Realurbanism: or the Urban Realpolitik. Towards a "Spatialisation" of the Realist Paradigm from International Relations Theories

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A B S T R A C T

In this article we aim to communicate scientific research results by which we try to introduce into territory sciences, and especially into the field of urbanism, an innovative model for "realist" lecture and analysis of urban policies and practices: the "Realurbanism" model, within the meaning of the "Realist paradigm" in international relations theories. Empirically-inductive based transposition has led us to develop the Realurbanism model that is constructed on three fundamental and corollary theses: "The anarchical urban governance", "The privatisation of urbanism" and "The power relationships and their balance". This analysis and lecture grid permit a better understanding of urban governance and urban development in anarchy contexts (state-of-anarchy) where limits between public and private interests are permanently negotiated. Thus, from a structurally determinist model, due to its "balance of power" such as clearly inherited from political realism in international relations, Realurbanism can evolve towards a voluntary tool for anarchical elaboration of the urban project: "The sociocratical negotiation".

1. INTRODUCTION

From a paradigmatic point of view [1], the research is situated at the cross-discipline of Urbanism and International relations, a branch of political sciences dedicated for the study of regular relations between sovereign states [2]; from an empirical point of view, it is profoundly anchored into territory sciences, especially into urbanism, as it proposes to study logics and politics that underlie the urban "object".

Indeed, concepts are borrowed from political sciences, particularly "the realist paradigm" in international relations theories into the purpose of better understanding of the dynamic rapports and interests that characterise urban actors into "anarchy" contexts; the realist paradigm that is traditionally dominant in international relations discipline - and its prescriptive guideline corollary for policy-making: "the

Realpolitik" [3] - appears then to us as the most adequate theoretical tool for the deconstruction of actors' roles at the level of territory urban governance.

The research project emerged from empirical ground observation of an ensemble of "ideologies" and urban "practices" into a particular social political context of absence of what we can call a "common higher" - that is represented by a strong public power and a law-governed state - for diverse societies that are formed around a "coagulum" of private interests carried by community policies, essentially micro-territorially based ones. Going from this fundamental report of a local structural "state of anarchy" of the public (*res-publica*) and political affairs - that undeniably recalls the international anarchy [4] -, we get interested into studying the implication of this social-political conception of power, at the scale of urban policies and urban project making.

It is here principally referred to urban governance as a government mode at the scale of macro and micro-territories; in other words, it is clearly about analysing the decision-making processes in urban projects production methods: specifically, roles of public versus private power into defining (paradoxical) complementary and alternative urban project policies to be implemented, within the framework of potential interrelations connecting all actors, and in particular at the level of the system-of-interest and its balance of power.

Undeniably the thematics fits into actual scientific research dynamics dealing with issues related to the public power place and the State's come-back (return) as a major actor of the socio-political scene, by contexts of accelerated globalisation and cities metropolisation, of "personalisation" of the general-interest and more broadly of privatisation of contemporary urbanism. That is why passing through political sciences and international relations theories turns out to be primordial for analysing and comprehending governance modes within state-of-anarchy which is inferring particular conceptions of spatial planning and settlements to be observed on territories where power and law conflicts are implemented and more generally underlining the urban-object. The thematics is therefore situated at the junction of two major issues: on the one hand, the issue of political and urban governance at the scale of territoriality and on the other hand, the issue of "applicability" *[transposabilité]* of realist paradigm into urbanism, through a realist modelling of "anarchical" urbanism.

2. THEORY AND METHODOLOGY

The Realurbanism model is based on an empirical-inductive transposition method that allows reaching a concept or a general law by the study of particular local facts, through reports and hypotheses.

Thus, the transposition of the realist paradigm into the field of urbanism was operated through a double level theoretical transposition process that we synthesis as follows.

2.1. The first level of the transposition process: understanding the "realist paradigm" in international relations theories

From a strict chronological positioning, the history of international politic philosophy lets appear the realist theory as a premier approach, given the number of authors historically referring to this paradigm, since Thucydides' "*History of the Peloponnesian war*" (471-400 BC).

However, although crossed by multiple currents and debates, the international relations theories field is nowadays, like in the past, principally organised around the realist paradigm: in fact, all paradigms are situated relatively to the realist paradigm proving that this one is the dominant approach of the discipline. We will set aside the historical evolution of the realist paradigm or the inter-disciplinary intra-paradigmatic principal debates; our objective here is to briefly present the fundamental transversal theses of the realist paradigm that are the most consensual and transversal to its different theorists, currents and traditions. Our researches in the field of international relations permitted us to clearly identify four fundamental realist paradigm theses that constitute theoretical constants for classical-age and cotemporary realists.

