

# Villes en développement

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*Pekin Central. Mark Keller, 2008.*

## Urban governance

In July 2007, the Ministry of Foreign and European Affairs, under the management of the Director of development policies and with the support of ISTED, set up a working group on urban governance which it asked me to co-chair.

The group's work was based on the governance strategy adopted in 2006 and aimed to survey how the cities in developing countries have responded to the challenges of development in the framework of the policy of dialogue and partnership aimed at strengthening the rule of law, democracy and Human Rights (including economic, social and cultural rights).

In the case of cities, this strategy is supported by the processes of devolution and decentralization which give local authorities a central role.

The working group set itself the goal of comparing these principles with the practices in various domains that are emerging in the cities. For this purpose, it brought together all the French players (Ministries, French development agency, associations of local authorities, practitioners and researchers) for discussions and in order to adopt a common position on priorities for supporting urban governance with a view to fostering urban development.

A group of researchers led by the GEMDEV contributed to the group's work by proposing an interpretation of urban governance as occupying a position between participative democracy and representative democracy, highlighting the growing role of private sector stakeholders in urban public services, raising the issue of the legitimacy of local players and giving special attention to Asia, which is where the world is experiencing its most spectacular metropolization. Last, it highlighted the phenomena of dissidence or even spatial secession.

The contributions of experts from Africa, the Maghreb and Latin America and a more comprehensive approach on the part of experts from international organizations meant the group's recommendations could take the form of concrete proposals which mobilize all the intelligence and expertise that France has at its disposal at an early stage to assist urban policies, first and foremost in the context of decentralized cooperation.

The 4th World Urban Forum in Nanjing, organized by UN-HABITAT which has launched a global campaign for good urban governance, provides an opportunity to share these recommendations with our partners in the cities of the South. ■

**Yves DAUGE**

*Senator of Indre et Loire*

*Co-chair of the working group on "urban governance"*

# Urban governance and development: directions for French cooperation aid

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*At this time of reinvention of public action and discussion about the effectiveness of its cooperation system with reference to its strategy of “democratic governance”, the Ministry of Foreign and European Affairs, has decided that it needs to reformulate its strategic policies in the area of urban governance in order to improve the position of the French system of cooperation.*

In July 2007, my predecessor in the post of director of development policy in the Ministry of Foreign and European Affairs, Jean-Christophe DEBERRE, set up a working group that was open to all the stakeholders involved in French cooperation in the area of governance and urban development. The joint leadership of this working group was entrusted to a person the extent of whose commitment to urban issues needs no further introduction, Yves DAUGE, the Senator for the Département of Indre et Loire.

The purpose of this working group was to mobilize French cooperation around the issues and challenges raised by the transition to a highly urbanized world. The task was to examine the issues that originate in the concept of “democratic governance” and to specify our cooperation policies in areas that relate to urban development.

The working group drew on several sources: the findings of the Urban Development Research Programme (PRUD) and the study of “decentralized cooperation and urban development” published by the Local

Authorities Delegation for External Action. Moreover, it has benefited greatly from the discussions on the issue of urban government which took place in the first half of 2007 on the initiative of the PRUD scientific leaders. These discussions have now been brought together in a report entitled “La gouvernance urbaine dans tous ses états” (“Urban governance in all its states”). The work of the group has also profited from exchanges which, in the framework of the French Presidency of the Council of Europe, have led to the drafting of a European charter for cooperation in the area of support for local governance. The authors of the “White paper on land governance and the formalization of land rights in the countries of the South”, which is shortly to be published on the initiative of the Land and Development Committee, have also contributed to the work of the group.

The working group has just completed a first cycle of meetings which has resulted in a draft “development aid policy document with regard to support for governance and urban development”, which is based on recommendations of its members and contributions from exter-

nal participants. In view of the effective or assigned role of cities in the dynamics of growth, and the integration and economic social development of their populations, this document aims to better identify the geographical and urban implications of democratic governance and sets out some cooperation policies.

This document approaches urban governance in a way which reflects the complexity of the urban world, the multiplicity and heterogeneous nature of the actors and the diversity of their rationales, stances and strategies. It perceives urban governance as being responsible for all the processes of mobilization and coordination of social groups and institutions within a collectively and democratically negotiated vision of urban development and the carrying through of projects. The aim is to work towards sustainable planning in urban areas.

This approach highlights the role of elected local authorities. These authorities are key to the development of cities and play an essential role in defining and implementing public policies that interact with the population whose expectations they

understand. It also highlights the role of national authorities that are able to provide the local authorities with the jurisdiction and resources necessary for effective and legitimate action.

To work more effectively with our partners and to help them to meet the challenges they are facing, this document suggests ways of supporting urban policies, and their strategic planning and management. This approach must be a major aspect of a cooperation policy that accompanies urban growth and which guides urban development while fostering greater coherence between different sectoral policies and between urban planning and travel in order to produce cities that are more compact, more economical of space and energy, and thus more environmentally friendly. Another goal is to work towards infrastructures and essential services that can be of major assistance in achieving social inclusion. Last, strategic planning should make it possible to reconcile the preservation and promotion of urban and rural heritage, as well as landscapes and architecture, in order to achieve sustainable economic and social development.

An enterprise of this nature must be accompanied by a strengthening of the institutional and human capacities of the players, in particular the organizations of civil society. Research and apprai-

sal can also help to achieve a thorough understanding of the effective impact of urban governance and what it requires.

Finally, we must not forget the group's proposal to set up a "partnership for the city" which can provide a durable framework for discussion and exchanges, improve the coherence and effectiveness of cooperation activities in the area of urban governance and increase the influence of French views within the international fora that are involved in urban development and its implications. ■

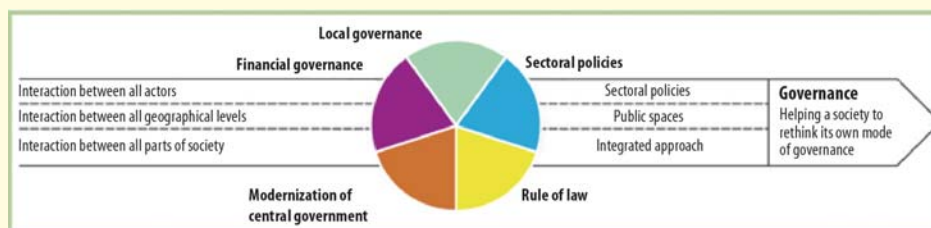
### The concept of demographic governance

"(...) The French approach to governance goes beyond the issue of the institutions or forms of government. It also includes the social coordination mechanisms that have a role in political action. It relates to the decision-making process that takes place between and within all social groupings (Central government, firms, local and regional authorities, associations, etc.) and at all levels (from local to global). It is associated with decision-making processes as much as the decisions themselves. Its development and implementation require support and participation from the players involved. It is the outcome of negotiated processes."

