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COMPETITIVE METROPOLISES AND THE PROSPECTS FOR SPATIAL JUSTICE

The role of metropolitan areas within the global agenda of local and regional governments for the 21st century

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This work is the result of bibliographic research and targeted interviews that took place during 2015 and 2016, in order to make the initial report available for the Habitat III conference in Quito. The original report was prepared by Agnès Deboulet, Cyprien Butin and Jeanne Demoulin under the supervision of Agnès Deboulet. C. Butin and A. Deboulet finalized the resume of the detailed report.

The Habitat III conference process, which led to the adoption of a New Urban Agenda (NUA), was an opportunity for local governments, States, researchers and the NGO community to discuss the future of metropolises and human settlements given the context of unprecedented urban growth, which largely involves the future of humanity in terms of the environment and the realization of universal rights.

The issue of territorial inequality has been part of an ongoing debate that precedes the adoption of the New Urban Agenda and which has led to a number of recommendations that new regional and national conferences are trying to translate into operational principles.

The debates materialized particularly around the question of the recognition of the right to the city, stemming from the civil society and local communities of UCLG with the support of some Latin American States (Ecuador, Brazil, Mexico and Chile). For its defenders, the right to the city guarantees that cities and territories are common goods where decent living and democratic participation of the present and future inhabitants are at the heart of all concerns. After bitter debates and faced with the fear of the Northern States led by the United States to recognize a new right, the right to the city was finally mentioned in the NUA

text as a reference for inclusive cities. Beyond this, many of its principles have been included in the New Urban Agenda: the principle of an urbanization process that guarantee rights and access to services for all, the social and economic function of the city and land, the progressive realization of the right to housing, the recognition of the social production of housing, the recognition of workers in the informal economy and their participation in local economic development, the recognition of an interdependent and circular economy, the promotion of sustainable forms of production and consumption, respect for rural-urban balances, the participation of all stakeholders in decision-making, etc.

This being the case, the actual transcription and monitoring of the implementation of these principles remains debatable. Indeed, NUA funding has not materialized and few references have been made regarding taxation. Tools such as the recovery of property and real estate premiums have been suspected by some movements to be instruments for benefitting property speculation.

Moreover, the largely precarious nature of the growth of cities is also the subject of ongoing concern and now, more than ever, States and local governments are being ordered to treat the peripheries with benevolence in a spirit of integration. The New Urban Agenda thus establishes the principle of polycentrism and of the city as recommendations for inclusive and sustainable cities.

Will the NUA's social-liberal vision be able to respond to urban challenges by prioritizing spatial justice and the issue of resource allocation, while there is an increasingly clear vision of the colossal increase in inequality in a world where growth has been largely captured by the richest, particularly in Russia, the Gulf countries, several BRICS states and the United States¹?



The researchers and local elected representatives of the Committee on Social Inclusion, Participatory Democracy and Human Rights of UCLG who contributed to the reflection around this report have formulated the hypothesis that the competitive agenda of metropolises must be questioned as it results in the production of increased inequalities and inter-urban (if we take the very poorly shared question of urban risks) and intra-urban socio-spatial injustices. These increased inequalities and injustices also occur between centers and peripheries, planned neighborhoods and precarious neighborhoods, old neighborhoods and new extensions or compounds.

In order to counter this, participatory planning must be an imperative for all cities at all scales of their governance (local, inter-local) taking into account the realities, experiences and life of the territories that make up the metropolises. It is the guarantee that ensures that all the territories that make up the metropolis are taken into consideration, bring and receive metropolitan cooperation in view of their needs. This is what motivates the polycentric gamble.

The recommendations of the NUA must be then articulated with real practices regarding the anticipation of the urban growth in order to ensure that this agenda and the SDG do not simply remain written words. Anticipating for the additional 25% of urban dwellers expected in medium-sized towns, small towns and cities by 2050 – without falling into the standardization of cities and housing – requires a colossal effort that must be based on shared densification strategies, built on the management of land by specialized agencies and the equally massive production of public transport. Coherence between this foresight and the right to the city entails a necessary revolution of the practices.

LAVUE (CNRS) and the Social Inclusion, Participatory Democracy and Human Rights Commission of the UCLG

17 December 2017

¹ According to the World Wealth and Income Database site

INTRODUCTION

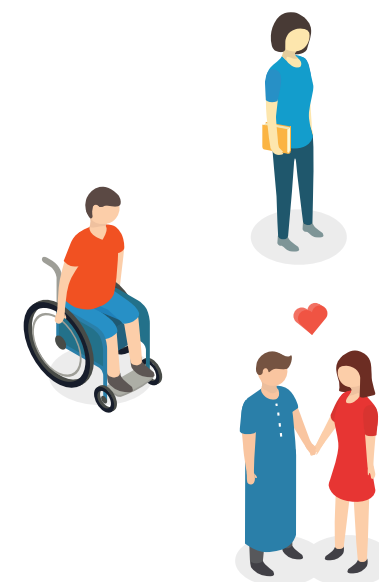
METROPOLITAN AREAS, HOME TO A QUARTER OF HUMANITY

The two aspects of urbanization are often presented as opposing each other: on the one hand, sprawling cities are seen to create tensions and marginalization, and on the other hand, they can be regarded as a place of economic opportunities. This publication tries to avoid caricatured perceptions of cities, particularly those of the megalopolis, which are commonly portrayed in the media by establishing a realistic and analysis of this widespread urbanization trend, which is becoming an unavoidable situation for both governments and their populations.

This introduction presents some significant elements regarding the current state of urbanization. While some cities are experiencing population growth rates greater than 3 per cent per year (for a total population growth of 1.2%), thus doubling their population within 20 years, others remain powerless to the continuous closure of their industries and services and declining populations. Although, broadly speaking, these inverse processes can be identified as occurring, respectively, in the southern metropolises (for some) and in northern metropolises (for others), the authors of this study as well as the scientific committee have ensure that it avoids overly binary comparisons such as those between the North and the South or between developed and developing countries. It will therefore refer to metropolises as being from wealthy or formerly industrialized countries and or being from emerging countries, which reflect the recent nature of their urban development.

The preparation of this report was guided by the idea that the vision of cities differs based on whether they are being described, from the center or from the peripheries, and based on the manner that they fit into the continual restructuring of productive systems. The report will also highlight several major issues faced by metropolises and their surrounding regions: the connection between demographic growth and spatial inequalities,

the questioning of urban planning and the capacity of local authorities to regulate unanticipated urbanization or urban sprawl. A focus will also be placed on the main societal challenges, such as the protection of common goods, the consequences of liberal reforms in housing production policies and the lack of cohesion between urban attractiveness and the supply of decent housing for as many people as possible. In addition to this are the environmental challenges, which are further complicated by increasing social problems.



There will be three guiding principles throughout this report, which will be briefly explained in this introduction:

The contradictions between urban economies increasingly wanting to establish their attractiveness and, depending on the case, their competitiveness, and an increasingly unequal distribution of resources and income¹;

The importance of ensuring that equality and justice are an integral part of sustainable development, as well as the need to establish an inclusive society from the very outset in terms of spatial justice;

Greater coordination of public authorities including in their relationships with citizens in order to meet a growing demand for well-being within cities.



¹ As demonstrated by Thomas PIKETTY, *Le capital au XXI^e siècle*, Paris, Seuil, 2013.

Metropolization: New Urban Challenges and their Paradoxes

DEFINITIONS AND COMMON DATA

The metropolitan phenomenon is one of the many aspects of urbanization. It should be recalled that, according to UN figures, urbanization rates surpassed the symbolic threshold of 50 per cent in 2008 compared to 2 per cent of the entire population at the beginning of the 19th century. However, this growth is far from plateauing out: 54.5 per cent of the world's population was defined as urban in 2016¹, and according to the same projections, this proportion will reach 66 per cent by 2050. The majority of this growth will occur in less urbanized regions, particularly in Africa and Asia. Meanwhile, the rate of urbanization will remain fairly stable in North and South America and Europe, where three quarters of the population are already considered urban.

Within this unprecedented urban dynamic, it is important that we define both terms 'metropolis' and 'metropolization'². It is worth stressing that, on the one hand, this is a constantly changing phenomenon, and that cities are by nature in constant flux or in continuous spatial growth. On the other

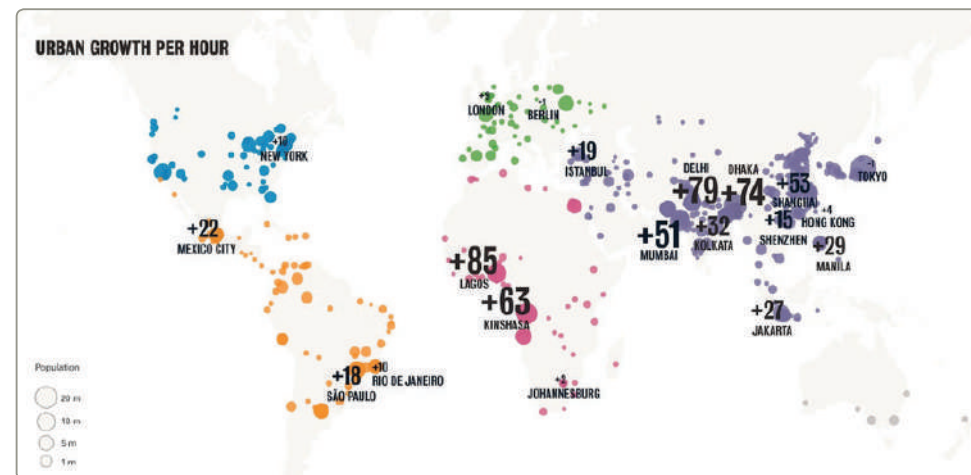
hand, there is no standard metropolitan model because the metropolization process itself produces heterogeneity.

As a general rule, this report will discuss **metropolitan areas or regions**, which are defined by "the total (often discontinuous) urbanized areas that shape the way large cities function". The development of urban corridors between several cities, often located hundreds of kilometers apart from each other, will also help establish a definition for **megacities**, which accommodate the greatest concentration of urban dwellers on earth.

The definition used by UCLG for **metropolises** is, by convention, reserved for cities with more than one million inhabitants. Consequently, most of the examples used in the report regarding cities reach this demographic threshold. That said, this in no way prejudices the real structure and organization of said metropolises considering the difficulty of identifying the boundaries of agglomeration and defining their sizes. Among these metropolises, aside from their unique economic, political, morphological and social contexts, it is important to emphasize the role played by **urban mega-regions and megacities**³, which are often affected by the most significant issues caused by rapid urbanization⁴. However, ultimately, urban growth is faster in small and medium-sized cities, and this should not be ignored at the expense of the former.

