

Content

1. Editorial
2. Urban Development Research Program: origins, objectives, and findings
4. Detailed content
5. Actor strategies and approaches to action
10. Urban spatial and social configurations
16. Urban policies and public/private sector links
21. Urban management systems
26. Publications
27. Forum
28. News on cooperation



A street scene in Ma May, one of the streets in the Hanoi shopping district known as the 36 Streets - Emmanuel Cerise

Urban development research program

Governing the cities of the South?

This special issue of *Villes en développement* is devoted to the Urban Development Research Program (PRUD) and accompanies the symposium which reports and promotes the research that has been conducted in this framework during the last three years. The program marks an important change in both the nature and use of scientific results. The thirty participating teams have added to our understanding of the cities of the South and the actors present there after an excessively long fallow period without scientific investigation. This research has identified issues which are specific to each region and its multidisciplinary nature has permitted detailed analysis of the interplay of actors that gives urban life its characteristic complexity at the start of the 21st century. Urban spaces are the product of local political interactions, involving public and private sectors and formal and informal systems which can only be understood with reference to outside forces – “globalizing modernity” to use the expression of which Georges Balandier is so fond.

These regions are the realities of today and tomorrow that will need to be governed. Governing them involves coping with the numerous issues that arise from the reorganization of populated space and the growth of cities. In some places centres of economic attraction are created, elsewhere

development corridors are set up. Other regions are affected by war and require specific types of urban action. However, all the situations studied in the PRUD program appear to be affected by two changes. First, there is an inevitable process, which is at different stages in different countries, by which decentralization is redefining the role of the State. Second there is a desire for greater participation in the political decisions on the part of civil society, whose complexity has been clearly demonstrated by this research.

This symposium could therefore perhaps contribute to a renewal of public policy with a view to governing cities. Perhaps it could provide an opportunity to create lasting ties between the spheres of research and political decision-making in order to lessen the gap between analysis, diagnosis and political decisions. These are issues that must be tackled if we wish to tackle the major challenges that are facing us at the start of the 21st century. ■

Xavier Crépin,
Chief Executive Officer
Jean-Jacques Gabas,
Lecturer, University
of Paris XI/Orsay and IEP Paris,
Honorary President of GEMDEV

Urban Development Research Program: origins, objectives, and findings

Pr Charles Goldblum, University Professor, Chairman of the PRUD Scientific Committee
Dr Annik Osmont, Senior Lecturer, PRUD Executive Secretary

The internationalization of economies and the effects of globalization such as deregulation, privatization and relocation are profoundly changing urbanization mechanisms as well as the urban and regional systems in the countries of the South. Contrary to expectations, cities have failed to play a major role in stimulating development, and urbanization has not resulted in growth; in the last decade the inequalities between North and South have increased, as has the urban poverty which it was hoped the fruits of growth would reduce. In many cases, Governments, weakened by over-ambitious economic and institutional reform programs, are experiencing great difficulties in implementing decentralization projects which require local authorities to have the responsibility and the financial resources for governing their city, either directly or by delegation. Roughly fifteen years after the beginning of these reforms there is widespread consternation among national political leaders and decision-makers, urban development actors, major service operators and their local partners, as well as the “civil society.”

Thus, rather than imposing, from the outside, urban development models which are frequently inappropriate to the context, there is a need to develop alternative, concerted systems for managing urban development and administering and governing cities.

At the end of the 1990s, the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MAE) felt that the new urban situation required fresh scientific research which would primarily focus on actor configurations and new urban action logics. The outcome was the Urban Development Research Program, or PRUD.

■ Origins and objectives of the program

In the spring of 2001, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MAE) decided to launch concerted incentive action in the field of urban research in the whole Priority Solidarity Zone (ZSP)¹. This action was a follow-up to a study of cooperative urban research, published in 1999 by the GEMDEV (Groupement d'Intérêt Scientifique pour l'Etude de la Mondialisation et du Développement) scientific interest group, and conducted at the request of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. ISTEDE was made responsible for organizing and running the Urban Development Research Program (PRUD) in partnership with GEMDEV, which was put in charge of its scientific aspects.

The PRUD has three principal aims:

- to reactivate urban research for development, and integrate new issues and work areas ;

- to generate new knowledge on urbanization in countries of the South to guide public action in the area of urban development and international co-operation;
- to create or revitalize partnerships and interchange in the field of urban planning and development between the French scientific community and scientific communities of the South.

In view of observed changes in the realm of urban development and in order to achieve the above aims, the incentive action has been given two priority objectives:

- The first involves urban action and aims to improve our knowledge of urban projects and management systems and of how they should be implemented;
- The second involves identifying and analyzing the logics and strategies developed by the actors involved in urban action and aims to create an interpretative system for the situations occurring in the project implementation process – including possible stalemate or conflict situations.

The research was also expected to help renew the approaches and techniques used in analysis and clarify and critically reappraise present-day concepts in the area of urban development: governance, sustainable development, urban poverty, and civil society, to mention but a few.

■ Research teams and study locations

The call for tenders generated about a hundred proposals, not only from teams from France and other countries in the ZSP, but also from elsewhere in Europe and North America. The scientific committee selected thirty-two teams, of which thirty completed their research. The organizations involved mainly consisted of university-type laboratories and institutes but also included some associations and NGO's. In all, 250 researchers took an active part in the program. In addition, most of the teams are a North-South mix (more than 40% of the researchers are from countries of the South) and bring together experts and professionals. We should also mention that about 20% of team members are young researchers.

Roughly half the research projects relate to urban issues in Sub-Saharan Africa and Madagascar, eight concern cities in South-East Asia, eleven deal with cities in countries around the Mediterranean basin and two with Caribbean cities. Most of the projects provide comparisons between countries in a given region, but some involve comparisons between different continents. Another methodological point is that the analytic approach of urban intervention systems in the observed situations has been preferred to

a mere description of phenomena based on monographic case studies.

■ **The dynamics of exchanges, intersecting views and synergies. The regional meetings**

An original feature of the PRUD was the four regional meetings that were held at the half-way stage. Each in their different way was conducive to make the public authorities, urban actors and non-PRUD researchers more aware of the role of urban planning in development, the importance of research and of international cooperation in this area and the issues involved. The cross-cutting approach of these meetings generated synergies between the different actors as a result of converging themes and problems.

■ **First assessment. The symposium to report on and promote the research**

It is still too soon for a detailed appraisal of this program whose output is extremely rich. The workshops which will take up a whole day of the symposium, with more than thirty speakers, will give the teams an opportunity to report their main findings and submit them for discussion. This will constitute a first stage during which the main topics will emerge either because of their cross-cutting nature or because of their originality.

A case in point is the identification of the actors involved in planning and urban management, which has revealed a widespread process of complexification, amplified by the involvement of a growing number of international actors and marked by the need for public-private sector links. In many cases conflicts between actors and the operational models they apply make us question the regulatory power of public policies. In addition, demands for participative urban management raise the question of the construction and status of the civil society, between the local and international levels.

On the whole, the analyses emphasize the political dimension of urban development. The same is true for decentralization and local governance in their response to the realities of local power and democracy. The issue of municipalization could thus become central with regard to the concepts of decentralization and governance.

The topic of urban services, which are frequently composite, with “formal” and “informal” as well as public and private management systems, and the issue of regulation received much coverage, inter alia to measure the social and political impact of implemented policies and projects.

Finally, specific research questions have been raised, concerning, in particular, the complex relationships between local and international expertise, the place of the underground economy within urban social systems, the role of humanitarian aid in the management of urban crises, or even war. The three research projects conducted in the autonomous territories of Palestine, although they are no doubt the least typical in the program, provide valuable general lessons about urban management, urban action and the interplay between actors.

The research conducted under the PRUD will be promoted in two ways.

As is customary, both the researchers and the managers of the PRUD are involved in efforts to publish the outcomes of the program. This special issue of *Villes en Développement* is the first step in this direction. Summaries from the teams will be made available as a working document at the symposium. Documents published on the initiative of one or more research teams and a general summary will follow.

In addition to this, the international symposium organized by the PRUD at UNESCO should provide an excellent opportunity to build a bridge between urban development research and action, by setting up a dialogue between researchers, decision-makers, local elected representatives, experts directly involved in action and influential members of the civil society, from both North and South and inside and outside the Priority Solidarity Zone.

This is the meaning we wished to convey by entitling the symposium “Governing the Cities of the South, challenges for research and action”.

1. The countries of the Priority Solidarity Zone (in 2001)

- *Near East: Lebanon, the Self-Governing Territories of Palestine*
- *North Africa: Algeria, Morocco, and Tunisia.*
- *Sub-Saharan Africa: South Africa, Angola, Benin, Burkina-Faso, Burundi, Cameroon, Cape Verde, the Central African Republic, the Comoros, Congo, Ivory Coast, Djibouti, Eritrea, Ethiopia, Gabon, Ghana, Gambia, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Equatorial Guinea, Kenya, Liberia, Madagascar, Mali, Mauritania, Mauritius, Mozambique, Namibia, Niger, Nigeria, Uganda, Rwanda, Sao-Tome and Principe, Senegal, the Seychelles, Sierra Leone, Tanzania, Chad, Togo, Zimbabwe.*
- *South-East Asia: Cambodia, Laos, Vietnam*
- *The Caribbean: Cuba, Grenada, Haiti, Dominican Republic, Saint-Christopher-Nevis, Saint Lucia, Saint Vincent and the Grenadines*
- *Latin America: Surinam*
- *Pacific: Vanuatu*

2. Regional Mid-Term Meetings :

- *Hanoi: (November 2002)
“Intersecting Views of Hanoi : Transition, Urban Specificity and Development Options”*
- *Rabat: (January 2002)
“Urban Government, Actors and Local Authorities”*
- *Havana: (February 2003)
“Democratic Urban Management: Local Initiatives”*
- *Dakar: (April 2003)
“Which Actors, which Intervention Systems, for which City ?”*

Thirty research project summaries

■ Actor strategies and approaches to action

THE GULF OF GUINEA

5. Continuities and discontinuities of forms and legitimation of power in the city and their impact on urban development
Odile Goerg, Université Paris VII

