# Villes en développement



# **Cooperating with Brazil**

fter over ten years of economic instability and political turmoil, Brazil is now enjoying high growth and monetary stability again. The first-round election of President Cardoso holds out some hope of reforms in a country which is suffering from very serious social deficiencies, notably in housing and urban services, despite being the world's eighth largest industrial power.

Financial decentralisation under the new 1988 constitution has devolved means of action to the states and cities. The issue of urban development is now a real concern of elected representatives. And it has been precisely with Brazil's states and cities that cooperation with France has developed over the last five years, mainly in São Paulo, Ceara and Rio de Janeiro under the «urban policies and dynamics» priority cooperation programme financed to a large extent by the French ministry of foreign affairs.

In a country such as Brazil, where our partners have had remarkably good technical training, our aim must be to focus on new policies and techniques. The programme's five reference projects described in this issue call for very diversified but also very targeted French expertise. This highly effective and relatively economical approach has enabled France to gain recognition as a technical partner whose proposals for institutional change are both original and adaptable to non-French environments.

The impact of such projects has been enhanced by support from bodies such as ACTIM, UNIDO or the European Union, who have coordinated their action with ours. This has made the implementation of such a programme more intelligible, not only to our Brazilian partners, but also to our French or international partners, which is very much to its credit.



The city of Santos, Sao-Paulo state

Thanks to the regional cooperation established by the French ministry of foreign affairs, the scope of certain projects has extended beyond the borders of Brazil into Chile and soon Argentina. This has been the case of projects for improving the quality of construction and managing water resources by river basin, first in Brazil and then in Chile and Venezuela.

Brazil is one of the countries that the French ministère de l'Equipement, des transports

et du tourisme has listed as a priority. The next five years will be of decisive importance to Brazil. For this reason, our technical and institutional cooperation with this country has to be sustained.

> Claude Martinand, Director of Economic and International Affairs/METT

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# Urban policies and dynamics cooperation programme

In 1990, in the light of a review of Franco-Brazilian scientific and technical cooperation, it was decided to give priority to a small number of programmes including «Urban policies and dynamics».

This programme was launched by a seminar in Brasilia from September 18 to 20, 1990 attended by over 300 people, which produced a document jointly drafted by a Franco-Brazilian team and adopted by the joint cooperation group responsible for monitoring the programme's progress every year. An evaluation is planned in 1996.

# The structure of the programme has been focused more clearly on a few major aims.

These aims set the priorities, which are: low-cost housing and, more specifically, to improve the conditions in which the lowest income groups are housed; to fit housing into the context of changes in the urban environment and to pay more attention to urban institutional policies.

The most favoured form of cooperation has been partnerships. These can involve a variety of bodies such as research and academic institutions; municipalities; states (or regions); financial, technical and administrative institutions; companies; associations, CBOs and NGOs. The projects that come within the scope of the programme are considered as opportunities to develop partnerships designed to outlast such projects. Any institution or association which thinks that its objectives are compatible with the aims of this cooperation programme may apply for its projects to be registered under it. This gives it complete access to all the required information. If it applies for financial assistance, it has to follow the usual public expenditure control procedures.

All the themes on which priority status has been conferred (low-cost housing, land and employment; technical processes, industrialisation and standardisation; new towns; rented homes and housing management; urban management) are approached in the framework of reference projects.

These projects are the foundations of the cooperation programme. They make it possible to build up a corpus of common knowledge and to put proposals to the test. They are on a sufficiently large scale to provide meaningful material for reflection on needs. They refer to priority urban policy themes. They encourage operators and partners of various kinds to work towards the achievement of common goals. They last several years and are identified as part of the public cooperation programme. Five of these projects are presented in this issue.

Exchange of knowledge is directly linked with debate on urban policies. It has related to topics such as financial, land and rental housing policies, as well as urban management and technical exchanges. The proposals have several dimensions to them (technical, social, economic institutional). They are based on visits by panels of experts, seminars follow-up and training sessions. The research side of the programme encourages the production of knowledge through joint projects and partnerships between research institutions. Many projects involve municipalities, associations and institutions. The programme endeavours to diversify the partnerships. It encourages decentralised cooperation.

