Villes en développement

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Summary

Kanpur *Villes en développement*

India

When recently invited to the Technology Summit in Hyderabad by Professor Alagh, Minister for Energy, Research and Technology, I was once again struck by India's dynamism. I would like to convey this favourable impression to everyone in the business and science worlds in France.
While I was there, France and India evolved the broad lines of partnerships in three research-related areas: biotechnology, electronic money and the hydrologic cycle. For the this last subject, the framework of the agreement still has to be worked out. But this issue of our magazine will provide a helpful line of approach. It opens up new horizons, which I consider most interesting for our water specialists, through Marie-Hélène Zérah's very shrewd approach.
It is vital that France and Europe should devote more attention to the urbanisation of India. For it is in the cities that increasing opportunities for interchange will be forged between this huge country and ourselves. Today at least 24 cities have more than a million inhabitants. But the rural population reserves are enormous — in the 1991 census, rural dwellers still accounted for 74.3% of the total population (as against 80% twenty years earlier). Coupled with the specifically urban population, urban migration, which is progressing more slowly than in some other countries in a similar position, is just as unstoppable, set in motion by surplus farm labour and drawn onwards by the increasing difference in added value between the agricultural sector and the industrial and tertiary sectors (even where they are informal).
This number of "Villes en Développement" thus addresses core issues in its first three articles: urban water (Marie-Hélène Zérah), the urban informal sector – a revealing sign of the country's development (Marie-Caroline Saglio), and the financial resources of local authorities (Isabelle Milbert).
Then the last two articles remind us, using examples, that all action lies within the framework of a culture (Vincent Grimbaud) and a history (Pierre Couté) which, in the case of Chandigahr, is to some extent our own history.
I must take advantage of this opportunity to express my admiration and fellow-feeling for His Excellency Ranjit Sethi, the Indian Ambassador in France, at a time when he is leaving us. He has spared no effort to give us greater insight into his country and make our own country better known in India. I am certain that much benefit is still to come from the time he has spent with us. ■

Claude Allègre
Minister of Education and Scientific and Technical Research

The real price of water

Marie-Hélène Zérah, Human Science Centre, New Delhi

The irregularity of drinking water supplies in major Indian cities is forcing households to deploy strategies to procure this commodity which is essential to life. An analysis of the cost of these strategies opens up new horizons for a more dynamic supply policy.

The water supply service in Indian cities (around 250 million inhabitants) is confronted with difficulties in financing, managing and operating the system, together with heavy constraints (deterioration in resources, population growth, rising standards of living and increasing infrastructure costs). This is affecting the service to users, particularly households, which consume between 60 and 70% of the water supply[1]. For a start, not all city-dwellers are supplied with drinking water[2]: 16% of them have no access to any water supply[3].

Then there are considerable disparities in this service depending on the cities and the population strata. For instance, water consumption in the three great metropolises exceeds 200 lppd (litres per person per day): 213, 247 and 250 lppd for Calcutta, Bombay and Delhi. But it does not exceed 100 lppd for one third of the 212 cities with more than a hundred thousand inhabitants, which include Madras. And while the service coverage exceeds 50% in Delhi and Bombay, it does not attain 35% in Madras and Lucknow! As for water consumption in the slum areas, it is often less than 50 lppd (47 in Dehradun[4], 35 in Delhi and 20 in Hyderabad[5].

Apart from these diversities, the problems encountered are similar: antiquated supply systems, a high proportion of unmetered water (24, 30 and 36% respectively for Bombay, Delhi and Calcutta), heavily subsidised charges, etc. This results in an insufficient water flow and an irregular service – the supply is restricted to twenty minutes per day in Rajkot, three hours in Madras, five hours in Bombay and ten hours in Calcutta[6].

We have analysed the consequences of this intermittent supply, based on a survey conducted on 700 households connected to the distribution network (seldom studied) in the Delhi urban area[7]. This research highlighted three important findings:

1) Households use many different strategies, with varying degrees of effectiveness, to cope with deficiencies in the service. Water storage is the most common one with nearly two thirds of the households questioned storing water in buckets and one household in two using water tanks (on the roof; they fill up while the supply is working, with or without the help of an electric motor). Pumping groundwater (drilling deep wells connected to tanks or handpumps) is another common strategy used by around 30% of households. But although this strategy gives considerable autonomy to its users, it contributes to the deterioration of the water table.

The other two important strategies are the organisation of activities according to supply times and water treatment[8], which concerns between 25 and 30% of households. Note that the purchase of water from neighbours or water carriers, which is customary in other countries, does not exist here. However, a private market for the sale of water (tanker lorries or mineral water) is emerging rapidly even though it still only concerns a limited number of users.