6. Cities at war, wars in cities

Eric Levron, François Grünewald, URD

VIETNAM - CAMBODIA

- Local and foreign expertise in urban infrastructure

Eric Baye, Economie et Humanisme

SOUTH MEDITERRANEAN

7. Cultures and urbanistic areas

Taoufik Souami, IFU, Université Paris VIII

BENIN – MALI

8. Cities: laboratories of democracy?

Michèle Leclerc-Olive, EHESS, CEMS

VIETNAM

- The role of civil society in urban environmental management

*René Parenteau, Institut d'Urbanisme, Université de Montréal, Canada
Nguyen Quoc Thong, Hanoi University of Architecture, Vietnam*

MOROCCO – BURKINA FASO

9. Emergence of local actors in the democratic and professional field; a new situation for mediation and expertise?

Aziz Iraki – INAU, Morocco

Michèle Jolé, IUP

■ Urban spatial and social configurations

MADAGASCAR

10. Markets: Transaction spaces and urban development centres

Faranirina Rajaonah, SEDET, Université Paris VII

VIETNAM

11. Intra-urban mobility in Ho Chi Minh City and Hanoi

Patrick Gubry, IRD

SOUTH AFRICA

12. Innovation and changing urban fields: assessing municipal action in inner City Johannesburg

Deborah Posel, WISER, University of Witwatersrand, South Africa

VIETNAM

- Hanoi, between a dual form of urban planning and an urban planning dialogue: Forms of opposition and conciliation among urban actors

Christian Pédelahore, IPRAUS, Ecole d'architecture Paris-Belleville

LAOS – VIETNAM

13. Road projects and urban recompositions in Vientiane and Hanoi

Nathalie Lancret, IPRAUS, CNRS

Karine Peyronnie, IRD

SENEGAL

14. Emergence of new local actors and recomposition of urban areas: appropriation of centrality in cities of Senegal by the Modou Modou

Cheickh Sarr, Université Gaston Berger, Saint-Louis

Amadou Diop, Université Cheikh Anta Diop, Dakar (Senegal)

PALESTINIAN TERRITORIES

15. Urbanization of refugee camps in the Gaza strip and the West Bank

Hélène Seren – SHAML

■ Urban policies and public/private sector links

MOROCCO – VIETNAM

16. National transitions, urban governance and drinking water management

Claude de Miras, IRD, Université de Marseille

VIETNAM

17. Assessment of official development aid projects Hô Chi Minh City and Hanoi

Duc Nhuan Nguyen, SEDET, Université Paris VII

Laurence Nguyen, ITMU, Université Paris VIII

MOROCCO - TUNISIA

- Transport networks and urban services in the Maghreb: The case of Casablanca and Tunis

Chantal Chanson-Jabeur, SEDET, Université Paris VII

IVORY COAST – SENEGAL – SOUTH AFRICA

18. The emergence of composite management systems around urban services: comparisons between experiences in Abidjan, Dakar and Durban

Sylvie Bredeloup, IRD, LPED, Université de Marseille

LEBANON – MOROCCO – ALGERIA - MAURITANIA

- Between institutional policies and social dynamics

Françoise Navez-Bouchanine, CNRS, Université de Tours

VIETNAM

19. Metropolization and sustainable development, the issues at stake in forced rehousing in slum areas of Ho Chi Minh City

Sébastien Wust, Ecole Polytechnique Fédérale de Lausanne, Suisse

CAMEROON

20. From town planning to urban development projects

Touna Mama, University of Yaounde II, Cameroon

PALESTINIAN TERRITORIES

- A sociological analysis of rehabilitation operations in the historic centres of Hebron and Bethlehem

Monique Hirschhorn, Université Paris V

■ Urban management systems

MOZAMBIQUE – SOUTH AFRICA – IVORY COAST – MALI

21. Actors' strategies, urban dynamics and territorial structuring

Denis Requier-Desjardins, Université de Versailles, Saint-Quentin en Yvelines

SOUTH AFRICA – ETHIOPIA – NIGERIA - TANZANIA

- Decentralization and urban governance in Sub-Saharan Africa

Alain Dubresson, Université Paris X Nanterre

BURKINA FASO – MALI

22. "Civil society uncivilities": urban public space, civil society and municipal governance in Bobo-Dioulasso and Bamako

Jacky Bouju, MMSH, Université d'Aix-en-Provence

AFRICA – MIDDLE EAST

23. Municipalities in the local political field: effects of exported decentralization models on the management of cities

Emile Le Bris, IRD

CUBA

24. Factors for successful community initiatives at the "Barrio" level

Kosta Mathéy, TRIALOG, Université de Darmstadt

PALESTINE

25. Management of urban services: institutional building, process and regulation method

Marlène Ghorayeb, ITMU, IFU,

Jean-Pierre Troche, Ville et Habitat

SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA

26. The new urban custom: comparative development of customary urban land management procedures

Alain Durand-Lasserve, CNRS, SEDET, Université de Paris VII

MOROCCO – SENEGAL

27. Urban services related to the environment between globalization and participation: a comparative approach

Jean-Louis Coll, Jean-Jacques Guibbert, Université de Toulouse Le Mirail

THE GULF OF GUINEA

Continuities and discontinuities of forms and legitimation of power in the city and their impact on urban development

Scientific leader: Odile Goerg – Sociétés en développement dans l'espace et dans le temps (SEDET), Université Paris VII
Contact: o.goerg@free.fr

Analysis of the forms of power that exist in cities, their legitimation and impact on urban planning is conducted on the basis of a comparison between former colonial cities, both French and British (Cotonou, Conakry, Kaolack, Lagos and Lomé). Many factors are responsible for the differences between the studied districts: historical depth, location in relation to the rest of the city (central or peripheral) urbanization policies, surface area and population level as well as the diversity of power.

The actors identified at local level are varied: administrators and technicians from central government, elected or appointed officials working in municipal structures, associations, but also leaders from long-established communities. Attempts to modernize urban structures have in all cases failed to remove the previous organizations, although these have occasionally temporarily disappeared due to restrictive legislation. The structures adapt to changing political circumstances, but this process is threatened by demographic pressure and rural influx; old forms of power are frequently marginalized, even if they are still often asked to mediate in the event of a conflict.

Urban planning currently brings into play both intra-

The Nugbodekon market: an initiative of the women of Cadjéhoun, Cotonou

Set up in 1978 by the "Association of Cadjéhoun's Women Market Traders" (AFVVMC), the market was given the name Nugbodekon or "the market of truth". The sign has the name of the market in French and an inscription in Fon for women who can read the national language. On one side of the sign is an open hand, signifying that poverty can be overcome by work, and on the other the flags of Benin and France, as a reminder that the rehabilitation of the market was made possible by development aid.



Sotindjo S.

community relationships (between ruling families, between former leaders and occupants, between former occupants and new arrivals), and relationships between the various representatives of the district (customary, official, associative) and those in power.

The present time therefore appears to be a period of transition marked by the co-existence of different forms of power, whose legitimacy has different bases: the

weight of ancestors, the sense of a shared living environment, election, appointment from above but also the role of international bodies or the local interpretation of a globalizing discourse. The different forms of power work together, oppose each other or join together on the basis of constantly renewed strategies, which are usually determined not by a comprehensive perception of urban management or planning but by specific issues that

are localized in either time or space and which mobilize those from whom they draw their legitimacy. ■

Cities at war, wars in cities

Scientific leaders: Eric Levron and François Grünewald, Urgence-Réhabilitation-Développement (URD)

Contact: urd@urd.org

Providing humanitarian relief in urban contexts is predominantly characterised by interventions based on instinct, rather than specific operational strategies. In response to emergencies and other complex situations, humanitarian organisations still have a tendency to operate within one specific sector or pre-defined zone. Nowhere is this more apparent than the humanitarian relief provided in camps for refugees and internally displaced persons (IDPs). Furthermore, only a minority of humanitarian projects are implemented in urban contexts, largely as a result of a certain number of a priori assumptions shared by non-governmental organisations (NGOs), local

and national authorities, and donors alike.

High levels of interaction exist between towns, camps and rural areas and yet this is rarely taken into account in humanitarian operations, and, as a result, opportunities to maximise the impact of humanitarian efforts by intervening simultaneously in different contexts are overlooked. Urban expansion policies seek to integrate consolidated camps into neighbouring towns, and as such recognise that these areas either need to be completely regenerated or, in some cases, demolished.

An understanding of the coping strategies adopted by affected populations highlights the temporary and multi-polar nature of migration towards

and within towns. Economic, cultural and personal factors seem to determine how easily these groups integrate in their new environment, which is perceived by humanitarian organisations as being both a new and complex development. Furthermore, people in towns adopt coping strategies that reflect not only their background, but also by the size of the city and the role it plays in the region. Delivering humanitarian aid to these populations gives rise to an accelerated transfer of power from traditional leadership to emerging figureheads and an increasing demand for services, but can also negatively impact the capacity of displaced populations to adapt and render some of the host population more vulnerable.

The presence of humanitarian organisations in urban centres acts as a magnet for refugees and IDPs, yet the product is often a divided city, with populations and institutions coexisting without necessarily mixing. Meanwhile, the presence of NGOs in cities stimulates the economy, albeit somewhat artificially, and can indeed change the role that these towns play in the region. Nevertheless, the sometimes abrupt departure of humanitarian organisations may be sufficient to set off an economic crisis at a local level. Despite the complexity of emergency interventions in cities, the ability to contain urban crises, and by extension urban conflicts, is a major challenge that must be faced. ■

VIETNAM - CAMBODIA

Local and foreign expertise in urban infrastructure

Scientific leader: Eric Baye - Economie et humanisme

Contact: eric.baye@economie-humanisme.org

This research was mainly concerned with consultancy firms involved in the early stages of projects (planning, specific studies) in large Vietnamese cities and in Phnom Penh. It is based on a series of interviews with the relevant actors: development aid agency managers, donors, international consultants and senior civil servants working for central and local governments.