This is why the definition of governance that is used in the context of this strategy is as follows: the art of governing, while linking the management of public affairs at different geographical levels, while regulating the relationships within society and coordinating the involvement of numerous actors. "Governance is therefore not a set of rules or an activity, but a process. It does not only involve helping to reform a State but also helping a society to rethink its own mode of management and define a governance model for itself that best suits the challenges it is facing. It also involves giving full meaning to the concept of appropriation which is at the centre of development policies."

Source : taken from "Stratégie gouvernance de la coopération française, ministère des Affaires étrangères et européennes, 2007"

### Democratic governance: an integrated approach



Source : [www.diplomatie.gouv.fr](http://www.diplomatie.gouv.fr)

## The activities of the French Development Agency (AFD) in support of local authorities and urban development

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*Supporting local authorities is a major aspect of current AFD policy. There are two principal reasons for this: very rapid urbanization and the general adoption of decentralization policies in developing countries.*

The acceleration of urbanization in developing countries which has occurred in recent decades is responsible for social exclusion and environmental damage, but it is also an exceptional source of development. It is therefore in urban areas that we must take up the challenges facing developing countries by fostering sustainable economic growth and poverty reduction.

The general adoption of decentralization policies places local authorities at the heart of development issues. They are the legitimate and appropriate players to implement public policies. When the political and institutional environment is favourable, the new autonomy of local authorities would seem to guarantee the quality of the management of public affairs, encouraging a better allocation of human and financial

resources both at local level and between the various national and local levels of government.

### The AFD's position

The AFD wishes to accompany, or even anticipate, policies of decentralization and the strengthening of local autonomy by setting up new partnerships with local authorities and supporting local project owners, while attempting to take account of local

factors. The goal is to create coherent local policies and effective and responsible modes of management.

The AFD works closely with the ministries in charge of decentralization and finance in order to support local authorities, in the attempt to define and implement public policies that improve the living conditions of urban populations and promote environmentally friendly approaches.

The vision of the city (or urban area) that the AFD supports is an ambitious one. It combines better access to

decent housing, basic services and public facilities, supports social diversity, appropriate travel policies that make the urban are accessible and the functional diversity of spaces (reducing travel, environmentally friendly transport modes, public transport) as well as the promotion of economic activities and local employment.

### Three operational goals

**1. The strengthening of the capacities of partner local authorities**, which guarantees the efficiency and durability of investments, is the first of these objectives. It takes place in the framework of institutional processes for strengthening local autonomy and is founded on a dynamic view of local public finances. The aims of the AFD's activities with regard to local authorities are to develop coherent local policies and implement effective and responsible modes of management.

**2. Improving living conditions and urban productivity is the second goal.** The aim here is to take better account of the poorest social groups. All the spheres in which urban planning operates must be covered: access for all to housing, essential services, travel and jobs.

**3. Last, the third goal is to promote regional planning which protects the environment and global public property in urban areas.** What is involved is as much combating the deterioration of the local environment as a result of urban concentration as preserving global public property: the climate, biodiversity, the urban and cultural heritage and public health.



*Hyper density of the historical center of Bangalore. J.-P. Lestang*

### Intervention method

The AFD gives primary importance to consulting local decision-makers in order to identify needs as well as possible and define priorities for action to meet them in the most reactive and appropriate way possible. To do this, the starting point of consultation is an overall evaluation of the local authority and its project for the area, whatever its level of autonomy.

### Available products, instruments and resources

The AFD intends to reinforce its role in structuring the local authority finance market by making the best use of the range of financial products at its disposal which vary from subsidies to direct loans to the local authority and include credit enhancement.

In addition, partnerships, in particular ones which involve decentralized cooperation, must as far as possible become a major policy area. A system for monitoring decentralization in the countries where the AFD is active

must be set up, and the financial evaluation of foreign local authorities must be systematized. In the near future, a network of professionals and academics dealing with local finance and urban planning topics must be set up.

A variety of funding and institutional and urban management instruments should also be promoted among partner local authorities in order to foster their financial autonomy and ensure that administrative boundaries better reflect geographical realities.

### Geographical variations

The diversity of the situations in which the agency means it must constantly adapt and innovate to fulfil its remit, and results in the following geographical variations in policy:

- **In French overseas départements and territories**, giving financial support to local authorities, implementing a programme-based approach in certain key sectors, providing strategic support to regions for implementing economic

development policies, strengthening the capacities of the weakest municipalities and becoming more involved in the housing and planning sector.

- **In emerging countries**, intervening, if possible directly, to help local authorities preserve global public goods, while attempting to stimulate other local authorities and the development of national policies.
- **In middle-income countries**, accompanying ongoing decentralization processes by funding specialized financial institutions, engaging in discussions with the central authorities responsible for decentralization, and promoting innovative urban projects.
- **In the least developed countries**, funding urban projects with the aim of catching up in terms of investment, and providing finance that supports urban growth as much as possible and which fosters the strengthening of capacities. ■

# Urban governance in all its states

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## An account of current thinking

Annik OSMONT et alii, GEMDEV (Groupement d'intérêt scientifique pour l'Étude de la Mondialisation et du Développement)

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*The concept of urban governance is a topic of some debate among the scientific community. Does it involve several concepts, has it been precisely defined? Many people feel the need to deconstruct and reconstruct the expression and what underlies it. Nevertheless, for several years it has been part of common parlance, if not a general consensus, in the area of urban development aid. This is why the think tank on urban governance, made up of about twenty researchers who took part in the urban development research programme (PRUD,) decided to focus on this issue by carrying out a systematic reinterpretation of the results of empirical research in the field.*

In fact, in the case of governance, we are immediately faced with two registers: that of the production of concepts, or tenets, for modelling urban reality and constructing models for action in cities, and that which consists of the entire set of governance practices. And it is within this multitude of practices, which do not necessarily comply with models, that real governance is constructed. This is a paradox, which justifies our interest in a combined analysis of these two registers of governance. However, we shall concentrate here on the second aspect.

