expats: both of which have a very different socio-economic make-up.

### Relating to the city

In attempt to answer how Brussels could become the capital city of Europe, it is necessary to first look at the relationship that its inhabitants have with the city itself. How do

they relate to it and how does it shape their daily lives? Five years ago, an authorised inquiry of Belgian staff members at the European Commission was carried out to examine their relationship with the city. This sample mainly represented Belgian inhabitants of Brussels with a relatively high income: 78% were owners of real estate for example. Out of this study, it materialised that 44% of the interviewees were frequent cultural participants, 48% were mixed couples, 38% had more foreign friends than national friends and 68% had friendship groups consisting of more than 6 nationalities. They also represented a multilingual population, with 43% speaking two languages at home and 90% being multilingual in their daily life. These people thus represent a very cosmopolitan society and form various multicultural networks.

This cosmopolitan and multilingual aspect to Brussels is hardly surprising. Belgium is divided into two mono-linguistic territories with two communities that organise institutions within Brussels in two separate sectors after all. It thus makes sense that there is much language knowledge. On the other hand these divisions can also cause problems of seclusion and separation. For example, a Danish socialist immigrant who wants to join the socialist political party in Brussels, first has to decide whether to join the Flemish socialist party or the French-speaking socialist party. The two parties do not combine or meet at a Brussels level. In these terms, there is much tension in the city and this can often lead to isolation. For the 'other' group (non-Belgians that work for the European Commission), the former representation is therefore inaccurate. This

population is much more isolated: the majority (53%) have fewer than 25% friends of Belgian origin, only 22% would consider retiring in Belgium and merely 25% are members of a local organisation. The integration and political participation in Brussels' life is therefore not very intensive. Although Belgian law allows people to vote in local elections after they have lived in the country for 6 months, only 39% of this group intended to vote and only 37% read Belgian newspapers.

When the latter group was compared to the Belgian control group (i.e. Belgians working for the European Commission), it became clear that these were much more sub urban (76% versus 46% in the control group). The majority (60%) live outside of the 'Euroghetto's', commuting to and from work and they generally have more open networks than those working for the European Commis-

sion. *This latter group may therefore be very cosmopolitan, but the city does not integrate them well.* A recent PhD study carried out a content-based analysis on the image of Brussels and the way it is portrayed in the European press. This study revealed that the majority of articles do not mention Brussels as a city, but as a European model instead: Brussels thus represents the institutions it contains. *In actuality, however, these institutions are alien to the majority of the people that live in the city. For this reason, it is very difficult to market Brussels, and work on its imaging and branding as the capital city of Europe.*

### Symbolism

In order to bring these institutions closer to its people, Brussels needs to work on its symbolism. There is currently a very low

symbolic value of the Europe quarter: up until 3 months ago, there was no centre of the Parliament and the buildings resemble mono-functional office spaces, not grand European institutes. Brussels therefore needs to put its imaginative programme forward: *if it wants to become the European capital city, Brussels needs to become the laboratory of European unification. Whether European unification will ultimately fail or succeed is irrelevant.* It is about making it an urban project. The city needs to sociologically and culturally respond to the composition of its population.

The majority of the population in Brussels is located there because, objectively, it is the capital of Europe. *It is an international city, detached from the Belgium context. However, in reality, Brussels is not represented this way.* The cultural and intellectual field in Brussels do not function accordingly. Uni-

versities are geared at either making Flemings or Wallonians: the Free University of Brussels only teaches 20% of its courses in English, for example. The programme of internationalisation in the intellectual fields of Brussels is therefore limited because the national project is overdetermining the internationalisation of the city. Because Brussels is detaching culture from language, its potential for creating a mixed, international, hybrid society is being severely restricted.

As the capital of Europe, Brussels needs to reflect Europe. This is a Europe that is wealthy and highly productive (North-Western Europe); but also a Europe that has centre-periphery tension: a Europe with a Protestant, productive work-ethic centre, that clashes, under-represents and imposes its methods onto the great Mediterranean history of Europe. These tensions bring with it dif-

ferent life-style elements and these dynamics should be taken into account as a capital city. The mental state of the city needs to relate these issues into its urban project: through its cultural approaches, institutional work, research priorities etc. This is currently not the case and Brussels simply cannot become the European capital if Europe remains seen as a patchwork of nation states with national linguistic territories and national projects. **Brussels can only become the capital city of Europe if it truly represents how Europe functions within its networked reality.**

### **Brussels: The capital of Europeaness**

In order for Brussels to truly represent Europe, it therefore needs to develop the elements of European hybridity and mixity. In this sense, Eric Corijn's advice for Brussels

is to move away from being the capital city of Europe, but to instead develop it as the capital of Europeaness; "whatever that may be". This broader title offers a more accurate representation to work towards: it has no given outcome, but an ambition of celebrating the presence of the different cultures and people. Brussels could become a European Manhattan in this sense: a global expression that brings it nearer to the world. The current urban composition and urbanity of Brussels is much more suited to such a worldly approach and can do more for the city than a national or international institutional representation can do for it.

### **Lessons for The Hague**

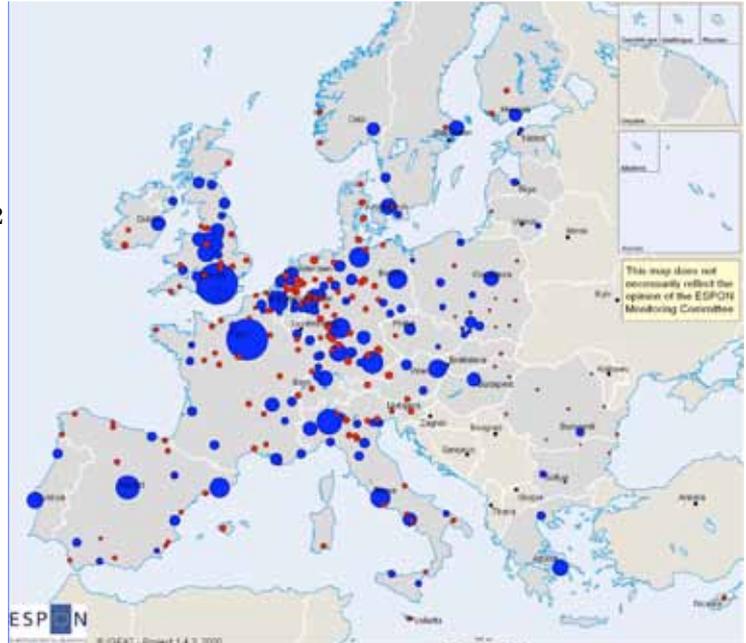
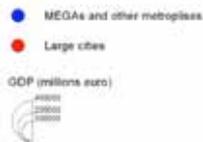
Having given a reflection on the representation of Brussels, Eric Corijn suggested that The Hague should start with an objective

diagnosis of itself. The Hague should critically ask itself in what sense it really is the international city of peace and justice: **does the title really reflect its reality? Is peace and justice really located in the city itself? And if so, in what way? How does it affect the people that make that justice? How are their daily lives shaped around it? And what is the main mission of its people?**

Forming such a title for a city brings with it many questions. Not only should the effect of such a title for the city be considered, but also **how will this effect urbanity in The Hague? What is the spatial structure and role of these international institutions? How do they affect the demography of the city? Does the city cater for the expats that live in the city due to these institutions? Are they included in The Hague's civil society and political life? Are they given room for expres-**

Large cities,  
metropolises  
and MEGAs  
according to their  
GDP

19% of the area of EU 27+2  
(Norway and Switzerland)  
gathers 60% of the popula-  
tion and 72% of the GDP.