In Vietnam, consulting engineers are playing an increasingly important role, and the number of organisations offering such services has consequently increased. These include public sector engineering services, bod-

ies set up by universities or research institutes, private consultants and joint-venture companies. Consulting and engineering plays an essen-

tial preparatory and supporting role in high-cost projects with complex impacts. The quality of the available services is however extremely

variable and the market is largely dominated by public sector engineering services. In Cambodia, home-grown expertise in the form of en-



Bus and bicycle in Hanoi

Jean Michel Clusset

gineering consultancies is still at an embryonic stage. Massive international involvement and a high level of dependency on foreign aid reflect the inability to set up truly indigenous engineering services. In Vietnam, foreign consultants are generally considered to be competent and professional, but on a day-to-day level col-

laboration frequently suffers from difficulties for which both parties are to blame. On one hand civil servants may lack commitment and appropriate skills, local consultants may lack expertise and public sector project managers are excessively dependent on politicians, but on the other hand foreign consultants have sometimes an in-

adequate understanding of local conditions, may be too arrogant and fail to make clear recommendations, etc. Vietnam expects a great deal (perhaps too much) from foreign consultancy firms as regards knowledge transfer through day-to-day working together. This is a topic which is both difficult to deal with and extremely im-

portant as regards supporting the development process. The issue of engineering in Vietnam, and Cambodia too, should be the subject of bolder initiatives on the part of public development aid bodies (training, exploitation of experience) and project managers should receive institutional support. ■

SOUTH MEDITERRANEAN Cultures and urbanistic areas

Scientific leader: Taoufik Souami – Institut Français d'Urbanisme (IFU), Université Paris VIII
Contact: tsouami@yahoo.fr

This research constitutes a first step in an analysis of local professional circles in the area of urban planning in the southern and eastern Mediterranean. The starting hypothesis was as follows: underlying institutional structures is a history of professions, specific expertise, divisions of labour, routines and social layers that are specific to those persons working in urban action. One would expect these complex planning circles to play a specific role in reacting to and developing urban policies as well as in their implementation. The research considers six countries (Algeria,

Morocco, Lebanon, Egypt, Turkey and Palestine) and draws on observations from three others (Syria, Jordan and Tunisia). It has provided findings and critical analyses in four areas:

- training (universities and institutes, program, teachers...);
- places of work (administrations, agencies, design offices, consultants...);
- professional organizations (associations, colleges, membership organizations, unions, etc.);
- practices.

Our work has generated the following findings:

- There are a large number of local practitioners

working in the area of urban planning. They belong to no structure as such and are distributed between a variety of professional organizations. The latter focus on achieving their own legitimacy and on social mutual assistance activities.

- These circles are the outcome of a desire for modernization, reform and national achievement on the part of national political leaders and are therefore somewhat disconnected from urban realities. Those producing urban plans are contradicted by the (informal) reality of

the cities. This disconnection is maintained by university training that is very much centred on western debates on the city.

- At the present time, the large national design offices, both public and private, are gaining in importance in the sector. Urban planning has become a strategic component in their strategy of diversification. They thus have an increasing hold on decision-making, networks of collaboration and, occasionally, training courses. ■

		Foundation year	Members	Type
Algeria	Architects	1994	2000	College
	Engineers	1989	-	Association
Morocco	Architects	1941/2000	2300	College
	Engineers	-	-	College
Lebanon	Architects-Engineers	1951	30,000	College-Membership Organization-Union
Egypt	Architects-Engineers	1950	200,000	College-Membership Organization-Union
	Urban planners	1970	-	Association
Turkey	Architects-Engineers	1954	-	College-Membership Organization
	Urban Planners	1969	2650	College

BENIN - MALI

Cities: laboratories of democracy?

Scientific leader: Michèle Leclerc-Olive – Ecole des hautes études en sciences sociales (EHESS) –

Centre d'études des mouvements sociaux (CEMS)

Contact: mleclerc@ehess.fr

This research project examined the effects of urban development programmes on the local socio-political landscape. How do the participatory systems introduced in the framework of these programmes help some actors acquire new legitimacy while others become disqualified? This question has been investigated by comparing observations made in a district of Porto Novo (Zébou) and a district of Bamako (Samé).

Two lines of thought have emerged from this study.

It is apparent that problems are usually perceived as

being purely technical in nature and are dealt with in participatory systems led exclusively by experts. Those political spaces which assign a central role to deliberative practices thus tend to be disqualified. If some districts are on the “fringes of politics” it is because they are forced into this position not because of the indolence of their citizens.

Next, we present some thoughts which illustrate a concern: has enough attention been given to the relationships between the different types of local power and these new public authorities (local too),

which development aid is attempting to legitimize? This provides the principal justification for deciding to work at district level as this is a meeting place for locally rooted dynamics, national modernizing dynamics and exogenous dynamics.

However, above all, to be able to engage in a comparison of this type it was necessary to devote a considerable amount of attention to the creation of a theoretical framework that allowed us to develop “situated political action”. Starting from some empirical reference points, we shall describe some of these conceptual resources,

namely those which relate to the observation of the participative systems which development agencies recommend for the implementation of their program. ■

VIETNAM

The role of civil society in urban environmental management

Scientific leaders: René Parenteau – Institut d'Urbanisme, Université de Montréal (Canada)

Nguyen Quoc Thong – Hanoi University of Architecture (Vietnam)

Contact: rene.parenteau@umontreal.ca

We have studied three types of projects in which the actors of civil society are involved in project management, the provision of environmental services and conflict management. In addition two community development programs have been examined. For the purposes of our research civil society has been defined as: “a public space between the Government and citizens where collective initiatives can be undertaken by groups with sufficient autonomy to intervene on their own initiative”.

This research leads to the conclusion that a public space does exist in Vietnam



Recycling waste in Nam Son, Hanoi

Pham Khanh Toan

between the Government and the citizens in the sphere which interests us. It is occupied by large recognised associations and groups of inhabitants.

The role of associations and groups of inhabitants has in most cases been limited to increasing awareness. In only a few cases have the associations been able to develop their own initiatives, with the help of foreign aid. We did not come

across actors from civil society who took part in environmental appraisals. They were rarely represented on the committees that manage projects. We have not observed any new mechanisms for conflict resolution (apart from one which involves joint management) nor for dealing with complaints.

The participants received strong leadership from the Party and a national group-

ing of associations. There was not a large number of associations active in the field and they were relatively unrepresentative. Associations were not encouraged to create horizontal links either inside or outside the community. Their potential is nevertheless considerable: they can mobilize their members rapidly, their executives are regarded as competent, and they have experience in informing the

public and fund raising.

Whole sections of civil society are not organized and play no part in urban management; these are the members of the informal sector, small shopkeepers, a large proportion of small companies providing goods and services and a large proportion of the young population. ■

MOROCCO - BURKINA FASO

Emergence of local actors in the democratic and professional field; a new situation for mediation and expertise?

Scientific leaders: Aziz Iraki - Institut National d'aménagement et d'urbanisme (INAU), Morocco

Michèle Jolé - Institut d'Urbanisme de Paris (IUP)

Contact: jole@univ-paris12.fr

The different researchers in this research team have each examined, from their own point of view, the relationships between decentralization, configurations of actors and processes of legitimation. There are three inputs to this issue:

- Decentralization measures ; Regional government, municipal strategies and land marketization (Burkina Faso) ;
- Informal districts: Intermediation, local elites and urban restructuring (Morocco) ;
- Institutional changes, actor configurations and professional dynamics (Morocco).

In each country, analysis has focused on two provincial cities and districts of the principal city which were created outside the land legislation (Tiflet, Souk el Arbaa, Casablanca in Morocco, Dédougou, Pouytenga, Ouagadougou in Burkina Faso).

In each case, however, a

certain group of actors has been favoured.

In Burkina Faso, elected representatives are trying out local governance that is based on a national system promoted by government departments at provincial level which debate is open to certain inhabitants. Municipal councils possess development plans for their communes, engage in contractual management with private operators for

markets and bus stations and maintain high housing demand by controlling the production of housing plots.

In Morocco, the social mobilization of inhabitants and their leaders plays a role from the construction of territories around the management of places of worship to demands for the regularization of districts. A local counter-elite is gaining a place in the local political system.

The reduction in the number of local urban planning technicians and their competition, the instability of action frameworks, the appearance of the concept of project and new professional figures are tending to lead to the recomposition and complexification of local systems of actors which remain marked by the presence of central government and its departments. ■



District in the process of regularization in Tiflet, Morocco

Liliane Pierre

Urban spatial and social configurations

MADAGASCAR

Markets: Transaction spaces and urban development centres

Scientific leader: Faranirina Rajaonah – Sociétés en Développement dans l'Espace et dans le Temps, Université Paris VII

Contact: rajaonah@ccr.jussieu.fr

Actions that target the markets in Madagascar involve political stakes that are determined at different levels (municipalities, government, international donors), whose aims are sometimes divergent and which do not necessarily coincide with the aspirations of users (traders or customers). Generally speaking, municipal officials and voters agree about the need for the markets to function well, i.e. as a regulated location for the transactions required for provisioning a growing urban population that is capable of protest. This means that the authorities must restrict the development of informal activities, which is against the interests of a substantial group of traders whose survival depends on them. This is a source of conflict, for example refusal to move into the new standardized market in Diego Suarez, setting up of stalls outside the limits of the market in Antsirabe and political demonstrations by *madinika* (persons of modest means) in Antananarivo. The severity of the problems encountered in managing the markets is encouraging municipalities to negotiate directly with international institutions or NGOs. The way these organizations respond is determined by their criteria as regards ob-



Dominique Bois

Informal market in Diego Suarez

jectives and local interlocutors. Thus, in the capital, the improvements made as a result of assistance from, amongst others, the Japanese government and the World Bank, were favoured by the high profile of two Mayors - Guy Razanamasy, a former Prime Minister, and Marc Ravalomanana, the current President of the Republic. Interventions that are aimed at improving the provisioning and cleansing of the city rarely take account of the fact that the large markets also provide an opportunity for the integration of mem-

bers of the rural population. This group accounts for a considerable proportion of the customers for everyday items (clothes, material, hardware and groceries) and items that have come through global trade (small electronic items, household appliances, clothes). They therefore provide important contact with urban patterns of life and consumption. Last, in the present-day context of economic crisis and an increasing shortage of urban jobs, informal trading is becoming one of the most frequent strategies for the rural population and

migrants from more distant regions who wish to move into the city. Thus, at national level the large markets play a role in integration. ■