³ Cities with more than 10 million inhabitants are considered as mega-cities

⁴ According to the document produced by the UNITED NATIONS, *World Urbanization Prospects*, 2014, three countries alone – India, China and Nigeria – are expected to account for 37% of the world's urban growth between 2014 and 2050. Also, the urban Indian population is expected to strengthen by nearly 404 million city dwellers, China by 292 million and Nigeria by 212 million. By 2030, the world should contain up to 41 mega-cities, including Tokyo (38 million), Delhi (25 million), Shanghai (23 million), Mexico, Mumbai and São Paulo (21 million).



Urban growth per hour in certain metropolises
(Source: VisualCapitalist.com, 2015)

In these megacities, the difficulties in ensuring a satisfactory quality of life (mainly due to difficulties related to daily mobility, air pollution, etc.) are evident. This being the case, on the one hand, the advantages of these very large cities remain important, particularly in terms of the production of cultural and educational goods or the supply of skilled jobs, which partly compensate for the difficulties of everyday life and the problems of scale; on the other hand, they are better equipped than small towns to adapt to newcomers, because of the greater presence of professionals capable of managing the urban development.

Following subaltern and postcolonial studies, studies on forms of urbanization must move away from the idea of (urban) societies stemming from the "thwarted, chaotic path of countries with non-Western cultures towards the model of development that the West offers them"⁵. Most of these

⁵ Jules NAUDET, "La portée contestataire des études postcoloniales. Entretien avec Jacques Pouchepadass", *La vie des idées*, 2011.

megacities are, in fact, located in Asia, with "new" arrivals like Dhaka in Bangladesh (an urban area of 22 million inhabitants).

GLOBALIZATION AND ITS IMPACTS

In some ways, the urban development may also be considered as a social phenomenon, which goes hand in hand with changes within the capitalist system (offshoring, financialization, restructuring, etc.). Moreover, the latest technological advances have been dedicated to the importance of 'global' cities, which according to Saskia Sassen's definition⁶, include all production chains and research into high-value goods, notably information and communication technology.

This being said, many studies now attest to the complementarities of certain regional and transnational economic circuits,

⁶ Saskia SASSEN, *The Global City – New York, London, Tokyo*, 2nd ed., Princeton, N.J., Princeton University Press, 2001.

¹ UNITED NATIONS, "The World's Cities in 2016. Data booklet", *Economic & Social Affairs*, 29 pages

² References: Cynthia GHORRA-GOBIN, "De la métropolisation : un nouveau paradigme ?", *Quaderni. Communication, technologies, pouvoir*, 2010, no 73, pp. 25-33.; Bernard JOUVE, "La démocratie en métropoles : gouvernance, participation et citoyenneté", *Revue française de science politique*, 2005, Vol. 55, no 2, pp. 317-337; Guy DI MEO, "la métropolisation. Une clé de lecture de l'organisation contemporaine des espaces géographiques", *L'Information géographique*, 2010, Vol. 74, no 3, pp. 23-38; Global Urban Observatory database: <http://unhabitat.org/urban-knowledge/global-urban-observatory-guo/> and World Bank data: <http://data.worldbank.org/topic/urban-development>

"highlighting great differences in the overall positioning of cities: they do not all serve the same purpose, [and] each is a combination of functions, specific economic conditions and particular global connections"⁷. The international circulation of people, flows of passengers, business or tourist trips, migrations, are all different indicators of this globalization, and are as much one of the many niches in the global economy.

In agglomerations that are either opulent or characterized by low added-value production, it is important to stress the significance of **precarious housing**⁸, which clearly represents a key factor of rapid population growth and unresolved inclusive planning issues. The UN data regarding populations living in slums (one fourth of the urban population⁹) do not reflect the heterogeneity of a phenomenon whose constructive qualities and level of equipment are very diverse, nor do they highlight the relationship that city dwellers maintain with their housing and by extension the inhabited space: even in precarious neighborhoods, the housing is often covered with emotional values totally neglected by public policies.

Cities have now arrived at a crossroads; they are now starting to think more closely about means of conciliation between competitiveness and social balances. This study will look further into this by demonstrating that competitiveness objectives pose a serious and often

⁷ Saskia Sassen, « L'archipel des villes globales », *Les Grands Dossiers des Sciences Humaines*, 2009, vol. 17, no 12, p. 12.

⁸ The term "precarious neighborhoods" (or *quartiers précaires*) comes from the fact that in many cities, the low level of recognition by the authorities deprives these neighborhoods of land security, cf. Agnès DEBOULET (dir.) *Rethinking Precarious Neighborhoods*, AFD Studies, 2016.

⁹ UNITED NATIONS HUMAN SETTLEMENTS, *Background Paper*, 2014

unanticipated risk of social and economic breakdown among entire sections of the population subjected (i) to excessive increases in property prices across cities, especially in large ones as well as (ii) crowding-out and eviction issues, which are a result of these capital gains prospects. The recent taxation imposed on luxury property in certain cities indicates a tentative return toward the regulation of an almost completely ungoverned sector. In Tel-Aviv, a 65% increase in prices between 2007 and 2011 marked the beginning of a significant social shift¹⁰ regarding the occupation of the capital city's main artery, Rothschild Boulevard, which particularly affected young people and the middle class. Other examples include the Taksim square protest movement in Istanbul and the social movement against rising public transport prices in major Brazilian cities.

In addition, regarding environmental aspects, some cities have recently acknowledged that air pollution has reached dangerous levels. In very little time it will be impossible to avoid the irreversible damage caused by climate imbalance and cities need to be at the forefront of viable solutions and alternatives to using fossil fuels.

Of course, the environmental side of the land-property related aspects reflects the need for renewed governance in order to ensure better coordination of actors and the crucial need to involve citizens in public decision-making. Only by understanding and accepting measures that aim to correct the negative externalities of urbanization can we progress towards fair and inhabitable cities.

¹⁰ Called 'social protest'; See: Adriana KEMP, Henrik LEBUHN et Galia RATTNER, "Between Neoliberal Governance and the Right to the City: Participatory politics in Berlin and Tel Aviv", *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 2015, vol. 39, no 4, pp. 704-725

CONTRADICTIONS BETWEEN THE PROCESS OF METROPOLIZATION AND SPATIAL INEQUALITIES

The contradictions created by the processes of metropolization are largely the result of an unequal allocation of resources in metropolises in which the opportunities and wealth are concentrated: between the center and the popular peripheries for example, but also vis-à-vis city centers abandoned in favor of protected peripheral areas. The geography of territorial inequalities is constantly evolving, but the major trend of public authorities and states is to favor already well-endowed territories.

METROPOLISES AS CENTERS OF OPPORTUNITIES...

Large cities therefore each concentrate the majority of all the generated economic wealth and gross domestic product (GDP). It is now commonly recognized that some cities produce more wealth by themselves than certain countries and generate far more income per citizen than the rest of the country to which they belong. With 7.5 million inhabitants, the San Francisco bay area represents the 22nd strongest global economy¹¹. The wider the range of high-level and high-quality education it offers its citizens, the more prosperous a city becomes, thus forming a knowledge-based society. However, this prosperity risks not going hand in hand with a shared quality of life.

¹¹ The average income per individual in large metropolitan areas (city-regions) in the United States is 40% greater than the rest of the country, according to Michael STORPER, Thomas KEMENY, Naji MAKAREM, Taner OSMAN, Storper MICHAEL, Kemény THOMAS, Makarem NAJJI et Osman TANER, *The Rise and Fall of Urban Economies: Lessons from San Francisco and Los Angeles*, Stanford, California, Stanford University Press, 2015

Through their ability to offer job opportunities and services, large cities have long-since accommodated large influxes of populations from rural areas. This internal migratory trend, incorrectly labelled the 'rural exodus', now largely concerns domestic farmers or migrants being forced to leave their homes because the combination of climate imbalance, soil erosion, poor, quasi-feudal working conditions, over-indebtedness. In addition, climate imbalance is deemed responsible for the immigration of 500,000 people to Dhaka each year, and 70% of migrants claim to have had to for environmental reasons¹². The monumental rise in the number of asylum seekers and international refugees, which, following Africa, affects the entire Arab world, is also the source of a central issue in terms of hosting conditions and 'citizenship' for these new arrivals, who are often denied permanent housing or decent living conditions.

...AND INEQUALITIES

However, despite this concentration of wealth and provision of resources and high-quality services, internal inequalities within metropolises are greater than across all other territories. They prevent a large proportion of inhabitants in many cities from accessing these services at a reasonable price. Intra-urban inequalities also intensify inequalities between cities and rural areas and globalization rates are also often used as an indicator of inequality.

The most glaring example of these inequalities can be found in some very large metropolises where sometimes the higher categories are concentrated in gated

¹² CITIES ALLIANCE, *Climate Migration Drives Slum Growth in Dhaka*, 2011

communities which, in addition to their lack of urbanity, are also unbridled consumers of space, water, non-renewable resources¹³. In addition, in some cities, the center has thrived and has maintained its economic domination at the expense of the periphery by capturing “wealthy” migrant flows, taxes and national and international investments¹⁴. It is sometimes the alliances between public authorities, including local authorities, private promotion and ruling classes that almost spontaneously affect resources in neighborhoods that are already well endowed¹⁵, at the expense of the demands from working-class neighborhoods. For example, the New Urban Communities Authority in Egypt, which barely addresses 5% of the country's population (80% of whom live in urban areas), has a higher budget than the entire Ministry of Housing.

The metropolis is a common good: it must be shared. Additionally, the awareness of the ways in which urban solidarity can benefit the city is now emerging and should be pursued. This is all the more important since many criticisms are coming to light surrounding the dogma of competitive cities, which may in fact stand in opposition to visions of city solidarity.

¹³ For example, in Greater Cairo, 1,200 km² were allocated to private real estate development (mainly in new cities), an area equivalent to more than 2.5 times the Cairo metropolitan area, which put 100 years to move from 35 to 480 km² in 2000. At the same time, the environmental record of new cities is an un-thought of reflection. there are no studies on the cost of urban sprawl (in terms of infrastructure and urban services), nor on the consumption of resources (water, land, electricity) which is often done at the expense of neighborhoods of the central area. See: Pierre-Arnaud Barthel “repenser les « villes nouvelles » du Caire : défis pour mettre fin à un développement non durable” *Égypte/Monde arabe*, 2011, no 8, pp. 181-207

¹⁴ World bank, *Reshaping Economic Geography*, 2009. See also the work of the economist Paul Krugman.

¹⁵ TADAMUN, *Investigating Spatial Inequality in Cairo*, 2015

However, it is essential that public authorities urgently work towards forming a general consensus between city centers and their outskirts in an effort to control urban sprawl, preserve agricultural and wetland areas and address the environmental and social issues that call for renewed town planning. This work requires a quick consideration of the forms of metropolitan government that will complement local governments as megacities raise their own specific governance issues¹⁶.