BRUSSELS, CITY OF “EUROPEANESS”

Making Brussels  
the City of  
“Europeaness”



Brussels for Europe

### sion? And does the city adapt to their needs?

These questions raise important insights into whether such a title is even applicable to The Hague. It is important that all these aspects are taken into account because, with an international title, the city needs to be flexible and not see the existing identity as being the end product of social integration.

The Hague also needs to concentrate on its connectivity. What flows of connectivity run through the city that make it an international network? Brussels, for example, comprises many different centres that function for different parts of the world. Matongé, for instance, is the African centre of Brussels. Every weekend, 50-60,000 people arrive there to carry out business with central Africa: it is where middle Africa meets and relates to the rest of the world. The migrants that live in Matongé therefore have a foot in

another place in the world, and work with the opportunities that are offered in various multi-cultural networks. The Hague should look at these types of people in its city: after all, these people are important actors in the connectivity of The Hague. Place-marketing should thus focus on the real flows and connections of The Hague with the rest of the world.

The ultimate question, however, is not simply about city marketing and imaging. It is about more than simply labelling the city and selling it as the international capital of peace and justice. Having an international court is not a sufficient requirement in automatically making it a capital city. The Hague should therefore be a real example of peace and justice within itself. It should be ahead of other cities in terms of peace and justice. In order to make it a real part of the urban

project, this should become part of the urban programme and be part of the way that The Hague builds its own society.

To do so, The Hague needs to formulate what such a title entails. What does it mean to be the international capital of peace and justice? What does such a global agenda require? And how can the Hague fuel such a global project? This needs to be answered throughout the city: by civil society, institutions and other establishments. Does The Hague have the top Universities that qualify in global justice for example? Does it contain the best consultancies? It is thus not merely the institutional, state and power aspects of such an image that are important, but also whether it responds to, and is carried by, the local population. Once this is realised, then city marketing and imaging can be adopted,

so that these aspects of the project can be encountered in the city.

In conclusion, Eric Corijn emphasised that the most important challenge for The Hague (and similar projects) is to mobilise support from the local population. These urban projects are about connectivity: connecting the expats to the city, and integrating them as citizen and urbanites. It is about finding ways to help them relate to the city, so that they can identify themselves with the place they live in. Only then can the project be materialised (through statues, monuments etc.). Beforehand, however, the project needs to be embraced by the existing citizens, so that it becomes part of the urban debate and programme. The story, after all, is about positioning The Hague in the global order: to be a leading node in the space of flows.

## Reactions

Following the lecture, Wim Willems, Professor of Social History at ULcdDH, gave a historical reflection on the potentials of The Hague as the international capital of peace and justice. He admitted feeling pessimistic about The Hague after Eric Corijn's presentation. Since the 13th century, The Hague has been an important centre for the Netherlands. With its court, it attracted many diplomats and incredible amounts of wealth till about 1950. Its profile also attracted investments to the city: in housing and jobs and the city had a very international circle of diplomacy. Although most of these investments were short-term, The Hague benefited from it. There was even the saying in the Netherlands that, "money is earned in Rotterdam, made in Amsterdam and spent in the Hague".

The Hague therefore invested a lot in its own city, with the Kurhaus as an example of important cultural investment. Besides this, it also encloses the sea, its dunes and the well-known Scheveningen beach.

Since the 1950s, however, The Hague's popularity has declined. Amsterdam, as the real capital of the Netherlands, signifies a symbol which is known throughout the world. The Hague, on the other hand, is known by few. Its symbolism in that sense is lacking. The building that most foreigners do relate to, however, is its Peace Palace. It is what many foreigners recognise as being part of The Hague. In this sense, the branding of The Hague as the international capital of peace and justice can be portrayed through its most effective symbol. On the other hand, the inhabitants of The Hague do not seem to

relate to this symbol. They feel the symbol does not portray what is important to them and they do not feel that they are part of this concept. This is the greatest challenge for The Hague.

According to Wim Willems, the expats living in the city need to become more visible. He agreed with Eric Corijn that institutions and the architecture of The Hague needs to be more geared towards this. In this way, people can relate to the city more easily and the inhabitants can feel that they are part of its society. Although The Hague wants to be a good host for its expats, the current relationship is superficial. [The Hague's social and cultural programme is not related to expats and, in that sense, the city does not truly represent its international institutions.](#) This is something that The Hague really needs to

work on, as cities offer opportunities and The Hague has so much to offer.

Cities are the places that offer different life-styles, education, work, and where your identity can be created. Cities work as emancipation machines, and part of creating that, is through migrants and newcomers to the city.

The Hague currently comprises over 125 nationalities. All of these people, especially the second generation, have connections with their homelands. And these connections are part of a bigger network: a network full of potential for the city. For this reason, [The Hague should embrace its foreign population: it is where The Hague can thrive in, and grow to become a more important node in the global network. Only through its migrants and foreign population can The Hague](#)

become a truly international city. From this stand point, Willems suggested that maybe the Hague should focus on being “an international city”, instead of a more specific international city of peace and justice. This may open up new nodes in the global system and The Hague to the rest of the world.

Other reactions from the room made apparent that there was confusion in terms of Europe and its history. There was a disagreement on whether Europe could have a common history or not. Eric Corijn emphasised that he wasn't claiming that Europe could never achieve this. What he meant was that Europe hasn't succeeded in making a common history *yet*. Schools in Europe do not (yet) teach from European textbooks on European history: they focus on national history, with an elaboration into international re-

lations. His point was that there is currently no common history in the school material at the level of Europe. In order to form a European common history, the story will have to be at the level of the European continental space. It will have to place the actors in these spheres, without telling the story from the point of view from a national perspective. At present, this is not (yet) our reality.

Another point that was raised was that The Hague probably has more potential in becoming the international capital of peace and justice than Brussels has in becoming the capital city of Europe. The reason for this is that The Hague has a very highly skilled population. A third of the lawyers in the criminal court are non-Dutch (even non-European) and it has a very multicultural profile. What it lacks, however, is a compre-

hensive inquiry, as was carried out in Brussels. The Hague really needs such a review, as it needs to move beyond thinking in terms of infrastructures, and towards a more people-oriented consideration. In that way, The Hague can work in reverse: it can build on the culture and society that affects all these infrastructures and architectural projects.

The discussion lead back to the essence of storytelling. **If a nation is seen as an imagined community, a construction, then its people are the storytellers. If there is no story however, then the story of the place cannot be carried forward.** For this reason, The Hague should first understand what its story is, and then test it on its civil society. By doing so, it can see whether the story works: if it gives sense to the place and if people can relate to it. Only once this is achieved, can the story be

told to the world.

Merely taking on an attitude of ‘being open to foreigners’ is also not enough. These diversities are taking place in an urban project that is moving beyond the existing story, and for this reason, The Hague should look at the interface and interaction that is happening within it. From those reflections, the city can then adopt a creative storyline. In other words: only by testing the story can The Hague discover whether it really has a story to tell. Identities, after all, do not simply exist: they are the result of identification. And if The Hague does not offer a mirror for its people, then they can not, and will not, be able to recognise themselves in it.