Thus, the four theses of the revisited realist paradigm presuppose an above all "principle of sovereignty" that leads the States' relations [5]; sovereignty is furthermore the common denominator for the ensemble of international theories, constituting for that purpose the basic hypothesis for international relations sciences:

Thesis 1. International "state-of-anarchy", synonym of "state-of-nature" [6].

Thesis 2. States are unique, unitary and rational actors of the "state-of-anarchy".

Thesis 3. "Self-help" principle, corollary of "state-of- anarchy".

Thesis 4. "Balance-of-power" principle, corollary of "self help" principle.
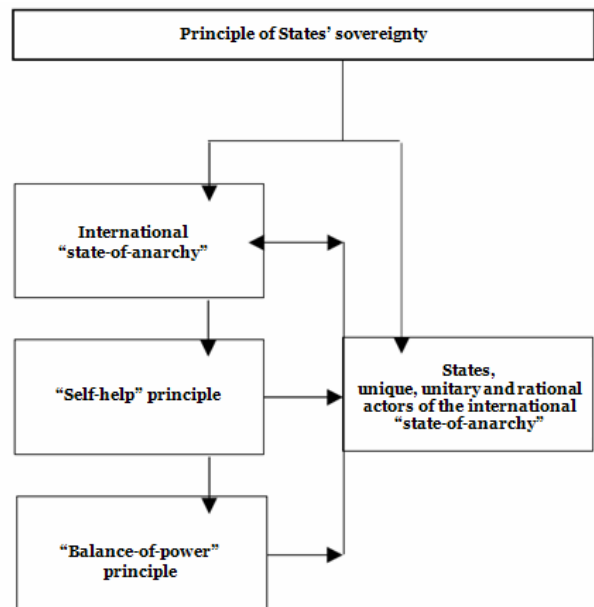

Fig. 1. The four theses of the revisited realist paradigm.

These four theses are logically articulated and thus every thesis infers the thesis that follows: therefore, the international environment is structurally anarchical (first thesis) due to the original principle of States' sovereignty [7]; States are principal and unitary

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actors of the international scene; they rationally act [8] in terms of their quantifiable national interests (second thesis) [9]; they are permanently in search of power to assure and preserve their own security and survey (self-help) in an international context characterised by inherent tendency for distrust, deterrence and conflict [10] (third thesis); balance-of-power is the best means to produce an international order "status" and to counter-balance the state-of-anarchy in order to avoid an eruption of a massive conflict [11] (fourth thesis).

2.2. The second level of the transposition process: identifying "merger indicators"

The characteristics of the studied urbanism constituted inductive indicators for a potential merger [rapprochement] between urban policies and practices and the realist paradigm. Those characteristics became indicators that fix the methodological framework of the theoretical linking between, on the one hand the realist model in international relations theories and on the other, the thinking and acting model implemented in that studied urbanism.

The first indicator: concerns what we can qualify as an urban "state-of-anarchy"; this state of anarchy is essentially due to a breathless public power which is more often monopolised by different societal interests groups; this usually underlines the question of the "general-interest".

The second indicator: concerns micro-territory established actors, considered as "private, autonomous and rational" actors which hold the alternative power in terms of spatial planning and constitute therefore the effective counter-power to the weakness of the public power.

The third indicator: concerns the pursuing of actors' personnel interests according to a private and largely personal (and personalised) approach of public and common "notions". This type of "appropriation" of urbanism conducts to the principle of cumulative (additional) appreciation of the public interest: the sum of the personnel interests equals the value of the general interest.

The fourth indicator: concerns the report of an urban "anarchical balance" generally linked to emergency acting and fragmented approach of the territory, resulting into a "fits and starts" [par à-coups] urbanism yet integrating the principal interests of major concerned local actors and presenting, behind an apparent anarchism, an alternatively coherent, rational and functional logic.