2) An analysis of the strategies highlights the discriminating roles of income and supply in the choices of households. For instance, high-income house-holds subjected to, or simply afraid of, a very irregular service, will often opt for costly strategies (wells, water tanks, electric motors, reserve stocks) whereas less well-off households will compensate for service deficiencies through the time they devote to reorganising their activities and storing water in buckets. However, the parame-ters do not always act as expected, as even low-income households are now investing in equipment.

3) But whatever the strategies adopted, the cost evaluation of each of them reflects the social inequalities.

In each strategy, the estimated costs include investment, the operating and maintenance of equipment, lost time, the costs of water treatment and waterborne diseases. For instance, the costs of the irregularity of supply for households with incomes higher than 12,000 rupees[9] per month amount to 1.4% of income whereas this figure is 15.7% for the lowest-income groups.

In fact, private expenditure on water amounts to an average of some 2,000 rupees per household and per year (around half of this cost corresponds to the time opportunity cost). This sum is 5.5 times the total amount of water bills to be paid to the local authority by these households. In towns, the aggregate cost of the irregularity of supply for households connected to the distribution system amounts to nearly 3 billion rupees, which is 8.5 times more than the taxes levied by the municipalities on these households.

Three conclusions can be drawn.

Firstly, the social and individual cost of the irregularity of supply is considerable. This is the case in Delhi, but it is doubtless also true of the other large Indian cities.

Secondly, in a context of inadequate supply, the official statistics do not make it possible to apprehend the complex realities or to assess user demand – which is nonetheless essential for orienting policy decisions on drinking water.

Lastly, an encouraging fact is that there exists a taxpaying capacity on the part of households, which the local authorities could call on to finance the improvement in the water supply service. ■

[1].World Bank, 1996. India, Urban Infrastructure Services Review. Duplicated copy. Washington D.C.

[2].To be understood as meaning that they have no access to a supply network whether by their own branch line or from a reasonably close public fountain.

[3].According to figures from the Ministry of Urban Development. These figures are taken from official statistics but they must be interpreted carefully. They are interesting in that they clearly reflect the disparities in the service.

[4].Choc et alii, 1996. Coping with Intermittent Supply: Problems and Prospects. Dehradun. EHP. Acitivity report No. 26. Washington D.C.

[5].V Lall, 1991. Drinking Water Delivery Systems in Urban Slum Settlements: status, development strategy and action plan; SDS. New Delhi.

[6].Asian Development Bank. 1993; Water Utilities Data Book, Asia and Pacific Region. ADB. Manilla. Philippines.

[7].M.H. Zérah. 1997. *Contribution à l'analyse des infrastructures urbaines* (Contribution to the analysis of urban infrastructure): The response of households to inconsistency of the water supply in Delhi). 2 volumes. Paris XII University.

[8]. The treatment of municipal water or underground water by filters (usually ceramic) or by boiling.

[9].1 franc is worth about 6 rupees.

The informal sector in Bombay

Marie-Caroline Saglio

Bombay's future hinges on the gradual transformation of the informal sector. Access to credit, the creation of urban infrastructures, people's education and qualifications are essential conditions for favourable development.

Marie-Caroline Saglio

In India, the informal sector can be defined by contrasting it with the sector subject to labour legislation, such as the 1948 Factory Act which imposes minimum wages and welfare systems for companies whose size and capital exceed certain levels.

The informal sector thus includes entities with capital of less than three hundred thousand rupees[1] and no more than ten or twenty employees, depending on whether or not they utilise energy. It groups together independent workers, family units, small workshops, recyclers, street-traders etc. It is characterised by poorly qualified labour, very low capital intensity and low productivity[2].

91% of Jobs

In the Indian economy, the distinction between the formal and informal sectors is a recent one[3]. In the industries of the last century (jute, mining, tea-planting), most workers were recruited on a temporary basis with an insecure status. Since the 1950s, the organised sector offers regular employment to a handful of privileged workers, whereas most workers are not employed on a full-time basis or, and this is the majority, they work in the informal sector. In 1991, the informal sector employed 90.6% of the total working population and accounted for 64% of the net national product[4].

Interdependence

The separation of the economy into two sectors masks their interdependence and the continuum of the conditions of employment. In Bombay, for example, in the districts of the old textile factories of Parel and Worli, the female workers who prepare condiments or make cardboard holders for incense sticks and handbrushes with recycled materials, etc. work for local tradesmen and retailers in the formal sector. Beside their huts, there are small workshops for metalworking and fabric printing, and "sweat-shops", where women and children produce clothing, carpets and shoes at the highest work rates for a ridiculously low labour cost. These workshops sell directly or through exporters, or to companies in the formal sector.