Cities must aim to support the rapid transformations they undergo and take into account the tensions resulting from socio-spatial inequalities and affordable housing issues, thus transversally incorporating the environmental dimension.



¹⁶ Kees KOONINGS and Dirk KRUIJT, *Megacities: The Politics of Urban Exclusion and Violence in the Global South*, London; New York, Zed Books, 2009.

The Guiding Principle of this Report: Promoting Spatial Justice and the Right to the City?

Spatial justice is at the heart of this renewed approach to urban development that makes it possible to think of a future for all in a metropolis concerned with living well and organized around these common objectives. It is especially supported, following the work of Henri Lefebvre – to whom we owe the notion of “right to the city” –, by the founding researchers of the online journal “*Justice spatial* / spatial justice”¹⁷. The use of the notion of spatial justice comes from the exchanges that took place for the preparation of this study. It has thus become obvious that the new challenges of the metropolises could be summarized to a large extent by the discrepancy between urban demands and the realities of the urban functions with which public authorities must engage. For some years now, the quest for justice has been strengthened by the very fact of its being rooted within territorial space and policies. This also suggests the rise in strength of urban social movements in Turkey, Brazil, France, United Kingdom and the United States.

Aside from the fact that fighting for justice has become a ‘powerful rallying call’, particularly in cities, the combination of the notion of ‘justice’ and the term ‘spatial’ have opened new horizons for political and social action. It implies that any space-related investment can be a vector of more or less justice or injustice. Public authorities must then carefully addresses the possible discrimination and works that their policy convey and work toward a social and

¹⁷ Includes members of the scientific committee of this report, Frédéric DUFAUX, Aurélie QUENTIN, Philippe GERVAIS-LAMBONY, Pascale PHILIFERT, members of LAVUE (CNRS)

political organization of space and services that reduces inequalities in terms of education, health and mobility and promote diversity and equal access to resources.

Urban planning must therefore evolve in a way that not only incorporates performance and competitive targets, but also spatial justice objectives, while pursuing targets to drastically reduce greenhouse gas emissions¹⁸.

TENSIONS/CONTRADICTIONS BETWEEN COMPETITIVENESS AND SPATIAL JUSTICE

Adjusting urban policies towards spatial justice follows on from an empirical analysis of contradictions that have resulted in widespread competitive policies in most cities since the 2000s. As such, this contradiction spans the three constituent sections of this report, the stance of which is based on the idea of exposing ongoing debates regarding various metropolitan realities and policies, as well as exposing the risks and potential solutions. Nevertheless, this report will not, strictly speaking, discuss ‘best practices’. Rather, it will use examples of negative effects that have been deliberately minimized by their protagonists, and as such, may be deemed successful in relation to their fixed objectives.

The first section discusses the various forms of territorialized economic development in cities, caused by competition between metropolitan territories. It demonstrates the economic and financial guiding principles that have steered development policies in cities by highlighting the consequences or by-products of exocentric models.

¹⁸ For the debate on ‘Spatial Justice’ and the ‘Just City’, see: Susan S. FAINSTEIN, “Justice spatiale et aménagement urbain”, *JSSJ*, no 1, 2009

This section re-articulates the elements of macro-economics and local and urban economics by attempting to unfold the series of social and environmental consequences of these guiding principles, whether they stem from local authorities, citizen groups, or even the private sector.

The link to the second section is therefore related to development models. The need for sustainability, now more urgent than ever, requires consideration and quick and coordinated action plans in order to move away from a productive ethos based on extracting raw materials and fossil fuels. As such, this section will take a critical look at technical advances and lean towards a vision that combines ecology and social concerns. Furthermore, the converging willingness of actors who are considering the energy transition is coupled with examples of circular economy. Issues regarding the right to the city, presented through various themes such as access to housing, anti-eviction policies and forms of land regulation, are all part of this vision of a sustainable city.



THE RIGHT TO THE CITY, A CHALLENGE FOR A SOLIDARY, DEMOCRATIC AND GREEN METROPOLIS¹

Conceptualized by the sociologist Henri Lefebvre in 1968, the right to the city protects the value of city use by giving the inhabitants and users of the city a legitimacy of action, to “transform life by transforming the city”.

The right to the city offers both a common horizon for local governments and citizen movements that seek to make the city its vocation as a common good, by ensuring its social function, and an operational framework for the establishment of public policies based on human rights and participation.

Gradually erected as the spearhead of urban struggles in Latin America in the 90s, the right to the city was expanded in the World Social Forums, through the World Assembly of Inhabitants and in dialogue with the Local Authorities Forum for Social Inclusion and Participatory Democracy (FALP), giving rise to the World Charter for the Right to the City, developed in 2004.

This charter defines it as “**the equitable usufruct of cities**, according to the principles of sustainability, democracy, equity and social justice. It is defined as **a collective right of the inhabitants of the cities** – especially of vulnerable and disadvantaged groups, which gives it a legitimacy of action and organization, based on their habits and customs, in order to enjoy the full exercise of the right to an adequate life style. The right to the city is **interdependent on all human rights** (...). This right also includes **respect for minorities** and ethnic, racial, sexual and cultural plurality, as well as respect for migrants”.

Through the Brazilian Status of the City in 2001, or its recognition in the Ecuadorian Constitution, the right to the city takes a normative dimension with legislative tools of urban planning to reduce urban inequalities or guarantee the social function of the city and the property.

In 2010, the Mexico City Charter for the Right to the City, adopted after a long process of participation of Mexican social movements became the reference as a social contract between the public authorities and the inhabitants. The Charter establishes a right to the city in six points, establishing a framework of co-responsibility between all the actors of the territory. These six points are:

- 1) Respect, protection and achievement of **human rights** (civil, political, economic, social, cultural and ecological),
- 2) The **social function** of land ownership and the city,
- 3) The **democratic management** of villages, cities, metropolitan areas and regions, which assumes a greater role of decentralization and thereby assigns a new function,
- 4) Recognition of the **social production of housing** and the **social and solidarity economy**, through the necessary support, particularly in terms of land management,
- 5) **Responsible and collective management of common, environmental and cultural goods**, through a global and territorialized vision that is not limited to politico-administrative boundaries,

6) The protection, non-privatization and improvement of **public spaces**, including community infrastructures and facilities, by supporting the initiatives of the inhabitants.

This right to the city has become the central message of the local governments of the Committee on Social Inclusion, Participatory Democracy and Human Rights (CISDP) of UCLG, affirmed during several international seminars as in Saint-Denis (in the Paris region) in 2012 and in Mexico in 2015. It is, specifically, the first article of the Global Charter-Agenda of the Human Rights in the City, adopted 2011 by the World Council of UCLG at the initiative of this commission.

Today, it has become an axis of alliance between local governments and citizen movements, NGOs and some committed sectors of research that defend it as a bulwark against the merchant of the competitive city and the growing privatization of cities. The Global Platform for the Right to the City, created in 2014 and coordinated by the Polis Institute and Habitat International Coalition, is one of the central articulation spaces of these different actors to bring the right to the city locally.

The right to the city has thus become a central issue of the United Nations Habitat III Conference during which, after bitter debates and despite strong opposition from the United States, the European Union, Japan and Canada, it was mentioned in the text of the New Urban Agenda.

“We share the vision of cities for all, that is, cities and human settlements that their residents use on an equal footing, with the goals of promoting integration and ensuring

that all people, whether they belong to the present or future generations, can, without discrimination, live and create equitable, safe, healthy, accessible, affordable, resilient and sustainable cities and human settlements to promote prosperity and quality of life for all. We take note of the initiatives taken by some central and local governments to include this vision, known as the “right to the city”, in their legislation, political declarations and charters.”²

Magali FRICAUDET, UCLG, Social Inclusion Committee
Magali Fricaudet, CGLU-CISDPDH

Due to the fact that governance is a prerequisite to the type of effective and fair urban management that ensure a quality of life for all, it shall be mainly discussed in the last section of this report. It will also include the various components of urban town planning and its abilities to resolve a certain number of contradictions emanating from competitive cities or heightened inequalities, thus calling into question the ability of territorialized policies to produce spatial justice¹⁹.

Another central theme of this section is the issue of urban democracy, which shall be discussed under the dual prism of participatory and representative democracy. Decision-sharing is actually the common base for any urban policy that promotes spatial justice and the right to the city.

THE RIGHT TO THE CITY AND BUEN VIVIR; KEY COMPONENTS AND CONDITIONS OF SPATIAL JUSTICE

For social movements, the notion of the right to the city bridges the gap between a growing number of ecological and social transition notions and practices. Such practices are re-inventing urban societies based on the conviviality and simplicity. In this vision, and in accordance with the Latin American concept of *buen vivir* (well-being), prosperity is independent from economic growth. All of these movements are implementing their aspirations regarding the right to the city and well-being by focusing on initiatives for renewing urban democracy and the power to act, by using intervention from local authorities as a means of supporting citizen initiatives (for example, those advocating that biologically-sourced energies should remain common goods and not be privatized). The right to the city has also been adopted by many municipalities to seal an operative or tentative agreement on fundamental urban rights. A good example of it would be the Medellin Charter.

Consequently, a debate and recommendations aimed at identifying part of the restrictive measures should fall within the frame of the ‘right to the city’ as defined by HIC in collaboration with the Bartlett Development Planning Unit (DPU) of University College London (UCL)²⁰ according to six constitutive points inspired by the principles defined by the Charter of the City of Mexico (2000) mentioned in previously.

²⁰ Alexandre APSEAN FREDIANI and Rafaella SIMAS LIMA, Habitat III National reporting processes: locating the right to the city and the role of civil society, The Bartlett Development Planning Unit in collaboration with Habitat International Coalition Habitat III working group, 2015

If there is one area where these recommendations must be applied, it is that of urban management practices. In order for these practices to be taken seriously and implemented, they need to be reconsidered around their capacity to be inclusive and therefore democratic.

A DEMOCRATIC RENEWAL OF MANAGEMENT PROCEDURES

These changes of direction require a clear political will and a clear understanding of the

overlapping nature of urban, environmental, economic and social issues. Metropolization must be controlled in order to meet the needs and for the well-being for all citizens. Nowadays, large cities are aware of the role they play as pioneers and guides in cases where countries are subjected to intense pressure from economic lobbying, which hinders their ability to work towards spatial justice, rights to the city and the energy transition. These actions can be all the more effective and sustainable if they are able to take root alongside citizen initiatives or form democratic alliances.



¹⁹ Frédéric DUFAUX and Pascale PHILIFERT, *Justice spatiale et politiques territoriales*, Nanterre, Presses universitaires de Paris Ouest, 2013.