VIETNAM

Intra-urban mobility in Ho Chi Minh City and Hanoi

Scientific leader: Patrick Gubry, Institut de Recherche pour le Développement (IRD)

Contact: gubry@ird.fr

Vietnam's two metropolises are Ho Chi Minh City (formerly Saigon), with 3.7 million urbanites at 1999 census, in the South, and Hanoi, with 1.5 million urbanites, in the North. Since the implementation of an economic liberalization policy in 1986 (the *Doi Moi*, or Renovation), these agglomerations have entered a phase of rapid growth. In the light of net immigration from the city centres to the suburbs (mainly due to an explosion in city centre property prices) and an increase in temporary mobility, including commuting, a household survey that employed an original sampling design, representative of both cities, has enabled us to explore a previously largely ignored topic, intra-urban mobility. After a study of the main characteristics of the population, non-migrant households were compared to migrant households, allowing us to perceive the principal changes in their living space brought about by migration. Migration within the urban space usually results in an improvement in living conditions but also poses new problems. Daily trips have been analyzed according to their type (on the basis of a question about their reasons for leaving home the previous day), the times and durations of journeys, travel distances and modes used, whether for going to work, to school or attend additional lessons. A typology has been constructed for shopping and leisure trips. Gender differences are obviously considerable. Statements concerning their current



Patrick Gubry

Row houses in Ho Chi Minh City

travel conditions and future projects were collected from the main persons involved. At a general level, Ho Chi Minh City, the “economic capital”, and Hanoi, the political capital, are extremely similar, despite their turbulent history and radically different fates. Some interesting differences could nevertheless be stressed. New directions for research were suggested throughout this project. In any case, rural-urban migration (frequently described) and intra-urban mobility (still little studied) have, within a few years, become essential factors that must be considered for urban planning in Vietnam. ■



Patrick Gubry

Motorcycles in Hanoi

SOUTH AFRICA

Innovation and changing urban fields:

Assessing municipal action in inner city Johannesburg

Scientific leader: Deborah Posel, Wits Institute for Social and Economic Research (WISER), University of Witwatersrand, (South Africa)

Contact: poseld@wiser.wits.ac.za

This study points to the very possibility of what could be considered “subterranean” urban becoming that cross techno-ontological thresholds of urban spatial orders without any particular fidelity to specific modes of regulation. The inner city of Johannesburg is an urban domain that straddles varying logics of organization, employs varying mixtures of technological capacity, and folds specific places of operation into a wide map of external territories. It combines the tenacious holding on to specific residential opportunities at all costs with a sizeable “floating population” of residents changing residential locations several times a year. This is an in-

ner city largely choked off from official sources of investment capital but also capable of circulating substantial amounts of hard currency through the proliferation of thousands of small investments that configure conduits of importation and exchange continuously extending their reach to diverse markets. These are markets in property, consumables, unconventional financial instruments and even the markets of population movements themselves. The inner city stretches a diminishing infrastructure to the limits of durability in terms of extending survivalist economies while, at the same time, consolidates a range of small technologies (from

cellphones, satellite phones, networked computers, and small trucks and minibuses) to exert an impact far beyond its apparent capacities. Under-resourced territories within the city find themselves increasingly marginalized from the particular strategies and institutional arrangements to which cities stake their economic futures. The question is not only how residents within these territories compensate for this progressive disarticulation but also how they use it to move these areas into particular directions and futures. The main research finding concerns the proliferation, elaboration, and entrenchment of what we call “economies of piracy.” The inner

city was a place of substantial infrastructure development (large apartment blocks, with some buildings containing hundreds of units; hotels with swimming pools and sophisticated communications facilities; entertainment complexes; large underground parking garages). This infrastructure has largely either been overextended beyond its intended capacity or converted in uses never intended. These systems of unconventional usage are both informed by and are structuring of modalities of habitation, entrepreneurship and social collaboration that do not coincide with the prevailing normative conceptions of households, social networks and so forth. ■

VIETNAM

Hanoi, between a dual form of urban planning and an urban planning dialogue:

Forms of opposition and conciliation among urban actors

Scientific leader: Christian Pédelahore - Institut parisien de recherche en architecture, urbanisme et sociétés (IPRAUS), Ecole d'architecture Paris-Belleville

Contact: christian.pedelahore@wanadoo.fr

Our field studies have revealed and explained a dual process that is structuring the city. It is at the same time intellectually based and popular, driven by both institutions and inhabitants and planned and organic. The processes involved unconsciously and im-

plicitly refer to symbolic worlds and to practices and know-how that are more or less appropriate and internalized and consequently localized and intertwined. The urban changes which stem directly from them may be parallel, interdependent or contrasting. This observation raises

the issue of the need to objectivize references and practices as well as to identify operational and strategic modes of resolution. The path the Vietnamese authorities are currently following is to manage these dynamics in a more forceful manner by reducing and ultimately removing one of

the principal actors responsible for the transformations, i.e. independent action on the part of inhabitants. However, another approach seems possible, both in theory and practice. It is through a double process of understanding followed by proposals that research can make a useful contribution



Christian Pédalatore

The Masterplan for Hanoi, 1999



Spot Image, 2000

Aerial view of Hanoi

to the sphere of urban action. There is instructive and nourishing feedback from the field of daily practice to that of theory, concepts and practical methodologies. This concrete approach, which is integrative rather than exclusive, conciliatory rather than conflictual, seems to provide a more likely way of taking advantage of the urban forms and practices that really exist. This pragmatic and effective approach would, through types of appropria-

tion and institutional and professional transformation permit the exploitation rather than the removal or the marginalization, of all urban and territorial forms. Furthermore, these many forms of complexity and interlinkage between actors can be objectivized and instrumentalized instead of remaining hidden as is currently the case. We have thus explored and developed concrete internal connections between urban models, representa-

tions and practices. This comprehensive and integrating approach would enable practice to be localized within specific areas and historical continuities. In this way the conceptual and institutional framework of urban planning would be renewed and firmly rooted in order to influence and be disseminated within the formal and informal private sectors. It would thus be possible to make the transition from an unilateral and restric-

tive vision, which often fails to take account of history and regional issues, to a vision which is more comprehensive and local, negotiated and complex. This evolution in the discipline and in policy nevertheless requires a change in urban model, or even the implementation of a new paradigm of Vietnamese urban planning and thought. ■

LAOS - VIETNAM

Road projects and urban recompositions in Vientiane and Hanoi

Scientific leaders: Nathalie Lancret – Institut parisien de recherche en architecture, urbanisme et sociétés (IPRAUS), Centre national de recherche scientifique (CNRS), Karine Peyronnie - Institut de recherche pour le développement (IRD)
Contact: karine.peyronnie@bondy.ird.fr

The issue of road projects is particularly important in Vientiane and Hanoi, where in recent years the construction and improvement of road and

service networks have been one of the most important areas of public intervention and one of the main actions resulting from development aid policies. The actors are

not unaware of the commercial impacts of these improvements in the short, medium and long terms: there is an enormous expansion of the zone available for ur-

banization and considerable potential for projects and investment as well as changes in urban travel practices. However, this network imposes a durable structure

Urban development in progress: new roads and new projects in Hanoi's Kim Lien district



Emmanuel Cerise

on the city. New roads and road improvements leave their mark on the city and form the basic pattern whose modification will which determine and reinforce certain structural changes in urban spatial configuration: changes in logics, meanings

and directions of movement, changes in the forms of urban development which take place around the roads in question; increased property prices which change the operation of the property market and lastly, cultural and social

upheavals that result from new ways of living and building in the city. This explains why our study has not dealt exclusively with road improvements but all the architectural and urban projects which are transforming Vientiane

and Hanoi, considering the behaviours of poorer inhabitants as well as large-scale property developers, as far as knowledge permits. ■

SENEGAL

Emergence of new local actors and recomposition of urban areas: appropriation of centrality in cities of Senegal by the Moodu Moodu

Scientific leaders: Cheickh Sarr - Université Gaston Berger, Saint-Louis
Amadou Diop - Université Cheikh Anta Diop, Dakar (Senegal)
Contact: sarrcheickh@netcourrier.com

Local and international geopolitics together with the major changes that have affected Senegal in recent years have favoured the emergence of new practices and new actors. The history of the *Moodu* is tied up with the religion of Islam and its local manifestations, while the concept of *Moodu Moodu* has come to include all those who try to achieve professional integration without any aid from the State. To this end, the *Moodu Moodu* use informal ties and inter-personal relationships to overcome institutional structures. The nodes in these networks consist of the holy city of Touba, the “Capital city of the Mourides” and the central markets of Senegal’s

major cities. From these strongholds the *Moodu-Moodu* have developed strategies for commercial and spatial deployment whose success can be judged from the extent of their appropriation of commercial and spatial centres which they have rapidly “labelled” by installing specific signs and business displays which refer to the brotherhood which is at the origin of the *Moodu Moodu*. These practices assist the organizational process “which Mourid ur-

banization has conferred on transnational networks” (Riccio). The grouping together of a variety of in-

formal and traditional networks, combined with formation of partnerships with formal urban management



The presence of the brotherhood in places of trade: a marking out of territory

Cheickh Sarr

structures (employers' organizations, municipalities, government departments) reveals much about

the transformation of these actors, who were formerly marginalized by an elitist system of social advance-

ment but who are now undubitably playing a role in increasing the standard of living of Senegalese house-

holds, which is a fundamental indicator of the country's level of development. ■

PALESTINIAN TERRITORIES

Urbanization of refugee camps in the Gaza strip and the West Bank

Scientific leader: Hélène Seren – SHAML (Palestinian Refugee and Diaspora Center)

Contact: helser@club-internet.fr

In 1948, the displacement of 200,000 refugees created eight refugee camps in the Gaza strip and that of 200,000 more created nineteen refugee camps in the West Bank. Management of the camps was placed in the hands of the UNRWA (United Nations Relief and Works Agency) which organized assistance to the occupants and laid the initial foundations of operation. The refugee camps are the outcome of massive exile and are where the international community expects the refugee question to be resolved. The long waiting period has been responsible for morphological, sociolog-

ical and economic changes in the refugee camps. The changes brought about by demographic growth mean the camps are taking on an urban appearance.