A Not-so-Flexible Informal Sector

The distinction between these two sectors, that now exists throughout the world, has helped to give an image of a free, flexible informal sector, by contrast with the over-regulated formal sector. But India's informal sector is highly segmented, with the penetration of this competitive market having to rely on the aid of networks based on blood or caste relationships. For instance, leatherworking in the Dharavi slum area is reserved for certain untouchable or Muslim communities that are under the control of Maratha merchants. Admittedly, this division of labour is partly tied to traditional craftsmen's skills and workmanship but it is largely dictated by monopolistic strategies in the informal market. Prospects for social mobility are frustrated by such rigidity. And they are further undermined by the fact that workers are unable to save money, become qualified or, in practice, to stand up for their rights.

The Informal Sector, Urbanisation and Slum Areas

For twenty years now, rich service sector activities such as finance and tourism have been expanding in the centre of Bombay whereas the production units have receded to the outskirts which are continuously spreading northwards. Whereas the traditional industries (textile) are declining, those with high productivity (pharmaceutical, petrochemical, electronic) are developing. The informal sector is growing with them[5] and as it is predominant, the urbanising patterns are tied to its development. Bombay, a city with 12.5 million inhabitants and the economic capital of India, receives 500 new migrant workers each day. These workers, who tend to be poor, are only able to find accommodation in the slum areas (40% of the population of Bombay). It is here that they also try to find jobs as this is where the informal sector chiefly develops and diversifies.

The slum areas are land enclaves occupied by a few hundred huge families or colonies of four hundred thousand souls, such as Dharavi, which are characterised by their lack of living space and infrastructures (drinking water, latrines, a generalised education system, hospitals, public transport systems, etc.). Although there is a hierarchy between the slum areas, running from districts tolerated by the municipality

down to illegal squats, by and large the degradation in the living space and conditions of the Bombay migrants seems to be worsening. This is because industrial migration is increasing, and along with it, competition to find space and a place in the city.
The oversupply of labour also explains an unemployment rate of around 20% in the slums, with wages of less than half those of the formal sector.
In fact, there is a strong link between the development of the formal sector, that of the informal sector, and the extension of the slums.

Vital Interests at Stake for Bombay

The most recent report by the World Bank on labour[6] advocates deregulation and an increase in the role of market mechanisms. When this doctrine is applied to India, it is tantamount to recommending that the informal sector should be developed. But this sector as it exists in Bombay – a segmented, stratified sector characterised by a lack of access to the money market and to basic infrastructures such as electricity and water, and by particularly insecure working conditions – will not be able to develop favourably, which means without part of the urban population becoming impoverished, if these realities are glossed over.
But rather than blaming the formal sector for its excessive constraints and ignoring the imbalances in the informal sector, the aim should be precisely to make the most of the synergies between the two sectors and to help the informal sector in its transformation. Taking steps to facilitate the access to credit, technology and marketing, distributing resources better by setting up the basic infrastructures and by projects to improve education and professional skills would be the best ways to use the available public resources. ■

[1]. around FRF 40,000.
[2]. For further details on the link between informal and formal activities, see J. Breman "A dualistic labour system? A critique of the informal sector concept", Economy and Political Weekly, Bombay, 27 Nov., 4 and 11 Dec. 1976, pp. 1870-6, 1905-8, 1939-44; M. Holström, "Industry and inequality: the social anthropology of Indian labour", Cambridge.(1984); G. Heuzé (1992) *"Pour une nouvelle compréhension des faits et des hommes du secteur non structuré"* (For a greater understanding of facts and people in the unstructured sector), Paris, ORSTOM Editions; R. Bromley (ed) (1985) "Planning for small enterprises in Third World cities". Pergamon, Oxford; R. Bromley & C. Gerry (eds) (1979) "Casual work and poverty in Third World cities", Wiley.
[3]. The term "informal economy" was first used by Hart in 1971, see K. Hart (1973), "Informal incomes, opportunities and urban employment in Ghana", Journal of Modern African Studies, London, March. pp. 61-89
[4]. National account statistics, 1993. In 1981, the informal sector employed 90.3% of the labour force and accounted for 70% of the net national product. This shows that the formal sector does not absorb excess labour even in a period of growth.
[5]. For the integration of the productive sectors into the urban environment, see S. Sassen (1994) "Cities in a world economy". London, Pine Forge Press.
[6]. World Bank (1995), World development report, "Workers in an integrating world", Washington DC.

Decentralisation and municipal finance

Isabelle Milbert, Deputy Head, IUED, Geneva

The success of decentralisation in India seems to depend solely on better sharing of tax resources between central government, the States and the local authorities. Maintaining the status quo would be disastrous whereas favourable development would give impetus to the economy.