Thus, the merger between the characteristics/ indicators and the realist paradigm theses is theoretically conditioned to the three following transposition conditions:

1). The merger between the realist theses in international relations theories and the characteristics of the studied urbanism raises the question of relationships and actors' roles; indeed, as States are being principal and rational actors of the international state-centred scene, the transposition of the realist model into the national (local) scene leads us to "switch" *States* (impersonal) by *urban process Actors* (personal). As States and local Actors are symmetrically pursuing their personal interests by their own means, then their "scaled" *[rapporté]* motivations are fundamentally the same.

2). The transposition that has been paradigmatically operated from human nature (Hobe's pact state-of-nature) towards inter-sates relations (international) that are resumed by a personified State is still valid for the inversed and original scheme, in the sense of a back-transposition at the scale of the local personnel actor.

3). The corollary inference system underlined in the study of the realist paradigm in international relations theories is valid for the characteristics/ indicators of the studied urbanism, so every thesis infers the one that follows.

Table 1. The merger indicators.

Indicators of the studied urbanism	Thesis of the realist paradigm
Urban state of anarchy	International „state-of-anarchy"
Micro-territory established actors: private, autonomous and rational actors of the urban state of anarchy	States: unique, unitary and rational actors of the international „state-of-anarchy
Pursuing of actors' personnel interests	„Self-help" principle
Urban anarchical balance	„Balance-of power" principle

3. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The definition of a territorial concept of the realist paradigm into the field of urbanism (spatialisation) is the effective synthesis of the double convergence, empirical and paradigmatic, with on the one hand, the definition of revisited "realist paradigm" theses, and on the other, the definition of the local studied urbanism characteristics/indicators, leading us through an empiric-inductive method, to the transposition of the realist model from international relations theories into urbanism, and the consequent conception of the "Realurbanism" model.

Accordingly, Realurbanism is constructed on the following corollary triptych (such as structurally inherited from the realist paradigm):

1). The anarchical urban governance.
2). The privatisation of urbanism.
3). The power relationships and their balance.

3.1. Thesis 1: The anarchical urban governance

The first Realurbanism thesis attempts to conceptualise an anarchical approach of the urban governance, considered here in the sense of the power deconstruction (devolution), its legitimacy sharing and the interactive roles of different (and new) actors involved.

Indeed, within the search for the best adapted way to govern cities and to accompany them into their societal and spatial development (demography and construction), has been operated an important transfer of power and urban prerogatives from a historical central government towards its "greater" outskirts in all its societal components: there has so been a shift from an emphasis on the role of "urban government" to an emphasis on "urban governance" [12]. Governance which tries to impose as a new analysis framework of urban policies and as a new category of public action refers thus to two majors reports: on one hand, modern states are transforming and the role played by urban policies in that transformation is essential; and on the other hand a better consideration of actors from the civil society is necessary for the elaboration and the implementation of urban policies [13].

Relations, from now on hierarchically-disrupted between public power levels and public private partnerships have largely contributed to the emancipation of that other management mode which is governance. Governance is thus actually understood, in the field of urban studies, as the implementation of the State's role by the integration of a multitude of stakeholders (in particular civil society actors) that have fundamental roles into the definition of urban policies to be implemented.

Besides, the "territorialisation" and the privatisation of the political power in terms of urban planning can accept and support a higher objective than the "classic" acceptation of the concept of urban governance, so to integrate the "anarchical" dimension of political acting. The anarchical "qualify" refers here directly to the "state-of-anarchy" as theorised into international relations; it transposes the anarchical model at the level of the urban governance.

Anarchical urban governance illustrates an advanced level of urban governance as conceived and practiced currently; it presupposes, as every anarchical system, an original (for origin) and structural equality between actors, as we place them at the same level of autonomy and independency, despite natural (and historical) divergences in status and stature; this "governance orthodoxy" [12] involves a veritable partnership in a network of actors: the governance orthodoxy is that relationships are collaborative and consensual, expressed through ideas about partnerships and networks.

More concretely, the public power (central or local governments) is, at best, a simple actor among all others; it has no authority over other actors and cannot so, neither pretend to an exclusive strategic decision-taking for planning policies, nor advance common rules to be *de facto* respected by other social partners - although usually leaving them, under democratic cover, a little room for manoeuvre in the adaptation of those rules to their own constraints.

However, some authors do postulate that every anarchical system can support an internal hierarchy which does not question the anarchy concept itself - anarchy concept that presupposes that no actor could subdue another actor to an unilateral and hegemonic decision-taking -, for the only condition that this hierarchy is not felt by other actors as a domination form rather than a simple substantive to qualify a place and a role: something that we consider very theoretical and hardly applicable. We cannot back up here the many studies that demonstrated how public sphere was progressively constructed in the framework of a homology with the State [14], the unique holder of sovereignty, and thus of legitimacy on the international scene, as viewed before.