We have deliberately restricted our investigations to the mechanisms for implementing urban development policies in order to demonstrate the extreme diversity of these mechanisms, their high level of complexity, their ability to evolve and the very large variety of actors which are present and moving on the urban stage in connection with these mechanisms. This is in order to highlight governance as a process that takes place in an identifiable time

and place, to understand the relationships between the observed systems and the institutional and policy environment, but also to understand the links between individuals and the systems of urban governance. In this, we are drawing close to the Michel Foucault's statements about "governmentality", which he defined as follows<sup>1</sup>: "By governmentality, I mean the system that is created by institutions, procedures, analyses and thought, calculations and tactics which makes it possible to exercise this very specific, and much more complex, form of power, whose main target is the population, whose major forms are knowledge and political economy, and whose main technical instrument is systems of security". In other words, we shall sketch out here a shift from an analysis of power – the government of the city – towards an analysis of practices of power in order to develop and manage cities.

To begin with, **governance is a process**. This statement immediately raises an ambiguity. First, urban governance is at one time one of many

components, and at another time an essential concern, of an urban project or policy. For example, the aim of providing support for decentralization policies in the countries of the South is to create local powers and municipalities. However, these new systems interfere with the existing equilibria between the different structures of power (representative, participative and traditional powers) and levels of power and require the development of new mechanisms of regulation. In the framework of projects, the methodology deployed takes some principles from the sphere of governance by introducing new modes of participation and by bringing in, in particular, actors from "civil society". From this standpoint, governance appears either as a component of an urban policy, or a means or a requirement for creating one. In other situations, governance may represent the actual goal of a project. This is, for example, pursued by strengthening institutions in order to combat corruption, increase transparency or improve the efficiency and capacity of administrations in

carrying through projects (project ownership, public-private partnerships). Contemporary urban development practices in the cities of the South show that governance not only seems to be inevitable but is in this case too associated with a paradox, as, on the one hand it is merely a component of action in the city while on the other it is its goal.

The think tank finally selected two essential points that characterize urban governance. First, a considerable number of analyses raise general questions about how is urban governance conceived and produced. We have therefore attempted to highlight **the mechanisms for creating governance systems**: this revealed the singular nature of the processes, demonstrated the plurality of situations and above all emphasized their complexity. The diversity of institutions and frameworks of action (legislative, regulatory, financial) at both national and local levels combined with the large number of actors (endogenous, exogenous, private, public, traditional and modern), are interfering with the governance systems which have prevailed hitherto. Nevertheless, tendencies and cross-cutting factors appear to be developing that can characterize both the genesis and impacts of the processes at work. An examination of real conditions shows that governance is an evolving system which is

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. Michel Foucault, « La gouvernementalité », in *Dits et écrits III*, (1978), Paris, Gallimard, 1994, p. 694

located between a liberal injunction and a democratic requirement. It is generally agreed that an indefinite number of actors take part in a process which, through negotiation, aims to manage, plan and develop an urban area. Several sensitive issues are however stressed: the appropriateness of the geographical level of action, the use of intermediate structures, the attempt to achieve continuity between local and national levels and a clear vision of the criteria for participation in governance systems.

Second, we have observed that the terms “governance”

and “regulation” have become almost inseparable. Whether we are considering economic, social or political regulation, it is accepted that the aim is to maintain a balance between the actors involved, who are recognized within governance systems, in order to arrive at concrete decisions which are validated by the stakeholders. As the objective is to reach negotiated compromises, this presupposes the existence of a democratic framework. **The mechanisms of regulation identified in this way can be seen as essential conditions for urban governance systems to be lasting.** This means that leaders and deci-

sion-makers must constantly ask themselves the question: what governance systems for what goals? Introducing these mechanisms requires constant clarification of a number of philosophies, which are not always easy to reconcile: the management philosophy (optimization of public resources, efficiency and transparency...), the social philosophy (balancing and social ties, combating poverty...), and the political philosophy (representative democracy and participative democracy...). However, this quest for regulation, which is increasingly providing a basis for urban governance that attempts to find a new urban

order, makes the need for a cross-cutting approach towards the city even more vital, in order to overcome possible contradictions between the different philosophies.

In relation to these concerns, the researchers have adopted a pragmatic approach, attempting to provide some clarification, on one hand to show the forms of governance systems that exist and that can be effective, and on the other hand to discuss the regulation mechanisms which constitute both the goals of governance and essential conditions for the durability of the process. ■

## Reinventing the french offer of strategic planning services

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*France unquestionably has a great deal of know-how in the area of strategic planning, however the connection between technical proposals and local demand does not seem as clear as in the past. It is by improving our knowledge about demand and renewing our offer of services that we will be able to more effectively introduce new directions for French development aid.*