Despite the local authorities' secular tradition of autonomy, it was not until 1992 that a constitutional amendment was introduced to strengthen the democratic and technical structures of Indian cities. Recent reforms have fortified their political position in relation to the 26 federal States. These States are no longer empowered to dissolve the municipal assemblies or to place them under direct administration as they used to do. The municipal authorities, henceforth assured of regular elections, have become much more credible. Since 1994, municipal elections have been held in good conditions in most regions and have brought several thousand elected representatives to power. This decentralisation has many other advantages: the support of the population, the democratic process (which has made a fresh and most promising start over the past two years), excellent diagnoses by experienced practitioners, and a municipal will to strengthen the potential for action.
But the constitutional reform was conceived, imposed and implemented by the central government in Delhi, whereas in-situ measures, the setting up of municipal authorities, the transfer of powers and, above all, financing arrangements, depend on the good will of the States.
Each State determines the taxes that come within the municipalities' remit and the rates of taxation to be applied. In fact, the situation varies considerably from one State to another, as regards both the devolution of functions and the transfer of financing arrangements.
As most Assemblies and politicians have no wish to lose the slightest amount of power, the financial transfers are nowhere near adequate for the local authorities' new tasks. Even before the 1992 reform, these tasks formed an impressive list: maintenance of all the urban utilities (water, drainage,

Marie-Caroline Saglio

household refuse collection, roads, public lighting, markets, abattoirs, funeral services, etc.), responsibility for primary schooling, safety and public health in its broadest sense, and everyday administrative tasks such as recording births and deaths.

And now that this list of tasks has been confirmed and extended by the constitutional reform, urban taxes are ridiculously low. The only taxes that regularly brought in large sums (some 50% of incomes) were town dues. But these were phased out by the States during the 1980s, because of their obsolete and anti-economic character. They have never been replaced and their disappearance has only temporarily been offset by a subsidy, which has considerably weakened the already fragile local finances. The number of taxpayers is small, and the cities can only count on rather ineffective taxation and financial instruments: property tax, which is inadequately graduated and difficult to update, a series of local taxes, difficult to collect and with a low yield (taxes on animals and vehicles, for example), and charges for urban utilities. As in the young municipalities of Africa, the municipal budget rarely exceeds a few francs per inhabitant, per year. In total, municipal taxes only bring in 3.5% of the central Government's tax revenue and 8.2% of the federal States' tax revenue.

A lack of municipal employees only makes the situation worse. Discredited, poorly paid local civil service departments with foot-loose senior executives, can only have low efficiency rates: about 60 to 65% of tax levies are paid, while tax bases are largely underestimated, particularly for property tax (by 50% to 60% according to O.P. Mathur).

This weakness of municipal finances is the main stumbling block to Indian decentralisation. It accentuates the difficulties in the areas of public health and infrastructures. Yet these areas are vitally important to maintaining Indian economic growth, a fact stressed by Rakesh Mohan, the author of a remarkable report drawn up for the Indian government early in the year. The innovative experiments of a few municipalities, such as Ahmedabad which has launched out into stock market borrowing, are isolated cases for the moment and somewhat mask the realities. For the important thing is to find new, regular and progressive sources of financing, and it is difficult to see how these would not come from a new method of sharing out taxes with the States, a solution the latter have always refused up to now. Maintaining the status quo would be disastrous whereas a favourable development would be bound to give impetus to the economy.

However, in the face of the current State blockages, the best solution for the local authorities is to resolutely take charge of matters as far as they are able, which is preferable by far to doing nothing. Some of them have realised this and have begun to overhaul all the municipal departments – as in Surat, hit by the plague four year ago and which has since become a model of public health.

Lastly, as pointed out by P.S.A Sundaram, one of the architects of the administrative reform, it is only by stamping out corruption and ensuring the provision of services (as is the case in a few cities), that the town councillors can secure the active support of the inhabitants, which will enable them to introduce tax increases and reform the property tax. ■

Modern indian housing

Vincent Grimaud

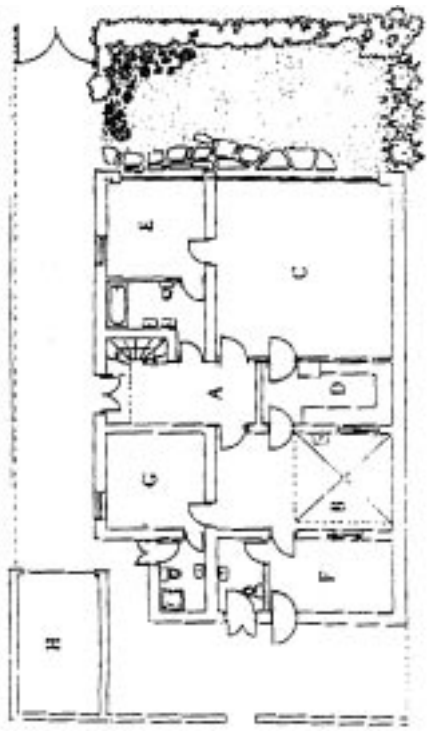
The Indian sub-continent is the home of an urban civilisation many thousands of years old. But this civilisation does not have "purified" housing conditions reflecting an ethereal image of tradition any more than they reflect an image of modernity similar to our own.

