Dar Naïm District, Nouachkott 2014

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Villes en développement

Content

A change in the perception of the "cities of the global south"

Villes en développement is celebrating its hundredth issue. Established in 1988, *the bulletin of French cooperation in urban development, housing and spatial planning* aimed to bring a professional perspective on the development challenges of the cities of the global south and the solutions proposed to address them. This double issue is an opportunity to take stock of the continuities and ruptures that marked the urban development of these territories.

The first major change, the increasing role of the local authorities in the international debate. This is irreversible, but it is not always simple to raise awareness among the cities of the global south of all the new urban challenges. Climate change, for example ... even if significant progress, which should strengthen in the next COP 21, has been made in recent years. The support of local professionals and civil society will be essential to speed up this awareness.

The discourse of international institutions in charge of the cities of the global south has changed a lot in recent years. Long limited to the fight against poverty and temporary housing, today it has a more positive view of the role of cities, as development vectors. The City vocabulary which expresses urban policies illustrate this change of outlook: sustainable development, community participation and empowerment are among them. At the heart of urban projects for cities in the global south, a right to housing and a right to the city have been gradually developed.

Long a master tool of the Western urban model, urban planning today has been reborn under the name of *strategic planning* by playing its full part in participatory, environmental and institutional dimensions of the exercise. But the West is not the only reference. Other players, from the South, have entered the scene, offering their funding and imposing their models upon countries sensitive to responsiveness to local demands. In an urban and institutional context that has become much more complex, the planners must also adapt: they have become city "professionals", and experts must also be mediators.

For thirty years, developing cities has reflected these developments. While the views expressed by those of professionals may vary and sometimes come into conflict, their passion remained intact. That bodes well for the setting up a new publishing partnership for the publication of the Bulletin under the aegis of the *AdP – Villes en développement* association.[1]

As of the next issue, it will allow city professionals working in emerging and developing countries to continue to share their analyses and projects. ■

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1. This partnership currently includes Cities Alliance, the AFD, the French Planning Minister, the Minister for Foreign Affairs, the CEREMA, the KERAN Group…

Giving Cities the Power to Act:
A brief review of international aid

Serge Allou has held the position of Lead Urban Specialist with Cities Alliance since 2012. Previously, he served as director of the French NGO GRET from 2001 to 2007, and as an associate professor with the Institut Français d'Urbanisme for many years. In this article, Allou argues that we are witnessing one of the most significant institutional revolutions of recent times in the areas of urban policies, decentralisation and the increasing power of local authorities.

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Cities Alliance stand at Medellin World Urban Forum, 2014

The rise of local authorities

Over the years, the international community has gradually recognized the decisive role that cities can play in development. This is due in large part to the second United Nations Conference on Human Settlements (Habitat II) in 1996, which identified local authorities as key partners and invited states to increase local autonomy, participation and partnership between the players.

The development of local government can be attributed to two key factors, with some variations by country. First, facing the burden of public debt, states began transferring responsibility for providing various public services to the local level. This has also involved offloading the management of growing social conflicts. Second, the devolution of powers responded to a popular desire for participation and local democracy that was strongly demanded by social movements, especially in Latin America. In Africa perhaps more than elsewhere, international organisations played a key role; decentralisation was one of the main elements of state reform advocated by the structural adjustments of the 1980s.

The establishment of local government associations has also helped foster the recognition of local governments, notably the United Cities and Local Governments (UCLG) in 2004. Their impact can be seen in several key policy approaches, including UN-Habitat's 2007 *Guidelines on Decentralisation and Strengthening of Local Authorities*, the leading reference on the subject, and the African Union's adoption of a Charter on values and principles of decentralisation in July 2014. It is also evident in the leading role now played by cities in the international mobilisation against climate change, through organisations such as the Global Compact of Mayors.

International aid to local governments

Support for local communities is now an explicit priority in the strategies of bilateral and multilateral cooperation. For example, extending a European Parliament resolution of 2007, a 2013 Communication of the European Commission recommends "giving greater autonomy to local authorities in partner countries for better governance and more concrete results in development".

Similarly, the three documents that frame the World Bank's intervention strategy[2] present increased technical, institutional and financial capacity of local governments as a key condition of harnessing urbanisation for development. Cities Alliance, meanwhile, places local empowerment at the heart of its recent regional strategies for Africa and Asia, the two continents which are expected to see around 90% of the world's urban growth in the next three decades.

Bilateral cooperation is no exception. France has supported democratic governance as a major area of cooperation since the mid-2000s, and through AFD now offers direct loans to local communities. Germany also supports the process of decentralisation, as does the United Kingdom, whose two strategic documents in support of urban development[3], *Meeting the Challenge of Poverty in Urban Areas* (2001) and *Cities: The New Frontier* (2010), prioritize support for governance and citizen participation. Some 30 bilateral and multilateral partners in the development sector have formed an international exchange platform called Decentralization and Local Governance (DeLoG).

In Africa, we can see four main trends that are emerging from the support provided by development cooperation. The first is investment in infrastructure and urban services programs, driven mainly by the development banks. These programs place more and more local governments in a client position, adding capacity-building components for this purpose (such as procurement and contracting). A good example is the World Bank's Uganda Support to Municipal Infrastructure Development program, which is mobilizing US$150 million over five years to provide basic infrastructure in 14 medium-sized cities.

Improving the institutional environment for action by local authorities is a second trend. Major projects similar to the Support Programme for local communities being developed by the World Bank in Burkina Faso are starting to be implemented.

A third trend can be seen in support for governance processes at the local level. Often coordinated with the implementation of the strategic planning process, the objective is to strengthen citizen participation – especially among stakeholders such as women and youth – as well as the transparency and accountability of municipal institutions. Examples of such approaches include the local and participatory governance in North Africa program implemented by German Cooperation, or the establishment of municipal urban forums supported by Cities Alliance through its Country Programs.