SECTION ONE

LIMITING THE SOCIAL CONSEQUENCES OF METROPOLITAN COMPETITION AND THE FINANCIALIZATION WITHIN METROPOLISES

Alongside globalization, cities are increasingly competing with each other. Consequently, territorial policies begin to shift towards the concept of attractiveness, the positive effects of which are the subject of much debate.

This process is not unequivocal, and governments and populations will have to face the consequences. In light of the economic transformations currently taking place, based on a more 'open' innovation model, it would appear that other alternatives are possible. In this regard, this section will discuss a certain number of courses of action that could lead to a more inclusive and fairer urban development. In other words, one that takes into account all territories and populations and provides them with the same chances and opportunities to live in decent conditions.

Analysis of Competition between Cities and its Consequences

Globalization is responsible for the emergence and structuring of policies that favor territorial attractiveness and competition within cities and metropolitan areas. These policies have rather contrasting effects on economic, social and environmental levels.

ANALYSIS OF COMPETITIVENESS BETWEEN CITIES

The rise in competition is intricately linked with globalization, and consequently the emergence of an 'exceptional city' model, which has transformed territorial policies



governed by public authorities (States and local governments). This phenomenon is further accentuated by the financialization of the global economy.

WHY DO CITIES BENEFIT FROM GLOBALIZATION?

The spectacular transformations that cities are witnessing within their built environments is due, on the one hand, to unprecedented global-scale urbanization processes, but also, since the late twentieth century, to a process that is broadly similar to competition between territories and large cities across the world with extremely varied functions. This process also occurs in countries that have invested in rural and agricultural development for many years, as well as in communist Asian countries that have long-since stifled, or even fought against the city¹.

This competition can be explained by two intricately woven phenomena:

- On the one hand, the current globalization trend, which can also be described as the market integration process thanks to recent technological advances, the financialization of the economy and the constant efforts of the main global decision-making bodies to favor the free movement of goods and capital².

- On the other hand, the increasing power of a new innovation model caused by the emergence of industries whose development is predominantly based on human capital – biotechnologies, new information and communication technologies (NTIC), etc.³, - and which are not constrained by proximity to raw materials, as is the case with mining and steel making industries. In fact, for these new industries, direct contact with the market promotes innovation, which is why many companies seek to establish themselves wherever they can be connected to as many communities of key actors as possible (people, professions, territories, not just the city region but also outside) and access mass-markets that improve the profitability of new products or services.

¹ Jean-Luc PIERMAY, "Introduction", in Antoine LE BLANC, Jean-Luc PIERMAY, Philippe GERVAY-LAMBONY, Matthieu GIROUD, Céline PIERDET and Samuel RUFAT (dir.), *Métropoles en débat : (dé) constructions de la ville compétitive*, Première édition, Presses Universitaires de Paris Ouest, 2014.

² Agnès DEBOULET, "Villes globales convoitées et inégalités", *Idées économiques et sociales*, 2012, no 167, pp. 37-47.

³ Dominique LORRAIN, "La ville et les marchés : ce qui change au début du 21^e siècle", *EspacesTemps.net*, 2013.

Therefore, the metropolitan advantage⁴ lies in (i) their advanced material connectivity due to the concentration of means of telecommunication and transportation. This aspect has been discussed in particular detail by the economist Paul Krugman⁵. In addition, metropolises benefit from the existence of 'transnationalism', often shared by migrant communities, which facilitates the importation of distant resources. Many cities, such as London, New York and Paris invest in their cosmopolitanism, not just to help the city integrate into diasporic channels, but also for more cross-cutting objectives regarding international presence. Other cities, such as Ahmadabad, Pune and other Indian cities, take advantage of investments from expatriated Indians, especially in the property sector. Finally, metropolises benefit from the presence of actors connected to extra-regional channels, particularly multinational firms, which promote multi-location.

In this context, one could detect the emergence of an "archipelago economy"⁶ where large urban areas tend to network with each other, more than with peri-urban and rural areas, which are increasingly distanced from the productive systems promoted by the states.

Ultimately, this explains the rise in metropolization, which is, in many respects, the 'spatial and sub-national equivalent of globalization'⁷. This is characterized by the concentration of people and businesses

4 Ludovic HALBERT, *L'avantage métropolitain*, Paris, Presses Universitaires de France, 2010.

5 Jacques-François Thisse, "Le développement inégal des régions : l'apport de la nouvelle économie géographique", *Idées économiques et sociales*, 2012, no 167, pp. 26-36.

6 Pierre VELTZ, *Mondialisation, villes et territoires – L'économie d'archipel*, 2e édition, Presses universitaires de France, 2014.

7 C. GHORRA-GOBIN, « De la métropolisation », op. cit.

within the main agglomerations of a given urban system⁸ and, simultaneously, the spread of this urban condition to the suburban areas, whose boundaries become increasingly ill-defined, the impact of which is clear to see through the exhaustion of arable farming land and fossil fuels.

THE REPERCUSSIONS IN TERMS OF URBAN POLICIES

When competition between territories and their attractiveness is considered a key issue, in some cases, public decision-makers, who may be swayed by economic actors or act on their own initiative, adapt territorial policies to support their 'national champions' or cities whose demographic and economic influence is considered great enough to be competitive at a regional or international scale⁹. There are two particularly emblematic elements to these transformations: at the metropolitan level, the development of 'strategies' and other 'visions'; at the local scale (city, neighborhood and land), the implementation of 'luxury' development projects.

Metropolitan strategies

Metropolitan strategies involve several tools that help maintain or enhance a city's attractiveness, often through the use of *marketing* and *branding* techniques, as inspired by the business world. Examples of this may include:

The development of strategic urban planning documents with the help of consulting firms. There are many examples of this, from Singapore to London,

8 L. HALBERT, *L'avantage métropolitain*, op. cit.

9 Colin CROUCH et Patrick LE GALÈS (Le), "Cities as national champions?", *Journal of European Public Policy*, 2012, vol. 3, no 19, pp. 405-419



Posters for the 2024 Olympic Games, Saint Denis (Source: A. Deboulet)

Mumbai¹⁰, Cairo¹¹, Algiers¹² and Brussels¹³. In some contexts, public authorities have sought to persuade the business sector of their ability to support the metropolitan economy through fierce economic competition. Whereas in others, this strategic work leads to the formation of new alliances, thus revealing changes in power struggles and decision-making processes within the globalization trend. These plans and their corresponding projects have given rise to new challenges from professionals and resident organizations and have been widely criticized regarding their lack of transparency and top-down approach.

10 The example of Mumbai is presented in the third section of this report.

11 Pierre-Arnaud BARTHEL, Agnès DEBOULET Et Marta PAPPALARDO, « Le Caire 2050 : l'entrée dans la compétition globale par le renouvellement urbain », in Antoine LE BLANC, Jean-Luc PIERMAY, Philippe GERVAYLAMBONY, Matthieu GIROUD, Céline PIERDET Et Samuel RUFAT (dir.), *Métropoles en débat : (dé) constructions de la ville compétitive*, Première édition., Presses universitaires de Paris Ouest, 2014, pp. 295-314

12 Nora SEMMOUD, "Clair-obscur de l'informel. Contrôle des polarités urbaines informelles à Cherarba, périphérie sud-est d'Alger", *Les Cahiers d'EMAM. Études sur le Monde Arabe et la Méditerranée*, 2015, no 26.
13 Gilles VAN HAMME and Mathieu VAN CRIEKENINGEN, « Compétitivité économique et question sociale : les illusions des politiques de développement à Bruxelles », *Métropoles*, 2012, no 11.

Strategic Planning, Democracy and Spatial Justice

Strategic planning is a relatively new concept that attempts to transform what has historically defined urban planning. The main aim of the latter, at least in Western Europe, was to produce affordable housing, facilities, public spaces and urban services that were accessible to all¹⁴. At the end of the 1980s, as land competition grew more intense and financial capital grew in strength, the term 'plan' was progressively replaced by 'urban project' (planning, infrastructure) within the urban fabric. A 'brick-by-brick' form of urbanism¹⁵ emerged from here, bringing with it the necessity to design "flexible" and therefore strategic plans.

Strategic planning is increasingly employed by public authorities as a way of introducing cities and metropolitan regions to global competition in order to attract public and private investments. However, such investments can have significantly divisive effects: the rising cost of housing

14 Jean RIVELLOIS, "La planification urbaine à l'épreuve de la culture politique, une ville en développement : Guadalajara (Mexique)", *Tiers Monde*, 1995, vol. 36, no 141, pp. 67-85

15 For more details on this development, we refer to the first section of this report.

populations, vulnerable populations in central areas being excluded from the market, gentrification of historic centers, development of privatized community spaces, but it also encourages the construction of large speculative real estate development programs, which then remain uninhabited.

This is particularly obvious in the case of London: while representing a basis for discussion with partners from the public and private sector, associations, communities and Londoners, the London Plan (the Greater London Authority's (GLA) spatial development plan) has not combated the tendency to invest in certain geographical areas. An example of this would be the redevelopment of the Greenwich peninsula in London, which is further exacerbating territorial inequalities at both national and local scales¹⁶.

- The organization of *international events*, such as sporting events – Olympic Games, cups and world championships – or large cultural manifestations – European Capital of Culture, World Design Capital (WDC), organized in 2016 by the city of Taipei – which result in intense competition between metropolitan areas.
- The establishment of clusters – networks of firms comprising of SMEs and VSEs, strongly locally rooted, often within the same production niche and the same sector – which can be positioned as strategic metropolitan levers for economic development. In metropolitan Paris, 'sectoral' clusters (characterized by different

¹⁶ Charles AMBROSINO and Stéphane SADOUX, "Concilier privatisisme et retour de la planification stratégique. L'exemple du projet de requalification de la péninsule de Greenwich, Londres", *Géocarrefour*, 2006, vol. 81, no 2, pp. 143-150

business sectors) have emerged all around the city. However, rather than ensuring proper economic development, the labelling of 'clusters' enables local development agencies, developers and mayors to use attractiveness as a justification for their actions¹⁷. Additionally, the Randstad area (which includes the cities of Amsterdam, Rotterdam, The Hague and Utrecht) in the Netherlands represents an example of a polycentric cluster, which is inherently different from other clusters.