Historically, State and its administrations have been the unique referents of the urban question, with however some important variants between countries (unitary, federal, other); the public power is being nowadays mainly represented by both central power (government, ministries, etc.) and local governments (region/states, cities, etc.) according to an administrative and political powers distribution specific to each country. However, anarchical urban governance as presented here covers simultaneously general private actor's attitude towards public actor as a hierarchical and "common for all" power, and vice-versa, public power attitude towards the independent initiative and the role of the private actor. Thus, it is the definition of a structural state-of-anarchy of the realurbanistical model that is essentially questioned in its first thesis: how, in (real) urbanism, public and private actors are co-defining themselves (mutually) strategically?

That is how, in Realurbanism, the urban state of anarchy can be doubly questioned dependably of the effective implication level of the public power into the structural configuration of that urban governance state of anarchy. Indeed, the historical prerogative of the public power - generally holding laws' enactment lever, in particular for our part: urban settlements - is primordial in the definition of the "operational" re-action of civil society actors; because today, concretely, international anarchy applied to urbanism - like we presented it as an autonomous, egalitarian and equivalent power sharing between public and societal partners (economical and social) - is a "revolutionary" model relatively to other governability (and governance) modes of our contemporary societies,

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although theses societies are more and more affected by a "breathless" democracy auguring a probable social and political tendency into this direction.

However, two major reports permit to concretise an anarchical situation in our democratic societies:

a). The first report concerns instability and weakness situations of the public power, reflected by powerless even absent central or local public power in front of the needs of the civil society. The most critical example here is the case of civil-war, where in a such conflict context, can be observed a kind of "abdication" of private partners in the public "authority" and in the historical role of the public power into the urban management and planning; this attitude results in an almost inability for the public power to assert and enforce its laws (the issue of the rule of law and its respect). From that emerges a social refusal state of legitimisation of the unifying and identifier role, as a "higher common", of the public power. In this case, it is obvious that the effective power is directly and "naturally" compensated by civil society actors, according to a privatisation of the urban planning process (financing, regulation, conception). Note that this first case is based on a traditional representativeness of power in the sense of governability, where the public power is in a hegemonic situation towards other actors, however, events (e.g. civil war) hurl it to an absence and weakness situation from which emerges *de facto* an anarchical (urban) governance state.

b). The second report concerns a proactive *[volontariste]* public power withdrawal situation which is characterised by a widely civil society actors'-oriented urban politic, according to a participative and civil approach of urban policies (e.g. the case of Porto Alegre) that the public power tries to implement [15]; however this governance supposed to set up bottom-up policies is always paradoxically valuating top-down logics that are hardly "crossed-over", largely centralised and continually placing administrations and the elected representatives in the heart of the system. The effective power of the politician as a "playmaker" having the priority to share and let accept his "preferences" [16] is hardly definitively cleaned of Weberian coercion relations. In other terms, and generally according to current power configurations, the less urban (and construction) regulation is directive and coercive for the societal partner, or the more the public power is "soft" (flexible) towards urban "market" propositions, the more the first thesis of the realurbanistical model is respected and established.

Lastly the idea of consensus - or more objectively of consent - will be approached through the third thesis of Realurbanism, from the point of view of extended consultation *[concertation]* to consent actors'

networks as an anarchical tool for the elaboration of the "urban project".

Nevertheless, the anarchical urban governance infers a privatisation form of the urban process in its: financing, regulation and conception dimensions, allowing us to present the second corollary thesis of Realurbanism: "The privatisation of urbanism".

3.2. Thesis 2: The privatisation of urbanism

The second thesis of Realurbanism tries to emphasise the greater role of the civil society in the definition of urban policies.

The questioning of a mode of politics exercise based on domination and aspiring to more citizen participation [17] inevitably partakes in the privatisation of urban implementation policies (regulatory, operational and financial) and especially in the appreciation of the general interest that it infers.