This civilisation is building up signs of transition in suburban settlements that may be spontaneous but are nevertheless controlled, in which traditional cultures endeavour to survive, often without the help of a reasonable degree of modernity. This core problem is that of any urbanising process, in varying degrees. It will be made clearer by a better knowledge of the links between modernity and tradition in a context in which the stakeholders, the inhabitants, are able to deploy strategies which optimise the interfacing situations in their environment and form their own model that blends together widely varying cultural inputs.

These privileged players will form our frame of reference for "modern Indian housing", understood as a permanent expression of a way of life and not a collection of new architectural models generated by housing and urban planning policies.

The use of space "Indian style" is consonant with the traditional model of the large, hierarchical family – the "joint family" – and with its functioning as parts of a whole. It is a "caste system" in

Modern house in New-Delhi *Vincent Grimaud*



A - *Entrance hall*
B - *Inner courtyard*
C - *Drawing-cum-dining room*
D - *Kitchen*
E - *Spare bedroom*
F/G - *Bedroom*
H - *Garage*
Servants' quarters

Publications

Construire un projet de territoire (Planning a land use project). From diagno-sis to strategies, by O. Mazel, P. Vazard, K. Werner.- Paris: Liaison Committee with the Labour Pool Committees, 1997.- 74 p., tabl., This guide presents a methodological approach based on listening and involving the people concerned, with three aims: to develop an overall approach combining planning, economics and social relationships, introduce a participative land development method, and consider diagnosis as a process for validating important issues and identified projects.
(Interministerial research and action: Ministries of Public Works, Transpor-tation and Housing, Employment and Solidarity, DATAR (Delegation for Regional Planning and Action) and local development networks).
Price: FRF 80
➔ *Contact: METL, éditions Villes et Territoires, La Grande Arche, 92055 La Défense cedex, France*

Le Delta du Nil (The Nile Delta). Population densities and urbanisation of rural areas, by Sylvie Fanchette. Preface by Yves Lacoste.- Tours: URBAMA, 1997.- 389 p., bibliogr., tabl., fig., phot., map plates. (Research booklet No. 32)
This doctoral thesis in geography, submitted at the Paris VIII University, analyses the evolution of overpopulated conditions in the Nile Delta by taking into account the geomorphology of a delta modified by hydraulic works, the successive projects generated by State machinery, and changes in its territorial grid. This method, combined with accurate mapping of economic and social phenomena, shows that geography can be an efficient means of action.
Price: FRF 160
➔ *Contact: URBAMA, Site Loire, 23 rue de la Loire, 37023 Tours Cedex, France*

L'avenir des villes africaines (The Future of African cities) Challenges and priorities in urban development by Catherine Farvacque-Vitkovic and Lucien Godin. - Washington: The World Bank, 1997.- X-178 p., fig., tabl., bibliogr. (Coll. Directions in Development)
Most African countries have under-taken decentralising reforms. The urban problems facing the central authorities thus concern today's local representatives. This document, based on experience in French-speaking Africa, proposes a study and tools which should help to better target future urban projects in their new municipal context, particularly as regards the provision of basic services for the inhabitants.
Price: FRF 140; stock number 13869
➔ *Contact: The World Bank, 66, avenue d'Iéna, 75116 Paris, France*