The refugee camps in Palestine have all the features of cities. We shall therefore apply the methods and concepts that are used for urban areas. However, these cities are imposed and have the character of refuges.

The exile of 1948 caused sociological upheaval of seismic proportions: the identities of refugee and of citizen were superposed on the traditional identities of city dweller, peasant, and Bedouin. The identity of refugee corresponds to

successive socio-economic attributes of commonplace rejection. Integration then requires urbanisation and urbanity.

Urban integration strategies use movement (definitive or temporary), changes in the built environment (architectural and organizational), the creation of new functions (economic, commercial, industrial) and political and social representations (protest and participation). These integration strategies are disrupting the solid internal social conventions that make up traditional structures. The presence of the refugee camps can permit other territorial interpreta-

tions: if we take a definition of Palestinian cities which is based not on the traditional definition but on the geographical distribution of civil institutions, the refugee camps can be considered to belong to the Palestinian national urban network.

Their 55 years of existence mean we can conduct an urban analysis of the camps, but they are temporary (the right to return is claimed) and the location of protest (due to a sense of identity). The refugee camps therefore play a role in the production of new urban models which are both imposed and disparaged. ■



Hélène Seren

The Al Jalanun refugee camp, Ram Allah/Al Bired governorship, Palestine

MOROCCO - VIETNAM

National transitions, urban governance and drinking water management

Scientific leader: Claude de Miras – Institut de recherche pour le développement (IRD), Université de Marseille

Contact : demiras@up.univ-mrs.fr

Our approach is grounded in the concept of transition which developed throughout the 1980s and 1990s, and aims to observe, in two countries that share centralized public decision making, how new development paradigms (decentralization, privatization, public-private partnerships-PPPs) have impacted on urban management, in particular the governance of drinking water in major metropolises (Casablanca, Tangiers/Tetouan in Morocco; Hanoi, Haiphong and Ha Dong in Vietnam). Large-scale transformations have taken place in Morocco with the delegated management of drinking water (starting in 1997) and in Vietnam after the *Doi Moi* program (1986). However, because of the scale of the financial investment in the infrastructure in question and issues of urban productivity in major metropolises, public decision making is still central to national strategies. While in both contexts the tendency is to set up operational and exploratory PPPs (with fundamental differences in structures and rates of implementation), the same problems regarding water pricing, access of the urban poor to water and the regulation of the new mechanisms are encountered but receive contrasting local responses, with competitive tendering

appearing where one would expect it least. Surely now is the time for a debate on water as a “market commodity” or a “shared good”. After the limitations of public authority controlled management and the heralded but unfulfilled triumph of the market, PPPs were perceived as an innovative, but still imperfect, alternative; in addition to the introduction of “French

style” delegated management in Morocco, more specific types of organization are developing in Vietnam. But can these various types of PPP provide, under all circumstances, general access to water even in squatter settlements? How can customers or users benefit from at least some of the possible productivity gains? Last, what light can the very different experience of ur-

ban water governance in Morocco and Vietnam cast on the central issue of the regulation of these systems? This constantly recurring question suggests not so much a choice between the “private” and “public” sectors as mixed institutional procedures that are capable of avoiding monopolistic tendencies in water distribution. ■



The Hassan II Mosque in Casablanca

Claude de Miras

VIETNAM

Assessment of official development aid projects

Hô Chi Minh City and Hanoi

Scientific leaders: Duc Nhuan Nguyen – Sociétés en développement dans l'espace et dans le temps (SEDET), Université Paris VII, Laurence Nguyen – Laboratoire Théories des mutations urbaines (LTMU), Université Paris VIII

Contact : laurence.nguyen.rosenthal@libertysurf.fr

This research examines the issue of delegation to Vietnamese actors within official development aid (ODA) projects (decentralization, inhabitant participation, degrees of autonomy, independence). It will also attempt to identify the forms of transfer associated with these projects (expertise, technology) and assess their validity. It examines the effectiveness of development

aid systems and the issue of blockages and revision.

The analysis framework and methodology consist of the assessment of official policy and action-oriented research with qualitative surveys of the principal actors involved in the projects selected for case studies. Furthermore, a symposium held at the Institute for Economic Research in Hô Chi Minh City gave researchers and

practitioners the opportunity to compare approaches.

The results show that the partnerships are neither thwarted, nor freely negotiated but imposed by the very form of project funding in which the balance of power favours donors. In addition, the relationships remain profoundly hierarchical and sector-based and we are very far from a project management approach - there is

little delegation of power in ODA projects. The participation of inhabitants seems to be made necessary by the nature of the projects, which entail profound socio-spatial disruptions as a result of compulsory land purchase. The consultation of inhabitants is therefore essential to minimize these disruptions. ■

MOROCCO - TUNISIA

Transport networks and urban services in the Maghreb: The case of Casablanca and Tunis

Scientific leader: Chantal Chanson-Jabeur – Sociétés en développement dans l'espace et dans le temps (SEDET), Université Paris VII

Contact : ccj@ccr.jussieu.fr

Casablanca and Tunis obtained an urban public transport (UPT) system at a very early date. The systems operated in a colonial context by means of concessionary companies. On independence, they were nationalized and state monopoly companies were set up.

From this common starting point, differences began to appear from the end of the 1980s. Deregulation and opening up to the private sector, which occurred in different ways and at different places according to the city, altered the travel practices of city-dwellers, a phenomenon which was accentuated by considerable urban growth and spatial sprawl.

Travel conditions deteriorated, new forms of illegal or barely legal travel came into being. This study describes the shortcomings of the UPT system run by public and private sector institutions and analyzes the new emerging and/or alternative modes.

A survey has been conducted to study "white taxis", which are the small taxis and carts that operate in Casablanca. The results are most instructive: these modes, which operate partly illegally, account for 37.4% of all trips (horse-drawn transport accounts for about 1%). The scheduled winding up of the state owned transport company, the RATC, and the poor performance of privately oper-

ated public transport means that institutionally run transport accounts for relatively few trips in Casablanca.

In Tunis, transportation activities are more structured and are mainly operated by the public sector. Difficulties nevertheless exist, in spite of public authority funding. The study stresses the role of private taxis, an increasingly important, but insufficiently studied, transport mode. Our survey shows that taxis now carry almost as many passengers as the metro.

We were unable to deal with Algiers as we had planned. This city has not been covered directly but would deserve more attention in view

of its special features and the severe crisis affecting its urban transportation.

The study indicates that there are significant situational differences between the cities and warns against a minimization of these and generalizations. Nevertheless, the absence of an organizing authority is a common denominator which makes one suspect problems as regards the development of institutions. The development of major projects to improve UPT in the metropolises of the Maghreb will require new organizational models for transportation and travel. ■

IVORY COAST - SENEGAL - SOUTH AFRICA

The emergence of composite management systems around urban services: comparisons between experiences in Abidjan, Dakar and Durban

Scientific leader: Sylvie Bredeloup - Institut de recherche pour le développement (IRD), Laboratoire population - environnement - développement (LPED), Université de Marseille
Contact : sylvie.bredeloup@newsup.univ-mrs.fr

By comparing the contrasting metropolises of Abidjan, Dakar and Durban, this research provides insight into the new compromises between the public and private sectors that are emerging for the management of urban services. We have attempted to understand how commercial public services are regulated through interplay between public and private sector operators, users and

citizens' organizations in differing sociological, economic and political contexts. In the broad sense, regulation refers to the legal, economic and political mechanisms employed by local public authorities in order to calm antagonisms. An analysis has been conducted of the forms and terms of the public/private partnerships employed for the creation and management of:

- transport infrastructure (bus stations and transport undertakings);
- primary infrastructure (drinking water and drainage networks);
- commercial infrastructure (markets).

We have tried to answer three series of questions:

- Is a class of national private operators emerging?
- Since decentralization what new forms are the relationships between the

State and regional and local authorities taking?

- How is regulation structured and changing in a context with an ever increasing number of private initiatives and new public compromises? ■

LEBANON - MOROCCO - ALGERIA - MAURITANIA

Between institutional policies and social dynamics

Scientific leader: Françoise Navez-Bouchanine - Centre national de recherche scientifique (CNRS), Université de Tours
Contact : fnb@club-internet.fr

In this research we have attempted to avoid the reductionism which results from analysis of urban policies and projects that focuses solely on institutional actors and fails to ascribe an active role to inhabitants and local actors. The research was conducted in four countries which differ as regards urbanization and public policies, but which are all characterized by an "authoritarian" style of government. It places these countries in a context in which major urban issues and the processes of land reclamation and/or the upgrading of urban centres which stem from them are becoming internationalized. It analyzes the interactions between institutional policies and social dynam-



Rehousing in the Kheir district: on-going construction work and shacks for sale in Tangiers (Morocco).

Françoise Navez-Bouchanine

ics by targeting situations in which informal or formal urban planning activities, far from being separate, are very much interwoven.

By reconstructing projects and policies, from their inception to their implementation (or non-implementation), the research also compares two types of upgrading which seem at first sight very different: the displacement of individuals to rehouse them under better living con-

ditions and straightforward eviction for major improvement works (motorways, major urban roads).