Finally, a fourth trend is the reinforcement of technical, institutional and financial capacity in municipalities. These programs support the networking and exchange of experiences among municipalities as well as training activities for elected officials and technicians. They tend to emphasize strengthening local communities' own resources. French Cooperation is very active in this field, notably through the framework of the Urban Governance and Local Taxation in Sub-Saharan Africa (GUFL) initiative implemented in six countries. Other examples are the Global Fund for Cities Development (FMDV) and UCLG's Local Finance and Development committee.

The challenges of tomorrow

Urban development will no doubt be included in the Sustainable Development Goals that the United Nations is adopting at the end of 2015, and international action in support of local communities will continue.

As we look ahead, there are four key challenges that need to be addressed:

1. The promotion of equitable economic development. What role can cities play, and under what conditions can it be equitable and inclusive? Can we consider informality as an opportunity, not a threat?

2. Resilience and adaptation to climate change. Climate change will have a major effect on cities – access to resources (water, energy), food safety, and environmental risks such as disasters and pollution. It is urgent for local governments to be in a position to assess these risks, anticipate and try to influence them.

3. The training and status of regional administration. Professionalising regional administration and stabilising it in the long run is a third challenge. We must go beyond "capacity building".

4. The production of information and data useful for the strategic planning of local development. What type of information, which tools, what collection systems and data management are needed to give cities – especially small and medium ones – the ability to plan, manage and evaluate their development? ■

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2.*Reshaping Economic Geography* (2009)*, System of Cities – Harnessing urbanisation for Growth and Poverty Alleviation* (2010) *et Planning, Connecting and Financing Cities – Now* (2013)
3.*« Meeting the challenge of poverty in urban areas »* (2001) *and « Cities – The New Frontier »* (2010)

Backstage of Cities and Climate

Pierre-Arnaud Barthel, Clementine Dardy and Nicole Madariaga are "project managers" in the "Local Authorities and Urban Development" Division of the French Development Agency (AFD). They support in this respect the preparation and financing of development projects implemented by Southern cities. After the fight against poverty in the 90s, and sustainable development in the 2000s, is climate change the new cliché of urban action? It is true that this new order may annoy more than one having regard to semantic inflation and the marketing of "climate compliant" projects."

The rise of the fight against climate change reflects a mobilization of cities themselves on the issue of carbon reduction (Covenant of Mayors launched in 2009 and other actions of city networks) and development agencies working in close interaction with ministries and local authorities. This issue did not, however, rise out of nowhere, as it is part of the legacy of urban ecology and sustainable development coined by the Brundtland Report in 1987.

Dwelling units along Porto Novo Lagoon, Benin

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"Obstacles of belief"

Today, strengthening vulnerabilities of a number of cities at risk of desertification, extreme events (tsunamis, floods, etc.) and rising sea levels are added to their carbon footprint, representing nearly 50% of greenhouse gas emissions (GHG) worldwide. Yet despite this ultimate diagnosis, co-building climate action makes it necessary to get beyond several "obstacles of belief" both among emerging countries and the poorest ones on the planet. For the latter, despite their vulnerability to climate change, they are not necessarily willing to put climate issues high on their agenda when the socioeconomic population has expectations which are more than legitimate. To break the deadlock and reach a climate commitment, urban authorities must be convinced that climate issues are directly connected to everyday challenges, such as the population's access to basic services - basic networks (drinking water, electricity , etc.), public transport, health, education, administration, etc. This requires democratising, popularising and integrating the climate issue in public policies, which is often considered intangible. It has been evidenced for example by renovating social housing in the city centre in Johannesburg. The most disadvantaged populations live closer to employment catchment areas and simultaneously reduce their daily movements and thus GHG emissions.

But convincing is not all: even when cities are already engaged in climate thinking, implementing actions remains a challenge. For towns, the exercise requires a degree of decentralisation and a sufficiently mature project management to design a local city climate strategy and bring in an investment program. As such, it is easier for donors and international financing banks to support emerging territories that already have precedence on the climate issue like since 2011 in Cape Town (South Africa) or since 2012 in the State of Minas Gerais (Brazil). And even in this favourable context, the endorsement of a city climate plan rarely translates into quick investments mainly because of the time needed to reach operational application and capacity building. In the late 2000s, in Gaziantep in Turkey or in Bangkok, Thailand, city climate plans were designed without much implementation on the ground..

In terms of international donors, many of them have goals to engage x% of projects with "climate co-benefits" with specific indicators to monitor year by year. They thus seek partners who will ask them to finance and accompany them with support action on climate change. From one project to another, it is not always clear whether the departments or local authorities "climatize" their projects to please the donor, or if donors influence the initial application so it is in line with their strategy of intervention. Finally, another difficulty in the development of "climate projects", is the future valuation of land sites of high status or population displacement justified by the climate, may lie in the background of the intentions of local decision makers.

Climate: making a vital urban resource

Demand from cities is seldom 'climate-oriented'. Also the approach of development agencies is to start pragmatically from local demand (basic services, urban public transport, protection of fragile environments) to support the local authority on the critical and operational climate path. The challenge then will be to provide adequate funding for initial actions "to leverage" and build capacity. Through a local "climate" urban project the challenge is to work on structural factors such as density, morphology, networking, layout functions or the organisation of mobility, decisive determinants in terms of energy consumption and emissions of greenhouse gases (GHGs). The operational challenge is that climate change is a vector of a renewal of ways of thinking and acting on cities: those donors who have in the past funded actions that generate GHG emissions, but also of course, those of partner premises, whether in a hyper level of vulnerability such as the Philippines or elsewhere. Several strategic projects are underway in terms of planning and "climate" action: promotion in the city of "urban natural areas" (to use an oxymoron) by protective actions, local economic and

social development, heritage-making; or projects to improve the resilience of precarious settlements by providing assistance and funding to upgrade public space and built environments based on habitants 'skills and labour-intensive works from the community. Whatever the initiatives may be, they should always be replicable, testing new approaches through pilot actions. Learning to live and develop the city with the risk is a challenge heightened by climate change.