In addition to institutions and associations, the programme has also been aimed, through partnerships, at professionals involved in the housing and urban development sectors. This policy has turned out to be very fruitful. Professionals make up a very stable group - although they move a lot from one institution to another, they basically continue working in the same area of competence. As the cooperation programme is somewhat

insulated from cyclical ups and downs, it is recognised by all concerned as a factor of permanency.

Its inter-disciplinary nature is enhanced by the dissemination of information on projects and synergy between them. In this connection, it is worth mentioning the importance of the meeting organised by the DAEI at the BATIMAT exhibition. This biennial event gave many Brazilian urban planners and business leaders an opportunity to meet in Paris. Training sessions, meetings and interviews were organised for their benefit, with the support of ACTIM. The programme is run by a steering committee on which the main institutions and operators involved are represented. Many synergies have already been generated by several projects and partnerships. They have helped to make the programme more visible and intelligible in the eyes of Brazilian housing and urban development operators.

Gustave Massiah, ACT Consultants

#### The City Forum

Preparations may begin in 1995 for a City Forum to be launched in 1996. The idea is to bring together the mayors and elected representatives of the cities, states and regions involved in cooperation projects and partnerships. The Forum would meet alternately in France and Brazil, every two years, to discuss and compare the progress of cooperation projects. Its agenda would also include a debate on the future of urban management and the environment.

#### Municipal urban management

The project proposed by SEADE has just been launched. SEADE is a foundation established in the state of Sao Paulo, which is dedicated to research into municipal urban management. Its French partners are INTERURBA-ORSTOM, INSEE and GREITDH. The aim of the project is to set up a system for observing municipal policies (monitoring and research). The defining of municipal strategy performance indicators will make it possible to study the questions raised by the devolution of new powers to municipalities.

## Improving the quality of construction

Brazil is a land of contrasts, and its buildings are no exception to this. The best comes with the worst. Although a few construction companies use modern techniques, the great majority use a large quantity of unskilled labour and relatively rudimentary techniques, notably for building subsidised social housing.

rue, innovating in the construction sector is no easy matter. In the ab sence of a recognised system for certifying the quality of construction materials and systems, insurance companies used to refuse to insure works involving new systems, particularly prefabrication. It was in order to solve this problem that the public technological research institute (IPT) in Sao Paulo, acting in its capacity as an analysis laboratory, called on cooperation with France. As a result, a project was launched in 1992 involving French participants: the CSTB (the French building research establishment) and the Centre d'études techniques de l'équipement (engineering technical research centre) in Bordeaux. The French ministries of foreign affairs and of Equipement, transports et tourisme (DAEI) contributed to the financing of the project and chose ACT Consultants to manage it.

The aim of the project was to set up a system of technical advisory notes modelled on the French Avis technique system: this aim was achieved in August 1994, and the first company to apply to the IPT for a technical advisory note was a French enterprise located in Brazil. Since then, over 50 such applications have been submitted to the IPT.

The technical assignments carried out and participation in local seminars during this project created opportunities to introduce Brazilians to French policy regarding quality and to orientate the cooperation effort towards the broader theme of the quality of construction work, by getting local companies and the Sao Paulo social housing owners involved as well. A big step forward was accomplished in this direction in June 1993 by the holding of a seminar on this topic with the support of ACTIM on the French side and of the Sao Paulo state housing secretariat and the powerful SINDUSCON1, on the Brazilian side. At this event, the secretary of state for housing presented a comprehensive government programme for promoting quality.

The BATIMAT 93 exhibition that followed provided France with an opportunity to host a Brazilian delegation representing about 50 construction companies, the public authorities (the housing secretariat and the CDHU)<sup>2</sup> and



A Cohab development

the IPT. They were introduced to all French operators involved in quality management <sup>3</sup>. It was during this trip to France that the idea of a coordinated programme was born, involving operators from the public sector (CDHU), the private sector (ITQC<sup>4</sup>) and technical bodies (IPT). The first result of this programme was the ITQC's participation, as the representative of private companies, in the Franco-Brazilian programme of cooperation in the area of certification.