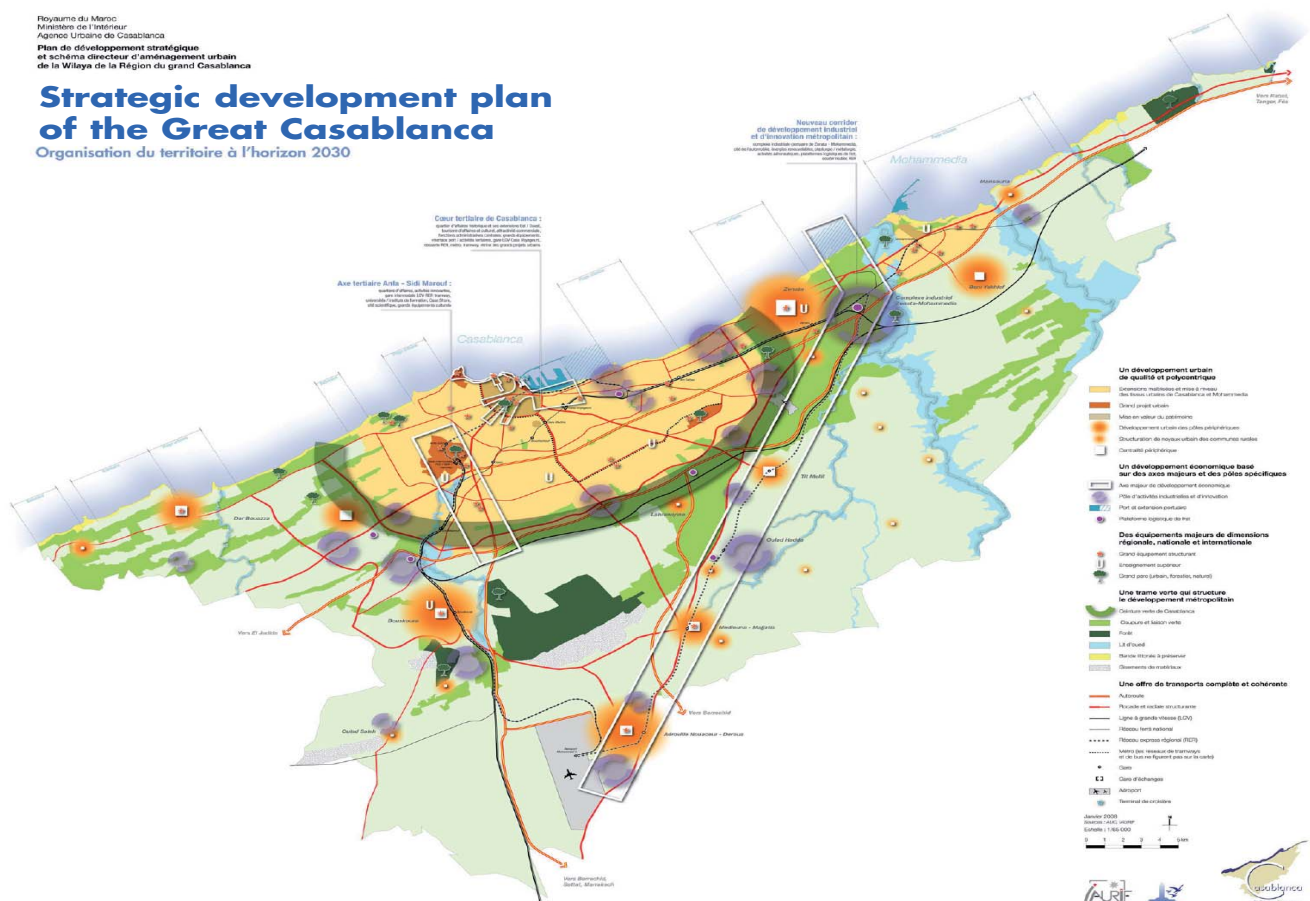
**S**trategic planning documents have undergone a profound change in the last twenty years, with regard to their goals (channelling urban development rather



Marseille – Niamey cooperation for an overall strategy on the capital city of Niger © C. Trinquier / Agam

## Strategic development plan of the Great Casablanca

Organisation du territoire à l'horizon 2030



A contract of thirty months for the LAU Ile-de-France to support the urban agency of Casablanca for reviewing the Master plan. © AUC-LAU-idF

than attempting to control it), their form (simplified documents are occasionally produced), their content (sustainable development, environmental impact, action plans) and the process by which they are drawn up (diagnosis which is performed by both the authorities and technicians, participation of the general public and economic actors).

*New Urban Planning* which was set forth in particular at the 3rd World Urban Forum in Vancouver in 2006, extended these trends with the fundamental idea of starting from an analysis of the situation in the field and developing an urban policy which is based on the capacity for independent development and economic, social and environ-

mental sustainability. The problem is that by doing this, strategic planning can be in danger of becoming excessively local. We are referring here to processes by which we propel decentralization ever further, and refer to projects as "local development" when they are more to do with "community development" and ultimately short-circuit local authorities. In this context there is a danger that a given operator may give too much priority to local projects, to the detriment of overall coherence. However, if France has one fundamental item of doctrine to support in the area of urban policy and strategic planning, it is *the coherence of the project or projects in relation to a genuine strategy that has been defined in advance.*

### But who manages what?

France unquestionably has a great deal of know-how in the area of strategic planning (national, regional, metropolitan, urban), which has been recognized for at least forty years in the South, and which has adapted relatively well<sup>1</sup> with regard to the themes covered, geographical factors, and the resources required to manage any planning process in the long term. This relates firstly to all the tools required to acquire *understanding and knowledge about cities* (Geographic Information Systems, Remote Sensing, Simplified Land Registers and Addressing, etc), and not only in order to collect the data required for the planning and the development document. However, more broadly, it also relates to the importance of the

*structures required for urban coherence and management*, such as the 51 French urban planning agencies and the 1,500 or so persons who work for them, which represents a network which is occasionally copied but never with the same density and autonomy<sup>2</sup>.

The difficulty is that the connection between high quality French technical proposals and local demand does not seem as clear as in the past. Local representatives, which are perfectly familiar with French experience – and who have frequently been introduced to it during their university or professional training – hesitate about whom to contact, even though the Ministry of Foreign and European Affairs (which has transferred urban development to the French

<sup>1</sup> Cf. G. Antier & X. Crépin, « L'exportation française dans le secteur urbain depuis 1985 », *Économies et Sociétés*, Série Développement, n°42, 7/2004, p. 1263-1280.

<sup>2</sup> Event though in the case of Morocco, and even more in Mexico, Tunisia or Cameroon, where there are a variety of agency experiments. Cf. *Villes en Développement*, n°70.

<sup>3</sup> See [www.fnaui-international.org](http://www.fnaui-international.org) and the quarterly newsletter of the FNAU International club [www.fnaui.org](http://www.fnaui.org)

Development Agency) has remained in control of urban governance, at least with regard to planning. The boundary with development remains to be established. The distinction between what is covered by the MAEE (governance) and what is covered by the AFD (projects and project finance) seems rather artificial and counterproductive due to a lack of links between strategic planning and the implementation of the action plans derived from it. In addition to all this, it is necessary to respond to the real demand of developing or transition cities: to examine, for example, the issue of new towns today in the world, what tools are required at the present time, for what project and in the context of what modes of long-term management?

#### **Towards a "gateway" for the French offer of services?**

Unless we strengthen every link in the chain of the French offer of services, there is a

serious risk that all transfers of French know-how in the area of planning will cease. One gets the impression that the present-day system of cooperation is experiencing increasing difficulty in responding to demand (which needs to be better analyzed) by communicating it to an institutional go-between in France (which needs to be more clearly identified) to operators in mainland France (which also need to be better identified and mobilized). Providing a framework for new directions for French cooperation cannot therefore be done without a complete re-examination – which must also be objective – of the current position with regard to the offer of services: once local demand has been better analyzed and communicated, what responses should be put in place through which operator(s)?

The public, para-public and private consultancies, which

were the spearhead of our urban planning exports until the end of the 1990s, are increasingly targeting their activities towards multilateral donors and local contracting parties, not always without risk. And without denying their competence or dedication, the individuals sent on assignments by the administrations cannot take their place in terms of knowledge and, in particular, time spent. So, does decentralized cooperation provide an alternative? But is this its role, and above all does it have the resources? Setting up a strategic planning system costs hundreds of thousands of Euros and requires tens of man-months: what local or regional authority can take on such a task at the present time without remunerative funding (and not only the "support" funding that is given in most European programmes)?