The design of a collaborative project with the city of Porto-Novo, Benin, AFD, the French Fund for Global Environment and decentralised cooperation (Cergy Pontoise and the Greater Lyon Urban agglomeration) is an example of evolving practices. Boosted at the "Africities" 2012 summit where a fruitful dialogue was established with all the project partners, the "climate" issue also sadly affected

Porto-Novo, during the floods of 2010 in Benin. Also, in recent years have they promoted the mature vision and the backing of the political and technical teams of Porto Novo, without which nothing could start. This 'climatic' shift has meant a real Copernican revolution of local urbanism: the city does not stand against the lagoon, but is built with it in mind, and has to reconcile with it. The development of this open wetland is at the heart of the new urban vision: protecting green spaces - urban lungs and "buffer zones" between land and sea - and the valorisation of regional potential and its rich heritage (land valuation, urban agriculture, tourism). The project is still under construction, but is encouraging. ■

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From the fight against eviction to the "right to the city"

Lorena ZARATE, President of the Habitat International Coalition : "Keeping on fighting against evictions". Interviewed by Irene Salenson, June 9, 2015.

HIC network was created in 1976. More than 300 NGOs, grassroots organizations and researchers are members of the coalition, which aim is to promote the right to adequate housing and the right to the city.

IS: According to you, how far was the civil society's activism able to change the perception of precarious neighborhoods by governments and by international organizations?

LZ: Since the Summit Habitat I, we have been supporting the "social production of housing " –instead of talking about "irregular neighborhoods", that represents a strong negative approach. Then international advocacy has allowed the definition by the UN-ESCR in 1991 of the main elements of the "right to adequate housing". The declaration of Habitat II in 1996 included the reaffirmation of the duty of the state to guarantee that right. Several constitutions and policies –at national and local level- include today some of our key claims. But it's certainly not enough. This is the reason why we are now advocating for the inclusion of the Right to the City as a top priority within the international agenda at the Habitat III summit.

IS: What do you think of the concept of "social inclusion", which became one of the slogans of urban development in recent years?

LZ: It is important to keep in mind that concepts matters, because of the ideas that they represent and the transformations they allow or block. The concepts used in the 1960s had a strong ideological content, such as "social justice", "building popular power", or "solidarity". We hear today a lot about "inclusion", "participation", "competitivity". It is important not to forget the ideological content and context. For me, the concept of inclusion does not touch the roots of social and economic inequalities. And it contains a crucial asymmetry: it is the power to decide whether to include or not a dominated group and how. At the same time, it does not question the privileges and power of the elites. Social injustice is still out there and growing and we need to keep denouncing it.

IS: What are the challenges of the future, according to you, for precarious neighborhoods?

LZ: The challenges do not have to be reduced to housing issues, neither shall the housing issue be considered from a pure quantitative point of view, as this involves a risk of vacant housing production.

Public-private partnerships shall not be seen as miraculous: studies have shown that the social production of housing can be much more relevant and effective. We must promote direct democracy for city management.

The promotion of a broader "security of tenure" approach must replace the model that currently promotes mostly individual ownership, which does not necessarily lead to protection against evictions. An always present challenge is to fight against evictions that increase due to large investments; and forced displacements of entire communities due to violence, insecurity, poverty and climate related disasters. ■

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From Vancouver to Quito
Forty years of debate on the city

Armelle Choplin is associate professor in geography at Université Paris-Est and at Ecole d'Urbanisme de Paris / Paris School of Urban planning. Since Habitat I in 1976, the first international United Nations conference on human settlements in Vancouver until the third edition of this conference to be held in Quito in 2016, the city has been the subject of reports, summits and conferences. 40 years later, we can measure the influence of urban discourse on the political agenda and local interventions. Armelle Choplin draws up a brief assessment of it.

The city: a late onset on the international agenda

Until the 1970s, the city did not interest international organisations who it was seen as a counter-productive space. Influenced by the thesis of "urban bias" (Lipton, 1977), the city was considered as the support of the urban elite and prevents the countryside from developing. The Habitat I conference marked a new interest in the city, resulting in the creation of UN-Habitat in 1978, with its headquarters in Nairobi. Meanwhile, the World Bank decided to intervene in urban areas, now considered as a possible engine of development.

Taxi station in Nouachkott, Mauritania

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But with the crisis of the 1980s, cities bore the brunt of policies aimed at structural adjustment, market liberalisation and privatisation of services. Facing the urban explosion and the lack of resources, governments often oscillate between laissez-faire and interventionism, bulldozing squatter settlements. Noting the sprawling of these areas, the World Bank encourages states to make plots viable ("serviced plots") and to promote self-help housing, drawing on the ideas of the American architect JFC Turner (1976).

The second Habitat II conference (1996) was an opportunity to advocate for universal access to decent housing. The Istanbul Declaration pronounced had a strong focus on sustainable development, influenced by the 1987 Brundtland Report and the 1992 Rio Summit. The "sustainable city" becomes an urban standard of achievement: it would be both environmentally respectful, socially just and consistent with the hinterland. But in the Global South, the idea is sometimes limited to the establishment of a few eco-neighbourhoods.

Meanwhile, the Millennium Development Goals (2000) set a priority of "improving the lives of 100 million people in slums." The publication in 2003 of the report of UN-Habitat "The challenge of slums" advocates "cities without slums". The various slum upgrading programs seek to legalize illegal neighbourhoods, the most realistic and least expensive solution, but that does not solve the problems of urban sprawl and the lack of amenities. The allocation of land is often carried out at the expense of a real public policy for the production of rental housing or housing in accession. Echoing the controversial theses of the liberal economist De Soto (2006), the land distribution is accompanied by deeds, aimimg at tenure security. They would be deemed to transform the "*dead capital*" that lies in informal settlements. But, the poorest, who are targeted by these policies, are mostly asked to participate from a financial point of view (micro-loans) and equipment (self-help housing).