In terms of seducing people to identify with The Hague, Corijn suggested that the most powerful symbol is one to which the ma-

majority of people can relate to. In this sense, the best symbols are open: *the broader the symbol, the more likely it is to work*. A broad symbol thus speaks to more people as they can relate to it.

Creating such a symbol for The Hague does not necessarily mean that the symbol has to be incredibly visual, full of monuments and statues. *It should be a symbol with a low profile: something which is comfortable, yet at the same time cannot be found elsewhere*. The symbol for Brussels, for example, should seduce people to think of differences as attractive, not scary. It should be a symbol where foreigners also feel at home: one that caters for all nationalities and cultures. The case of Brussels made clear, for example, that no symbol can truly represent the whole world. For this reason, it is more effective to

*opt for a post-national urbanity: one with a weak symbol, but which carries with it many opportunities through its programming*. In Eric Corijn's view, urban politics should be carried out on this platform, and not in that of national politics. Similarly, for Brussels (and Europe in general), one should not focus on making a European identity. Europe, after all, is not a nation state. Instead, Europe should become a cosmopolitan network, with a hybrid construction of citizens.

On a final note, it is important to remember that it took a century of enlightenment to open up to the idea of living together without sharing a common religion. The majority of the world population is still not even convinced of this, but the Dutch were fore-runners in this way of thinking. *The Netherlands were, in that sense, the 'champions'*

*of building a state separated from a state religion*. The 19th century was then characterised by state culture, and this organised the 20th century into an age of extremes. Unlike before, territories were fought over because they didn't share the same culture.

For the 21st century, Corijn suggested that we opt for a new century of enlightenment: *a century in which we need to figure out how we can live together without sharing a common culture. This agenda, a very urban agenda, is our challenge for the future*. After all, in present-day cities, people from various different backgrounds need to learn to live together. We need to learn to live together and form citizenship without sharing a monoculture, but in a multicultural way. In that sense, cities are the post-national project of today.

# Expert meeting

## The Hague, the international city

The International Perspectives (tIP) expert meeting forms the second part of the tIP series and aims to put the lecture from the previous day into practice through a select group of experts in the field. This article reflects on the fifth tIP expert meeting held on the 27th of January, at the Municipality of The Hague, and in association with the University of Leiden, Campus The Hague (ULcDH).

This expert meeting followed the lecture given by Eric Corijn the day before on international organisations and the lessons that The Hague can learn from Brussels (the capital of Europe), in attempt to become ‘the international capital of peace and justice’.

This expert meeting looked more specifically at the profile of The Hague: to see if it really is an international city, how its inhabitants relate to its title as the ‘international capital of peace and justice’ and how its profiling can be applied to the further development of the city. By looking at these themes, the expert meeting aimed to build on the potential of The Hague, and to see if the suggestions and ideas can be further developed, applied and implemented in The Hague’s urban programme.

### tIP 05|07 Expert team

[Onno de Bever](#) - Project Manager, Municipality of The Hague  
[Astrid Bronswijk](#) - Head of The Hague City Council Department of International Affairs  
[Eric Corijn](#) - Director of COSMOPOLIS, Brussels  
[David Dooghe](#) - Project leader, Deltametropolis Association  
[Paul Gerretsen](#) - Director, Deltametropolis Association  
[Inge Hartkoorn](#) - Reporter/coordinator Deltametropolis Association  
[Elske van Holk](#) - Director Expatriate Archive Centre, The Hague  
[Martijn Kuiper](#) - Information officer, The Hague International Centre  
[Erik Pasveer](#) - Head of Urbanism, Municipality of The Hague  
[Aniek Smit](#) - PhD candidate in History, Leiden University  
[Lars Tomson](#) - Director International Clients, ABN AMRO Bank  
[Loes Verhaart](#) - Urban designer, Municipality of The Hague  
[Astrid Weij](#) - EU Representative, Randstad Region  
[Frank Weijzen](#) - Urban designer, Municipality of The Hague

### Set up expert meeting

1. Presentations:
  - Aniek Smit (ULcDH) on The Hague as a ‘Civilised Host Nation’
  - Erik Pasveer (Municipality of The Hague) on The Hague as the International City of Justice and Peace
2. Initial responses: Eric Corijn and expert team
3. Reflective discussion
4. Conclusions

### Presentation #1: The Hague as a Civilised Host

Aniek Smit, PhD candidate at the Leiden University Institute for History, has been conducting a comparative study on the settlement processes of high skilled migrants (or ‘expats’) in post war Jakarta and The Hague. Her research primarily investigates the experiences of the expat communities themselves: who they were, how they were perceived and the development of their settlement process. These considerations are often ignored in mainstream Migration Studies, where expats are simply not considered as migrants. By using the Municipal Archive of The Hague, Smit discovered two case studies that specifically portray the migration and settlement of expats in the Hague: the foundation of the International School of The Hague (1953) and the organisation of the lecture series ‘The Country we live in’ (1955-1970). Both were initiatives in which The Hague Municipality played an important role.

The International School of The Hague came about in 1952, when discussions arose on whether an International school was needed in The Hague. Although the city had several national schools (a German school, a British school etc.), it seemed a good idea to combine forces. The municipality played a big role in bringing these schools together, as did the Peace Palace, various national embassies and businesses. The school had to meet the needs of pupils that lived in the Netherlands on a temporary basis and thus had to be able to continue their school careers elsewhere. For this reason, the emphasis was not on producing ‘citizens of The Hague’, but rather on celebrating their international backgrounds and to thus to become ‘world citizens’ (1960).

‘The country we live in’ was a lecture series organised by the municipality and the Volksuniversiteit (the Institute for Adult Education) in The Hague between 1955-1970. The programme consisted of multiple informative lectures about The Netherlands. In the

words of the mayor, the purpose of the lecture series was a form of “cordiality, hospitality and service” (1955) that The Hague wanted to offer its expats. The audience consisted of diplomats, embassy personnel, teachers of foreign schools, employees of international organisations and companies. These were described as “intelligent, predominantly Anglo-Saxon” and “mostly young and talented” people (1969). Examples of topics that were dealt with in the lectures were the political situation in the Netherlands, the Dutch legal system, paintings from the Golden Age, and urban planning.

In both case studies, the municipality played an important role in supporting and encouraging the initiatives directed at expats. By means of three discussions – concerning the diverse national backgrounds of the pupils, the housing of the school, and the cultural and political subjects treated during the lecture series – Smit showed that there were limits to the aspirations of the ‘international city’.

### The International School

The International School of The Hague faced problems in terms of housing and nationality, though these were also related to issues of funding. Although forming an international school in The Hague was agreed upon, problems of funding made the initiative a complicated matter. The municipality was initially willing to pay towards it as they believed it would be good for the city. They believed that its funding should be a collective responsibility, however, and the debate was taken to the Dutch House of Commons.

Here, the view was that the money should not come from national funding, but that the country of origin should pay for its realisation. In the end, the school was built, however the case highlighted the problem of making such decisions. More specifically, the case highlighted the thinking process behind making such decisions.

Much of the debate for the school placed emphasis on how good such a school would be for The Netherlands (not The Hague). On the other hand, involvement from both the Minister of Education and Foreign Affairs emphasised the complex nature of such a debate: it was about more than just education. The German school, which was ultimately placed in a separate building from the main building, was concerned about how relevant an 'international' education would be for its pupils. The German school was there to "make it easier for German children, that currently reside in Holland, to one day return to their home country" after all. Unlike the philosophy that the international school stood for, the German school therefore wasn't aiming to create world citizenship through its educational programme. Similarly, the British school pulled out of the programme, claiming that it was already sufficiently international and that it wanted to "stick to the English

school system, holidays, lunch breaks, philosophy and method".