both the ideological and the empirical sense, which means taken both as a sociological "theory" and as spatially-juxtaposed, real-life human groups. One and the same principle orders the caste society into a hierarchical pattern and dominates the organisation of the traditional living space. It is the opposition between the pure and the impure. This opposition does simply mean reconciling hygienistic and sacred preoccupations. It concerns whatever can prevent dangerous contacts that lead to impurity, the main danger of which is the undermining or even the collapse of social status. The opposition between "clean" and "dirty", which characterises hygienistic preoccupations, does not concern the same practices. Other models, that could be described as "cardinal", like the institution of the purdah with its screens and veils, which governs married women's status and attitudes in the group, give rise to certain organisational practices in the living space, which cannot de described here but which give the traditional home its distinctive features. For instance, its "introverted" character, illustrated by the arrangement of rooms around a central courtyard. No doubt, the new architectural models that are spreading through India are incapable of influencing the cultural models that command spatial practices. But these practices lie within the context of rapidly changing ways of life, more particularly among the middle and upper middle classes in the cities. The question is thus to know to what extent this traditional system, and the oppositions it generates, still have a place in the modern home.
One of the consequences of the Administration and urbanisation has been the break-up of the territorial base of the castes. For many social groups, this break-up has led to such a division in the living space of the joint family that the modern home seems to be anticipating the nuclear family. Yet through home ownership, it would be possible for the upper middle classes, more than the others, to maintain the joint family pattern in the residential community. However this pattern is less and less prevalent. A real change is thus taking place. Another example of this change is the gradual abandoning of the purdah, at least in its most obvious expressions, which is tending to be replaced by an increasing division between things public and private. The precautions taken to avoid contact between men and women, which were traditionally directed inwards within the family, are now mainly directed towards the visitor from outside the home. Thus in the house shown in the plan, the two doors leading from the living room to the kitchen and from the kitchen to the courtyard, only make sense in relation to the entry hall. In this house built for a couple and their children, there is no longer any likelihood of finding agnates older than the "daughter-in-law - lady-of-the-house".
Compared with the circular pattern of the traditional house in which the central courtyard is the strategic place for meeting or avoiding one another (pure/impure), this plan clearly shows the spatial bipolarisation between public and private areas, which marks the trend towards the "functional" pattern. But some leeway has been left so that these models will also be workable. The positions of the exits and doors are a clear indication that in essence everything follows a modern pattern centering on the entrance hall, to which are added a whole series of entrances, exits and secondary passages enabling the oppositions – pure/impure, male/female, etc. – to be played out.
In terms of additions, we seem to be saying that the "conception" is modern and the adaptation is traditional. This is because the conception did indeed strike us as being a kind of ideological show-piece of modernity, which moreover has its functionalistic (and technocratic) substitute forms in collective dwellings. This is instanced by two series of facts. Firstly, the architect-client relations, into which we gain an insight from their discussions. What is set out as a necessity from the start, is a "functional" house, whose appearance is to be the sign of its owner's modernity. In the case in point, the design is based on a road↔garden ↔ drawing cum-dining room system which determines the use of the plot of land and in general, the entire living system. It is only afterwards that the arrangement of the inner courtyard (in this case, reduced to one third of the garden but which has passed into the private domain and may therefore disappear completely) and the passageways, is worked out through adjustments and additions.
Second series of facts: the additions or readjustments which, after the construction and initial Western-style arrangement, are used to tone down the modern aspect. In the living-room, for instance, beside the modern furniture, there is a mogul-room at ground level, where the men can have conversations and drinks when the evening comes, and which can be used for private meals. As they do not eat together, for educational purposes, the dining-room table tends to be used for the children. In this living environment, it is the modern aspect that forms the decoration and it is the traditional aspect that really makes up the functionality. Such are the "expedients of reason". ■

New Delhi - Villes en développement

Chandigarh, a unique model

Pierre Couté, IPRAUS-CNRS architect

Late in 1950 the Penjab government chose Le Corbusier to be the consultant architect for the construction of the capital of the new State[1].

And in February 1951, a team consisting of Le Corbusier and Pierre Jeanneret, together with Jane Drew and Maxwell Fry, who had already been involved in a previous project[2], found themselves at the base of the Himalayan foothills.

It was understandable that foreign architects were called in to help as, since the late 19th century, only a small number of Indian architects had received training at the J.J. School in Bombay and the last major urban project of the Empire, New Delhi, (neither neo-classical, nor mogul, but «Imperial» as described by its designer, Luytens) did not correspond to the references of the new political elite in India, which had more left-wing tendencies than «Imperial» sympathies. The size of the project (ultimately 500,000 inhabitants) and the renown of its designer, gave reason to expect an outstanding achievement in the history of architecture and urban planning.

To develop his project, Le Corbusier drew on proposals he had made for south Marseille and Bogota and on his writings on the modern city.

His arrival in India was to introduce the «modern» reference into both architecture and urban planning and it could not be dissociated from the training of a whole generation of highly-talented Indian architects.

In the 1970s, this same generation began to level criticism at the modern movement and consequently at Chandigarh. Their training had taken place after Independence and they had doubts about the vernacular references in architectural vocabulary and the use of local materials. Nobody disputed the quality of the Capitol or the spinning-mill owners' Palace in Ahmedabad, but they saw that the column-and-beam structures with brick infills and the crude sunbreakers had spread their dreary way throughout India.

And so they looked for more «Indian» shapes and spaces. And in a country where the great majority of the inhabitants still had rural skills, the fact that little use was made of these skills in the «modern» architecture was also a source of criticism. They then saw that the city was not tailored to Indian socio-spatial ways of life and practices and they accordingly contrasted Chandigarh with what an «authentically Indian» city[3] was supposed to be. They saw that this organised garden-city was not consistent with any «informal» space appropriation, whereas in the old city centres, areas not earmarked for any particular use were used by the inhabitants and by the so-called «informal» activities.