The city-contractor, a new player in town

For donors, the fight against poverty must go through "good governance" and decentralisation, supposed to improve urban management. Any urban development project should now promote the bottom-up approach, based on the participation of civil society, rather than being imposed from the elite (top down). Invited to take part to Habitat II (1996), the urban civil society has become a key player. Since then, no project or report that excludes participation by residents: empowerment, especially of women, is encouraged, such as capacity building (of elected officials, technical services and inhabitants). But while civil society is increasingly invited to participate, real planning co-production is rare. Moreover, this civil society is very heterogeneous, gathering powerful NGOs funded by donors as well as small group of activists.

At the turn of the 2010s, the discourse on the city, following neoliberal approach, enhances the individual entrepreneur. It is now an agent of change as highlighted in the campaign launched by UN-Habitat in 2013 "*I am a city changer*". The inhabitant-entrepreneur must contribute to the production of a city that is "inclusive", and prosperous, that is to say capable of producing wealth, which by trickle down, could boost the economy. In contrast to the vision of the 1970s, cities, especially large urban concentrations such as "mega-regions" and other "urban corridors", are considered as places of prosperity, as recalled by the latest report of UN Habitat, entitled "Prosperity of Cities." Responsibility seems left to the individual. It is down to him to make his own "right to the city". The latter has become a slogan of public action, far from the "right to the city", as originally theorized by H. Lefèvre (1968), which aimed for a "concrete utopia" in which the citizen shaped his city and may participate to the urban life.

Three main themes for Quito 2016

On the eve of Habitat III in Quito, three issues occupy the top of the agenda: secondary cities, self-financing capacity and climate change.

While metropolises and megacities have largely taken centre stage in the last twenty years, secondary cities now draw people's attention. Although not so visible and audible, these clusters absorb the bulk of urban growth, without necessarily having the financial means to do so. The stakes are huge and explain the increasing focus on local finances. After thirty years of (incomplete) decentralisation, self-financing and tax collection are priorities for local communities. Land tenure issues, digitising land registers and addressing accompany reflections on urban resources. Finally, just a few weeks before the Cop21 to be held in Paris in December 2015, the issue of climate change is more pervasive than ever. But relocated in the Global South, the question of the sustainable city is more an issue of resilience and the capacity to the city to deal with vulnerability and many risks.

From Vancouver to Quito, Rio to Medellin, large urban events follow one another. One can remain sceptical about their practical application. If they are primarily used to circulate urban models and disseminate "best practices", they still invite one to look at alternative urban horizons. ■

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The "words" of cities, At the heart of the dreams and fears for the city

For professionals and leaders of cities in the world, "words" of the city plan in speeches and actions, ambitions and dreams. Xavier Crépin, director at MAEDI, prepared a glossary about it.

Cities and towns: between the Roman Urbs and Civitas, it is the city that has prevailed over the town, referring to a model between rural and urban, the first topical cleavage in the territorial approach.

Third World Cities: in the spirit of independence, they are necessary as the result of unequal exchange, the dual city. This is called crisis and urban revolution, the concept of tropical cities which have not survived the colonial adventure.

Developing Cities: in the -1980, the concept of a developing city was required both in countries who faithfully follow the Western model and in those who are looking for an alternative to global capitalism . Under this name, that erases the distinction between Northern cities and Southern cities, is optimism: Urban Development will merge with economic development.

City in Transition (competitive, bankable, affordable, and liveable): long perceived as places of social and political tensions of aspiring men and wealth, it was not until the new urban strategy and the 2009 report of the World Bank that economic geography was rethought and cities became places of opportunities.

Global City: an alternative to stigmatisation, marginalisation, and poverty in the city, this name was born at the turn of the century with the globalisation of trade, ideas, people and companies. The concepts of global cities in "archipelagos", "Metapolis" reflect their diversity, their divisions and their operating systems.

Sustainable City: discussed at the cities summit of Istanbul in 1996, this concept expresses the consciousness of a finite world where a sustainable city moderates and recycles its consumption, limits emissions, renovates its neighbourhoods, mixes its people and produces wealth in a circular economy. More recently the Resilient City requires professionals, faced with crises and contingencies, to take a cross sector approach, integrate disciplines and take a holistic approach to urban development. ■

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Participatory approaches and tools
Progress, hopes and limits[4]

Since Habitat I Summit [Vancouver 1976], citizens' participation to define the future of their city or their neighbourhoods has expanded under multiple forms, in a growing number of countries, spearheaded by NGOs, and sometimes also by people's led movements.
Yves Cabannes, Professor Emeritus of Development Planning from University College London, at "Bartlett Development Planning Unit," has worked on these issues over the past decades and shares his reflections.

Participatory evaluation in Villa El Salvador, Peru 2014

Participatory processes were largely facilitated by the municipal decentralisation that allowed more and more cities, primarily in Latin America, but not exclusively, to become laboratories of "participation". These tools, these spaces and these multiple channels generally made it possible to improve the planning and management of cities and led to more democratic forms of governance that, however, rarely challenged established powers, except for rare exceptions that raised legitimate hopes. These changes did not tackle significantly either the causes of growing inequalities in southern and northern cities alike.

Significant progress of participation
These progresses relate to three different types of participation: community based, city based [citizen participation] and multi-stakeholder. It is at the neighbourhood level and for their improvement that tools and mechanisms of participation grew quickly, allowing community participation to become an integral part of urban practices. To date, much has been experienced, and the toolbox is full! Whether to plan, co-manage or evaluate projects and programs. Furthermore, citizen participation tools, which allow people to engage in debate and / or decide on the future of their cities and not merely of their neighbourhoods relate to urban planning, be it strategic planning, physical planning, sectorial or for master plan. Progresses have been more recently achieved in multi-stakeholder planning and management tools that involve a broader and diverse range of urban actors. These tools are instrumental in a logic of "good" governance. They are increasingly expanding, often at the expense of community and citizen participation.