The inhabitants of the neighbourhood where the international school would be placed also protested against the plans. In 1973, a petition was signed against plans to link the (national) Thorbecke school with an attached branch to the international school. Not only would a precious green area be given up to construct the building, but also the intentions did not coincide with the actual programme. The petition protested the plans, claiming that the intentions of building the international school were primarily driven by economic incentives and that the different teaching methods would hinder social and cultural collaboration between the two schools. Furthermore, they claimed that the government was giving preferential treatment to building the international school, as the demand for building it wasn't as great as the need for new buildings in Dutch schools.

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#### THE COUNTRY WE LIVE IN

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# **Volksuniversiteit gaat voordrachten voor buiten- landers geven**

Onder het motto „The country we live in” gaat de Haagse Volksuniversiteit een aantal voordrachten voor hier ter stede wonende buitenlanders geven.

On the other hand, however, the local elite supported the project. The association 'Friends of The Hague' wrote a letter to the municipality in 1976, bestowing their support for the development of the international school, claiming it would be beneficial in the general interest of the public. In their view, the realisation of an international school would contribute to an interesting sociological blend in schools ("of the utmost important these days") and it would contribute to "the viability of The Hague". The realisation of the international school therefore brought with it tensions between those who supported and opposed it. It highlighted that issues of housing and nationality can be very complex when different groups (nationals versus expats) are considered.

### The Country we live in

'The Country we live in' lecture series presented difficulties that can arise in the political and cultural considerations in expat programmes. The initiative was a result of repeated requests to create an opportunity for temporary foreigners who lived in The Hague, to help deepen their knowledge of the typicalities of The Netherlands. Expats were reached through various businesses and organisations (such as the American Women's Club) and invited to the lectures.

A problem that soon arose was the fact that it was not written in 'native' English. A response claimed that the turn-up would probably have been better if it was written by a native speaker and that the lectures covered too many (superficial) topics. In that sense, the material was more like a tourist guide for foreigners. On top of this, one of the lectures was given by P. J. Koets, a man who had experienced Dutch imperialism in Indonesia. Critics claimed that this would give a distorted, negative image of The Netherlands, and that politics should not be covered in the series because it would be difficult to tell objectively. In this sense, the lecture series backed away from giving a more robust

and well-rounded view of The Netherlands and its history.

Responses from a 1958 questionnaire reflected the desire of many participants to learn more about the real cultural, historic, social and political issues in The Hague. There was thus a clear 'demand' from the expats themselves to gain more specific local knowledge of their city and its customs.

The two case studies reflect important issues that should be taken into consideration when looking at the way The Hague caters for its expats. From its historic context, the research has highlighted two important limits to the policy of integrating expats into The Hague life:

1. **The Hague has had trouble defining its expats. In past considerations, it hasn't decided on a one-size-fits-all definition of who belongs in this group: they aren't only temporary migrants, nor merely international employees, urbanites or even tourists.** The city doesn't want to adopt either of these definitions, and this has caused confusion and tension in terms of dealing with the expats that come to the city, as it isn't clear who should then be responsible for dealing with issues related to them.

2. **The importance of the presence of expats in The Hague has been seen in various lights. Although there has been objection from some perspectives, The Hague also considers expats very important for the city and its people: for its international reputation and urban and national economy. However, the true importance of the intentions lie in the eyes of the beholder: and this true value should be questioned.** After all, for what purpose does one consider the expats? Is it from the perspective of the local inhabitants, the elite, the municipality or the expats themselves that should be taken into account foremost?

Concluding, Smit remarked that the issues raised in the 1950-70s, could still be

relevant for the current municipal policy on expats. After all, the question of how to be a 'civilized host', as the school director van der Valk termed it in 1962, is still being asked today.

For more information regarding this research and forthcoming publications on the case study of The Hague, please see: [www.hum.leiden.edu/history/staff/smitax.html](http://www.hum.leiden.edu/history/staff/smitax.html)

### Initial reactions

Smit's presentation demonstrated that [our opinions and attitudes towards expats have been paternalistic and emasculating](#). In 'The Country we live in', the programme revealed how expats were seen as people from abroad that needed to be informed and educated. Although the disposition was polite and considerate, the underlying thought was that the expat was ignorant and in need of education, to gain knowledge in order to become as civilised as the Dutch population in The Hague. Likewise, the international school example emphasised the difference between the expat and the inhabitants of The Hague. The school was not preparing them to become citizens of The Hague, but *world* citizens, within an ambivalent European background. [This temporary nature of the school thus placed a stress on difference: it portrayed The Hague simply as a 'civilised host', accentuating a 'we' versus 'them' attitude](#). According to Corijn, this self-proclaimed position should be changed. On top of this, however, the terminology needs to change, as these problems cannot be solved with such a perspective on these issues.

### Expats

Corijn's advice was to stop treating the expats in The Hague as guests, but to instead treat them as partners or co-members. [Instead of assessing the benefits of what expats can bring to The Hague, The Hague should ask itself what the existing city can bring to them](#). The city should realise that expats will never become Dutch citizens and as long as

that relationship is kept intact, it will always be an 'us' versus 'them' story. The Hague therefore requires a post-nationalist project. Instead of trying to make expats Dutch citizens, the city should try and make expats become citizens of The Hague. [It is crucial that The Hague changes its views on expats from being seen as guests, to being seen as partners or co-members of the city](#). Expats should not be seen as people that need to be taught about The Netherlands, but as urban co-members that can teach the inhabitants of The Hague about what it means to be a member of the world.

### Expats versus 'International residents'

In Corijn's view, [an urban project such as this is about much more than just supplying provisions and ensuring that the service apparatus functions accordingly](#). It is about an overall feeling of embeddedness. For this reason, the label 'expat' may not be sufficient. It is complicated, has negative connotations and implies that these migrants are always here on a temporary basis, whilst some have lived in The Netherlands for over twenty years and have fully integrated. It may therefore be better to replace the term 'expats' with 'international residents', as it is more encompassing and allows for a more open connection that isn't focussed on the temporary aspect of residency.

### Migration

With the changing patterns of migration, The Hague's migrants are also changing their profiles. [Whilst before it was primarily the international institutions that would send their employees abroad, now the city increasingly welcomes people that move to The Hague on their own account, to find a job and live there for an indefinite amount of time](#). This 'nomadic' lifestyle also changes the way that people live and the relationship they form with local places. For this reason, communication methods should respond ac-

cordingly.

Informational flyers for newcomers should communicate its messages on how the city functions in a procedural way, and not in terms of a content-based storyline. It is information for the civil society after all, not an administrative story. It should thus be informative, in the sense that it provides information on waste collection or city festival dates for example, but in a way that is clear and accessible, and makes the newcomers quickly feel at home.

In terms of communicating the development of the international zone, another approach may be needed. Many international residents have expressed their interest in the development of this project, and for this reason, it would be better to update them more regularly on the process that is taking place, because if this is done too sporadically and procedurally, they may lose interest or feel excluded.