Indeed, from the mid-seventies, signs of "breathless" state-centred organisation mode of politics have been identified and they were expressing the incapacity of States to face increasing social demands that have been transmitted to them. Thus, in front of principally increasing budget constraints and exhaustion of Keynesian policies, the functional legitimacy and the capacity of the state apparatus to resolve economical and social problems by means of adapted urban policies have been questioned. Authorities have taken on substantial initiatives recognitions relating to urbanism, and more largely to social-economical policies. That was somehow supported by the "disengagement" of the State from certain of its historical prerogatives (e.g. in France, since the 1980's with the decentralisation laws *[Lois de décentralisation et de déconcentration],* or in the Anglo-Saxon world with its previous opening on a "pluralist" consideration of political acting).

The dynamic of civil society-oriented public (soft) power politics - that conveys simultaneously social values (furthermore, quantifiable in the urns) - has been an important political and economical alternative that whole partners monopolised.

This reconfiguration of public power between its centre and peripheries has consequently conducted to the introduction of multiples interpretation models (Networking (i.e. social networks), Urban regimes [18], Policy communities, Issue networks, etc.) in the objective of better understanding of the interactions (cf. School of Chicago) between intra-public versus private actor's aggregate. However, all these models are associated with an emphasis on the "individual" as an actor in an interaction situation in front of a decreasingly "concentrated" public power which is increasingly constrained to cooperate, collaborate and negotiate with peripheral actors.

We will set aside the historical and ideological conditions that led to the privatisation policies, specifically the urban privatisation (yet often described from a liberal politics prism) we are interested here into analysing private approaches from the point of view of Realurbanism revealing thus the necessity to introduce an anarchical model [19] for the analysis of governance systems.

Anarchical governance, by its will to push the urban governance to its practical *(praxéologique)* and methodological limits, involves an autonomous and egalitarian sharing of power in terms of urbanism between different concerned civil society actors, not only at an informal level, but especially on the level of the effective societal involvement into the strategic definition of territories occupations, into the elaboration of urban settlements (policies) and as well as into the financing and conception of urban projects. Thus, in the framework of this anarchical dynamic, the urban object potentially tends to entirely be conceived, developed, financed, realised than exploited by private actors.

It is that extended and shared participation issue into a negotiated and alternative perspective that affects the second thesis of Realurbanism; it underlines, beyond, a more utilitarian apprehension of the general-interest against actors' particular interests.

The issue of the privatisation of the general interest is particularly raised here, because this general interest - traditionally bounded to State's prerogatives *[régalien]*, especially in its juridical and administrative French tradition - is fundamentally questioned by Realurbanism relatively to the particular interests and their addition. Note that in French public law have been developed legislative and regulatory regimes that make a major place to the general interest that is the keystone of French public law. Thus, present - explicitly or not - in many public law texts, especially in terms of urbanism, the general interest notion (shifted sometimes by a similar notion called "public utility" *[utilité publique]*), appears to be as the democratic condition of the legitimacy of public power interventions [20].

However, in Realurbanism, political power (urban) is a "composite" of particular interests, a kind of a "societal cluster" where political and urban "bargaining" and "trade" seem common. Proactive and idealistic conception of a public power defending a general interest is substituted by a perpetual constructed and reconstructed "interests model" around an amalgam (cohabitation) of particular interests and interested approaches of the territory, in the framework of an urban anarchical governance.

Thus, besides the fact that it illustrates the urban privatisation process, this tendency towards the diminution of regulations imposed by public power transforms also the relationships between the public and private actors that seem to assume more often the public service functions. In this context, we assist to a multiplication of interests groups and the social society appears to be characterised more and more by groups of individuals having different life conditions and interests [21].

Private actors ("heterogeneous civil society", by opposition to what Weber defined in the earlier 20th century as "homogeneous civil society", disappearing nowadays) thus act freely towards their interests, particular interests from which will be inferred a "consensus" into the definition of a legitimate form of the public interest; those actors are sovereign (in its sense of shared acceptance between States on the international scene) and thus cannot admit in no way that an exterior above power (represented here by public power) tries to dominate and govern them.

The public role, if it were necessary to find one role, is then limited to the general synthesis and "institutionalisation" of the societal and urban "consensus".

Accordingly, within a common agreement (deal) - explicit or implicit one - on the necessity of institutionalising an absence form of the "higher common" (urban), urban actors conduct the optimisation and rationalisation of their projects, by considering only their own aims and interests. To defend and reach their goals, they organise themselves (self-help) through trying by "almost-democratic" and legal means (lobbying, negotiation, interpretations, etc.) to influence the presumed societal "consensus" (which becomes public, here) in order to affect urban policies and settlements relatively to their own projects. Private actors esteem - everyone from his own privileged position - that the sum of particular interests inevitably leads towards a legitimate and rational form of the "general interest", allowing, according to a balance dilemma (referring to "security-dilemma" [22] in international realist theories), the further collaboration, in a power relationship that unmistakably infers balance.