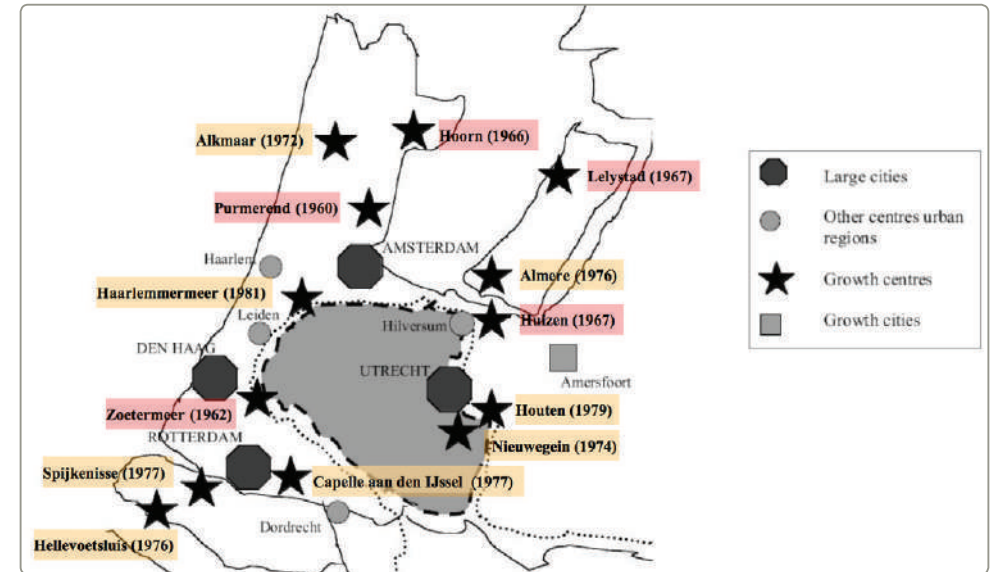
The Example of the Randstad Cluster

The Randstad (which encompasses the urban centers of Amsterdam, Rotterdam, The Hague and Utrecht) represents the archetype of a multipolar urban agglomeration, that is to say, composed of a network of specialized and complementary urban centers. Much of this complementarity of the network is historic; however, it has also become an objective of urban development policies, as suggested by the concept of "smart specialization" promoted by the public authorities.

In this way, the city of The Hague is in the process of creating a development zone for international organizations, while Amsterdam is a prime location for head offices and Rotterdam is investing in new port and industrial areas.

In this context, the transport policy (making it easy to connect these cities by train, bus, boat, etc.) played a role in the functional integration of these cities, along with a policy of "concentrated decentralization". The latter has the goal of preserving the central agricultural area ("green heart") of the agglomeration to limit the sprawl

¹⁷ Nicolas RIO, "Le mythe des 'clusters' du Grand Paris", *Métropolitiques*, 2014.



New Cities (or Growth Poles) and their Dates of Creation in the Randstad (Source: Stead & Meijers, 2015)

around the four main urban poles in order to preserve the benefit of their proximity to transport infrastructures.¹⁸

Urban development projects

A clear distinction can be made between development projects catered to residents and those that are aimed at fostering international competition (or luxury projects). The latter are normally found within large rather than medium-sized cities. They support the vision of a world-class city, as convened for by metropolitan strategies, often without considering their social repercussions. There are many types of projects to consider:

- Projects to enhance the cultural heritage of historical centers: in the space of a

¹⁸ Dominic STEAD and Evert MEIJERS, "Urban Planning and Transport Infrastructure Provision in the Randstad, Netherlands. A Global City Cluster", *International Transport Forum/OECD*, 2015

decade, a growing number of large cities have realized the added-value potential of historical buildings, either to reinforce the residents' attachment to the city or increase the city's standing to help promote urban marketing at regional or global level and develop tourism. Heritage enhancement, besides neglecting the living space in favor of the façade thereby creating a non-sustainable structure, often risks reinventing history¹⁹.

- Projects for urban renewal or 'regeneration' based on the idea that industrial wastelands, which reflect a bygone era in the urban economy, must be demolished and replaced by new developments – much like in Shanghai where the 2010 Universal Exposition site was located in an abandoned industrial area
- ¹⁹ Muriel GIRARD, « Ce que nous apprend le patrimoine de l'état et de la société turcs : vue d'ensemble sur ce numéro double », *European Journal of Turkish Studies*, 2014, no 19

along the Huangpu River – or maintained as a hub for new metropolitan businesses to establish themselves. This is the case with many redeveloped ports (the London Docklands) or former industrial sites such as Project 22@ in Barcelona, which involved transforming the Poblenou district based on the concepts of innovation and economy. Another example would be the Ciudad-Parque Bicentenario, a large urban project in Santiago de Chile aimed at housing 75,000 new residents across 250 hectares²⁰.

- Projects aimed at developing new urbanization areas, such as the development of a cultural district surrounding the Guggenheim museum in Bilbao, or the establishment of a new economic and urban center on the outskirts of Amsterdam (Zuidas). It is also worth mentioning the growing number of business corridors and secondary urban hubs on the borders of agglomerations, e.g. the creation of 'special economic zones' in India, where thousands of hectares have been expropriated for a motorway that leads to a relatively small airport in Bangalore²¹.

Ultimately, competitiveness is seen as more of a constant construction process in which infrastructures, in the broadest sense of the term (including property and fundamental urban services such as energy, water, sanitation, etc.) must meet the highest expectations of the very services they hope to attract. It does not seek, or marginally,

20 Ernesto LOPEZ-MORALES, "Gentrification by Ground Rent Dispossession: The shadows Cast by Large-Scale Urban Renewal in Santiago de Chile", *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 2011, vol. 35, no 2, pp. 330-357

21 Solomon BENJAMIN, « Occupancy Urbanism: Radicalizing Politics and Economy Beyond Policy and Programs », *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 2008, vol. 32, no 3, pp. 719-729

to make urban dwellers – whatever their income or origin – benefit from the city.

FINANCING CITIES

In order to finance the unprecedented level of capital required by metropolization-induced urban development (and the ensuing competitiveness), 'the finance and consulting industry' has gained unprecedented influence in urban governance, particularly with regards to property markets (offices, warehouses, shopping centers, hotels, clinics, retirement homes, cinemas, etc.), certain infrastructures (freeways, airports, telecommunications and energy networks, etc.) and widespread urban services (production and distribution of electricity and water, etc.).

The term 'the finance and consulting industry' is based on the notion that the work done by banks is now supported by other operators and that together, they form a separate industry. This industry term refers to the network of major investment banks, private equity funds, the 'big four' accounting firms, the three credit rating agencies and a few legal firms and consulting companies that have emerged since the late 1980s and early 1990s.

The finance and consulting industry's strength comes from its ability, using the information it possesses and the tools and criteria it develops to process such information – credit ratings, studies, financial analyses – to undertake an assessment of a large number of projects. They can therefore influence a company's strategy (even those in which banks and investment funds are minority capital

shareholders) or public policies. The excellent work of the United Nations Special Rapporteur on adequate housing²² must be trusted. In fact, the real estate "private sector dependence" (companies and financial funds) has increased as it develops forms of investments formed around toxic assets and risk capital. In recent years, the city and real estate have increasingly been given the status of "financial assets" thereby generating exorbitant gains: "between 2013 and 2014, in the 100 cities where this practice is most widespread, the value of corporate purchases of large properties increased from \$600 billion to \$1,000 billion²³. In the meantime, household indebtedness is increasing along with the propensity to remove increasing portions of the land and housing stock from the reach of a majority of urban dwellers.

For example, in France, local authorities within the department of Seine-Saint-Denis, and several municipalities were solicited during a time of budgetary constraints (freezing of State allowances) during the 2000s by banks that offered them complex structured loans. The peculiarity of these loans was the variability of their rates which, after a first period of reduced rates, indexed on volatile parameters such as inflation, the foreign exchange rate or the price of energy. These elected officials, having no financial experts to evaluate the risks of these proposals, succumbed to them all the more willingly because they allowed them to artificially lower the burden of their loans and present a flattering record to their electorate. However, the deterioration of the global financial situation from 2008 onwards

22 UNITED NATIONS, Report of the Special Rapporteur on adequate housing as a component of the right to an adequate standard of living, and on the right to non-discrimination in this context, A/HRC/34/51, January 2017

23 ibid

has caused them (and their taxpayers) to lose considerable sums. Similarly, before the financial crisis, many cities had become indebted from toxic assets.

This situation contrasted from that which hitherto presided: indeed, if at the end of the nineteenth century, the financial sector intervened via the banks, as a capital provider for the construction of large infrastructures, these flagship operations remained a minority compared to the large number of local developers. Thus, finance was not an essential player in the urban fabric; power remained largely in the hands of politicians. Everything changed from the 1990s with the privatization of networks and innovations in financial techniques, which increased financial circulation and the use of international finance²⁴.

One of the most worrying effects of financialization is its association with numerous cases of "systemic expulsion"²⁵ in all of these cities caught in the grip of a speculative real estate sector and a competitive policy – be it in the North or in emerging countries. Land grabbing takes place in all regions of the world: in natural areas, for the appropriation of agricultural, forestry and mining resources²⁶; in cities through land acquisition in precarious or historic districts by the developers. These developers are very present in the metropolises that combine a very strong population growth and a continuous increase of property values: Indian as well as African megacities, Istanbul, cities of the Caucasus such as Yerevan, São Paulo,

24 Dominique LORRAIN, "La main discrète", *Revue française de science politique*, 2011, vol. 61, no 6, pp. 1097-1122.

25 Saskia SASSEN, *Expulsions – Brutality and Complexity in the Global Economy*, Harvard University Press, 2014

26 ibid

Rio de Janeiro, Quito etc. or European cities such as London, Paris, Barcelona. This dispossession leading to a resurgence of forced evictions is denounced but difficult to counter because of complicities or interests within the state apparatus as seen in many megacities (Cairo, Mumbai, Ouagadougou, Bamako, etc.).

Nevertheless, some cities are trying to regain control of this phenomenon of massive dispossession by introducing instruments of land control or control of capital gains by, for example, freezing of land or re-municipalization, taxation of vacant dwellings, increased control over rentals via the Airbnb platform (banned in Berlin), high taxation of capital gains, prohibition of resale of a new property for a few years, etc. Despite these interventions, for the moment the speculative logic leading to the growing expulsion of the popular categories is not sufficiently being curbed. So, it is urgent to think jointly about real mechanisms for protecting tenants and fragile occupants

The impact of financialization on metropolization and competitiveness

The financialization of urban production is a deep-rooted trend that reinforces metropolization and competitiveness processes.

In fact, it is the financial industry's main priorities – profitability and risk aversion – that result in the selection of highly-reputed cities or those with great potential. The investments of this global finance push up real estate prices which makes the city even more attractive for speculative capital in search of profitability. As a result, since the 2000s, financial capital investments have been concentrated in the global

metropolises of the industrialized countries and in the metropolises of emerging countries which are rising in the rankings: Shanghai, Bangalore, etc. Investments in housing in these metropolises thus become “a tax haven for the rich”²⁷. In addition, there are also “strategist” cities, which have managed to position themselves on segments of globalization, extreme forms of which include Macau, Las Vegas and Dubai.

Urban Development in Cities in the Gulf by Financial Capital

Since 2001, record petroleum earnings have driven public authorities to look for new locations in which to invest this capital excess. The urban development sector has been the primary target.