### Communication

A problem that often occurs when The Hague tries to extend its projects to its international residents is a language issue when it comes to communication. In 'The Hague Bridge', a project aimed at celebrating the different cultures and backgrounds that the different parts of The Hague entails, a debate arose on what language the flyers should be printed in. The flyers were primarily aimed at the international residents, to make them aware of the event and to encourage them to take part, however the communication team could not agree on what language this should be conveyed in. The debate was rooted in the fact that if the flyers were to be printed in English, they should also be printed in other international languages, to make it accessible to all.

This, of course, is an impractical and complicated approach. The Hague should therefore become more decisive: it should take a stance, make a decision, and stick with it. Not only would communicating these events

in English be accessible for the majority, but it is also not the case of choosing one nationality over another. **English is not the language of the expats or migrants: it is the lingua franca in which the expats and the international institutions function. It is therefore not the English that The Hague is catering for by communicating these events in English, but the people who do not speak the local language.** If French or Arabic were the lingua franca, then the flyers would be printed in French or Arabic.

### Presentation #2: The Hague as the International City of Justice and Peace

Erik Pasveer (Municipality of The Hague), has been working on a new planning vision for the International Zone in The Hague. This is a project which is currently still in its initial stages of planning, however, and as an urban planner, he is often faced with two problems in the current climate of The Hague. Namely:

1. **Resistance to new development projects, especially international institutes.** This was the case with the Eurojust building for example. Although the building brought with it many positive aspects (it is very contemporary and provides employment opportunities), it has faced resistance from the local community. This illustrates how it can be very difficult, especially in recent economic times, to incorporate international institutions and businesses into the fabric of The Hague, and to ensure that the local community accepts and embraces them.

2. **Building crisis: Besides being a social construction, a city is primarily a physical construction. It requires funding, physical materials, engineering and investments.** Along with the property crisis, cities in The Netherlands are currently experiencing a severe building crisis. This has led to a different type of city building, in which new questions arise on how our cities can now be made in such economically challenging times.

Forming a new planning vision for the International Zone in The Hague takes place in such a context. Besides this the historical perspective is also important to take in account. After all, The Hague's building background tells a lot about its current situation, and why (and how) it can be compared to other similar international centres.

### Building The Hague: a historical perspective

Urban development is ultimately about mirroring development plans onto the actual city. In the 1900's, the development plans for The Hague were primarily focussed on growth: on developing new residential areas, with a high quality of functional and social value. These development plans really took off and the expansion was a great success for The Hague, with over 10,000 new constructions in the city alone. On the downside, however, the rapid growth has eaten away at the remaining areas of buildable space. The new buildings have become part of the existing city, and **The Hague currently has few areas which can still be developed. The focus has therefore shifted from growth, to improving existing stock.** The question for planners currently is: how can the improvement of the existing city be organised?

This question is both of a spatial and financial nature, as the current stunted growth of the city has negative consequences for its earning capacity. During the expansion period, much of the city's development was financed through its growth, directly through profit reinvestment into new expansions, but also indirectly, through population increases and all the opportunities (employment, business etc.) that that brings with it. Now that the expansion has drastically decreased, the city is facing problems in terms of its earning capacity, as the cycle is no longer feeding the system. **The Hague therefor needs a new earnings model to regain its losses and reinvest in the existing city.**

One way of doing so, is by looking at what

the city does have to offer. Although the city has faced difficulties during the crisis, **The Hague does possess potential value which has not yet been fully utilised. Examples include its property values, entrepreneurship abilities, human capital, public funding opportunities, and the possibilities that the international institutions and businesses bring to the city.** All of these attract investment and capital to a city and could be utilised more effectively. Globalisation can (and is) helping aid this process, as it brings the investment flows straight to the city. The Hague is struggling to find a way to fully utilise this potential however, and this should be changed because activating these quiet reserves can form a new earnings model: one that consists of a positive cycle of profit and investment.

This approach could be described as a strategy for the poor, as it encourages the use of the scarce means that are already available in the city. It is also a difficult strategy as the city's competitive capacity determines whether these reserves can be improved and carried further. For this reason, it is important that The Hague develops a system which encourages these opportunities. **The Hague should focus on facilitating those who are able and who have the capacity, to invest in the city of The Hague, as opposed to investing it elsewhere. This is encouraged through being an open, hospitable city and this may be what The Hague currently lacks.** Not feeling accepted or welcome in a city will discourage investment, and this therefore needs to change.

### The Hague and its assets

The Hague has a population of 500,000 people, of which almost half (48%) are not native. It has 160 different nationalities and over 270 international institutions. It is densely populated, though a very green city at the same time: 27% of its surface consists of green spaces and water. Importantly, The Hague is also a national market leader in

attracting Chinese students and scientists. Over half of all Chinese students in The Netherlands study in The Hague, and two thirds of all the Chinese PhD students. **This is important for the city, as these will be the future ambassadors of The Hague, who can also represent the city abroad.** This is yet another investment cycle that could be utilised more effectively, and The Hague should be proud of this fact. It seems, however, that the city does not quite comprehend and appreciate this fact.

The Hague has much to offer. It is a city with a vibrant city life and an impressive coastline. In 2006, it was described as a “world city at sea” and with the presence of the criminal court, it has a big international allure. Queen Wilhelmina organised the first international peace conference in The Hague, which was an important step in global conflict law. The city places much emphasis on its quality of life: it has a modern centre, a broad range of leisure and entertainment services and has invested heavily in its accessibility through its public transportation networks. The city is associated with many influential thinkers, including the architects Hendrik Berlage, who was famous for the expansion plan of Amsterdam and the design of the Gemeentemuseum (Museum of Modern Art) in The Hague, and Willem Dudok, who implemented a new structural master plan for post-war The Hague. This structural master plan was based on concentrating services, as has happened in the current day world forum cluster in The Hague. Although there has been much pride for the city historically, this is something which seems to be lacking now.

### **The Hague and other cities**

If The Hague wants to profile itself as an international city, it is important to compare it to other known international centres, to see how it can profile itself better.

**Brussels**, for example, is of a much more concentrated nature than The Hague. Brussels is also a green city, which is well con-

nected with its parks and boulevard. It is also very monumental (it has a strong relationship with its historical structure) and is very well situated, making it extremely accessible. On the other hand, however, it functions primarily as a city during business hours. In the evening, it is often desolate and abandoned.

**Geneva** is also known as a very international city. This is a city which has an advanced public transport network, which works optimally. This is also necessary for Geneva to function, as its institutions are dispersed across the city. In that sense, it is different to The Hague, as the international institutions in The Hague are more concentrated. On the other hand, however, The Hague’s international institutions are located at a relatively far distance from the cultural institutions that are present in the city. In this sense, it is similar to Geneva, although these are spread over much larger distances in Geneva. The dispersed nature of Geneva has the benefit of simplifying issues of security as the more concentrated an area is, the more problems it experiences in terms of security measures. However, providing security for dispersed institutions comes at a greater cost than providing security for areas which are more concentrated.

**Vienna**, also an international city, is rather dispersed, although the institutions are spread over various clusters. These clusters have a relatively concentrated centre however. This has a cost benefit in terms of providing safety, but also hinders its accessibility for cars and has caused difficulties in planning for the public pedestrian areas. The rest of the clusters are highly accessible however, and these make optimal use of their public spaces. The city is also known for its hospitable nature: this is arguably part of the Austrian culture, making it an attractive city for international institutions to locate themselves in.