Very soon after, at the start of 1994, the CDHU financed a programme for the certification of materials to be used in its social housing. The French regional service, *CETE du Sud Ouest*, lent its support to the IPT and the ITQC under this programme, which gradually became more structured as the year wore on with the arrival of new participants such as the ABCI (the Brazilian association of industrialised construction companies) and especially SINDUSCON, representing all construction sector professionals. At the end of 1994, the Governor of the state of Sao Paulo signed an executive order giving the programme an official status. The programme's

objective was defined as to optimise the quality of the CDHU's projects, materials, works and services. In other words, this meant that the construction of 60,000 dwellings a year would have to be the object of a quality management approach. An initial critical survey of 500 recently built homes throughout the state will be conducted in 1995 with a view to developing a method for evaluating and improving quality. All the French development cooperation operators mentioned above will be participating actively in this project. Moreover, they will continue to foster synergies with a similar project in Chile and, if possible (thanks to the support of UNIDO), with similar projects in Argentina and Mexico, where quality concerns also seem to be emerging.

#### Françoise Méteyer-Zeldine,

in charge of South and Central America at the DAEI

<sup>4</sup> Construction quality technical institute, an offshoot of SINDUSCON.

a federation of construction companies.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Developer of social housing in Sao Paulo state.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> DAEI, DHC, Plan construction habitat, CETE, Agence qualité construction, CSTB, CEBTP, FNB, QUALITEL, insurers, quality control agents, etc.

### The building-up of a rental housing stock

The significance of this Franco-Brazilian cooperation project is that it is the first time a Latin American country has adopted an overall approach to the building-up of a rental social housing stock. This is a vast and ambitious aim, given that Brazilians, like most other Latin American peoples, have reservations about the «rental» concept applied to social housing

The rental housing market in Brazil has been left entirely to private ini tiative and has never been regulated. The shortage of housing has led to overoccupancy of insalubrious dwellings («cortiços») whose speculative rents accrue to a multitude of intermediaries. All the measures that the public authorities have attempted to take in order to keep rents under control have been ineffective and have even often had unintended adverse effects in that they have encouraged owners not to declare the existence of their tenants. At the same time, all the successive federal government housing support policies have been exclusively aimed at access to ownership, in response to the population's demand for «casa propria». All these policies have been financial failures. culminating in the collapse of the National Housing Bank in 1980. Moreover, the social misappropriation of financial support has become a permanent feature: when lowincome buyers become insolvent they sell their homes and move back into the «favelas» or «corticos», thereby transferring the state subsidised loans to higher-income sections of the population.

Faced with this situation, after analysing the financial aspects of the problem and defining criteria for measuring the social effectiveness of housing support, a number of urban development authorities and professionals sought ways of diversifying the supply of housing and the types of tenure. They chose to use an analysis of the results of over 50 years of public rental housing policy in France as their benchmark for attempting to frame and implement a specifically Brazilian rental social housing

The number and diversity of operators and especially the reservations mentioned above explain why the implementation of this project has taken so long and been so difficult. Today, thanks to the sustained and concerted efforts of all the Brazilian and French operators involved, these reservations have, to a great extent, been removed. It is now possible to say that rental housing has become an inescapable

aspect of any debate about social housing in

The activities organised under this project, which actually began in 1992, have developed along two complementary lines. - The first one, initially limited to the state of Sao Paulo, aims to provide a number of public-sector owners of social housing such as the CDHU1 or municipalities in cities such as Cubatao, Diadema and Santos with support in initiating, monitoring, managing and evaluating a wide range of social housing pilot projects involving the construction of nearly 2,000 homes for rent.

- The second line of action aims to help federal government decision-makers in Brasilia to define what form and scope rental social housing can have as part of a national policy. In 1995, this aspect of the programme will become very important for two reasons: first, the major role assigned to the rental sector in newly-elected President Cardoso's social housing policy; second, even more important, the very recent involvement of the planning ministry's state secretariat for urban policies in the implementation of this policy and of the powerful CEF2 in its financing.