In a few cities, dispersed and self standing participation mechanisms that appeared through time "from below", gave birth to Integrated Systems of Participation that connect them, optimise their use and avoid duplication of efforts. These systems tend as well to reduce citizen fatigue. Good experiences include that of San Salvador that enacted a municipal decree for participation that legitimized and connected a dozen of pre-existing mechanisms: municipal information system; open forum; citizens' consultation; Neighbourhood consultation; open session of City Council; Municipal Forum for dialogue; participatory budgeting; rendering of accounts; neighbourhood association; Districts round table; thematic forum; citizen oversight committee.

Hopes and limits

Massive expansion of Participatory Budgeting [PB] under many forms
Their number increased in twenty years to several thousand in a growing number of cities. This innovative method, born in Brazil in 1989, according to which "people decide on part or all of the municipal budget" keeps expanding. PBs allow in a short period of time to turn into reality the wishes of the citizen and to do more with scarce resources, two assets that contributed to their success. They constitute the major innovation in the field of participation over the past decades. Three significant progress must be highlighted: The first one, relatively recent, is to link up PB as a short-term budgetary exercise with medium-term financial and economic planning in its turn either participatory, as in São Bernardo do Campo in Brazil, or not, as in Chengdu in China; Secondly BPs are better integrated into participatory systems and ceased to be the participatory panacea; the third is that participatory budgeting became recognised as an operational bridge between planning system and participation system.

New forms of governance forged during participatory processes

Beyond enabling the development of better development plans and the improvement of living conditions, participation processes have brought multiple and often underestimated benefits, and primarily new forms of good governance, involving public authorities, in association with grassroots organisations and other stakeholders. In most cases, ad'hoc solutions such as multi-stakeholder committees, participatory budgeting boards or round tables, are "tinkered" to facilitate the unfolding of the process. These experimentations open creative spaces in which new democratic rules are built with, and sometimes by, local people. They can later be institutionalised or simply formalised, but in any case they are conducive to new democratic practices.

Consultation or decision-making power? The majority of mechanisms that have emerged over the last four decades are merely advisory and people still cannot decide. Consultative processes tend to be less sustainable through time as those consulted reduce or discontinue their participation given their low power of decision. This is a central unresolved issue to be considered.

Some challenges for the future

Participation of vulnerable groups such as migrants, ethnic, religious or sexual minorities, homeless or refugees
Research results and testimonies of city makers and professionals coincide on one point with the opinion of social movements representing the most excluded: they [the vulnerable groups] rarely participate significantly and when they do so, their voices are hardly heard. They rarely benefit from participating. Forms of universal participation, in fact, exclude as much as they include. It is therefore necessary to go further, to expend affirmative policies that facilitate women participation; the voiceless to deliberate or the homeless to attend community meetings. This challenge concerns local governments as much as community based organisations or professionals involved in participatory processes.

Switching from participation as a practice to integrated systems of participation within the framework of participatory policies
Integrated systems of participation set up in some cities are reasons for hope. However, few of them are part of municipal participation policies that enable them to sustain over time, beyond political mandates. As such, the decree for transparency in municipal management and citizen participation signed in April 2002 by the Municipality of San Salvador referred to before opens a new path: To participate becomes a citizen right [Article 6] that in turn is broken down into five others: [1] Right to request and receive information, [beyond the one that the municipality considers important]; [2] Right of consultation and proposal [for instance about projects]; [3] Right to participation in decision making; [4] Right of co-management; [5] Right of control/oversight and denunciation. Another interesting aspect is that all participation mechanisms contained in the "political participation system" allows the exercising of all these five rights.

From participation as a right to participatory democracy as rule of law
The high profile gained by some participatory experiences in the field, the development of integrated systems of participation, the expansion of participatory budgeting, the mushrooming of community participation and multi-stakeholder approaches for city and neighbourhood planning and management, and municipal participation policies such as in San Salvador have created conditions to move towards a participatory democracy rule of law. This would allow going beyond representative democracy that has largely shown its limits. Making such political change a reality depends only on us all. ■

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Professionals from the South: the experience of a Tunisian planner

Sami Yassine Turki has been professor at the Higher Institute of Environment Urban Planning and Building Technologies (ISTEUB) at the University of Carthage. From 2013 to 2015 He chaired the Tunisian Association of Planners established in 1981 which brings together professionals in urban planning and land use planning, city managers and researchers. Here he is interviewed by Pierre Arnaud Barthel (AFD).

Has the 'spring' changed the practices and positioning of urban professionals?

The answer is moderate: not for all planners. Some have continued to study as before and have suffered, locally, from special delegations appointed instead of elected municipal councils. For other planners, the "spring" has multiplied workshops for an open reflection on spatial planning, the planning system ... At the beginning of 2014, with the Jemaa government launched, a new national strategy for Habitat works with expertise and free speech, a highly collaborative work.

On the national housing strategy, many members were mobilised to provide public authorities with recommendations. It is proposed to put in place adequate measures of self-construction as this is 80% of our pool! Empowering this urban mode of production is a priority. And to control the standardisation of developments at all levels of city, the issue of sanitised plots resurfaced to provide formal access to housing close to those of informal market conditions. By trying to control everything in the planning procedure, it has instruments that are not accessible to the disadvantaged layers of society.

In the field of decentralisation, what are the advances and brakes since the adoption of a "local authority" chapter in the constitution?

There are two issues since the adoption of the Constitution. On one hand, the operationalisation of the constitutional principles. We talk about 8 to 10 years to implement the pioneering principles enshrined in the constitution. The General Directorate of Local Authorities (DGCL) proposed an architecture that will allow a participatory reflection between central stakeholders, from decentralised to local and regional level, experts and civil society. But the real work is yet to begin. On the other hand, local authorities are exhausted. We must to quickly elect local and regional councils, but current laws are inconsistent with the new Constitution. So we will have interim laws, gradually adding competences while providing technical support for communities.

An exercise in Strategic Urban Planning (PUS) was launched in the medium towns of Jendouba and Siliana: what should we think?