That's how the third thesis of Realurbanism is inferred: "The power relationships and their balance".

3.3. Thesis 3: The power relationships and their balance

It has to be noted that private actors following their own interests manage finally to auto-balance and to auto-organise without the intervention of any exterior power which could be potentially leaded by the public power: it is here an interesting concretisation of the anarchical governance ("Anarchy is order without power - or authority" [23]). This auto-organisation of the planning aggregate [21] that fundamentally requests the anarchism theories explained before is however characterised by balance of power relationships that underlie it.

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Indeed, in the absence of a central power reproducing an authoritarian and coercive commandment, private actors which hold alternative prerogative in terms of spatial planning, try naturally in a social-political context of anarchy to "polarise" power. This structural characteristic of the Realurbanism model is clearly inherited from the realist paradigm and is by no means a new dimension: indeed, the balance of power of the international system permits to states to further their national interests in a mutual fear of other states, posture that infers a dissuasion climate and consequently an international stability and an order form. Transposed to the national internal plan, actors (heirs of States' behaviour), pursue their own interests while consciously or implicitly participating to the acceptance of others, according to a balanced sharing of power and territories. This balance-state is a kind of agreement and complicity, even alliance, between actors; every actor defining himself relatively to the other one, because their interests cannot be fundamentally antagonistic: on the contrary, they are often compatible and convergent into a shared definition of the urban project. Competition of ideas thus engenders and augmentation of reason, of common sense and rationality and leads inevitably to an anarchical state of balance: every actor's objective being the reaching of personnel aims while protecting the status-quo that is beneficial to all. In this way, Realurbanism succeeds in escaping from the explicit tension that could underlie particular potentially divergent interests, in order to promote a strongly efficient urbanism, according to essentially introverted initiatives constructed around each actor's personnel sphere, but nevertheless objective and rational.

As we can see, this third thesis poses the fact that spatial planning actors entertain between themselves relations that are essentially characterised by balance of power. Because anarchy (state-of-anarchy) presents a paradigmatic paradox, namely once "freed" from public power, it is almost delivered to a "war of succession" to the public power between partners supposed to share on equal and balanced bases the inherited prerogatives from public power. Paradoxically, therefore, a polarisation phenomenon of power appears within the system that finishes being monopolised by a power minority.

So at the end, the balance of power between actors - including public actors (because traditionally public actors own the final decision prerogative due to the actual democratic system) - especially most powerful ones, leads to a systemic polarised balance, implying a form of cohabitation between horizontal and vertical hierarchic relations within the anarchical system, with a final tendency for balance between the dominating poles. This constitutes one of the most historically receivable critics of "realism" considering that anarchical systems seem instable (paradox of anarchy) both on theoretical and practical levels because they always tend to become either a totalitarian system or a liberal democracy [24].

Essentially conveyed by an anarchical governance mode of the urban affair (and politico-urban) leading to the privatisation of the urban process, at the level of both the empowerment of private actors' role and the spatial interventions financing, Realurbanism needs however to be appreciated fundamentally relatively to the "state- of-anarchy" and more particularly relatively to the refusal of any coercive, directive and hierarchic role of the power public, in aid of a societal auto-organisation implementing an egalitarian fair consortium *[tour de table]* between social partners.

But however, we observe, that like the Realist paradigm, Realurbanism reproduces fundamentally a systemic balance that results from a balance of power between restricted actors' circle, actually most powerful actors of the social urban scene. Because, indeed, in the balance of power that underlies relations between most powerful concerned actors, search for balance is still, from a realist point of view, inseparable from those power relationships and thus resulting into a systemic stabilisation whose status-quo benefits to principal actors in their quest for personnel interests - but also profiting (like seen before) to other indirectly concerned actors. Nevertheless this balance can only be done by force; thus paradoxically, while trying to be freed from any hierarchical power, Anarchy - the central characteristic of Realism (urban and political) - is subordinated to an internal hierarchical power organisation and to an intra-hegemonic rapport between those powers: some balances end up leading towards unipolar systems dominated by some major powers; hierarchy in anarchy is then the fundamental characteristic of the inter-states' modern order [25]. In that sense, our modelling of Realurbanism can only concern, on a first level, most powerful and present actors of the civil society, like as the international politics is modulated by major powers.