We must also accept that, particularly in the area of planning; development in the

broad sense and sustainable urban development in response to new demands from the South, the desired transfer of traditional public control to decentralized cooperation and new networks of go-betweens such as ISTED or the FNAU<sup>3</sup> with its network of agencies (3) will inevitably involve some loss of control and a reduction in resources.

From a relatively controlled if not uniform framework, we are moving towards the existence of a set of multiple operators. It is therefore necessary to develop an adequately resourced "common gateway" for French technical services which will be able to put together expertise packages and, in particular, training packages. A renewal of operating modes of this type could enable our know-how to have more influence over local planning practices in line with our definition of governance. ■

## How can we combat urban poverty?

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*The increase in urban poverty is the result of three factors: the rapid urbanization of the planet, the lack of decent urban jobs, and shortcomings in urban planning and management. In view of this, how can international cooperation help to reduce urban poverty in the countries of the South ?*

**T**he first factor of poverty can be summarized by a few figures: the urban population of developing countries increased from 680 million in 1970 to 1,450 million in 1990 and today stands at 2.5 billion. This potentially positive increase has not been accompanied by sufficient economic development

to generate the expected jobs and incomes, particularly in Africa. In many countries it has been badly managed because of an absence of political will and in some cases, a failure to understand the phenomenon. Recently, urban poverty has started to fall in East Asia and Latin America, but divisions in the world's

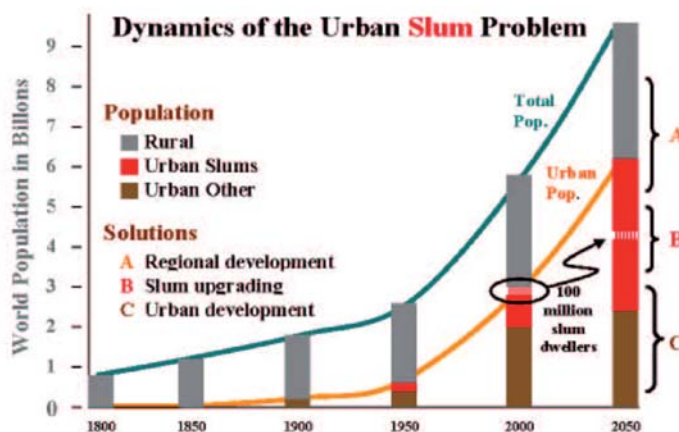
cities between underequipped districts and residential areas are becoming more and more marked. Social and spatial divisions are reinforcing each other.

International urban cooperation is still weak. It is also focused on water and drainage infrastructures. Technical assistance and

assistance to projects have been greatly reduced in the last fifteen years, while budgetary aid frequently ignores urban needs. International cooperation has moved from hardware to software, from the public to the private sectors, from operations to policies while the strategies of the least advanced countries have barely changed and are limited to responding to urban growth as best they can.

So, what can international cooperation do to help reduce urban poverty in the

## Slums Challenges



Source : Daniel Biau, Un-Habitat

countries of the South ? First, it can help them to develop economically, which indisputably involves giving priority to infrastructures, as has been so clearly shown by experience in Asia. This economic growth is a necessary (but not a sufficient) condition for social development. Social development requires decent jobs and general access to land, housing and essential services: basic health care, primary education, drinkable water, drainage, public transport, energy and security. It also requires us to place these activities within renewed urban strategies.

In what follows we shall suggest three priorities for combating urban poverty.

### Essential services

At a political level, the Guidelines for access to essential services currently being drawn up under the aegis of UN-HABITAT specify five directions to be followed: (i) promoting participative urban governance; (ii) decentralizing public responsibilities; (iii) developing partnerships between local authorities and service providers; (iv) providing viable funding and prices that are favourable to the poor; and v) managing environmental impacts.

From the financial standpoint, international cooperation – public development aid – must aim to supplement and mobilize local resources by injecting capital into strategic sectors. The French Development Agency attempts to do this, in contrast to the majority of international financial institutions which place the emphasis on water and transportation. In any case, it is important for investment to encourage measures that favour underprivileged groups.

Management in many African cities is still poor, and there is considerable potential for progress in the management of services, both in the case of market services such as the supply of water or public transport and non-market services such as security and health. Technical cooperation can play a key role in developing municipal capacities, rationalizing the provision of services and improving urban efficiency.

### Urban strategies

After essential services, the next priority should be helping the cities of the South to develop and implement realistic urban strategies. The impact of cooperation of this type is not immediate but medium term. In fact,

most third world cities do not have urban development plans. The master plans which do exist, which are often obsolete or unrealistic, are ignored by decision-makers.

For several years UN-HABITAT and other agencies have been trying to promote “City Development Strategies” (CDS). These combine long-term vision and short-term action, link spatial planning and investment and mobilize all the actors involved. This approach, which has been adopted by many European cities, is difficult to implement in developing countries where the public authorities have hardly any influence over private investment. So, unless we consider that the cities of the South can only grow in a chaotic manner, an enormous development aid effort is required in order to combine the preparation and implementation of urban strategies with the strengthening of local governance and capacities.

### Land and housing

Last, the third priority for international cooperation should be to help the poor gain access to better housing by regularizing informal settlements and facilitating access to land and finance which are essential in order

to build decent housing. Approaches in this area have barely moved on from the improved plots of the 1970s and 80s. Informal rented accommodation, which houses tens of millions of individuals, is still ignored, while the slums that are intended to transform the poor into small property owners are scarcely convincing or credible. More support must be given to the gradual development of housing via microcredit, and to collective systems of savings and credit. The massive production of plots with basic facilities, whose cost can be recovered by the municipalities, should also be encouraged. This requires a combination of technical cooperation and assistance with capital, that is to say political dialogue and financial incentives.

Access of the poor to housing can be facilitated by programmes that are specified by governments on a case by case basis. While there is no miracle solution and national political will is central, can international cooperation ignore this sector ? We think not. Housing poverty deserves to be fought energetically and on two fronts, access to essential services and access to land and housing. ■

# Major urban projects in Maghreb, functions and impacts

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*Major urban projects became a topical subject in 2006, the year negotiations took place between investors from the Gulf and the governments of the Maghreb countries of Algeria, Morocco and Tunisia. In 2007, agreements were signed for the construction of seven major projects in Morocco, five in Algeria and four in Tunisia. These urban projects are set apart by their huge size and extremely high cost, with total investment amounting to between \$US 70 and 80 billion. Apart from these figures, it is important to examine their functions and considerable impacts on the existing cities.*

The functions of the major urban projects in the three Maghreb countries are to upgrade cities and therefore attract outside investment. Apart from these two functions, major urban projects legitimize governments in the eyes of the population. The demonstrative effect of major projects is transmitted by press cam-

paigns that highlight the jobs that projects of this type will inevitably create and other positive spin-offs. However, a brief analysis allows us to put the positive impacts of these major projects into perspective.