In order to attract local and foreign private capital into the region's property markets, the Gulf States made it possible for foreigners to purchase commercial and residential properties. They also sought to attract foreign development companies in order to compensate for the lack of local expertise, for example by allowing 100% foreign companies to respond to calls for tender from the Saudi government.

In addition to the liberalization of the property market, there was (i) a rapid increase in funding to Gulf State banks, (ii) a growing number of national conglomerates having invested capital in both financial networks and property, (iii) the growth of equity funding, particularly through the use of ‘sukuk’ bonds from Islamic finance, in which bank are no longer just financial intermediaries for developers (interest-bearing loans are prohibited under *Sharia law*), rather they act as de facto developers

²⁷ *ibid*



Advertisement for a gated community in a new city of Cairo (Source: A. Deboulet)

by using their shareholder or mandatory contributions.

Thus, the implementation of a significant number of mega projects in the Gulf region – for example, the King Abdullah Economic city project (USD 86 billion, 173 km²) in Jeddah in Saudi Arabia or the Pearl Artificial Island Development in Doha in Qatar (USD 7 billion for 2.2 km²) – have seen the region profit from the greatest growth in direct foreign investments in the past decade²⁸.

Due to property speculation, these developments are now affected by some of the highest vacant housing levels in the world (over 50% in Dubai).

²⁸ Michelle BUCKLEY and Adam HANIEH, “Diversification by Urbanization: Tracing the Property-Finance Nexus in Dubai and the Gulf”, *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 2014, vol. 38, no 1, pp. 155-175

Financial reasoning can therefore diverge from urban planning goals due to issues regarding social diversity, controlling urban sprawl or properly coordinating the development of housing, economic activities and transport infrastructures²⁹. Therefore, capital cities and large secondary cities such as coastal towns, now all have their own ‘large-scale urban projects’, predominantly funded by Gulf capital. The common good and quality of life for the majority of the population are not priorities for investors, yet they are supported by the public authorities who sometimes even form joint ventures through complex, non-transparent financial arrangements. Partial exceptions to this are cities such as Rabat in Morocco where community initiatives have successfully put an end to some of the projects led by the Agency developing

²⁹ Vincent RENARD, “La ville saisie par la finance”, *Le Débat*, 2008, vol. 1, no 148, pp. 106-117.



View of Ciutat Meridiana, in the Suburbs of Barcelona (Pinterest.com)

the Bou Regreg Valley (*Agence pour l'aménagement de la vallée du Bouregreg*) and made project promoters more attentive³⁰: even though the crux of the project is aimed at international and wealthy users, a new low-pollution and urbanization plan has been proposed for the valley.

In addition, by becoming dependent on financial flows, cities are at the mercy of a reverse financial bubble, as was the case in Spain, which can be a factor for expulsion, as in the United States where segmenting mortgage loans have left 13 million people homeless since the 2000s.

30 Hicham MOULOUDI, "Les effets de la participation des habitants et des élus locaux sur le processus décisionnel relatif aux projets d'aménagement des fronts d'eau de rabat entre expertise technique et revendications politiques", in *Actes des 3èmes journées doctorales sur la participation et la démocratie participative*, 2013, p. 30

The Financialization of Housing in Spain

Spanish property is characterized by the predominance of home ownership and also therefore of the private market. In fact, social or subsidized rented housing only represents 1.5% of the property market, compared with 20% in England and 17% in France. This is due to policies, introduced by the government in the 1960s, that encouraged the construction of affordable housing intended for sale, through tax exemptions. For many years, this non-regulated construction sector largely supported the Spanish economy.

After the 1980s, the government's housing policy began changing: rather than continuing to build subsidized housing, the state focused on deregulating the

guarantees required for the allocation of housing loans – often in contravention of the law: thus the legal limit of mortgages was extended to 80% of a property's total value, but due to collusion between banks and property valuation firms, mortgages worth up to 120% of the value of a property were granted. This therefore enabled a huge number of Spanish people and low-income foreigners working in Spain to buy property at a time of rapid growth, along with all the inherent risks.

As such, by allowing the success of the housing sector to be determined by the financial world, the Spanish government left the least fortunate at the mercy of finance and property capital. The bursting of financial bubbles between 1987-1991 and particularly from 1996-2007 had devastating effects on the economy and society (mass exoduses, squatting families, etc.), which are still an issue, especially in the Ciutat Meridiana district located in the north-east of Barcelona, but also in Madrid and Valencia³¹.

HOW DOES COMPETITIVENESS AFFECT CITIES?

The metropolization and competitiveness phenomena result in contrasted consequences at the economic, socio-spatial as well as environmental (as will be studied in the second part) scales.

31 Jaime PALOMERA, "How Did Finance Capital Infiltrate the World of the Urban Poor? Homeownership and Social Fragmentation in a Spanish Neighborhood", *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 2014, vol. 38, no 1, pp. 218-235

THE SECONDARY EFFECTS OF COMPETITIVENESS ON THE ECONOMIC FRONT

On the one hand metropolitan regions are the potential champions of productivity and they can be driving economic forces for their country, and even the global economy. On the other hand, however, their success fuels secondary effects, which economists refer to as 'negative externalities': social and spatial effects and dramatic, unanticipated environmental consequences, caused by urban development that primarily focuses on added value.

From a purely economic standpoint, the increasingly high cost of land and property in the past 15 years – to the point that high-end rental property in Luanda (Angola) and Lagos (Nigeria) are among the most expensive in the world at about \$150 /sq.m³² – and the particularly cyclical nature of land and property weaken the sustainability of certain businesses. Viable, slow-growing businesses, promising yet financially fragile start-ups and, particularly in southern cities, informal economic businesses struggle to deal with the devastating effects of competing for land. This is the case in Mumbai, for example, where the trend of informalization has led to the dismantling of the textile sector in central areas, which have become extremely expensive³³.

Furthermore, the same consequences are brought about by public authorities

32 LE NOUVEL OBSERVATEUR, "Le marché immobilier africain en plein essor", February 20, 2013. Link: <http://tempsreel.nouvelobs.com/immobilier/monde/20130219.Obs9358/le-marche-immobilier-africain-en-plein-essor.html>

33 Shekhar KRISHNAN, "Les espaces de Mumbai à l'ère post-industrielle", *Mouvements*, 2005, vol. 3, no 39-40, pp. 31-39

when they favor expulsion in the name of competitiveness. Examples of this include:

- The relocation of 'sedentary' businesses, including the relocation from the Grand Bazaar in Istanbul to the peripheries, of those activities that are accused of being incompatible with the touristic objectives of the city³⁴.
- Street vendors, and generally activities related to the informal economy that are directly targeted by this clean-up of spaces, as deemed necessary for urban competitiveness policies across all continents, including European countries. This has happened in the context of urban renewal projects or more generally in reclaimed city centers³⁵.

At the same time, territorial policies aimed at competitiveness do not necessarily increase a location's attractiveness. In the case of Egypt, increased competition for land resources, has, since the second half of the 2000s, enabled operators to invest in this rapid added-value sector, but this has not necessarily led to concrete economic impacts³⁶. Generally speaking, cities such as Cairo as well as Lagos, Nairobi, Mumbai or Shanghai, lack the necessary infrastructures with respect to other cities which are able to provide attractive urban environments.

34 Muriel GIRARD, *Recomposition du monde artisanal et mutations urbaines au regard des mises en patrimoine et en tourisme au Maghreb et au Moyen-Orient (Fès, Istanbul, Alep)*, PhD Thesis, 2010
 35 Jérôme MONNET, "L'ambulantage : Représentations du commerce ambulant ou informel et métropolisation", *Cybergeog : European Journal of Geography*, 2006.
 Jérôme MONNET, "Le commerce de rue, ambulant ou informel et ses rapports avec la métropolisation : Une ébauche de modélisation", *Autrepart*, 2006, vol. 3, no 39, pp. 93-109

36 P.-A. BARTHEL, A. DEBOULET and M. PAPPALARDO, "le 'Caire 2050' : L'entrée dans la compétition globale par le renouvellement urbain", op. cit

Moreover, even in the context of Northern metropolises, issues involving the monopolization of land tenures can take precedence over competitiveness. In this regard, Project 22@, part of the project to make Barcelona a 'global knowledge city', boils down to seizing monopolistic rents by enabling public sector institutions and private developers to use land as a financial asset³⁷.

SOCIO-SPATIAL IMPACTS: INCREASED SOCIAL POLARIZATION

Territorial policies aiming at attractiveness are accompanied by the implementation of development projects that promote the emergence of a dual urban planning. This results in large sections of the urbanized space and city dwellers being left offside.

Urban projects that contribute to gentrification and the exclusion of the most vulnerable populations

Through regeneration, renewal and urban revitalization projects, the most modest populations are being affected by exclusion, which can occur both directly and indirectly:

- In an indirect manner, whether intentionally or not, these programs usually drive out the population due to increased rent prices or purchase followed by eviction. This particularly affects tenants, migrants (often also tenants) and 'squatters'.
- In a direct manner, these policies can lead to the expulsion of working-class populations for example through programs for social housing demolition and their

37 Greig CHARNOCK, Thomas F. PURCELL and Ramon RIBERA FUMAZ, "City of rents: The limits to the Barcelona model of urban competitiveness", *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 2014, vol. 38, no 1, pp. 198-217.

conversion into high-end housing. Moreover, through the *Business Improvement District* (BID) approach for private management of public spaces, which has been tested in Hamburg³⁸, as well as other Southern cities – in Cape Town and Johannesburg³⁹ through *City Improvement Districts* and in Nairobi using a private urban regeneration agency – access to public spaces has become complicated or even prohibited for the most vulnerable populations: homeless, street vendors, etc. In some cases, this has pushed the residents to mobilize against expulsions, such as in Istanbul following the announcement of the creation of a technopole.⁴⁰ Besides this, in Lagos, 30,000 people were forcibly removed from the coastal areas for a luxury housing project⁴¹. Tourism-related projects have also resulted in mass evictions.

An increasingly 'selective' urbanism

This urban selectivity⁴² of competitive policies is particularly apparent in terms of:

- Technical networks and facilities, in which there is an increasing spatial differentiation between mainly privatized infrastructures, that are designed to keep up with the requirements of economic development

38 Claire LABOREY and Marc EVREUX, *Mainmise sur les villes*, Arte France, Chamaerops Productions, 2015
 39 Sophie DIDIER, Elisabeth PEYROUX and Marianne MORANGE, "The Spreading of the City Improvement District Model in Johannesburg and Cape Town: Urban Regeneration and the Neoliberal Agenda in South Africa", *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 2012, vol. 36, no 5, pp. 915-935.