But it must be remembered that in 1950, the Prime Minister's will was clear. The aim was to create an urban system that would spatially integrate a different organisation of society. It was in this perspective that the sectors were organised and their density levels were planned. From the north, where the political power, the bureaucracy and the judiciary were situated[4], to the south, devoted to residential areas with terraced houses of low-paid workers, the administrative organisation plan was apparent from the surface area allocated to each building plot. This new spatial hierarchical organisation was intended to replace that of the towns and villages of India, but in fact, the only difference was in the hierarchical criteria.

And so, did the critics' revelation of the uniformity of the urban landscape of Chandigarh, not really mask a criticism of the levelling out of hierarchies desired by Nehru?

The search for references in urban planning as in architecture, was then to turn towards tradition and the textbooks. For classical India offers many models of cities. The classical urban planning treatises that propose spatial planning and organisation of activities were studied and reinterpreted in this light, admittedly by a certain elite. Projects were promoted, such as the extension of the city of Jaipur in the late 1980s.

This new thinking on cities can be likened to the radicalisation of sectarianism and fundamentalism. For both movements are concurrent and come together in the answer to a question similar to that asked by Nehru in 1950: What is the spatial expression of the society we would like to see born?

But having said that, in the context of the country's rapid development, urban development operations promoted by the private sector and a lack of infrastructures, Chandigarh has today regained a savour quite its own, of a garden city that is increasingly admired and appreciated. ■

[1]. Born of the partition between India and Pakistan.
[2]. Mayer and Nowicki project in 1949.
[3]. With all reserves on this term as the patterns of cities in India are based on many references which are difficult to classify dispassionately.
[4]. The Capitol complex.

Training

International Training Programmes at the Ecole Nationale des Ponts et Chaussées

- Maîtrise d'ouvrage urbaine "Villes, développement, expertise internationale" (Urban project ownership "Cities, development, international knowhow"). from Monday 28 March to Friday 22 May 1998 in Paris.

This eight-week course organised by the *Institut français d'urbanisme* (IFU), ENPC and ISTED, with the collaboration of organisations specialising in international development aid, aims to "requalify" high-level officials from central government, major cities and large urban development management organisations.

It will enable the participants to:
- acquire the knowledge required for decision support in urban project ownership,
- master the skills required to mount urban projects.

It will take the form of lectures and discussions with representatives of the *Caisse Française de Développement* (French funding body for development), *Caisse des Dépôts* (French funding body for public works and housing) urban networks involved in decentralised development aid, and international solidarity associations.

➔ *Contact: Mr Manuel Rodriguez, ENPC, 28 rue des Saints Pères, 75343 Paris cedex 07, France, tel.: 33 (0)1 44 58 28 26; fax: 33 (0)1 44 58 28 30*

DEA (post-graduate diploma) "Dynamiques comparées des sociétés en développement» (Comparative dynamics of developing societies). Paris 7, Denis Diderot University

- DEA Seminar. " The Cities of Maghreb" led by Chantal Chanson Jabeur and Bouziane Semmoud.

Calendar and programme for the first semester 1998:

23 January 1998 and 6 February 1998: The internal structures of the city: methods and results;

13 February 1998: The "Informal" residential environment in Algeria (A. Souiah);

27 February: Transport and travel in the city;

6 March 1998: From town to country (A. Prenant);

20 March 1998: The city, water and the environment;

27 March 1998: Urban unionism (N. Benallègue).

This seminar, which is open to students from other DEA courses, takes place on Fridays from 2 p.m. to 4 p.m, Tower 34-44, 3rd floor, room 307, Univ. Paris 7-Denis Diderot, 2 place Jussieu, 75005 Paris, France

➔ *Contact: Laboratoire SEDET, Tour Centrale, 2ème étage, Case 7017, 2 place Jussieu, 75251 Paris cedex 05, France, tel.: 33 (0)1 44 27 47 01; fax: 33 (0)1 44 27 79 87*

News on cooperation

African local government summit, Africities

This symposium, organised jointly by the Municipal Development Programme and the Ivory Coast Authorities, took place from 26 to 31 January 1998 in Abidjan. It was expected to bring together more than 2,000 local councillors and municipal executives, 3,000 company managers, decision-makers, specialists and professionals, for two series of events:

- scientific seminars on major municipal development topics,
- an economic and trade fair aimed at encouraging interchange between the players.