## **The major urban projects in Morocco**

The planned urban projects in

Morocco are the following: Development of the Bouregreg (Amwaj project), Saphira in Rabat, the Casablanca Marina, Tinja in Tangiers, Chrifia in Marrakesh, Oukaimeden in Marrakesh, Cap El Hank in Casablanca.

In all, the projects cover an area of 1,500 hectares and will require a total invest-

ment of about \$10 million over a ten-year period. Most of them will include residential areas, luxury hotels, leisure facilities, business centres and three marinas are also planned (Rabat, Casablanca, Tinja).

These projects will be carried through jointly by the Moroccan signatories (the Bouregreg Valley development agency, the Consignments and Loans Fund) and the Emirati signatory (Dubai International Property DIP). The Moroccans are represented in all the projects, which, as we shall see later, is not the case in Tunisia. Another feature of the Moroccan pro-



*South lake project, Tunis Port, Tunisia. Company : Emiratie Sama Dubaï.*



jects is that nothing prohibits foreign investors from raising funds from the Moroccan banking system. This is not the case in Tunisia where only 10% of the planned investment may be obtained from the local banking system. Last, it should be noted that the projects for Morocco are primarily for leisure facilities and hotels, apart from the Rabat-Salé tram which will help to upgrade the transport system in the Moroccan capital.

### **The major urban projects in Algeria**

The available information describes five projects, which include the upgrading of the central station in Algiers, a hotel, a shopping centre and three office towers. A second project on the seafront opposite the bay of Algiers will include the construction of marinas, a hotel, offices and luxury apartments. A hospital complex, a technology park at Sidi Abdallah and a tourist complex in the Algiers region are also planned. The total cost of these projects is estimated at \$20 billion.

### **The major urban projects in Tunisia**

These consist of four urban projects with total investment of approximately \$30 billion. The largest project is for Sama Dubai, in the aban-

doned part of the Tunis port area, and on an 830 hectare plot of land sold for the token sum of 1 dinar to the Emirati investor by the Tunisian government.

This project for the Southern lake entails building over an area of 26 million m<sup>2</sup> which will require an investment of \$14 billion over a fifteen year period.

The second largest project in terms of investment involves the Kuwaitian company, the Al Maabar International Investments Company which is planning to invest \$8.3 billion in a 500 hectare project which will include a residential complex, a hospital complex, and shopping, tourist and sports centres.

The third project, which will be on the Banks of the Northern Lake, and is to be built by the Emirati promoter, Boukhater. The project's name, Tunis Sport City, for a long time gave the impression it was a sports complex, while in reality, apart from a football stadium with a capacity of 10,000 and an international golf academy, it is a housing project involving about fifty buildings half of which will have over 30 storeys. This project will take up an area of 255 hectares and require an investment of \$5 billion over five to seven years.

The fourth project, the "Tunis Financial Harbour" is

financed by a promoter from Bahrein and involves \$3 billion of investment and an area of 450 hectares. This is an integrated financial services centre with a Corporate Centre, and Investment Banking and Advisory Centre, an Insurance Centre and an Exchange. In addition to these components, the project will include a marina, a shopping and leisure complex, an international business school, offshore banks, business banks, a University campus specialized in financial and economic management, and offices for consultancy firms. Ultimately, the promoters hope to make this project into an offshore financial centre by attracting international investment.

### **Positive impacts**

Unquestionably, some North African cities will derive benefits from these major urban projects. To give an example, the Bouregreg development project in Rabat –Salé includes the construction of an 18 km tram line and a bridge, which together will help to ease traffic flow and improve travel conditions for residents between Rabat and Salé. The creation of marinas in Casablanca and Rabat will have major impacts on the development of water tourism and the construction of luxury hotels will help to improve the quality of services.

Likewise, the project for revitalizing the Western bay of Algiers, the projects for the Southern lake in Tunis or the Casablanca marina or yet again the Tangiers Marrakesh project will help to revitalize some parts of the Maghreb's major cities. Nevertheless, the desire on the part of the Gulf investors to achieve high profitability has led to gigantic projects

and architectural and urban-planning models inspired by Anglo-Saxon models, whose impacts will not only be positive.

### **Negative impacts**

The promoters have decided, in particular in Tunis, to reproduce the housing models of the Gulf States, whose urbanization is recent, dating back only 40 years, whereas the cities of the Maghreb are extremely old. These gigantic turnkey developments will be grafted onto the urban fabric whose values and norms are radically different from those of Gulf States.

The projects for the banks of the Northern and Southern lakes will have direct impacts on traffic congestion in the centre of Tunis and on the roads which serve the Northern coast of Tunis where car ownership among residents is high. The same is true of the Sama Dubai project which is directly connected to the Central Business District where activities will be highly concentrated and generate serious congestion in central Tunis. Moreover, these luxury property projects which target high income groups will tend to increase local property prices. Also, the increase in the number of very high buildings, some with more than fifty floors, will make it necessary to provide the safety facilities required for this type of construction which do not currently exist.

### **Attracting foreign investment**

The reception and attraction of foreign investment, the modes of management and the extent to which the state is involved differ in the three Maghreb countries. Foreign investors involved in urban projects are only authorized to take 10% of the total funding of the pro-

jects from funds. In contrast to Morocco or Algeria, where foreign promoters are not involved in semi-public companies, the Tunisian signatory plays no part in project funding or management, apart from the control exercised by the State. The tax incentives provided by the State to attract foreign investment consist of tax

exemptions for a period of thirty years.