That's why we propose to "upgrade" (make evolve) Realurbanism from an analysis model for urban policies and practices, where the urban object is the constant result of power relationships and vital balances between major powers of the social-urban scene, towards an effective tool for anarchical processing of the "urban project" yet integrating in a participative initiative concerned societal micro-powers of the civil society, final "recipient" of any urban project.

So, within the framework of the realist tradition of international relations, recreating the conditions for urban anarchical governance in its original realist sense of egalitarian and equivalent

rapports between actors passes through the transformation of the balance of power into an anarchical consultation and consent rapports between actors of the civil society.

In order to free Realurbanism from its determinist power relationships that have a restrictive and discriminatory purpose as it is defined in its third thesis, and in order to recover its original sense of anarchy, balance of power should be "replaced" by anarchic rapports of consent-by-negotiation between actors, not only major and powerful ones but extended to representative circles of the interested civil society.

This will permit to empower original state-of-anarchy, where actors do not undergo any exterior coercion form: in international relations, we have seen that, due to the absence of a common higher, States were structurally in a state-of-anarchy, but they were quickly propelled into a polar system that is paradoxically questioning the anarchy principle itself: power relationships lead to either an unipolar form of hegemony or to a multi-polar balance of power - a majority of actors would therefore be constrained to undergo "laws" of powerful ones. This down-side underlies the fragility of ideal-typical constructions [26] that are prevailing in international relations [27] (and consequently in Realurbanisme).

In the (real) urbanism field, it is possible to free from this ideal-typical impasse: so, by developing (make it evolve) the third Realurbanism thesis from a power relationship (typical of international realism) towards a form of negotiation relationship, all concerned actors would create, in a consent way, conditions of their own balance, in the framework of an anarchical governance where all actors have their place and legitimate role.

T3: The power relationships and their balance

As an evolutionary thesis towards an anarchical tool for the urban project processing
T3 evo: *The sociocratic negotiation*

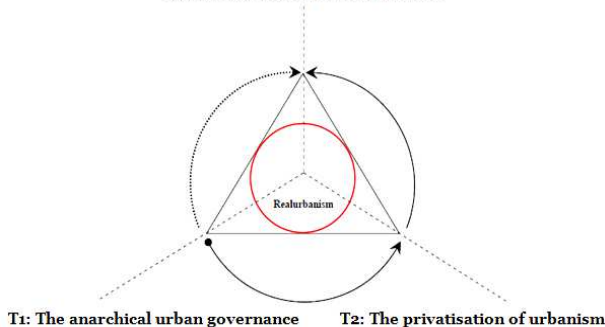**T1: The anarchical urban governance**   **T2: The privatisation of urbanism**

Fig. 2. The realurbanism triptych.

This proposition that ensues from Realurbanism permits therefore the extraction of Realurbanism from its determinist framework towards a proactive dynamic within the processing of the urban project (regarding urban project as a model of currently practiced urban conception).

This practically consists of an empirical merger between the Realurbanism and the current model of urban project - yet urban project to be approached realistically as conveyed by Realurbanism and offered within this proposition.

The "sociocratical negotiation" as introduced here is fundamentally inspired from systemic theories (cybernetics) developed by "Sociocracy" which aims to a consent mode of governance [28] that tends to develop actors' accountability, equitable treatment and maximal integration of different actors in the decision-making process: in a sociocratic organisation we become one of the rule- makers [29]. Thus, it constitutes a proposition force of Realurbanism in the sense that it constitutes *per se* an effective processing tool of the urban project.

Indeed, because "urban project" (the term first appeared in the 1970's as an alternative concept to the traditional planning; cf. Carlo Aymonimo, Aldo Rossi, Leonardo Benevolo, etc.) is the result of a political-cultural choice, rather than the result of a technical model: while trying to disrupt and reformulate the old urban conception processes [16], the urban project, no more reserved for a specialists' corporation, thus supposes the active participation of all urban actors including inhabitants, not only in the aim of informing them at the end of studies but completely in the elaboration of the project itself [16]. This is what makes the integration of this realurbanistical proposition within the dynamics of the urban project as currently practiced an evolution in its citizen's participation way.