The objective of the PUS is twofold: to support pilot communes to teach them to coordinate and lead the exercise, but also consider a national spread. Compared with very rigid traditional instruments, new strategic plans show a strong involvement of civil society. This is less advanced among some devolved ministerial departments, which remain much attached to their institutional framework and prioritise the response in writing instead of being a stakeholder in the co-construction. But it will come ...■

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The Return of Urban Planning?

From Lagos to Medellin, Vientiane or Douala, the 2000s marked the return of urban development plans and planning documents, according to a new strategic approach favouring dialogue between stakeholders, and bringing together planning activities and identification of priority projects. These plans aim to be grounded in local specificities and stakeholders involved in urban development. Benjamin Michelon, project manager at Groupe Huit, associate professor at the Ecole d'Urbanisme de Paris, talks about this renewal of development planning.

The renewal of urban planning

This renewal of the urban planning approach is strengthened by international guidelines, including those on urban and territorial planning approved by UN-Habitat in April 2015 (The International Guidelines on Urban and Territorial Planning), which aim to "provide a guiding framework to improve policies, strategies and plans".

While we can celebrate the return of a planning approach to urban development, one can however wonder about the results of operational planning activities. On the ground, despite a proactive discourse, it seems difficult to break with disrupted and uncontrolled urbanization practices and to convince local authorities to articulate their policies around urban plans.

Behind the involvement of international stakeholders, the lack of financial resources is a major impediment to efficiently address the needs resulting from a strong urban population growth, the shortage in basic services and the lack of authorities' capacities. These issues tend to mitigate the effectiveness and impact of this planning exercise, which is yet key to the success of a society project.

Looking for a model of development

Planning has always been used as an instrument in the service of a society project defended by those in power. The first urban development plans in the 1900s were reflecting the urban ideology of colonial authorities. In Asia and Africa, these plans were based on hygienist considerations inherited from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries in Europe. Their goal was to structure towns in such a way that the colonial city be separated from the native town, thereby asserting the power of the colonisers. This goal lasted until after World War II. At the end of the war, the beginning of decolonization led to rethink the development of these territories and to envision other models of development.

For colonial authorities, one objective, in anticipation of decolonization, was to strengthen the productive capacity of cities and their link with the European continent. In Africa, Latin America and Asia, modernist-inspired plans designed by European architects[5] adopted a functionalist approach: and created the infrastructure necessary to the management and development of cities: housing, as well as administrative and economic centres.

These plans were part of a development strategy that sometimes remained the only document officially approved and enforceable until the 1980s.

The 1970s represent a turning point, with new plans designed to address a rapid urban growth and anchor the legitimacy of new local political leaders. However, these plans were developed in complex political and social contexts, and structural adjustment policies imposed by international agencies in the 1980s quickly dried up the possibility to finance all the projects associated to these plans.

In the absence of resources, planning was relegated to a guiding role whose impact was minor in practice. Cities then developed without planning frameworks and strategies, leading to the growing emergence of slums. Today, half a century after independence, the authorities are seeking to revitalise their cities, through innovative designs inspired by international "models" such as Singapore, Dubai or Chicago ... Kigali is a striking example of a city that has developed based on globalized cities model. The city claims to be the African Singapore, a "jewel at the heart of Africa", seeking to transform its city center like the Asian city by welcoming investment banks, malls etc.

Urban restructuring or peripheral expansion?

Behind beautiful virtual images of the city of tomorrow, this vision has fostered urban fragmentation, and deepens the existing gap between slums & precarious neighbourhoods and the rest of the city. In the light of complex realities, one of the main challenges today is certainly the production of an endogenous development, model offering a development vision for "ordinary cities" (Robinson, 2006)[6], at the service of an inclusive living together.

Yet, given the lack of resources and the scope of these challenges, the authorities are often constrained to support a certain "model" of city, whose practical achievement relies on private investors ... This vision is thus based on an assumed neoliberal model, due to a lack of public financial resources to initiate large-scale planning projects. While one cannot blame the realism of authorities, this solution tends to fuel tensions between urban territories, constantly pushing slums further away from this "modernisation." The new standards setup by these

5. Here we can cite the name of Michel Écochard in Africa (in Moroccoa, Guinea and Senegal) or Alfred Agache in Latin America (Brazil).
6. Robinson, Jennifer 2006. Ordinary cities : Between Modernity and Development, London, Routledge, 204 p.

SOSAK >>

Schéma d'orientation stratégique
de l'agglomération kinoise

Strategic development plan of Greater Kinshasa

plans do not offer sustainable solutions for precarious neighbourhoods inhabitants, who are being further marginalised or even rejected at periphery of cities. In addition, facing individual stakeholders' initiatives – rarely predictable – the "plan" quickly becomes obsolete.

At the same time indeed, the urban population growth questions the cities' geographical boundaries. Beyond existing city borders, peripheral housing developments appear as "the solution" for the city of tomorrow. They represent an efficient way to welcome new urban dwellers… but also an ideal tool for speculation by traditional landowners, even before being serviced and integrated to the urban area. This fact hinders the integration of these peripheral areas in the planning process, and the opportunity to raise enough funds to service these new urban territories. This issue is common to many cities, like Niamey, whose Reference Urban Plan prepared in 2010 has not been approved yet, due to disagreements on the real city and urban expansions boundaries.

The question of the scale of intervention therefore adds up to the issue of urban development "models"… and points out the needs for a comprehensive plan to manage these new urban boundaries. It is essential to keep believing in the benefits and need for urban planning, but one must be realistic: it will only be possible to sustainably address these issues when local governments will have the necessary funding to implement their projects of public interest! ■

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China in Africa,
Another way of building cities

China has had a significant presence in Africa for some thirty years now. David Bénazéraf, a doctor in geography, author of a thesis on the urban development projects chosen in Africa, describes in this article the particularities of Chinese acts in matters of Chinese urban development in Africa and their impacts. It also shows that the approach of Chinese stakeholders differs from the practices of western bilateral and multilateral lessors.