➔ Contact: PDM, B.P. 01.3445, Cotonou, Benin, tel.: 229 30 05 60 or 30 42 42, fax: 229 30 19 76

N-Aerus

Symposium on European research in the countries of the South, Berlin 12-14 February 1998,

➔ Contact: K. Teschner, tel.: 49 30 31 42 19 05

Urban Environment Forum - Shanghai

Organised under the Sustainable Cities Programme - SCP - of the United Nations Centre for Human Settlements (UNCHS) in conjunction with the United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP), the Urban Environment Forum was held in Shanghai from 6 to 8 October 1997. It brought together representatives from 70 cities and 30 international programmes, which had organised the first forum in Istanbul in parallel with the Habitat II Conference in June 1996.

The urban environment is a growing concern of the cities of the north and south. But the capacity to address the issue depends on many factors which include the mobilisation of users, the communication between stakeholders and the capacity to set up efficient indicators.

The next meeting of this forum must try to propose more operational subjects, in conjunction with the world's regional and local urban associations

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Second Meeting of European Experts on Urban Development on 3 and 4 November 1997 in Paris

On 3 and 4 November, the second meeting of European experts on urban development was held in Paris. The European Commission (DG 1B and DG8) and nine States were represented (Austria, Finland, France, Germany, Italy, Netherlands, Portugal, Sweden and United Kingdom). For France, Mrs Chantal Barbieux (ISTED), Mrs Françoise Reynaud (ISTED - *Villes en développement*), Mrs Marie-Claude Tabar-Nouval (*Fédération Mondiale des Cités-Unies*) Mr Xavier Crépin (ISTED), Mr Claude Praliaud (Secretary of State for Development Aid) and Mr François Noisette (Ministry of Foreign Affairs) participated in all the works.

The purpose of this meeting was to continue the discussions begun at the first meeting organised in Brussels by the Commission on 25 and 26 February and to focus more closely on subjects corresponding to strategic priorities of French cooperation for urban development. It began with a review of the conclusions of the Brussels meeting by a British consultant from the Commission. This review mainly concerned three recommendations:

- Set up a conceptual urban development framework for European urban development policies,
- State the roles and responsibilities of the various partners concerned,
- Develop tools to assist in setting up projects,
- Develop an information and dissemination programme.

The consultant particularly underlined the need to include in urban development policies, measures designed to control poverty, strengthen capacities and protect the environment.

Work then centred on:

- The need to be well aware of all the issues at stake in urbanisation before shaping a development aid policy. The discussion included a presentation by Mr Michel Arnaud, an urban planner, of a study conducted by a group of French research workers, financed by the Secretary of State for Development Aid, which focused on the dynamics of urbanisation in Sub-Saharan Africa. The speaker particularly underlined the extreme mobility of Africans from the rural to the urban environment and vice versa, and on the primacy of population growth in relation to the flight from the country in the growth of today's African cities;
- The importance of cities in economic development. Mr Laurent Bossard, *Club du Sahel*, presented case studies currently being conducted in collaboration with the *Programme de Développement Municipal*, on some West African cities and their hinterland (Saint- Louis in Senegal, San-Pedro in Ivory Coast and Sikasso in Mali) for the purpose of defining the local economy concept and setting out relevant local development policies to answer such questions as: How can the gross local product be evaluated? Which are the most buoyant economic sectors? Which are the stakeholders?
- The fundamental role of local authorities in urban management. Mr Jean-Pierre Elong M'Bassi, Secretary General of CAMVAL and coordinator of PDM, stressed that local authorities in developing countries had high hopes of Europe, particularly that it would engage in support for decentralisation. He proposed three priority areas for intervention:
- assistance in building up local means of expression,
- strengthening the human resources potential,
- developing investments in local facilities.

The reactions on this subject mainly concerned the necessary link between the State and the local authorities and the advantage of involving the southern States in decentralisation support programmes.

More concise addresses by representatives of the European Commission, the "Villes en Developpement " Documentation Centre and GTZ then gave an insight into:

- the beginnings of a European network of Urban Resource Centres (Urbandata et Urbanet), which should enable this network to be set up quite easily throughout Europe by bringing existing structures closer together and encom-passing a few other centres not as yet associated;
- the Commission's will to work concurrently on the management and planning of the urban environment? An interim report was given to all the participants for their opinions, by the consultants mobilised by the Commission.

The main operational conclusion of the meeting was the finalising of the methods of drawing up a joint document to present European policies in the field of urban development on the international front. Before the end of November, each Member State is to transmit a few pages to the European Commission, stating its priorities. The Commission will then have the task of preparing a summary of these suggestions, which can be discussed at the next meeting of European experts, scheduled for 24 and 25 February 1998 in the United Kingdom.

Once the document is completed, it will be used as a basis for a paper communicated by the Commission to the Council of Ministers, if possible by the end of 1998 (in principle, under the Austrian Presidency).

France will be able to use the main ideas from the brochure on French cooperation for urban development, now being finalised and validated, as priority issues to be put forward to the Commission before 30 November.

ISTED

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