Compared to these cities, **The Hague** has a relatively large green zone and its institutions are very centrally concentrated, between

## BRUSSELS

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## VIENNA

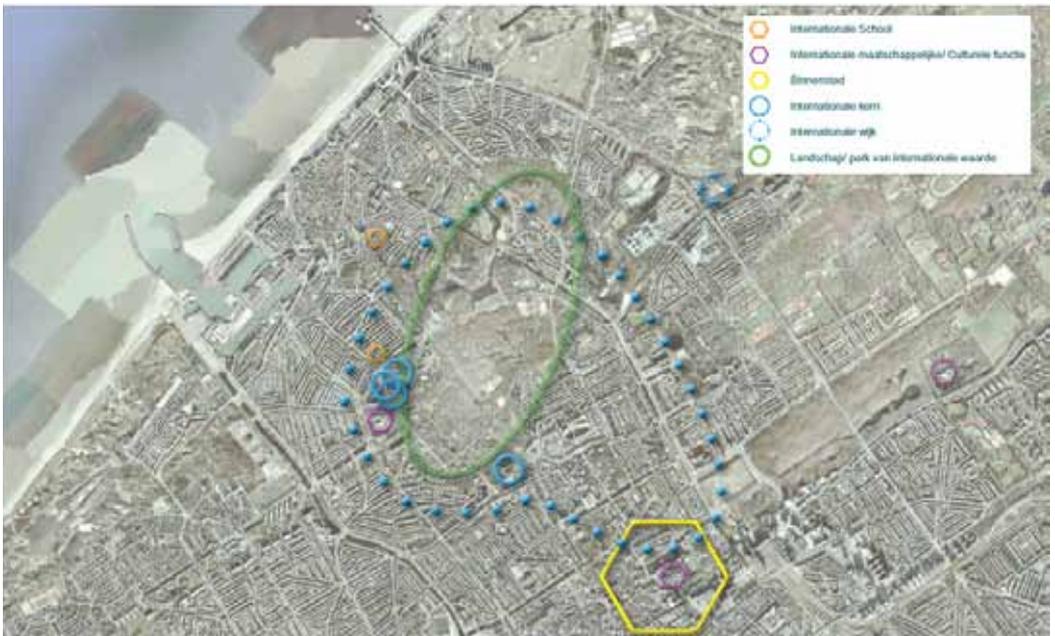
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## GENEVA



## THE HAGUE



the centre and coast. This has the benefit of being very accessible and enabling other services to also concentrate in the area.

In terms of security, however, this can be a hindrance for the city. Whenever important international functions occur in the city, half of the city needs to be barricaded, with standoff zones, bomb-free bunkers, fences, cameras etc. This can cause tension with the regular inhabitants of the city, who have to put up with these changes in the city every time these events take place. **The open spaces in the city could therefore really do with improvement, to negate the frustration and tensions that come with these public events and to improve the link of the city with its social and cultural surroundings.** It is important, however, that the international institutions remain accessible with these changes.

Although the international institutions are very concentrated, they are located at a relatively far distance from the cultural clusters. For this reason, the municipality has recently decided to concentrate the most important ones in a central zone.

The international institutions and businesses in The Hague are good for the city. They help improve the city image, create employment opportunities and, in that sense, increase the quality of life. On the other hand, however, the employees that work for the international institutions tend to receive a higher income than the average citizen in The Hague. This has consequentially raised the housing market prices in parts of the city, contributing to higher segregation levels and tension in certain areas. Nevertheless, The Hague does have some beautiful areas; some of which are still growing, which is unusual during these times of crisis. There are still some areas that The Hague would like to further develop, but, as stated before, these are limited by the lack of available space and lack of funding.

In short: The Hague has a lot to offer. What is missing, however, is a clear idea of what connections link all these different economic

assets, so that these can be better utilised. **The Hague wants to move beyond its image as ‘just another international city’: it wants to be a biotope for international institutions which have spinoff connections to other international oriented activities around the world.** In order to do so, the issues holding this ambition back need to be addressed. The Hague should thus find solutions in dealing with the obstacles (the resistance) that financing, security, internal tensions and increased housing prices cause, as this will make the city more attractive to all. With the planning for the international zone in the city, The Hague hopes to achieve such ambitions.

Pasveer concluded with three questions that the municipality is currently struggling with, and which he hoped would be tackled in the expert meeting. Namely:

1. How can we connect and link the phenomenon of being an international city with The Hague as a city? With its mood, its tradition and the daily lives of those that live there?

2. How can the significance of the international institutions be communicated better, so that this becomes an integral part of the identity and meaning of The Hague?

3. How can we strengthen the symbolic quality of the cultural embeddedness of The Hague?

## Reflections

Following the presentations, the expert team went into discussion about the issues and questions raised in the presentations and lecture.

**Question #1: How can we connect and link the phenomenon of being an international city with The Hague as a city? With its mood, its tradition and the daily lives of those that live there?**

Eric Corijn opened with a positive reflection, saying that in his view, **The Hague “has**

all the ingredients necessary for a potential urban project". The obstacles that The Hague needs to overcome seem a lot less complicated than Brussels, at least in theory. While Brussels' project needs to solve the European problems, as well as its own internal conflicts, The Hague's ambition to be the city of peace and justice requires an 'easier', broader context of internationalisation.

In order to become the international city of peace and justice, The Hague needs to ask itself an important reflective question namely: *is there peace and justice in The Hague? Beyond the institutions that represent these principles, does The Hague encompass peace and justice within itself? And is The Hague a better representation of these principles than other cities in the world?*

### The world system

The 'International City of Peace and Justice' title encompasses something that is truly unique. It cannot really be found in any other city and can be profiled clearly. It therefore has the potential to really work, but only if the city makes some clear choices. If The Hague thus chooses an agenda in which the meaning of an international city of justice and peace is represented, it should dare to think radically and reconsider its positioning in the world. *The Hague's relation to the world should first be put on the agenda: the city is much closer to the world than it is to its nation after all.* Following this, its relation with its surroundings should be considered (and not the other way around, which is what we've historically been trained to do). This calls for a radical discontinuity.

### The Hague's position in national and foreign policy

The Hague needs to become more daring in terms of forming opinions on matters of the law, whether in internal or foreign policy. For example, in opening the debate on the Israeli conflict. If the city dares to take on a clear position in the debate, The Hague will then

represent the real issues that surround such themes. Currently the municipality is reluctant to take on any clear views of matters of peace and justice however, as it does not want to be discriminatory or cause conflict with minority groups living in the city. *In order to be a true reflection of its theme, however, it would be good for The Hague to be more daring and take on a clear stance.*

In saying that, it is extremely important that the issues are covered deeply and from a well-rounded viewpoint, and that the argument goes beyond 'just an exhibition'. It needs to be surrounded by a public debate and deeper discussion. For this to effectively happen, *the municipality needs to get a clear view on all the initiatives, projects, programmes and issues that are already taking place in the city. It can then use this information to inter-link themes or create connected events.*

### Visibility

The city hall is currently trying to represent The Hague's situation by using its hallway for exhibitions on current political themes. The exhibitions programmes are small scaled and the story and connection to The Hague is currently unclear. If The Hague really wants to embrace the theme of peace and justice, it should thus really go for it. *The hallway could become a real platform for communicating these messages and the programming should be reorganised, to make it a busy, happening city laboratory that carries this story.* This, along with other programmes that are trying to communicate the peace and justice theme, are currently being hindered by the fact that its organisation runs through a communications department that doesn't quite seem to understand the meaning of the theme for the city.