From the French point of view, what has made this cooperation programme so original has been the diversity of French technical assistance. This assistance has been jointly financed by the French ministries of foreign Affairs and of Equipement, transports et tourisme (DAEI), who charged ACT Consultants with the responsibility for managing French interventions. La Caisse des dépôts et consignations (CDC), which contributed to the initial financing of the project, is now playing a strategic part, along with ACT Consultants, in providing support for policy evaluation. Finally, a number of French public housing bodies have provided support for initiating and monitoring the various pilot projects, giving priority to the setting up of rental housing management structures, thus paving the way for sustainable partnerships with the various Brazilian social housing owners involved.

The building up of a rental social housing stock has now become irreversible in Brazil.



Its form will remain diversified and adapted to the specificities of Brazil and its various component states. It is important to make it clear that, in the eyes of all our interlocutors, this housing stock must be a constituent of Brazil's overall social housing policy.

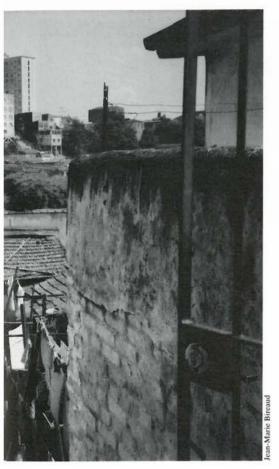
> Jean-Marie Bireaud, **ACT Consultants**

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> CDHU: The Housing Development Company, the state of Sao Paulo's social housing owner, which builds over 50,000 access-toownership homes a year.

CEF: Federal Economic Fund, Brazil's development bank.

# From «polos habitacionais» to new towns

Background: the first contacts were made with Sao-Paulo state in February 1989, and a Franco-Brazilian seminar was organised in October 1989 with the Housing Development Company (CDHU) of Sao-Paulo state, the Brazilian Cooperation Agency (ABC), and the French ministries of foreign affairs and of Equipement (DAEI). This seminar enabled the participants to share their experiences of French new towns and of Brazilian «polos habitacionais» (suburban housing complexes).



t this seminar, the Brazilian authorities voiced their regret at the tendency in Brazil to solve the problem of accommodating very lowincome sections of the population by recourse to large housing complexes built on the outskirts of cities, called «os polos habitacionais», which are inaccessible, illequipped and devoid of facilities for activities. This trend is comparable to the one that led to the «banlieues-dortoirs» (dormitory-suburbs) in France in the 1960s. The French experience of new towns featuring different types of housing for all income-groups, a balance between residential and commercial property, adequate public facilities to meet educational, health and leisure needs, etc. was deemed to be very interesting.

The Brazilian secretary of state for housing, who visited the French new town of Saint Quentin-en-Yvelines in May 1991, was particularly interested in our approach to urban development through partnerships between the public and private sectors, and in the way French public development corporations (EPAs) recoup their planning and development costs. This visit was part of a tour of French new towns organised, at the Brazilian secretary of state's request, by the DAEI on the occasion of BATIMAT 91 for the benefit of 40 Brazilian state officers and 100 Brazilian representing property developers and construction companies.

#### Cooperation

Franco-Brazilian cooperation in the field of urban development officially began in 1992. It was planned to last three years (1993/1995). It has been financed by the French ministry of foreign affairs.

The aim of this cooperation has been to provide support in the field of urban planning and development to the CDHU, the largest social housing development body in São Paulo state.

The objective has been to set up an «urban planning and development» team within this body, whose justification for existence is essentially to produce very social housing. Thus, little by little, the CDHU has adopted our philosophy of balanced urban planning and development (mixing social housing with middle-class housing; balance between homes / commercial property / urban facilities; private sector involvement, etc.). The CDHU's past philosophy of vast programmes for building only social housing has been called into question.

French support for the CDHU has been very operational and practical. It has consisted of helping the CDHU to set up.