Africa accounts for 35% of Chinese construction markets abroad. By the 1960s, the Chinese construction companies had built infrastructure in Africa (railways, roads) or public buildings (administrative buildings, stadiums, etc.). Since the late 2000s, China-Africa cooperation in urban development has experienced a real boom. Diversifying of Chinese actions has been observed alongside the implementation of projects at different scales, sometimes unparalleled: urban roads, housing homes, satellite towns, special economic zones designed as new cities. Combining public aid and private capital, several categories of actors - planning institutes, construction companies and private developers - are designing and building various kinds of projects. These recent achievements reflect a redistribution of the cards between "development aid" and North-South and "South-South cooperation".

China's contribution to African urbanisation is a new element in a long history of exogenous transplants in Africa: "African cities Have been hybrids [...] for a very long time" (Coquery Vidrovitch-Catherine, 1993 History of black African cities, p. 45). Beyond the town centres shaped by the colonial presence, the current Chinese achievements now contribute to the evolution of urban peripheries. With the emergence of new players from developing countries in the second half of the 20th century, urban practice circulations are particularly diversified through increased contacts between the "south".

Chinese companies are State-owned and particularly active in the renovation of urban roads, often dating from the colonial empires, as in N'Djamena. The aim of this is to decongest the primary networks of large cities. In Addis Ababa, they have participated in many projects including a light railway (LRT) commissioned this year and the road system. In Bamako, they built the Sino-Malian friendship bridge which opened for the 51st anniversary of the independence of Mali, facilitating the crossing of the River Niger.

They are also responsible for housing projects as well-known as those of the new cities. In the outskirts of Luanda, the Chinese state construction companies have built nearly 2000 homes since 2008. The satellite city of Kilamba is an example of such a flagship project. The first phase alone has 20,000 homes, 710 5-10 story buildings from May to November, but also schools, shops, and public spaces. Although not covered by development aid criteria (the concessional loans are not), these projects fall within the framework of Sino-Angolan cooperation and are the subject of discussions at the highest state level.

In Nairobi, Chinese projects are part of a different context. The construction of roads by Chinese companies comes under the footing of development assistance with bilateral or multilateral funding. In contrast, in the private sector, Chinese developers are active on the market for the construction of public housing buildings on the outskirts of the city to creditworthy people. They build and sell compounds of 150 to 600 units. Fully equipped apartments offer well above the average surface area per capita in the Kenyan capital.
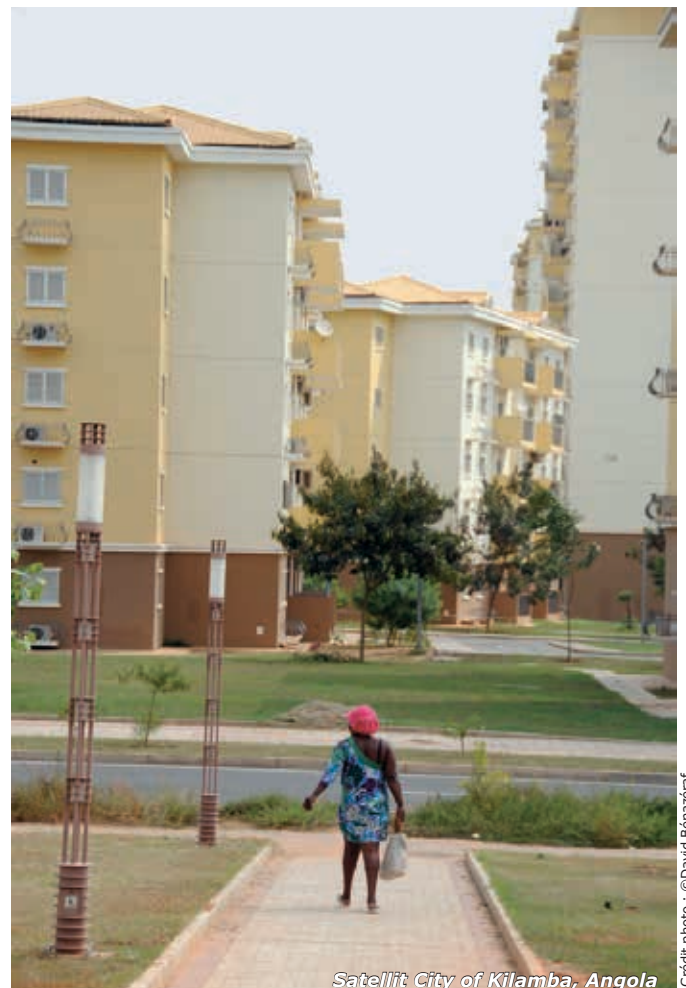
Satellit City of Kilamba, Angola

The Chinese approach to urban development differs from so-called traditional donors. While Western donors focus on urban planning, neighbourhoods essential services and slum upgrading, Chinese players are focusing on urban construction (infrastructure, new housing, new cities). China's urban production in Africa has speeded up the final conversion of some of the largest cities of the continent and their denser suburban areas into megalopoli, contributing to the formation of a new urban stratum. The Chinese projects are also in line with the emergence of the African middle classes facilitating access to a more comfortable life. They are a concrete response to the rapid urbanisation of the continent, so it is still too early to measure their impact and social appropriation in African contexts today.

The time spent feasibility studies is much shorter than that of projects funded by Western backers. The projects are primarily driven by Chinese companies according to a principle of tied aid. Rapid development responds to the needs and political agendas of African governments, with many African leaders now showing a willingness to learn from Asian urban forms. For example, Kenya, like other African countries, has adopted a political strategy of openness towards the countries of Asia, called the Look East Policy. Seen from the Chinese side, intervention in the urban development sector contributes to promoting the success of the Asian countries and the production of an alternative to Western practices of cooperation with Africa. It was also promoted by the Chinese Premier Li Keqiang during his visit to the headquarters of the African Union, in Addis Ababa, in May 2014. Chinese urbanisation embodies a model of success that is attractive to African leaders and contributes to the awarding of construction contracts to Chinese companies. ■

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Urban Professionals : A look at the developments of the sector internationally

Benjamin Michelon brought together Michel Arnaud (Road, Canal and Port Engineer and architect/urban planning consultant) and Emilie Barrau (socio-planner with GRET) to discuss changes in the urban planning profession in developing cities. The former is at the end of his career, the latter is in the early stages of hers.