The media have often highlighted the scale of the finance involved, but they have rarely mentioned the impacts of these projects on the operation of the cities where they are to be located. Furthermore, the media have not been reluctant to

glorify Anglo-Saxon models of urban planning and architecture, described vaguely as modern, in cities with traditions of urban life that date back more than 1,200 years. Last, the lack of involvement of professional bodies and civil society in evaluating the design of these projects has been a constant feature, to varying

extents, in all three Maghreb countries. In fact, these projects which were being negotiated in 2006 were only brought to the attention of the public in 2007, and in some cases only in 2008. ■

## The complexity of land governance in the favelas of Rio de Janeiro

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*The favelas have been part of the urban landscape of Rio de Janeiro since at least the end of the 19th century. Although often perceived as illegal, they have been tolerated by the public authorities. The legally precarious nature of access to land has nevertheless led to the entrenchment of a large variety of vote catching practices and provided the justification for sporadic and arbitrary expulsions and for escaping the obligation to provide these areas with adequate public services.*

After the resounding failure of the large favela clearance project that was implemented during the 1960s and 1970s, the public authorities have gradually put in place rehabilitation and land regularization policies for the favelas as part of the military regime's policy of openness that began in the early the 1980s.

Under pressure from social movements with their source not only among the inhabitants of the favelas but also so-called formal districts, a new legal framework came into being based on the new Constitution of 1988 and the federal Urban Status Act of 2001. Urban legislation came to be more

focused on the creation of measures that aimed to simplify the legalization of informal access to housing. This aspect has been seen to be crucial in view of the level of land informality in Brazilian metropolises, which can involve up to 50% of the population.

At local level, Rio de Janeiro's municipal legislation laid down, at the beginning of the 1990s, that the favelas should be integrated within the city's urban fabric by prohibiting rehousing unless the physical conditions put the lives of residents at risk. Several initiatives for regenerating the favelas, such as the famous Favela Bairro project, were implemented in

Rio de Janeiro. With regard to property legislation, we must come to a rather negative conclusion, that reveals the legal and technical complexity and the countless socio-political issues that affect property in Brazil.

The affirmation of the policy of regenerating the favelas instead of expelling or rehousing the population has given residents a degree of property security which has considerably reduced social demand for land regularization. The efforts made by the public authorities with regard to regeneration have not been matched in the area of land regularization.

Of course, there have

recently been considerable improvements in urban facilities in the favelas, but occupation of the land is still illegal, creating an ambiguous situation with regard to property security. In fact, most of the favelas are managed as parts of the municipality, but they are still under recurrent threats of, at least partial, destruction. This is illustrated by the resurgence of anachronistic views about clearance of the favelas in the local press and the statements of some politicians. These views claim to be based on the environmental hazards resulting from the expansion of the favelas, but are more to do with the disastrous impacts on the city's property market of the increase in violence caused by drug traffickers.

Even if in most cases the presence of the drug traffickers and the legal precariousness of land tenure discourage the investment of large amounts of capital in the favela districts, the end of



*Favela Rio de Pedras, Rio de Janeiro, Brazil. R. S. Gonçalves - 2007.*

rehousing policies, combined with the absence of any sort of urban planning control, are resulting in increasing disorderly construction, often of high-rise buildings. The present-day growth of the informal property market confirms this economic dynamism and is leading, in some favelas, to a perceptible process of gentrification. Access to housing in these areas is extremely expensive and new property is made available more by buying or renting existing buildings in the favelas than by expanding into new districts. The success of land legislation projects therefore depends on the ability of urban legislation and land regularization policies to take account of the nature of this expanding informal property market.

The various social players within the favelas also rely heavily on the informal nature of property in order to consolidate their internal control. For example, the private militia, which are generally trained by members of the police with the aim of expelling drug traffickers, very frequently control the property market and take a percentage both on informal property transfers and the taxes paid by shopkeepers to provide local security. In addition, residents' associations – torn between the drugs traffickers, the private militia and the often corrupt and violent police – also acquire large resources by taking a percentage on local property transfers via informal local land registries. They are obviously not willing to support a policy

which threatens both the lucrative local management of property and the property owning status of major local “latifundium” owners.

Apart from the excessive formalism of the legal measures and the ineffectiveness of Brazil's complex and corrupt land registry system, the difficulty of regularizing the favelas in Rio de Janeiro is largely explained by the lack of interest in land legalization among the local population and the various social players within the favelas. In order to overcome the impasse that affects land regularization projects, it is essential for the law to adapt to the various social pressures by implementing regulation systems that are tailored to local needs, in

order for them to be fully integrated within the legal structure and benefit the community. Land regularization cannot, however, be seen as the solution to all the social problems, but as the culmination of a policy that aims to strengthen the idea of public space in the favelas. ■

# Cities and areas: the issues surrounding cultural heritage

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*Innovative practices introduced in France and cooperative activities abroad are making us aware of the international dimension of the new issues surrounding the cultural heritage, with regard to upgrading and improving cities and areas.*

At the start of the 21st century we find ourselves at a time when the social, environmental and cultural context of cities and areas is changing rapidly. The urban transformations of the last thirty years have been accompanied by a profound change in the concept of heritage and the relationship which residents and visitors have with it. The experience

which France has gained in the last two centuries is an undeniable asset for better understanding the change and comparing it with other practices and other countries. What therefore are the new issues, particularly in relation to urban development, and how can we take the measure of them and find the most appropriate level of intervention?

## Changing points of view

*"Tradition and heritage does not mean to preserve the ashes but to keep the flame alight"* this Indian proverb on its own sums up the issues and goals of today. "We must give new life to tradition and not merely protect it, otherwise it will inevitably die and disappear" stated the Chinese architect Wang

Shu, one of five persons nominated for the 2007 global award during a speech he made in September 2008 at the Cité de l'Architecture et du Patrimoine (Paris). In the last fifteen to twenty years, the conflict between town-planning and heritage protection is tending to diminish and new policies are starting to take shape. What goal was the Mayor of Brest (whose conurbation has 215,000 inhabitants) pursuing when, like his counterpart in Le Havre, (whose city centre is a UNESCO World Heritage



Renovation of Tongli place. Photo : Tongji University.

<sup>1</sup> With the participation of Françoise Ged, director of the Observatory of Architecture in Contemporary China (CAPA).

Site)<sup>2</sup> he set up an architectural urban and landscape heritage protection zone (ZPPAUP) in the parts of the centre that were built after the second world war and the old suburbs? What motivated the Mayor of Saint-Benoît-du-Sault (a canton with a population of 5,432 with 776 inhabitants in the commune) when asked for a protected area in the village and a ZPPAUP for the surrounding landscape, suggesting that neighbouring mayors include part of the area they administer. Were these mayors trying to protect their commune from urbanization? This is obviously absurd, in particular as they have been responsible for town-planning since the decentralization legislation of the early 1980s.