#### Operational project: Agua Espraiada

This is an urban upgrading project in a whigh-class» neighbourhood of Sao Paulo

on land that had been expropriated in the 1960s for the construction of a motorway that was never built. This vacant land has been gradually taken over by «favelas» (8,000 families in 1993).

The objective is to redevelop part of this land and to use the resulting capital gain (from the office building and shopping centre developments) to finance the upgrading of the rest of the land and the rehousing, partly on the spot, of the families who live in the «favelas».

The main contribution of the special grouping formed for this project has been to make the project management team more aware of the need for an overall approach to ensure the project's success and resulting good image. This means all the dimensions of the project have to be taken into account: rehousing the inhabitants of the «favelas» in accordance with the existing environment/drawing up an urban development plan based on a realistic and balanced programme of construction of offices, homes, shops and infrastructure facilities (roads, services, sewerage, green spaces)/creating an institutional framework that deals with the various aspects of the project, including finance and compliance with regulations.

The CDHU's general management approved the French proposal for organising an international competition involving groupings of designers and investors. The programme of this competition was drawn up in outline during support assignments of French experts in Sao Paulo. Then it was «fleshed out» during a recent visit to France by two CDHU technicians, who spent time in the La Défense and Etang de Berre public development corporations studying projects submitted at competitions, which enabled them, with help from development corporation teams, to define the consultation framework best suited for Brazil.

Chantal Guillet,

deputy secretary general, GIE Villes nouvelles de France

### Cooperation between the urban community of Lille and the city of Rio de Janeiro

A protocol on cooperative action was signed on August 4, 1989 by Mr Pierre Mauroy, President of the Lille Urban Community and Mr Marcello Alencar, Mayor of Rio de Janeiro, adopting the principle of cooperation in the fields of transport and the environment.

#### **Transport**

#### a) Dynamic traffic control

An agreement was reached with the CET (Traffic Engineering Company) in Rio on traffic regulation.

Thus, on November 3, 1990 a cooperation agreement was signed on transforming the local system of traffic control by adopting the methods and technology used in Lille. With the support of the French foreign ministry, a prototype system was brought into service on June 29, 1994 in the western part of Rio de Janeiro.

In order to consolidate the initial phase of cooperation, it was decided that a reference centre on traffic should be created in Rio de Janeiro. This was confirmed on October 14. 1994 with the signing of a cooperation agreement with the new Mayor of Rio de Janeiro, Mr César Maia, elected in 1993.

This innovation had three aims:

- to make Rio de Janeiro a recognised focus of expertise on traffic control;
- to turn this focus of expertise into a cooperation "information retrieval centre" for the benefit of other Latin American
- to sustain and support the contribution of the French city of Lille to cooperation work in the area of urban traffic in Latin America. This project was particularly ambitious and difficult to implement. If it successful, it would set a good example of development aid, through its potential for multiple applications to other cities of the South.

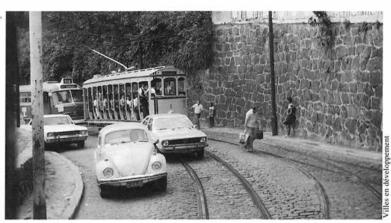
#### b) Urban transport

The first exchanges of views took place in 1994 on the questions raised by overall approaches to urban transport in the builtup areas of Lille and Rio.

The mass public transport plan at the heart of the master plan for integrating transport facilities in Rio de Janeiro and its suburbs will have to be taken into account.

On January 1, 1995 the former Mayor of Rio, Mr Marcello Alencar, was elected to the office of Governor of the State of Rio. which should make it possible to develop

Rio de Janeiro



synergies in various areas, including mass transit systems. Three-way cooperation between the state, the city of Rio and the urban community of Lille can now be envisaged to promote research on the

complementary nature of different forms of transport based on an integrated pricing system.