In spite of the differences – between countries, policies and projects – which are clearly shown by the case studies, applying a common analysis framework (that considers information flow, representations and expectations, battles of wills and negotiation and orders of legitimation) reveals some

important similarities. The most obvious of these involve the ability of this interaction to produce the unexpected, in spite of a display of irreversibility and rationality in the early stages. The representations of “decision-makers” and the other parties, frequently initially represented as clear-cut, are not so different from each other and exhibit similar variability and evolution. Lastly, there

is a considerable amount of transfer between different actors with regard to models and orders of legitimation. Our research also reveals some factors that can breath fresh life into such issues as the link between knowledge about social processes and the development of projects that will have an impact on space in general and on “models” that target deteriorated or illegal spaces in particular. ■

VIETNAM

Metropolization and sustainable development, the issues at stake in forced rehousing in slum areas of Ho Chi Minh City

Scientific leader: Sébastien Wust – Ecole Polytechnique Fédérale de Lausanne (Suisse)

Contact : sebastien.wust@epfl.ch

In recent years, the need to urbanize, protect the environment and improve the living conditions of underprivileged sections of the population has led to forced rehousing schemes in Ho Chi Minh City. Our research has involved comparative analysis of a large-scale program and a local micro-project for forced rehousing with a view to understanding, in a context of advanced metropolization, the logics and mechanisms that generate socioeconomic effects with reference to the social costs and benefits that result from these operations. The theoretical framework of the research draws on three different, but highly interdependent, areas of knowledge. The first is an understanding of the metropolization process in developing countries. This process is linked to globalization and the polarization of international trade which mean that most resources tend to be concentrated in the countries of the North

and it is associated with exclusion phenomena and a tendency for metropolitan space to fragment. The second theoretical field relates to slums in the metropolises of the South. The aim is to demonstrate how the underprivileged sections of the population living in poorly-integrated districts develop urban integration strategies in an attempt to overcome their insecurity. Lastly, the third field is that of forced rehousing. In connection with the evaluation of public policies, this aims to identify the socioeconomic effects of urban programs of this type and to see to what extent they impair the living conditions of the displaced groups.

Our findings show that the effects of these two forms or forced rehousing (large-scale operations and micro-projects) converge, with both generating very similar socioeconomic mechanisms, albeit with differing intensities. Examples are family debt, the reselling of dwell-



A squatter settlement in Hô Chi Minh City, Vietnam

Sébastien Wust

ings and the increasing gentrification of the rehousing developments. It may therefore seem surprising that these operations are based on significantly different operational instruments (eligibility criteria, compensation, rehousing alternatives, institutional organization, etc.).

Understanding post-rehousing socioeconomic mechanisms is highly instructive in the

context of a more general study of housing policies for the poorest groups. It is also allows us to formulate recommendations with a view to eliminating or reducing the worst effects of rehousing activities in Vietnam. ■

CAMEROON

From town planning to urban development projects

Scientific Leader: Touna Mama - Université de Yaoundé II (Cameroun)

Contact: tounamama@yahoo.fr

This research set out to analyze the impact of housing schemes on urban development as well as the socio-economic impact of urban services on the spatial expansion of the large cities in Cameroon.

The findings of the study are based on the results of households surveys conducted on a sample of 667 households in Douala, Yaounde and Garoua and the following conclusions were drawn:

- The land use policy is a complex mix of customary practices and modern law inherited from the country's colonial

past. As land changes hands, it becomes less dependent on the customary rules of land delivery;

- Utility networks (water, electricity, communication links) are essential for urban activities ; yet, they are built without referring to a plan. In the thickly populated residential neighbourhoods, this results in damage to the urban environment and water pollution;
- Land management in urban areas is based on urban plans, where available (Garoua). Unfortunately, the city plans

for Yaounde and Douala have not been approved thus making implementation difficult.

- Corrective measures could be applied for a number of shortcomings observed :
 - Use of qualified technical staff, enhancing the institutional framework and grant of autonomous management ;
 - Urban development plans should not only comply with applicable regulations but also be workable ;
 - Spatial management tools may be intro-

duced for outlying (peripheral) regions, notably suitable quantitative methods for analysing needs and summonable resources, remote detection technologies and the use of GPS for digital mapping.

Our research has shown that notwithstanding the efforts of public authorities, property ownership and access to urban utilities are needs that have not been adequately met. Thus, planning procedures need to be revised. ■

PALESTINIAN TERRITORIES

A sociological analysis of rehabilitation operations in the historic centres of Hebron and Bethlehem

Scientific leader: Monique Hirschhorn – Université Paris V

Contact: monique.hirschhorn@laposte.net

Is it possible, in the Palestinian territories, to implement urban projects in the normative sense of the term, by which we mean operations that are planned and whose execution is monitored and in which the city is perceived as a place for living and sociability?

This is the question we have attempted to answer, and the decision at the outset to consider the regeneration of the historical centres of Hebron and Bethlehem, has proved particularly fruitful. This is because the local contexts differ, although both cities are located in a

Proto-State whose continued existence depends on international aid and which is subjected to colonial authority which it is unable to resist,. The “strength” of the city of Hebron lies in its cohesion and relative closure on itself, while that of Bethlehem lies in its openness to the outside world.

The comparison allows us to go beyond the specific characteristics of each case and identify the factors that have led to the success of each project. Essentially there are three of these. First, the creation of a single project manager, with

legitimacy at both the local level and with regard to all the donors, namely the setting up, by the President of the Palestinian Authority, of the “Hebron Regeneration Committee” in Hebron, and the “Bethlehem 2000 Ministry” in Bethlehem. Second, as a result of external involvement an action plan was introduced which prevented the fragmentation of activities. Third, the existence of human resources, i.e. Palestinians with the expertise to negotiate with the donor organizations.

This analysis therefore allows us to perceive under

what conditions it is possible to undertake urban projects of a similar size in the Palestinian Territories. On this basis, a sustainable development operation to safeguard Jericho and its oasis seems perfectly feasible. However, a coherent operation to regenerate the Arab sector of the old city of Jerusalem seems virtually impossible in the current context. ■

MOZAMBIQUE - SOUTH AFRICA - IVORY COAST - MALI

Actors' strategies, urban dynamics and territorial structuring

Scientific leader: Denis Requier-Desjardins – Université de Versailles-Saint-Quentin en Yvelines

Contact: denis.requier_desjardins@c3ed.uvsq.fr

This project dealt with two transport corridors, one in southern Africa, which is the subject of an active regional development policy, and the other in West Africa without any specific government intervention.

In southern Africa, since 1995, the Maputo corridor has played a stimulating role on the macroeconomy of Mozambique, which has been particularly vibrant during this period. Demographic polarization is less apparent insofar as the rate of demographic growth in the urban area of Maputo has not increased dramatically in South Africa. So far, the corridor does not appear to have significantly modified demographic polarization

and urbanization in adjacent zones. However, business activities, particularly in the South African conurbations near the border, seem to be relatively dynamic, aided by the improvement in transport infrastructure, the opening up of Mozambique and closeness to the market of the capital.

In West Africa, on the road between Mali and Ivory Coast, infrastructure investment has taken place in Ivory Coast according to the spatial concentration of economic activities. Measures that encourage the creation of small and medium-sized business centres in small and medium-sized towns, particularly in the North, are assisting the development of an endogenous urban dy-

namic. Mali lacks an urban and regional development policy, as did Ivory Coast in the first years of its independence. Towns alone are not enough to stimulate an increase in industrial activities. Such development does not only depend on the spatial grouping of factors of production, but on industrial policies and the provision of infrastructure. We have observed a centre-periphery configuration similar to that in the Ivory Coast which is characterized by a considerable disparity between the district of Bamako and the other regions of Mali.

In Ivory Coast subsistence activities dominate in all the towns as a result of demographic pressures, the economic autonomy achieved

by towns that are isolated (with few links with an urban network and few border effects), or the extraversion of those towns that are open. The micro-enterprise sector is more present in the larger towns, which are integrated within an urban network (as a result of the port effect, which applies to both ports exporting agricultural produce and border ports) but its rise is limited by the extraversion of these towns. What is taking place is the crumbling of the local economic fabric, rural exodus, an increase in urban poverty and the transfer of poverty and inequalities from rural centres to the towns of Ivory Coast. ■

SOUTH AFRICA - ETHIOPIA - NIGERIA - TANZANIA

Decentralization and urban governance in Sub-Saharan Africa

Scientific leader: Alain Dubresson - Université Paris X Nanterre

Contact : alain.dubresson@u-paris10.fr

In a context of neo-liberal globalization and the implementation of decentralization reforms inspired by New Public management, urban local governments in Sub-Saharan Africa are facing a major challenge: how to devise

and manage policies that might increase the added value of cities, combat massive poverty, fund facilities and infrastructure while attempting to reduce what remain considerable intra-urban social and spatial inequalities?

The new systems of urban governance – defined as the set of processes that co-ordinate actors, social groups and institutions in order to develop collectively negotiated urban projects – which attempt to promote local initiatives, public/

private partnerships and coherent action, are central to our program. This aimed to work on a theoretical concept, that of local level regulation. The term regulation describes the legal, economic and political mechanisms that are used

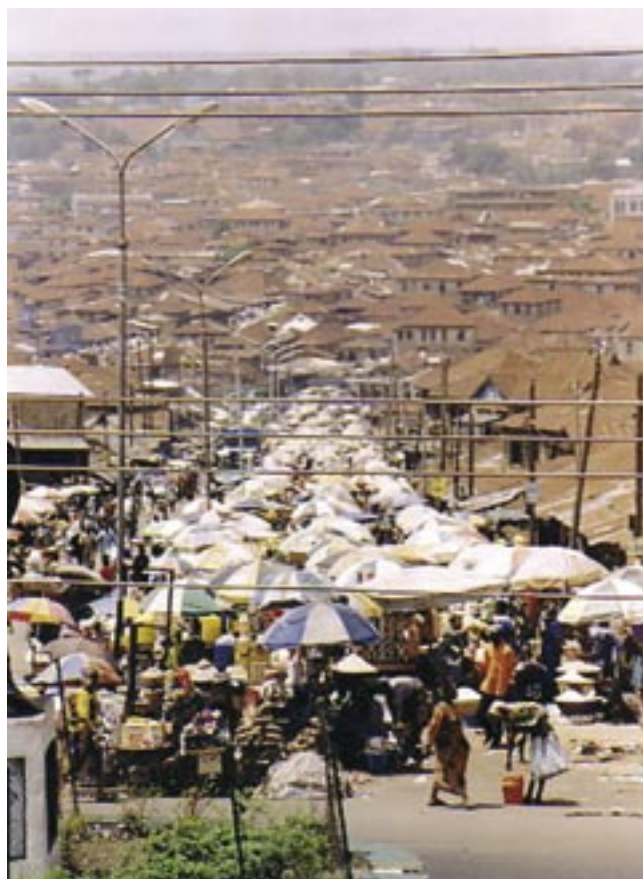
by local governments, in a situation of change, to stabilize antagonisms and guarantee the mutant reproduction and/or the transformation of a social system.