### New tools

The major goal is no longer to protect areas “against” new construction or new developments but to ensure they fit in with the characteristics of the existing environment and the associated constraints. The ZPPAUP is used in a subtle way. On the one hand, it highlights that something is very much in the general interest that justifies the taking of occasionally authoritarian decisions in collaboration with local representatives of central government; on the other hand, it introduces a method that is based on a detailed knowledge of the places in question which provides a basis for the enhancement of the built

heritage. The documents that are produced, which have precedence over the commune’s town-planning documents, play a moderating, or even a delaying, role with a view to achieving sustainable urban development. By introducing a reference to history and the past changes in the area, this extremely important process gives meaning to development and makes it easier for residents to understand it. The innovative projects which have been carried out in France broaden the scope of thought about the capital role that the cultural heritage can play with regard to the sustainable development of cities and areas. But these issues are not universally recognized. Such recognition involves publicizing experiments and attempting to find new practices for larger areas with heritage value, such as the Loire Valley<sup>3</sup>, which currently lack coherent management. These advances highlight the benefit of linking the heritage and cultural approach with the economic, environmental and social issues associated with sustainable development, in the context of a cross-cutting multi-disciplinary approach<sup>4</sup>.

### Shared heritage and urban policies

The concept of shared heritage, whose scope has considerably broadened, has thus led to new approaches and innovative practices in France. Interesting experiments in



*District of old Slaughterhouses of Shanghai under renovation.  
Alain Marinos.*

small towns and large conurbations now have reference status and are providing a number of countries with a more comprehensive framework for thought. Cooperative actions undertaken in particular in China and India are increasing in number. They are even analyzed or debated under the aegis of multinational bodies such as UNESCO and UN-Habitat<sup>5</sup>. These cooperative actions are making us aware of the international dimension of the new issues raised by the cultural heritage, with regard to upgrading and improving cities and areas.

The questions raised are the same in the different countries, while the geographical levels do not necessarily seem to be comparable. They are posed in a shared context, that of the globalization of markets and production which, in particular, makes it necessary to find a new management balance between public and private actors. The experience acquired by France and the countries with which it has worked highlights these issues at an international level and helps us put shared goals into perspective. ■

<sup>2</sup> Act of 07/01/83 concerning the division of responsibilities between central and local government gives municipalities the right to set up a ZPPAUP. This is based on a detailed knowledge of the site and asserts that heritage promotion measures have been negotiated between the municipality and central government. It includes an urban management plan and regulations and advice is given on both.

<sup>3</sup> The “cultural landscape” of the Loire Valley is 280 km long and is a UNESCO World Heritage Site. It involves two regions, 4 Départements and 160 municipalities.

<sup>4</sup> See the paper “Développement urbain et aménagement durable” in the journal *La pierre d’angle* No. 47.

<sup>5</sup> For example in the framework of the project “Historic districts for all: a social and human approach for sustainable revitalization”, that was run in 2007 and 2008 by the Division of Social Sciences, Research and Policy at UNESCO which will be the subject of a paper, a workshop and a presentation of publications on the topic at the next World Urban Forum in Nankin (11/2008).

# News on cooperation

## European Development Days: local governance

Under the French presidency of the European Union, the European Commission, with the participation of the European parliament, is holding the third set of European Development Days (EDD) in Strasbourg from 15 to 17 November 2008.

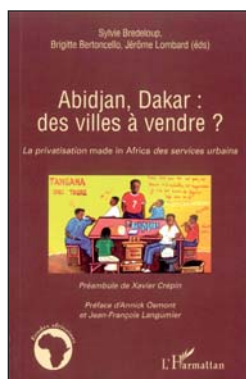
Each year the European Development Days bring together 3000 participants from all continents, representing some 1,200 organisations from the development community.

The European Development Days give everyone a say: public administrations, parliaments, local authorities, civil society, international organisations, academics, development agencies, the private sector and the media. It is an open forum that brings together the entire development community. EDD 2008 will focus on "local authorities and development" and "local governance".

The French presidency of the Union and the City of Strasbourg are supporting this European Commission initiative. Local authorities can become involved in this event by taking part in side-events or a stand in the "Development Village".

Informations : [www.eudevdays.eu/Public/Homepage.php](http://www.eudevdays.eu/Public/Homepage.php)

## Publications



**Abidjan, Dakar : des villes à vendre ?**  
La privatisation made in Africa des services urbains

Sylvie Bredeloup, Brigitte Bertoncello, Jérôme Lombard (Eds). Forward by Xavier Crépin; Preface by Annik Osmont and Jean-François Langumier. Paris, L'Harmattan, 2008

Stemming from the Urban Research Development Programme (PRUD), that ran from 2001 to 2004, in the framework of a concerted incentive drive by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs Priority Solidarity Fund, and managed by GEMDEV and ISTED, this publication presents a cross-cutting comparative analysis of the approaches and strategies of many new urban development actors that have emerged in the last twenty years in two distinct African contexts, Abidjan and Dakar. Two sectors that are key for urban operation have been selected: the organization of travel and the development of wholesale and retail food markets.

[www.editions-harmattan.fr](http://www.editions-harmattan.fr)

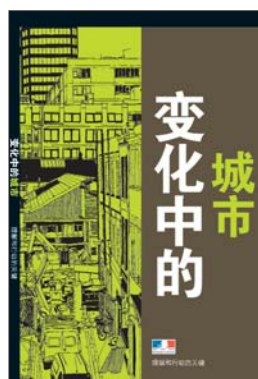


**La gouvernance dans tous ces états**  
Analysis and propositions of the think tank on the urban governance

Authors: Annik Osmont, Charles Goldblum, Jean-François Langumier, Emile Le Bris, Claude de Miras, Clément Musil.

This report presents the work carried out on urban governance on the initiative of the scientific leadership of the Urban Research Development Programme (PRUD), with the support of the Subdirectorate for Democratic Governance at the Ministry for Foreign and European Affairs. It analyzes the concept of urban governance with reference to the mechanisms and systems that are implemented for urban policies and projects in order to demonstrate their great complexity and capacity to change, and in order to highlight governance as a process. MAEE, DGCID, études, 2008

[www.diplomatie.gouv.fr](http://www.diplomatie.gouv.fr)



**Emerging cities**  
Keys to understanding and acting  
Chinese version

MEEDDAT, MAEE, AFD, ISTED

This book was published in English and French in 2007. Following the Spanish and Arabic versions, here is the Chinese version which is to be issued in Nanjing China, during the 4th World Urban Forum organized by UN-Habitat in early November 2008.

The book in its entirety is available at :  
[www.villesendevenir.org](http://www.villesendevenir.org)

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