#### The environment

Joint action has also begun in the fight against pollution due to waste in Rio de Janeiro. The urban community of Lille has developed a comprehensive policy on waste disposal aimed at reducing waste production and increasing recycling to a maxi-

This experience has proved to be the perfect answer to the needs of the city authorities of Rio de Janeiro. Thus, with the financial support of the European Union, a partnership has been developed with COMLURE, the municipal enterprise responsible for keeping Rio clean, and for collecting and treating Rio's urban waste. It is planned to implement this partnership over a 24-month period.

#### Bernard Désert.

in charge of international cooperation within the Lille urban community



## Urban projects in Fortaleza

Fortaleza is the 5th largest city in Brazil with more than 2.3 million inhabitants, a number which is exploding. As a city of migrants driven by new forces that find expression in a combative but fragile and relatively well organised people's movement, Fortaleza has now become a symbol of political, administrative and economic dynamism, which interests the whole of Brazil.

t has been against this specific background that the GRET-Urbain partnership has developed, along two major lines.

- Cooperation with the government of the state of Cearà since June 1991 in carrying out the "comunidades" programme to set up community organizations in 6 municipalities of the metropolitan area of Fortaleza and to construct 1,000 dwellings and their own infrastructure, creating 500 jobs and setting up vocational training schemes for the inhabitants and on-the-job training for technicians employed by the public authorities (town councils, the state). A special aspect of the programme has been the introduction of technological, social, financial and institutional innovations through the implementation of full-scale projects. In fact, the 1,000 dwellings will be built through eight different projects of about 150 homes each, built in partnership by the state, the town councils of the metropolitan area of Fortaleza, organisations of self-help builders and training organisations. The "comunidades" programme also

features three subsidiary projects: urbanisation-housing, job creation, and training.
- Cooperation with the Cearah-Periferia NGO, started in 1992. This is governed by one general agreement and several other

specific agreements. Three of the various projects are building programmes:

. two integrated micro-urbanisation projects, each for 50 homes - the Residencial Nova Alvorada and the Castelinho;

. a programme for upgrading existing dwellings, called Casa Melhor, which aims to obtain 400 loans;

. support for user-groups, especially by helping them to design their living space and to organise themselves. The idea of shared planning has been the main driving force of this programme.

The first two projects - micro-urbanisation and Casa Melhor - have been implemented in cooperation with the Fortaleza town council, user-organisations and the full support of the NGO. The third one has been

implemented directly with the inhabitants themselves.

All these experimental projects have involved more than 2,000 families, in about 20 different locations spread within the Fortaleza metropolitan area.

Although these forms of cooperation are financed essentially by local resources, they also benefit from funding that is bilateral (mainly from the French government), multilateral (the European Union), decentralised (the Dunkirk urban community) and from various foundations. The rationale behind these forms of cooperation can be summarised as follows. - Working in urban development means giving support to all those involved in producing and managing it. One of the tasks is therefore to strengthen officials and technicians, non governmental organisations and urban community based organisations.

This strengthening increases the scope for dialogue and development of procedures and methods for producing and managing urban life. To this end, the supervisory council of the "comunidades" programme meets each month to bring together all participants. This joint committee (representing the state, town councils, universities, schools, inhabitants) is a forum for discussion and decision-making.

- Improving housing alone is not enough in a city where more than a third of the population lives in inhuman conditions. Mobilising families to build their own homes and to equip their own neighbourhoods is an opportunity to provide inhabitants/builders with vocational training and a degree of specialisation, as well as to create job opportunities by means of community production workshops, industrial microdistricts, or shopping centres for local people.

- Finally, the aim is to foster the emergence of new professional profiles, i.e. people capable of providing a range of skills, of acting at the interface between the various operators involved and of forging links on a daily basis between three key elements: housing, production and training.

This work requires technicians and community leaders to be trained; it calls for building on and sharing the capital of past and present experience to enhance people's negotiating and decision-making abilities in favour of urban development.