Many projects that apply for support through them, do not receive the funding or feel unimportant, which is baffling, considering that the notion of the 'international city of peace and justice' is the central theme of the city, not of the individual projects. Many ex-

isting grassroots projects thus have difficulty in finding funding through the municipality. This is a big problem because many are consequentially left out of the projects that the municipality organises. Many grassroots organisations therefore feel unwanted and excluded, and it is important that the city changes this approach, to find new ways to look for these projects and stimulate their existence. Many cultural institutions, like theatres, are very successful at bridging gaps between people, and these function well in cities. The Hague should therefore support these connectors, which are currently being insufficiently exploited. In short: **there is an internal problem in the municipality and its communication department is not using this theme to its full potential.**

### Operationalising the urban project

Obviously The Hague has more to offer than just justice and peace, but these do not all need to be communicated in its overall theme. The theme should be thought out more deeply, to truly capture the nature of the city. It is about making the theme operational: giving it real meaning and giving The Hague something to work with in order to reflect what the city stands for.

The benefit of adopting such a central theme, as The Hague is attempting to do, is that its foundation lies in a potentially universal assumption. This theme needs to structurally trickle down to all parts of the city, so that all those who live in this context experience it as such. Only at this stage will the city be able to determine whether this theme works or not. Furthermore, horizontal thinking should be adopted, so that the spatial programme is combined with the other components of the programme, to ultimately form the overall urban project in alliance with the civil society.

The city could then apply this theme at different levels throughout the city: in primary schools, in residents committees, in the

development of programmes etc. The expats and people working for the international institutions should also become more involved: their role is not only to teach about the world, but also about being co-responsible for the place and space they take up in the city.

### Debate

This theme should be applied wherever possible, to really make peace and justice a central theme in the city. This can then also contribute to challenging the intercultural relationships and tensions in the city, **changing the debate from one focussing on traditional differences, to one about equality for all.** A whole programme and debate can come out of such an approach, changing the ‘us’ versus ‘them’ relationship, to one based on human rights.

In adopting such an approach, **the city should be careful that the debate doesn’t become tedious.** The themes should be realistic and not forced upon people. The inhabitants of The Hague need to feel that the message is attainable in order for it to be carried effectively. Once this is the case, the message will trickle through to the international administration, and they can then ensure that the labelling is carried out effectively. This could start off at a very small scale, through a festival for example. Once the stage is reached that people feel connected to the theme, people from elsewhere will be drawn to the city through its authentic nature. The theme will then become inherent to the city, which will enhance the feelings of pride amongst its inhabitants. Or, in Corijn’s words: **“Just as Mancunians believe they are good footballers, the inhabitants of The Hague will feel they are good at justice”.** In this sense, urban patriotism can be trans-cultural.

### Laboratory

To facilitate connections and collaboration, the University of Leiden (and its campus in the Hague) could function as a laboratory in which debates concerning peace

and justice take place. This might relieve the pressure on municipalities to take a clear stance on these matters, however the debate would only be effective if it is steered properly and covers a wide range of views. This debate platform would also offer the municipality different viewpoints on how to plan The Hague, and would open up the questions into a broader process. The more interdisciplinary the approach, the better the result after all.

Leiden University is a good candidate to bring The Hague into such a debate, however it should be remembered that it is an educational institute. This means that real participation may be limited as Universities often research subjects from the perspective of an objective outsider. Having said this, its role could be broadened to not just carry the debate further, but to also inform the public and pursue issues in the public sphere.

### Centre for knowledge

Besides forming a laboratory for debate, The Hague could also benefit from setting up a centre for knowledge. This shouldn't function as part of the municipal administration or as part of a university, but as something between the two, in order to remain contextual.

In Brussels, a similar centre was envisioned under the title 'Brussels Studies Institute'. This formed out of an agreement between three universities, the city region, the Board of Directors and various representatives from the civil society. **This type of centre could help The Hague tackle various issues and could be driven by intellectuals who's interest lie in these fields.** For example, pensioned intellectual baby boomers that are no longer hindered by institutional requirements, and want to contribute to knowledge development and think of new questions and answers to the problems in current urban planning debates.

### Sister cities

Besides these points, it is also important

to continually create an imbalance. The world is currently experiencing a crisis of transition, and this is something that has occurred again and again in global history. Imbalance and uncertainty should therefore be built into our structures. **From this perspective, it may be easier to see the city of The Hague as a functioning node in a global network, as The Hague does not function on its own. It could be a good idea to pick a couple of common sister cities to which The Hague can connect. This will broaden its theme and context, and will enable knowledge transfer and participation. This, in turn, will also strengthen the different nodes, as they will function better in the network when knowledge is shared.**

From this perspective, it is important that The Hague understands its strengths and weaknesses. The city should evaluate what it already has and see how it can enhance this. These strengths can be told elsewhere as benefits that the city already incorporates and which other cities can learn from (through evidence, not touristic marketing). As a city, The Hague could therefore really benefit from a well-functioning network of international cities. Through growth and a broader context, this network can help the city realise its ambitions. In other words, this structural effect on the world will place the central theme in a global context.

In terms of practical advice, it could be useful to look at how the European Capital of Culture project (tIP01 | 07 covers this topic in more depth) tries to incorporate all the different aspects of its title into one. The European Capital of Culture is, after all, a project which tries to connect and embed the hardware and software aspects of city life into a collective cultural project. These lessons could then be combined with Eric Corijn's suggestions, in order to develop the next step for the specific use of the analysis and research.

### Practical advice

Whatever approach The Hague decides to take on, it is important to remember that its

citizens are its capital. If the theme is carried out half-heartedly, few will feel connected to its ambitions and people will simply not care. On the other hand, if its implemented too forcefully, people will reject it. There should thus be a careful balance as to how the theme is implemented, especially because the theme is also highly ambitious. For this reason, it should become an urban project for all. It needs to be implemented together, but in a nuanced manner. **The programme should thus incorporate various projects, all of different sizes and capacities, but with a common ambition: to form a connected tapestry that mirrors the city through its central theme of international peace and justice.**

**Question #2: How can the significance of the international institutions be communicated better, so that this becomes an integral part of the identity and meaning of The Hague?**

### Internationalising or zoning

It cannot be disputed, at least in economic terms, that international institutions are beneficial for The Hague. The institutions alone bring €3 billion to the city annually, and with each job that is created at the institutions, another is created for a local resident in The Hague. So the economic value of the institutions is unquestionable.

In terms of choosing a method, **The Hague needs to decide between either internationalising or zoning. Currently, both concepts are being used, which is contributing to the confusion of the city's mental map. If you want a truly international city, a transnational, worldly, global city, then zoning is excluding!**

### Mental map

The city should not undermine the importance of the mental maps of its citizens. This mental map, after all, is not only the orientation of the framework of meaning and pur-

pose, but also the course of the immaterial, symbolic order of the city. **The question is thus: how do the inhabitants orient and familiarise themselves with the built and lived environment of The Hague? It is the task of the municipality to answer this question: to see how the institutions function with regard to the inhabitants.** In this sense, there is a dramatic difference between management and administration. Radical changes are needed in the approach: from a vertical, hierarchical management position to a horizontal, project-based development approach, built on giving direction.