Sociocratical negotiation is a monopolisation form of power by societal dynamics at the same level as by public power within a minarchical (relatively to minarchism: minimal statism) framework, in a context where planning and settlements strategic choices are being permanently negotiated and elaborated outside of any power relationships influence circle which has inevitably a restrictive finality that is discriminatory for weak actors.

We can qualify this approach as a "self-out" approach, as it is initially inner-constructed around the personnel interests of concerned actors and then "exposed" to potential partner's interests. Its concerns the further of permanent consent resulting from a self-out concerned actors' cumulative approach relating to ongoing issues of the urban project.

It is on the opposite side of bottom-up policies that presuppose a leadership of the public power which has the legitimate monopoly of political-urban (final) decision: the state can no more pretend to exclusively own the idea of the general interest that its action - even relatively negotiated - can implement [30].

Sociocratical negotiation is therefore a tool that permits the realurbanistical conception of the urban project: citizen participation established in the framework of current participative urbanism and more generally of current social-political democratic

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representative model hardly succeed because we always observe *in fine* an empowerment of the legitimate role of the pubic power that is still the commendatory and the addressee and has the final right to decide (principle of power delegation), while in a sociocratical negotiation context, public power role is strictly limited to a representative *[mandataire]* role of the societal demands (preferences) [31].

4. CONCLUSION

The transposition operated here of the realist paradigm (international relations theories) into the field of urbanism allows us to model an "anarchical" urban process, anarchic yet not "chaotic", as often the term is emptied from its paradigmatic material and miss-used by urban and social experts to qualify chaotic and non rational processes.

Realurbanism is constructed on the following corollary triptych:

1). The anarchical urban governance.

2). The privatisation of urbanism.

3). The power relationships and their balance.

As a realist model for analysis and lecture of urban policies and practices, Realurbanism shows the necessity and pertinence of the contribution of political theories into the field of urbanism in the aim of a better understanding and definition of particular and complex phenomena, until then occult.

It definitely constitutes an innovative and pertinent modelling of frequently observed urban practices and policies, nevertheless usually analysed with technical-philosophical background and paradigmatic tools of proximal (even proximate) models of modern and contemporary urbanism.

Contemporary city, undergoing globalising stakes in terms of economy and commerce, of territory privatisation and marketing (where cities are nowadays majorly "done" by urban-design promoters [32]), of soft-power [33], as well as of "virtualisation" of the geophysical traditional links would no more be able to be explained by overtaken models of directive, normative, technocratic and majorly public urbanism. No more by "urban project", spearhead of contemporary urbanism for a few decades now (years 1980/90), which was initially conceived as a reactionary model to functionalist urbanism models and that although it constitutes a social alternative (because stemming from flexible participative approaches and iterative clusters) is still largely bounded to hierarchical public power and to its regulator an re-interpretative role of the public debate.

Alternatively, Realurbanism which theorises an "anarchical" urbanism could hardly be defined by diverse attempts of theorisations of modern and contemporary urbanism, yet profoundly anchored into cultural and ideological heritages of "democratic-occidental" cities of the last century (democratic urbanism).

Realurbanisme is stemmed from a "realistic" ground approach whose context outskirts are encircled by issues such as: weakness or instability of the public power (in our recent researches [34], we studied the case of Lebanon where Realurbanisme can be typically observed: e.g. Beirut's post-civil-war city-centre reconstruction project or front-water development projects; furthermore, we are actually working on urban projects development in the Iraqi's city of Erbil), demographic-land pressure (particularly in developing countries), privatisation of public services and its financing, but also public policies largely decentralised and hardly competed - even dominated - by private spheres (of which growing communitarian groups), thus revealing a crisis of the decisional processes of policies making and practices and more largely a crisis of modern democracies [35].

Finally, the "sociocratical negotiation" permits to "free" Realurbanism from its structural determinism (as clearly identified in its third thesis and as clearly inherited from the realist paradigm in international relations theories): thus, it upgrades it from an analysis model and a lecture grid of the urban object towards a proactive tool for anarchical processing of the "urban project", by the fundamental integration of extended concerned actors in the framework of an urban governance-by-consent.

This proposition (evolution of the third thesis of Realurbanism) strengthens therefore the realurbanistical theses by extracting Realurbanism from its paradigmatic fragility of whose is often accused the "Realist paradigm".

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