40 Jean-François PEROUSE, "Istanbul, entre Paris et Dubaï : mise en conformité 'internationale', nettoyage et résistances", in Isabelle BERRY-CHIKHAOUI, Agnès DEBOULET and Laurence ROULLEAU-BERGER (dir.), *Villes internationales. Entre tensions et réactions des habitants*, Paris, la découverte, 2007, pp. 31-62

41 UNITED NATIONS, *Report of the Special Rapporteur on adequate housing as a component of the right to an adequate standard of living, and on the right to non-discrimination in this context*, op. cit.

42 OECD, *Competitive Cities in the Global Economy*, 2006

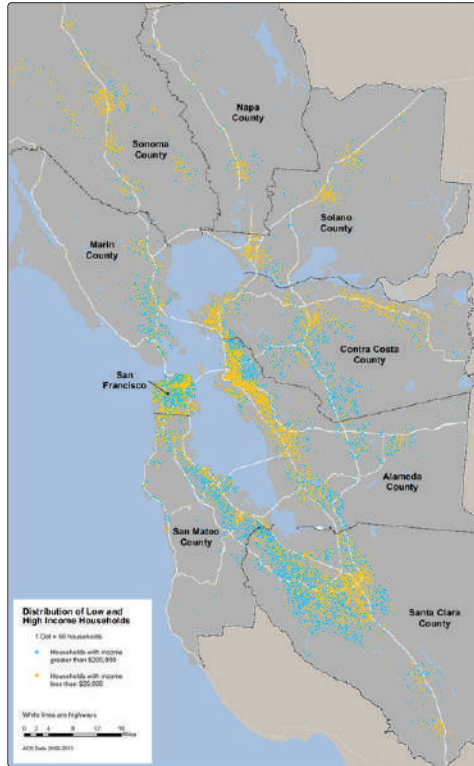
based on integrating into globalized production networks, or others dealing with insufficient or reduced funding. This is what is referred to as *splintering urbanism*⁴³.

- Gated communities and other compounds – a term used to refer to residential properties developed for western professionals working in the Gulf States, have become the symbol of a new lifestyle in several metropolises.

This phenomenon is further intensified due to the increasing role played by global finance in urban development which, by introducing a profitability/risk logic, creates an ever-greater dissociation between "prestigious" projects, which can benefit from significant financing – office buildings, shopping centers, sports complex, casino, etc. – and the rest. This is particularly evident in the Middle East and North Africa for water fronts, hyper-centers and brownfield sites located in prime locations (redevelopment projects of the *Corniche de Rabat*, the *Lac Nord* de Tunis, the *Marina de Casablanca*, etc.)⁴⁴, financed by investors from the Gulf. Therefore, finance excludes the most necessary projects to the greatest extent: public transport, health systems and public education, access to culture for all, and captures the land available for a minority.

43 Steve GRAHAM and Simon MARVIN, *Splintering Urbanism: Networked Infrastructures, Technological Mobility and the Urban Condition*, London, New York; Routledge, 2001.

44 Pierre-Arnaud BARTHEL, "Arab Mega-Projects: between the Dubai Effect, Global Crisis, Social Mobilization and a Sustainable Shift", *Built Environment*, 2010, vol. 36, no 2, pp. 133-145.



The distribution of the richest (incomes over \$200,000) and the poorest (incomes below \$25,000) households in San Francisco (one point = 50 households) (Source : S. Lehman-Frisch & Association of Bay Area Governemnt)

The transformation of socio-spatial inequalities and its consequences

Due to competitiveness and metropolization, the geographical spread of inequalities is evolving.

At regional level, large areas become homogenized: thus, on average, the living conditions in cities are better than in other territories. Additionally, at a smaller scale, inequalities are more pronounced between affluent areas – in which many

job opportunities require a highly qualified population – and those in which the population, albeit qualified, are faced with a misalignment between their domicile and their place of work, thus causing greater poverty and unemployment rates: this is what is known as the ‘spatial mismatch’ hypothesis⁴⁵.

Faced with this socio-spatial polarization, the policies to be implemented to remedy this are not so simple, as shown by the example of San Francisco.

Socio-Spatial Inequalities in San Francisco

The inequalities in San Francisco are marked by a very specific structure: they are exacerbated by the presence of a substantial population of rich or even ‘ultra-rich’ households on one side, and many poorer populations on the other. This divide is further exacerbated by the fall in the number of moderate income households. They are also marked by ethno-racial differences.

These inequalities, which are often visible throughout the city of San Francisco, only become truly meaningful when observed across the entire bay at different scales; from the big city itself to the outer counties and census blocks: it is thanks to the latter that we are able to closely scrutinize the characteristics of these socio-spatial inequalities.

This helps to address the confusion between the notion of inequality and injustice: in other words, although there are marked inequalities in San Francisco, this does not necessarily make it an unjust city. In fact, the

⁴⁵ Laurent GOBILLON, Harris SELOD and Yves ZENOU, “The Mechanisms of Spatial Mismatch”, *Urban Studies*, 2007, vol. 44, no 12, pp. 2401-2427.

city and its various key players agree to keep the vulnerable populations within it.

As such, it is only possible to grasp the huge diversity of issues posed by inequality by closely understanding the social and spatial complexity of these inequalities and their fair or unjust dimensions (in terms of housing, job opportunities, education, etc.), and therefore conceive and establish the range of policies required to address it at the most appropriate levels⁴⁶.

Given the context, it is important to know whether it is appropriate to continue establishing policies geared towards attractiveness and to identify procedures that will promote a fairer urban development.

Room for Maneuver and Alternative Solutions For A City With More Solidarity

Metropolization still leaves ‘room for maneuver’ which can be taken into account for support. Alternatives to competitiveness policies can be proposed.

THE EXISTENCE OF ROOM FOR MANEUVER

If the trend is for the metropolises to dissociate themselves from their surrounding territory, the dynamics of metropolization continue to play at intermediate levels, notably through

income transfers. On the other hand, some emerging forms of innovative economic activity are not constrained by localization, as they could be continuing from a previous generation.

MAINTAINING THE BENEFITS THAT OTHER TERRITORIES MAY ATTRACT

The transfer of incomes between cities and non-metropolitan territories

First of all, it is important not to underestimate the importance of the transfer of income between metropolitan ‘income-generating’ regions and territories where a portion of said income is consumed⁴⁷. In this regard, it is possible to identify three main mechanisms:

- Transfers due to population mobility: the change in population mobility increases the transfer of income earned in certain cities to more residentially – focused territories. As such, a growing number of people, both middle-income households and immigrants with a property project in their country of origin, are investing in second homes on home soil or abroad. Generally speaking, the transfer of money by immigrants to their country of origin has a powerful influence on the global redistribution of wealth⁴⁸ although they are also a factor of dependence when this activity becomes dominant.

- At the same time, the growing tourism industry ensures the transfer of income (domestic and foreign) from opulent to tourism-oriented regions, provided that such investments be redistributed into wages allowing reinvestment in the country of origin.

⁴⁷ Pierre VELTZ et Sandra MOATTI, “L’industrie est dans les métropoles !”, *L’Économie politique*, 2015, vol. 68, no 4, pp. 7-19.

⁴⁸ T. PIKETTY, *Le capital au XXI^e siècle*, op. cit.

- And lastly, transfers related to public spending (public-sector employment, social transfers, etc.) make it possible to redistribute the contributions taken from the productive system towards the territories accommodating the recipients. The redistributive effect of these transfers is generally homogeneous across a given country, with the exception of the retired population. For example, in France, the working population living in Paris prefer to move to other regions: South of France, or even abroad (e.g. Marrakesh, in Morocco)⁴⁹.

Dissemination mechanisms within a given urban system

Second of all, an emerging country's integration into a globalized productive economy is often accompanied, after a phase of heavy investments into its main urban hubs, by a transfer of growth towards secondary level cities.

This is the case in cities such as Bangkok, Istanbul and Tehran, in their role as the country's main gateway to the rest of the world, or 'growth engines', are carrying the entire national economy⁵⁰. In India, for example, investors try to counteract the negative effects of escalating production costs in central areas (New Delhi, Mumbai, Bangalore, Chennai, Hyderabad), chiefly caused by their arrival, by 'discovering' secondary cities.

In Western Europe, despite the dynamics of adjustment to globalization, the logic of dissemination and catch-up can be highlighted, reducing the impression of disconnection. By comparison, in the

United States, 50% of economic growth in the United States has been generated by 30 metropolitan areas since 1978⁵¹. Thus, the economic dynamic of the London metropolis can no longer be separated from that of South-East England: secondary poles are strengthening, especially for advanced service or research activities. Even in the Paris basin, whose outskirts are particularly exposed to industrial restructuring, we see the emergence of branches (in cosmetics, health, automotive) that closely associate the capital region and the surrounding territories⁵².

These different elements call for a rethinking of planning policies in the light of metropolitan dynamics not in a selective way, like the case of first-tier metropolises only, but as a transversal dynamic that affects all territories to varying extents.

PROMOTE A SOCIAL INNOVATION MODEL

- Many activities such as the management of aging, post-carbon transition or the provision of essential services to the population (access to water, electricity, etc.), technological innovations (new drugs, new treatment equipment for water or for energy production) do not fall within the "superior" or "strategic" functions of metropolises. However, they have significant potential for local economic development, including in smaller metropolises. This, in addition, requires knowing how to take into account the uses of populations.

- For example, it is by identifying the difficulties of the elderly to evolve in their

daily environment, by remaining constantly informed of their needs and their reticence by observation, that projects for taking care of the elderly are likely to germinate within territories that bring together research teams, service companies and the elderly population.

IMAGINING ALTERNATIVES

Without denying the importance of "growth coalitions" between elite economics and politicians, significant room for maneuver exist for citizen groups, specifically within democratic regimes. It is possible to paint a quick picture of innovative examples in terms of spatial justice and sustainability and even counteract the deleterious effects of metropolitan competition.

It is possible to identify three levels of public action: the first involves development policies within an urban system (region-wide, nationwide or continent-wide), the second involves city-level policies and the third involves those that can be implemented within an urban project.

AT THE LEVEL OF AN URBAN SYSTEM: SUPPORTING METROPOLITANIZATION AND TERRITORIAL SOLIDARITY

Given the context where metropolises play a key role as "growth engine" for the economies of many countries, and that their strength is based precisely on their critical mass and the diversity of the resources they mobilize, it seems illusory to set up a logic of economic specialization – which would see the emergence of urban centers of equivalent weight – when there are no pre-existing planning policies: for example, in

Brazil, São Paulo and Rio de Janeiro are located around distinct segments of production (the first concentrates the national industries much more than the second)⁵³.