### Included and integrated

If the international residents represent such an important role in the city, it should be plausible for the city to approach them. With their great influence, they should be encouraged to give something back to the city: to take the lead in sharing what they do, or what their institutions do, and to thus integrate this within the urban project. This will help get them out of their 'gated communities', encourage interaction and make their story recognisable to the other residents.

In practice, this is easier said than done however. Several of the organisations present in the expert meeting have tried to do this in the past: they tried to involve the international residents in doing something for the city, or to stimulate grassroots programmes based on enhancing city ties, however **once the issue of funding and money was involved, the programme died out and people lost interest.** The reason for this is that the international institutions are not allowed to spend their budgets on such programmes. How can the cycle be broken?

Instead of offering funding, **the international residents should look at what it is that they can offer.** They can facilitate processes, for example, or make their buildings accessible for these types of interaction. In that way, they can still involve themselves in the urban project and do not have to exclude them-

selves. The Hague needs to stimulate these connections with its international residents, so that they feel accountable and responsible for the locality they are taking up.

One of the suggestions that came out of the expert meeting for the municipality dealing with the International Zone was that they should really look at the profile of the people they are planning for. These people tend to have a broad background, have seen (and lived in) many places and The Hague can learn from their stories. These people know what they like and what makes a city truly accommodating to them. The Hague should use the panels of knowledge that are available to them through these international residents in order to learn how the city, and particularly the International Zone, can be improved. The municipality currently has a very reserved stance towards such practices, as they have never tried such an approach before. This should not be a reason why it cannot be attempted, however, as it may prove to be very valuable.

### The voice of the city

Eric Corijn disagreed with the recent urban managerial model that compares the city to a business. According to him, the city should be perceived from an artistic standpoint instead: the city as the director of our society, away from only its institutions and businesses. After all, if you only give voice to the institution and businesses, then the city only operates in terms of management, not in terms of giving the city direction. It is therefore important that the whole system is represented and that is all encompassing. It is about giving direction, and not being the leader necessarily. After all, in a theatrical play, the director's role is not to be the boss: it is to give direction and ensure that all the actors realise the project and to let them shape this reality.

This issue is therefore not about city marketing: it is about participation and really carrying forward the urban project. In or-

der to do so, the city needs to be aware of the fact that it cannot become the international capital of peace and justice with the cultural capital that it currently has. City marketing should therefore be directed at the civil society and community of The Hague, not the institutions, in order to become effectively plausible. These ultimately present the true framework for meaning and merit in the mental map of people, whilst the institutions and morphology around them are merely the carriers of the project.

**Question #3: How can we strengthen the symbolic quality of the cultural embeddedness of The Hague?**

### Citizens

Planning a city is not necessarily a true representation of how a city will ultimately function in reality. Just because it works as a concept on the drawing board, does not mean that this is how the city will be used in practice. This is often a representation of the difficulties that architects, urban planners, managers, administrators and the municipality face. Having said that, however, it is also good to have a great ambition for a city. Although the ambition may currently seem implausible, it is good for a city to have such high ambitions. The urban population just needs to break the habit of perceiving themselves as clients, and instead see themselves as real inhabitants of the city. They need to become citizens so to speak.

Citizens, in this sense, represent people that feel they are the caretakers of a global city: a city that caters for a world citizen at every level within the city. This may be an illusion or utopic, but it does not mean that the city cannot strive towards such ambitions. The Hague should try to find a way in which the differences and frictions that come with being an international city, especially one which represents peace and justice, becomes something which is enjoyable, as opposed to

unpleasant. After all, if peace and justice is about anything, it is about dealing with friction in a sophisticated manner. A horizontal thinking approach should thus be adopted and carried out, to ensure that the institutions will function in this way.

### Value creation

Although the city realises the importance of the form and content that such a theme should take on, and the value of having a clear identity which is continually projected, it is struggling with communicating this significance to its inhabitants. In this sense, it is useful that the theme is broad, but not too broad. The latter case would carry the risk of alienating some of the international residents, as the needs of a seasonal worker are different to those of a longer-term expat for example.

Referring back to Pasveer's presentation, it was suggested that instead of expressing value in terms of money, it may be better to use the term 'value creation'. Value, after all, encompasses more than just money. It can be the natural cultural embeddedness of a place: having a local French bakery on your street for example. This cannot be expressed in terms of money, but creates a real value that connects people. By emphasising the different aspects of value, the true significance of that value creation can be expressed.

### Hospitable nature

It was expressed that, The Hague should also be proud of itself. It is a city which is really trying to cater for its international residents, and it could even be said that it goes out of its way to make these people feel at home. This could be a contributing factor to the tension that may exist between local residents and the international residents, and where the attention may be perceived as preferential treatment.

Unlike The Hague, London, for example, is a truly global city and melting pot for people with all sorts of different backgrounds.

It is a city where you either feel at home or not, and where you can be both special and invisible. In this sense, the city can also be a lonely place, where it can be difficult to form connections. The Hague, on the other hand, really tries to be there for its international residents: to help facilitate their needs and be welcoming. In this sense, The Hague should be proud of its hospitable nature.

Some of the group were also concerned that expecting the population to carry this project forward may bring about chaos or confusion, but also that they did not believe there was any real tension between the international residents and other inhabitants of The Hague. *The real tension lies in where the international institutions are located. The resistance is therefore not directed at the institutions themselves, but at the desired green locations they are taking up.*

## Conclusions

The Hague needs to make some clear decisions. It should choose its central theme and communicate this well, so that campaigns can start to inform people and become a process that everyone can participate in. In one sense, the crisis can facilitate this process as, unlike before, The Hague's growth and building spree is currently on hold. This means that the city can really focus on this central theme, without being distracted by all the other projects that are taking place at the same time. It gives The Hague a push to really embrace the theme and develop it, as long as it makes this decision and truly understands its meaning. All the different competing concepts to do with branding The Hague should therefore be abandoned, and the energy should be put into making this central theme a successful, focussed one.

Before doing so, however, the city first needs to decide whether this is really what it collectively wants and whether it is able to take on such an ambitious process. The city should to take the time to further contemplate, evaluate and analyse this theme, without making hasty decisions. After all, there needs to be a message and a clear meaning. Ultimately, that is what the international city of justice and peace is all about: it is about connecting the city to the rest of the world.

## Agenda

Out of the expert meeting, the following agenda was proposed to further develop the The Hague as an International City:

1) The expats and people working for the international institutions should be more involved in the development of the city: their role is not only to teach about the world, but also about being co-responsible for the place and space they take up in the city.

2) The Hague has all the ingredients necessary for an urban project. Start with local public events and cultural initiatives who support the unique position of The Hague as "The International City of Peace and Justice". Next to this "The International City" has also to be applied to all the parties that are involved at all the different levels:

- The city needs to take on a clear position in the debate on national and foreign policy,

- The University of Leiden (and its campus in The Hague) could function as a laboratory in which debates concerning peace and justice take place.

3) As an International city, The Hague should pick a couple of common sister cities to which The Hague can connect. This will broaden its theme and context, and will enable for knowledge transfer and participation. This, in turn, will also strengthen the different nodes, as they will function better in the network when knowledge is shared.

# THE INTERNATIONAL PERSPECTIVE



ERASMUS UNIVERSITEIT ROTTERDAM



UNIVERSITEIT VAN AMSTERDAM



Universiteit Utrecht



vrije Universiteit amsterdam



TU Delft Delft University of Technology



Universiteit Leiden