Patrick Bodart, Yves Cabannes, GRET - Urbain Brazil

Several decentralised cooperation projects involving local councils and associations have links with the programme. Several of them have been supported by the Programme Solidarité Habitat:

- ♦ Rennes/São Paulo. In support of the "pova em ação" association, and on the basis of a 1989 ORSTOM plan, the city of Rennes has given technical and financial help to a pilot project for about 20 multifamily housing units under the system of subsidised own-home building. The project is currently being evaluated.
- ♦ Meaux/Campina Grande (Paraibà). The project for decentralised cooperation between the two towns has three main aspects: economic, technical and cultural. Cooperation in urban development is now structured on two lines: help with managing water supply and drainage; and setting up a neighbourhood management unit in a favela.
- ◆ Cabo (Pernambuco). This «Architects Without Frontiers» project will be about designing the methodological tools for taking action in the field of urban development.
- ♦ São Louis do Maranhão/ Cepromar: CEPROMAR, which has provided deprived children with vocational training for the past 20 years, has just increased the scope of its activities by acquiring a plot of land, which will be developed with the help of an expert provided by the French ministère de l'Equipement. The European Union has been approached to support the project.

### Urban research as part of cooperation agreements

Scientific exchanges between the French and Brazilian social-science communities have traditionally been significant. Yet urban development as such has never been a specific subject of these exchanges, despite the influence in Brazil of French post-war town and country planning and French urban sociology.

Scientific exchanges between Brazil and France have been conducted in a spirit of equality and mutual recognition of each partner's value.

The university exchange programme has benefited from the Capes/Cofecub agreements, which mainly govern doctoral theses and faculty exchange visits. A status report on theses presented in France on urban development in Brazil will be useful to complete similar work carried out in Brazil (1,000 references). A survey of work by French academics in Brazil and of work by Brazilian academics invited to France would also be useful. Without listing them all here, it suffices to say that they deal mainly with urban geography and history, social movements, state policies, the economy, the environment, socialisation, culture, housing and services. As far as institutional research is concerned, bilateral agreements have been implemented by ORSTOM and, to a lesser extent, the CNRS.

At ORSTOM, over the last 10 years, only five researchers have studied urban phenomena in Brazil. One project was supposed to deal with medium-sized towns in the Centre-West region of Brazil, but resulted in an analysis of Brasilia and the dynamics of its "satellite towns". A study of North-East Brazil has analysed the family and cultural practices of urban workers in Bahia, emphasising negro values as a factor

of identification and urban differentiation. While in João Pessoa, an analysis of civil engineering workers was able to study the informal sector in the more coherent framework of social reproduction. In Greater São-Paulo, a project whose startingpoint was urban development ended up dealing with the professional career paths, ways of life and culture of industrial workers. Another study, which started with food problems and the status of women, turned into an analysis of self-development and the mobilisation of a neighbourhood in the outer suburbs. Finally, a project has studied the unique way urban transport companies are formed in Brazil, highlighting the existence of powerful professional interests with strange ramifications in the city and the economy. Besides researchers and their Brazilian correspondents (in universities, NGOs and research centres), those reading for doctorates and scholarship holders have also been able to take part in these projects. As far as the CNRS is concerned, framework agreements with the CNPQ (a scientific supervisory and support body reporting directly to the presidency) have enabled three projects to be launched. One concerns modern French influence on urban thinking in Rio-de-Janeiro in the thirties; another studies local finances in this same city: while the third has a wider comparative

scope, since it measures and conceptualises social segregation in Paris, Rio-de-Janeiro and São-Paulo (with reference to London, New York and Tokyo). Finally, Pir-Villes recently organised an international meeting where certain researchers from Brazil were able to present their work on urban history and policies, health and employment. A study under way on French and Brazilian research into urban development will give a more accurate assessment of it. This inventory should make it possible to structure this field better and give it more impetus. In Brazil there is a large reservoir of competent interlocutors and thoughtinducing realities (such as megapolitan dynamics, mass services, democratic management within a municipal or state framework, or conflictual forms of socialisation, for example). Certain urban innovations are worth studying in this country, which is the size of a continent, and from which there is a lot to learn (as evinced by changes in South Africa, India or China). Other aspects could provoke comparative studies of very great interest and, in return, help in rethinking scientific approaches to urban development in France.

> Etienne Henry, Inrets/Interurba

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