Two main empirical findings should be highlighted:

- local configurations of reform are heterogeneous: the metropolitan governments in South Africa are powerful and autonomous, whereas in Ethiopia, Tanzania and Nigeria they are subordinate to higher levels of authority;
- beyond this diversity, all local governments act in a specialized and spatialized manner, employing a wide variety of public-private arrangements for services and facilities, which range from

spatialization to intra-urban territorialization, and which occasionally heighten the dangers of fragmentation.

The main theoretical contribution is founded on the distinction we suggest between spatialization and territorialization. These refer to different types of territorial governance and involve two principal modes of regulation, one localized (spatialization) and the other local (territorialization). ■



Andrew Estibe

General view of Oja Obu, the largest market in Ibadan, Nigeria

BURKINA FASO - MALI

“ Civil society uncivilities ” : urban public space, civil society and municipal governance in Bobo-Dioulasso and Bamako

Scientific leader: Jacky Bouju - Maison méditerranéenne des sciences de l'homme (MMSH), Université d'Aix-en-Provence
Contact : bouju@msh.univ-aix.fr

This anthropological research, conducted for two years (2002-2003) in Bobo-Dioulasso (Burkina Faso) and municipalities 1 and 2 of Bamako (Mali), analyzes the relationships and struggles between citizens, civil society, traditional local powers and public authorities for the social control of the urban space. In fact, the urban space appeared to be the scene of a confrontation between two conceptions of the urban order of the town. The former, endorsed by the district authorities, tries to force upon the “order” of a town

designed with clean spaces and specialized and clearly defined places; it confronts the latter, a “disorder” imposed on by the “anarchical” and messy occupation of streets and places mainly by the poor citizens but also by the clientelist parcelling of new plots of land by the local patrons in power. The analysis of the terms of this confrontation, which stages the civil inattentions and uncivilities of the urban civil society, is intended on the one hand, to unveil the local problems met by the democratic process initiated by the decentraliza-

tion of the state reform and on the other hand, to show the problematic advent of a citizenship trying to release from traditional kinship and patronage reliance. The field research in political anthropology has focused on two main directions: the solidarity generated by the social link and the rivalry generated by the democratic and clientelist political access to the municipal positions of power. The first direction of research was centred primarily on the description of the urban social link and solidarity as they are realised through various

modes of sociability (Bobo-Dioulasso and municipalities 1 and 2 of Bamako) and secondarily, on the description of some uncivil practices in the domestic use of the public urban space for sanitation (Bobo-Dioulasso). By the way, this study gave some interesting insights of the main folksy conceptions of “residence”, “property” and “public space” (Bobo-Dioulasso). The second direction of research focused on the civic and civil relationships associating the citizen and his municipality. This relation was investigated by the way of three dif-

ferent approaches. The first one analyzed the procedure by which client links were weaved with the citizens by the political parties candidates during the last municipal elections in Bobo-Dioulasso; or are intended to be weaved for the next municipal poll in municipalities 1 and 2 of Bamako.

This study confirmed what we already knew about the popular conception of “power”. The second one examined what was at stake behind the turmoil concerning generalized political speculation and bribery on the new urban plots of land (Bobo-Dioulasso and municipality 1 of Bamako).

The last approach describes the local development of the associative intermediation showing the very ambiguous role they play being at the same time part of the civil society and of the local municipality (Bobo-Dioulasso and municipality 2 of Bamako). Finally, the conclusion tries to highlight

the likely hindrances to, and the possible conditions of rise of an effective urban citizenship. ■

AFRICA – MIDDLE EAST

Municipalities in the local political field: effects of exported decentralization models on the management of cities

Scientific leader: Emile Le Bris, Institut de recherche pour le développement (IRD)

Contact: emile.lebris@bondy.ird.fr

This study highlights the increasing number of actors involved in public action and the growing complexity of an interaction in which municipalities only play a very minor role, as is witnessed by the discredit attached to local elective functions and the gloom and apathy generated by local elections. In Morocco, the declaration of the “oneness of the city” went hand and hand with an extraordinarily fragmentation of the decision-making process and procedures. In Lebanon, however, as a result of ossified government structures, the municipal elections of 1998 were hotly contested and a good level of participation was achieved. Local elections are frequently dominated by the ideas of leading citizens and employers, but ultimately it is sectarian ideas and a central location which triumph. In the face of forced urban planning such as in Ouagadougou, citizens turn to religious actors and the traditional chiefs rather than local government.

Nevertheless, occasionally, as in Beirut, the municipality is run by a strong political party and takes a leading role in public action. In Senegal, the repolitization of urban society after 1996 is based on an associative sector which acts as a broker and a training ground for future elites while also challenging the established authority. Here and there new spaces of public debate are being opened, and at the same time, for the first time in Africa, forms of political communication are developing (the role of the free media, in particular community radio stations, is very important here).

Last, we have tried to make comparisons with regard to the role of international donors in the transfer of models. International aid influences public decisions to varying degrees in different countries, but reforms that are more or less imposed by central government express the creation of dependency. The countries involved are urged to standardize the management of public busi-

ness, with the “good governance” package imposing the marketization of local powers. The donors make a selection among local authorities, favouring those with sufficient resources and which are likely to adopt easily the proposed ideas about urban management. The urban orders that are implemented when decentralization is implemented are chosen on the basis of both imported and local historical models. In Lebanon and Palestine, donors conform with community and regional equilibria. In Senegal, municipalization is modifying the links between central authority and local political networks. Will international donors be content to merely initiate an inflation of discourse without altering the division of power? Aid will certainly play a role in the emergence of pressure groups and political entrepreneurs, but it will ultimately strengthen the existing social status quo by regulating the post-adjustment society very thoroughly while maintain-

ing its elites in place. The influence of imported models, amplified by experts, is no less powerful, to the extent that in countries receiving aid the systems of actors tend to become standardized in accordance with the expectations of their international partners. ■

Factors for successful community initiatives at the "Barrio" level

Scientific leader: Kosta Mathéy, TRIALOG, Université de Darmstadt

Contact : kmathey@aol.com

Community initiatives for neighbourhood improvement represent a possible response for under serviced populations in the South in the light of globalisation, shrinking public funds and increasing absolute poverty. However, out of the many urban initiatives only a few ones fully succeed and become a best practice reference. With the aim of analysing common factors that contribute to the success or failure of such community initiatives, some 40 experiences were analysed in depth in Havana. In particular, the following factors were found to have an impact in the Cuban case, and may have relevance in another social context too:

- Motivation for founding the initiative: Basically it was found that the number of successful initiatives raising from the grass roots level was

about equal to the successful initiatives that responded to some programme or encouragement by the government.

- Responsible leadership: In 13 of the 20 most successful initiatives the role of a natural leader was decisive.
- Relationship with public institutions: Government intervention may have both a very encouraging impact or may constitute a hindrance to barrio initiatives.
- Mass Organizations: This type of organization is a particularity of Cuba and was found relevant to the topic in the cases of the Revolutionary Defence Committees (CDR) the Women's Federation. In most of the studies cases they assisted neighbourhood initiatives – but the significance was never found to be of central

importance.

- Intermediary organizations: In Cuba the most relevant intermediary organizations are called *Talleres de Transformación Integral del Barrio* and respond to the municipal government. In the majority of cases their input was found to be highly supportive to the advancement of the initiatives – particularly the weaker ones.
- Religion and culture: Cultural connotations and afro-cuban religion in particular proved to be a strong motivation in a large number of the initiatives. This was the most unexpected outcome of the research.
- Different sources of finance: International sources of finance helped to complete individual projects, but could rarely mobilize

the residents. Municipal finance was most efficient by financing the intermediate agency. Self-financing proved to contribute most to the sustainability of the initiative.

In conclusion it was found never one single factor determines success or failure of a neighbourhood initiative, but that more or less important factors can be identified and warnings formulated. By far the strongest factor was leadership in the analysed cases, followed by religious/cultural links, support from an intermediary organization and efforts in self-financing. No significant difference could be detected in respect to whether the initial impulse came from the grass roots level or from the government, and whether the key persons were men or women. ■

Santé Fé market, Playa de la Habana, Cuba



Kosta Mathéy

PALESTINE

Management of urban services: institutional building, process and regulation method

Scientific leader: Marlène Ghorayeb – Laboratoire théories des mutations urbaines (LTMU), Institut Français d'Urbanisme (IFU), Jean-Pierre Troche - Ville et Habitat
Contact: marleneghorayeb@noos.fr

This research has dealt with two services with great strategic, economic and social importance, water and electricity, in the principal cities in the Gaza strip, Gaza city (400,000 inhabitants) and Kahn Younis (180,000 inhabitants).

In the immediate context of the conflict, our research has allowed us to measure the considerable extent to which the management of urban services is instrumentalized by the actors involved in the conflict and how it fits into the struggle for power and domination which first of all involves the capture of resources (for example the destruction and closure of Palestinian wells). The second dimension of this instrumentalization consists of territorial fragmentation: Palestinian service networks are not allowed to cross the “security corridors” and the enclaves formed by Israeli colonies, and the networks that serve these colonies constitute a form of occupation, which in some cases would be difficult to undo. This renders the coherent management of urban services impossible and denies any unity to the territory of Palestine.

The modes of management of urban services in Palestine and the current positions of the actors – the Israeli authorities, Palestinian local authorities, the distribution company, the Palestinian National Authority, donor countries, NGOs – remind us of the immediacy and the violence of the current conflict, but

The Gaza strip is a closed and fragmented territory as a result of the Israeli occupation: the areas controlled by Israeli colonists and the “security corridors” are shown in blue. No network that serves Palestinian areas is allowed to cross these areas.