Michel Arnaud: I started my career in Africa as a colonial official. It was the start of the urbanisation in the region, and the planning of reconstruction in France was the reference. There was little money but all the necessary power. I experienced the time of "experts" planning or redesigning the city, with urban interventions becoming increasingly complex. Expertise has not disappeared, nor has the need for proactive proposals informed by experience as much as by initial training.

Emilie Barrau: A major evolution in the urban planning profession internationally is that, increasingly, we work for and with local managers, who claim legitimacy - even though funding may come from elsewhere. Work in southern cities needs to consider variety of contexts and experiences to bring new ideas to shake things up, make people sit up and notice and create debate among local stakeholders. The planner-consultant, working alone or as part of a team, now supports local contracting and the strengthening of skills in city management. My experience, in two very different contexts - in Morocco, facing strong project management and as part of a loan; in Haiti, with a fragile project management team funded by a grant – has shown me the importance of building a triangular relationship between the expert, the owner and the lessor.

Michel Arnaud: What most backers indeed ask consultant teams is to "make do" with the local contracting team to implement their vision of "good urban policy." All types of scenarios exist, depending on the relationship between the backing agency and local political authorities. The World Bank has the ability to subject the financing of a project to the implementation of its policy. Others must take into account the political line of their constituents, even in the disbursement of funds, or public opinion.

Emilie Barrau: The situation is often more complex. Local authorities may have accepted the requirements of the lessor and then changed their mind: "if you want to disburse, agree to do what we want." If the project is suspended, in case of conflict, the losers are the residents but the lessor loses the identification work carried out during the preliminary phases. And in planning terms, there is competition between donors. We are faced with a compromise, from beginning to end of the intervention. The of the consultant's experience and negotiating skills are very important.

Emilie Barrau: Another striking development of our business is that we hardly ever work on the city in the making, on SDAU and other planning statements, but on the existing city: squatter settlements, restructuring, reconstruction.... The approach is different.

Michel Arnaud: Is this not the projection of a problem in our cities (rejection of urban sprawl, environmental concerns ...) onto cities that are set to double over the next two or three decades? Unless projects are delayed for a decade on the development of the dominant paradigm! And when the reality of many cities in the South is that they are excluded by standards from "essential services" and by their recurring expenses.

Emilie Barrau: Here too, things have changed: when working in shantytowns we no longer envisage compliance with standards. Urban exclusion is economic, social, cultural and political. To reintegrate those excluded from the overall dynamic of the city, we must act on all fronts and therefore modestly on each one of them. The approach is more complex, it has its limitations but it can progress towards relevant solutions.

Michel Arnaud: The definition of "slum" is too broad. The truly precarious settlements, which do not change or which change for the worst, are lawless neighbourhoods. Planned plots neighbourhoods fall under the remit of the continued growth of networks and equipment, at the request of the occupants. Isn't it common sense to only deal with a liability only after ensuring that it will no longer occur. ■

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Excerpts from *Villes en développement*

Françoise Reynaud has long been in charge of the Developing Cities Documentation and Information Centre and has been a member of the Editorial Board of Villes en développement since its creation in 1988. Below is a subjective choice of particularly notable issues. This choice does not reflect an official platform or the doctrine of the association.

Through the publications, the Bulletin has always tried to provide answers to the concerns of professionals, and a lot of themes from older issues are still valid[7].

Of the 99 issues of the Bulletin *Villes en développement* published since 1988, are some "classics" such as number 37 of 1997 devoted to the **"Dynamics of urbanization in Africa south of the Sahara."** Prepared by Alain Dubresson Catherine Coquery-Vidrovitch, Bruno Lautier, Alain Marie, this issue gave a good overview of the subject.

Number 13 of 1991, dedicated to **"The urban economy"** contained articles by Jean Louis Vénard on the "demo-economic" model developed by Jean-Marie Cour who himself signed off that "African cities are rich because of their migrants" . We must also mention the double issue 63-64 **"Governing the cities of the South"** in 2004, dedicated to the Urban Development Research Programme (UDRP), which took stock of urban governance through ongoing research.

Other aspects of urban development were dealt with in the double issue 72-73 2006 **"Access to basic services"** which proposed a broad geographical panorama of the urban services management, conflicts of interest and local actions, in No. 78 **"Mobility and urban development"** of 2007, which laid out transportation-planning problems, or edition 83 of 2008, **Land in urban areas,** in which Joseph Comby proposed a "change of land model."

Another aspect of planning in No. 92 of 2012, **"Producing a sustainable city together: strategic urban planning"**, addressing the sustainable city in terms of French cooperation policy. And edition 29 of 1995, unfortunately topical, entitled **"Cities through the war"**, questioning urban reconstruction, violence, destruction of heritage.

The Bulletin also regularly reported positions and initiatives in international forums as well as big events, **UN-Habitat**, (No. 28/1995, No. 35/1997, No. 51/2001, presented by Georges Cavallier, Coordinator of the French presence in Istanbul), **Cities Alliance (**No. 60-61 / 2003, No. 87/2009), **UCLGA**, Global Network of Local Governments Africa, No. 88/2010.

Finally, edition 98/2015 **"Southern cities in the digital age"**, prepared from the interventions of the AdP Workshop 2014 and answering the many questions raised about new digital techniques to control urban development. ■

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7. *Villes en développement pdf editions are online on the AdP website from n° 35. Previous issues are available at the "Centre de ressources documentaires Aménagement, Logement, Nature" of the "Ministère de l'Écologie, du Développement Durable et de l'Énergie" et du "Ministère du Logement, de l'Égalité des Territoires et de la Ruralité".*