Ville et Habitat, Jean-Pierre Troche

also of the many questions raised by the uncertainty that there is a solution to the crisis. In particular, what is at issue here are the questions raised by the repositioning of local authorities with respect to the bodies that make up the Palestinian National Authority and the solutions which are currently favoured by donor countries which are based on a highly decentralized and privatized model. In this context, the actors are very involved in the debate on the decentralization of

the management of urban services, which involves the choice between services that are provided solely by the State and services that are highly decentralized. Our analysis of the chain of responsibilities in the production and management of urban services shows that a differentiated approach to the functions of monitoring and regulation is possible with regard to the distribution of roles between the National Authority and the Local Authorities. With such an approach the

strengthening of a future national government is not necessarily incompatible with the strengthening of local authorities who will start to take on significant responsibilities. In the same way, the strengthening of the role of local authorities can also be accompanied by a mode of regulation that involves the population more and which is conducive to social cohesion and shared commitment to the management of urban services. ■

SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA

The new urban custom: comparative development of customary urban land management procedures

Scientific leader: Alain Durand-Lasserve, Centre national de recherche scientifique (CNRS), Sociétés en développement dans l'espace et dans le temps (SEDET), Université de Paris VII
Contact : a.durandlasserve@wanadoo.fr

This research dealt with nine countries: South Africa (Gauteng and North-West Province) Benin (Cotonou and Porto Novo), Cameroon (Yaoundé), Ghana (Kumasi), Kenya (Nairobi), Namibia (Oshakati), Senegal (Dakar), Tanzania (Dar es Salaam) and Uganda (Kampala).

With the exception of the cities in South Africa, the delivery of most housing land involves what could be termed "neo-customary" processes. These are a blend of informal and formal customary land management procedures. They have changed somewhat over recent decades, but their dominance seems likely to continue in the majority of the studied cities.

The neo-customary practices have at least one of the

two following features: the rights that are transferred are derived from customary rights, but in contrast to the customary system a sale takes place; the social relationships that are set up in the context of land management are based on trust and reciprocity in a way which is reminiscent of the social relationships typical of the customary system. These relationships guarantee greater land tenure security than other informal processes.

The teams working on the project in the nine countries in question have addressed the following questions:

- What is the current role and position of neo-customary systems of land delivery and management?
 - How do neo-customary systems work?
 - How have they evolved and adapted to change ?
 - Do neo-customary systems provide a viable alternative to formal systems for delivering land?
 - How do neo-customary actors and democratically constituted governments interact, in particular at local and municipal level?
- Is it likely that the recognition by governments of neo-customary processes, and their impact on land prices, will reduce their ability to respond to demand from the poorest urban groups? ■

*Mandela village,
a township in Tshwane,
40 km North of Pretoria in the
Gauteng Province
of South Africa.
Self-building on traditional plots.*



Benoit Allanic

Publications



The challenge of slums: global report on human settlements 2003, United Nations Human Settlements Program (UN-HABITAT).- London: Earthscan, 2003.- 310 p.

This report from the UN-HABITAT program provides a survey of slums in the world and estimates the number of slum-dwellers at almost one billion. It describes the factors that underlie the creation of slums, their social and spatial characteristics and examines certain policies to combat slums.

→ www.earthscan.co.uk

Building safer cities: the future of disaster risk, Alcira Kreimer, Margaret Arnold and Anne Carlin.- Washington: the World Bank, 2003.- 299 p., graph., tabl., bibliogr.

This publication examines the various types of risks to which the world's cities are exposed. Economic impacts and environmental issues are covered by studies based on figures. The two last sections assess the social vulnerability of populations to natural disasters and possible means of prevention.

Price: 43.67 €

→ www.eska.fr

Etat de la décentralisation en Afrique.- Paris: Karthala; Cotonou: Partenariat pour le Développement Municipal, 2003.- 357 p., tabl., cartes, ann. Based on a study of the decentralization process in about twenty African countries, this book describes the ground that has been covered since the early 1990s. The first part provides regional profiles and highlights convergences between policy and practice. The second part analyzes the profile of each country.

Price: 26 €

→ www.karthala.fr

Urban services related to the environment between globalization and participation: a comparative approach

Scientific leader: Jean-Louis Coll, Jean-Jacques Guibbert - Université de Toulouse Le Mirail
 Contact : jllcoll@univ-tlse2.fr

Based upon case studies held in Morocco and Senegal into urban services (water, purification and waste management), the aim of this research was, on the one hand, to analyse the conditions of access for the most destitute to basic essential services and, on the other hand, to question the interplay of the actors involved in the implementation of these services in cities with different social, economic, political and historical backgrounds.

The links between the principles of efficiency and equity, which often conflict, result, on the one hand, from the inability of the State to guarantee the principles of public service and, on the other hand, from the impact of the privatisations which started in the early 1990s. These privatisations carry a technical and financial rationa which leads to the

aim of equity being subjected to the logic of efficiency.

This observation led to a questioning as to how the interplay of the actors involved in the implementation of these services is organised. Though the situations analysed show a hybridization of the logic, it appears that States - one of the most important actors, "pulled" between the international and civil society - haven't, until recently, chosen to encourage the emergence of an urban power where the issues at stake in public services would be negotiated and debated.

Based on these observations, three questions seem to arise regarding operational research:

- To go further than the observation of the hybridization of the logic, how can urban services understand the possible evolutions of the World

Bank model, ultimately presented as domineering, and of the projects carried out by actors within civil society in favour of the most destitute?

- How can we enrich the debate between participative and representative democracy? How, in practice, to link them together in order to go from local experimentation to

the emergence of urban powers, which would go beyond the discredit of the former and the inadequacies and weaknesses of the latter?

- What assumptions can we make regarding a revival of municipal structures by States, which would view such initiative as an opportunity to reposition themselves politically and socially. ■



A public fountain in Pikine, Senegal.

ISTED - Villes en développement

Forum



1st Indre Département International Forum on Sustainable Development

The 1st Indre Department International Forum on Sustainable Development will be held from 25 to 27 June 2004 in Châteauroux as part of National Sustainable Development Week. The forum is organized on the initiative of the Indre Département Prefecture and Infrastructure Directorate and will bring together actors from both France and abroad who are involved in sustainable development: elected officials, local authorities, industry, operators, academics, researchers and users.

It has three aims:

- In the framework of concrete actions, to foster meet-

ings and exchanges between local and national decision-makers (firms, farmers, tradesmen, elected officials, Government, etc.), the scientific community and citizens.

- Transform the Indre Département into a role model in the area of Sustainable Development.
- Increase awareness about Sustainable Development among the population at large.

Three types of events have been organized:

- conferences to take stock of the current state of knowl-

edge and the issues pertaining to sustainable development,

- an exhibition, organized with assistance from partners, to present concrete sustainable development actions,
- a scientific symposium to allow researchers and academics to review ongoing research.

→ Contact: Sandrine Fournis, DDE de l'Indre - E-mail: sandrine.fournis@equipement.gouv.fr

→ Contact: Stéphanie De-Sa-Rego, Isted - E-mail: stephanie.de-sa-rego@i-carre.net

Sustainable waste
management and
urban sanitation
Paris, ENA,
6 April 2004

About one hundred persons were given an account of the research program that ran between 2001 and 2003. Twenty teams that brought together researchers from the South and the North, with significant involvement from local authorities, international solidarity organizations and local development associations, consultants, universities and firms have been engaged in sixteen African countries, Cuba and Vietnam. The program was funded by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and managed by the Municipal Development Program (MDP) and the Water Solidarity Program (PS-EAU). The scientific committee was chaired by Rémi Pochat (LCPC – French Public Works Research Laboratory) and had twenty members from institutions active in this field. A briefing report on this day has been published which describes the programme's review work, some features of the scientific committee and contains summaries of the research.

→ *Contact : Christophe Le Jallé, PS-Eau - E-mail: pseau@pseau.org*
Contact: Félix Adegnika, PDM
E-mail: pdm@pdm-net.org



Adp

The study day organized by the Adp (Association de Professionnels – urban development and cooperation) will be on Friday 10 September 2004 with as the topic "Local financial resources". The program and list of speakers will be published shortly on the Association's

→ *website: www.adp.asso.fr*

News on cooperation

Human Settlements: French experience

Improving the quality of human settlements is essential for sustainable development and requires an integrated approach to take account of the powerful interactions that characterize urban areas. Three complementary aims are pursued:

- Appropriate land management which provides the land use security that is essential for durable urban planning;
- Satisfactory housing for all, which is a fundamental requirement for human settlements;
- Guaranteed access for all to basic services (drinking water, sanitation, solid waste management, transport, energy distribution, etc.), which is an essential condition for the creation of a viable urban tissue.

A bilingual publication (in French and English) has recently been issued jointly by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Ministry of Infrastructure, Transport, Regional planning, Tourism and the Sea which highlights some important French experience in the above three areas. The examples are drawn both from France and abroad and are intended to assist in the development of strategies for improving human settlements.

→ *Contact: Anne Charreyron-Perchet, Isted - E-mail: anne.charreyron-perchet@i-carre.net*



Decentralized cooperation Paris City Council

On 29 March, Paris City Council organized a presentation of its activities in the field of decentralized cooperation for the urban sector. The meeting, which was attended by a large number of professionals, representatives of French and International Institutions, NGOs, etc. in addition to Paris City Council staff, provided an opportunity to present projects the city is running in Laos, Cambodia, Jordan, Egypt and metropolitan areas elsewhere.

The projects, which have been running for three years, have a project leader and involve various municipal departments and engineering bodies that are attached to the leader (APUR, SAGEP, SIAAP). They are equally concerned with heritage protection and the treatment of old centres, the improvement of public spaces and supporting the construction of sanitation systems. Decentralized cooperation focuses on exchanging experience and know-how and results in actions in the area of training, design assistance, project implementation and urban management.

Contact : Délégation Générale aux Relations Internationales/ Ville de Paris

→ *Contact: marie-pierre.bourzai@mairie-paris.fr*

"Villes en développement"

Note to readers:

Please send us your E-mail address so we can update our records:

→ *Contact: anne-marie.gonzalez@i-carre.net*

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Comité de rédaction :
Michel Arnaud
Anne Charreyron-Perchet
Xavier Crépin
Marie-Julie Dupont
Philippe Gratadour
Bernard Hoarau
Françoise Reynaud
Jean-Marie Tetart

Rédactrice : Christine Pointereau

PAO : Christiane Rebel-Graechen

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ISTED

Centre de documentation et d'information
«Villes en développement»

Arche de la Défense
Paroi Nord

92055 La Défense Cédex
France

Tél. (33) 1 40 81 78 01

Fax. (33) 1 40 81 78 07

Contact: anne-marie.gonzalez@i-carre.net

website : www.isted.com

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