On the other hand, politicians have a role to play in fostering solidarities and alliances between territories of different sizes: between metropolises, medium-sized towns, small towns and rural areas. As such, it would be interesting to see how small cities can enter into exchanges with major cities and medium-sized cities. This would require the identification of the possible terms of the exchange: what are the resources available to the small towns that would be likely to interest the big ones? And, conversely, what are the resources of metropolises that may be of interest to other cities?⁵⁴

AT THE METROPOLITAN LEVEL: THE ISSUE OF MOBILITY

At this level, the priority is to provide as many people as possible with access to economic resources in the urban region with an approach that is efficient from both a social and economic perspective. There are two main ways of achieving this: on the one hand, by promoting a specific form of regional metropolitan organization; on the other hand, by improving distribution channels.

Is there a 'good' form of regional metropolitan organization?

Would it be preferable to have a metropolitan region that is compact (such as Cairo in Egypt – without taking into

49 P. VELTZ et S. MOATTI, « L'industrie est dans les métropoles ! », op. cit.

50 David SIMS, *Understanding Cairo: The Logic of a City Out of Control*, Cairo, The American University in Cairo Press, 2012

51 M. STORPER, T. KEMENY, N. MAKAREM, T. OSMAN, S. MICHAEL, K. THOMAS, M. NAJI and O. TANER, *The Rise and Fall of Urban Economies: Lessons from San Francisco and Los Angeles*, op. cit.

52 L. HALBERT, *L'avantage métropolitain*, op. cit.

53 S. SASSEN, "L'archipel des villes globales", op. cit.
54 Philippe ESTEBE, "Entretien avec...", *La tribune des petites villes*, no 206, 2017

account the new cities), one that is widely spread (like in Southern California), one that is monocentric (like Paris), or a multipolar one (like Randstad)? This question, which has lingered since the 1980s, remains unanswered because it is so difficult to discern which form is more effective than another, at least on an economic basis.

However, from a social and environmental perspective, compact forms are the most desirable. The need for proactive policies should be emphasized in order to prevent consumers investing in non-developed or pre-urbanized land as a way of establishing land reserves within the urban fabric.

In this regard, the city of Johannesburg in South Africa has embarked on a densification policy to ensure the creation of a Bus Rapid Transit service, or BRT (Anglo-Saxon equivalent of the high-level service bus, BHNS⁵⁵) remains cost effective while reducing post-apartheid socio-spatial segregation: the goal is to increase from 2000 to 7000 inhabitants per sq.km to about 33,000 (compared to about 70,000 inhabitants/sq.km for Manhattan in New York).

Facilitate mobility that helps cross boundaries of levels

In terms of mobility, the issue is to provide as many people as possible access to the economic resources disseminated both inside and outside the metropolitan area⁵⁶.

This can be achieved by means of infrastructures and facilities that ensure metropolitan connectivity at different levels

55 A BHNS or BRT is linked to a circulation within its own site with a series of services (high frequency, high hourly amplitude, system of priority in the circulation, disabled accessibility, etc.).

56 Issues related to mobility are discussed in more detail in the third part of the report.

(local, regional and extra-metropolitan). While airports, international railway stations, and high-speed transport networks are clear examples, they are by no means enough. Short-range circulation (within the metropolitan core) should be a priority not only for reasons of spatial justice and right to the city, but also to ensure economic efficiency. Connecting certain 'strategic' economic functions to the wider world will not suffice, contrary to what is often a priority in exceptional cities. The cross-level connections and movements — of goods, people, ideas, capitals and cultures demand renewed attention to guarantee everyone fluid interconnectedness, maximizing the diverse resources available at the metropolitan scale.

AT THE URBAN PROJECT SCALE: CONCEIVING AN 'OPEN' AND INCLUSIVE URBANISM

In addition to the issue of mobility and urban forms, metropolitan actors, in their efforts to mobilize a range of diverse urban economic resources, need also to rethink 'open urbanism' and reaffirm the collective nature of the public space. This counters urban forms that are based on enclosures (e.g. the disruptive urbanism of gated communities described earlier in this section) and ensures collective usage of physical spaces.

This open policy is driven by two complementary goals: on the one hand, there is a need to help sustain economic activities and the people that live from them that, in spite of being economically viable, cannot withstand the centrifugal pressures of property and land competition in the metropolitan environment. On the other hand, it is vital to lay the groundwork for a kind of metropolitan economy whose future

builds on association and mobilization of discrete resources.

Helping sustain businesses and populations

The following examples propose the possibility of applying urban policies that are less oriented towards spatial polarization and would be coherent with principles of justice and humanity.

There are several examples of this:

- A 'new generation' of urban regeneration projects in Europe and North America – such as Stratford City in London, Atlantic Yards in New York, Amsterdam South in Amsterdam, etc. -, which are differentiated from the first generation insofar as they make a certain amount of social and environmental 'concessions', for example through the construction of social housing. Conversely, these concessions are not present in other widespread urban restructuring contexts, like in Istanbul⁵⁷ or Karachi, which are home to large freeways that were widely challenged by the impacted populations.

- The city of Cleveland, US put into practice a strategy of 'planned de-growth'. This included the creation of a land-tenure bank to exclude certain properties on the land (especially the lots and buildings that had remained vacant following the 'sub-prime crisis' of 2008) from capital accumulation mechanisms⁵⁸.

In Rosario (Argentina), municipal urban regulation allows the municipality to retain the added value created by private property

57 Fernando DIAZ ORUETA and Susan S. FAINSTEIN, "The New Mega-Projects: Genesis and Impacts", *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 2008, vol. 32, no 4, pp. 759-767

58 Alessandro COPPOLA, "A Cleveland model?", *Métropoles*, 2014, no 15.

investments, especially in coastal areas, and to select areas that are destined for social housing.

- In São Paulo (Brazil), the area dedicated to social interest has doubled, especially in the city center, where 55,000 new houses were built in renovated former industrial areas, following a revision of the master plan⁵⁹.
- With an unusual intervention, a development bank in Johannesburg (South Africa) supports a private actor, the Affordable Housing Company (AFHCO) in implementing projects of rental housing through the reconversion of abandoned commercial facilities, aimed at marginalized low-income population that would otherwise not have access to subsidies granted by the State. Planning these areas closer to existing job pockets should enhance the economic dynamism of the area, raise revenues and improve work accessibility.

Factors Favoring Social Diversity in Lima

As demonstrated by the analysis of socio-spatial divisions in Lima (Peru), in order that such divisions subside, and that shared public spaces emerge, it is necessary to establish a 'buffer' zone, such as a middle-class housing development.

In fact, in middle-class housing developments, the plots of land are too small to house private gardens, so their residents visit public parks and playgrounds instead. Furthermore, although households within such developments often have a car, it may prove insufficient for their needs.

In Molina, on the outskirts of Lima, several means of public transport feed into the

59 This example is described in detail in the third part of this report.



Flea market within the Euroméditerranée sector in Marseille: activities that need to be maintained (Source: A. Deboulet)

middle-class housing districts, which are also adorned with a great number of small, well-maintained green spaces. Moreover, since the local schools are private but affordable, many low-income families sacrifice their cars to pay school fees.

However, this relative social mixity and shared spaces do not guarantee integration between middle and working-class families. Thus, social divisions remain as they are.⁶⁰

60 Emilie DORE, Domingo Tita SIHUAY MARAVI and Alicia HUAMANTINCO, "Divisions sociales dans la périphérie de Lima : entre ségrégation et partage des espaces", in Jean-Louis CHALEARD (dir.), *Métropoles aux Suds. Le défi des périphéries ?*, Paris, Karthala, 2014, pp. 101-114

In addition, at the scale of the city or the neighborhood, it is recommended to limit the 'brick by brick' vision of urbanism. This implies that a project cannot be conceived with complete independence, but in line with planning at a metropolitan scale. Accordingly, it is worth mentioning that, given the impact of global finance on urban planning (which was discussed earlier on in the report) and the risks it poses to society, until it is better regulated, projects should avoid using it as a source of funding as much as possible. Urban businesses cannot be confined to markets. Governing cities is a political task.⁶¹ This does not

61 D. LORRAIN, "La main discrète", op. cit

exclude the fact that there is a serious urban infrastructure funding problem among local governments considering that states reduce investments and/or the transfer of resources.

Providing an environment that encourages encounters

Juxtaposing populations and/or heterogeneous economic standings to reduce the negative externalities of urban regeneration programs and the social impacts of competition within the property market does not necessarily result in the effective mobilization of economic resources. In other words, there is a gap between having working-class and white-collar professionals coexist and the productive mobilization of various economic resources available in the same place.

Looking beyond purely urbanistic objectives, in order to encourage their mobilization, urban policies can be used to carry forward an economic development policy that will provide the means for uniting these resources, the result of which will have positive effects on both an economic and social level.

Provided it is within their 'capacities', if such policies are not automatically economically successful, there are three types of initiatives that public authorities can get behind.

- Encouraging organizations and working individuals to form emerging networks: by building up resources on several different levels (not only locally, but also at regional or international level) operated by local actors, networks forge a collective approach towards innovation. In this respect, as part of their economic development strategy, the

local authorities in Cleveland have founded and funded a large network of cooperative associations owned by district communities or workers.

- In addition, various forms of sharing, that is at the basis of collaborative economy, contribute to this objective of building up resources through networks. They include: collaborative consumption (AMAP⁶², couchsurfing, car sharing, bike sharing, book and clothes exchanges), collaborative lifestyles (co-working, co-renting, collective housing, communal gardens), collaborative funding (crowdfunding, peer-to-peer money lending, alternative currencies), contributory production (DIY, Fablabs, maker spaces) and free culture in general⁶³. Some are clearly geared towards profit, whereas others, such as urban agriculture or permaculture initiatives, or those reviving cooperatives are aimed at changing production and consumption methods and thus also offer a model of justice. Tending towards an objective of re-appropriation of its living space and thus of production, they aim at the development of short circuits, which can be achieved for the benefit of territories at the periphery of metropolises, which are facing the effects of globalization.⁶⁴

- Creating forums for exchanging ideas: these are often produced by pre-existing and/or developing networks. This is certainly the case with the 'collaborative week'⁶⁵, which is organized every year in Milan and serves as a visible forum for the

62 As well as sharing systems such as: *incroyables comestibles*, *ruches qui dit oui !*, *le supermarché collaboratif la louve*

63 Pierre NOBIS, "Comprendre l'économie collaborative", *Thot Cursus*, 2014

64 Céline BEAUFILS, "Comment l'économie collaborative va-t-elle transformer la ville ?", *UrbaNews*, 2015.

65 <http://www.collaborativeweek.it>

free exchange of ideas. It is also worth mentioning 'La Cantine', set up as a co-working space in Paris. Here, ideas can be exchanged in the field of digital innovation as it enables different communities (that would not normally cross paths) to interact. Lastly, the local authorities in São Paulo set up 120 free wifi hotspots around the city, mainly in the poorer districts, thus providing an excellent example of the unique opportunities that 'smart cities' can offer to as many citizens as possible⁶⁶.

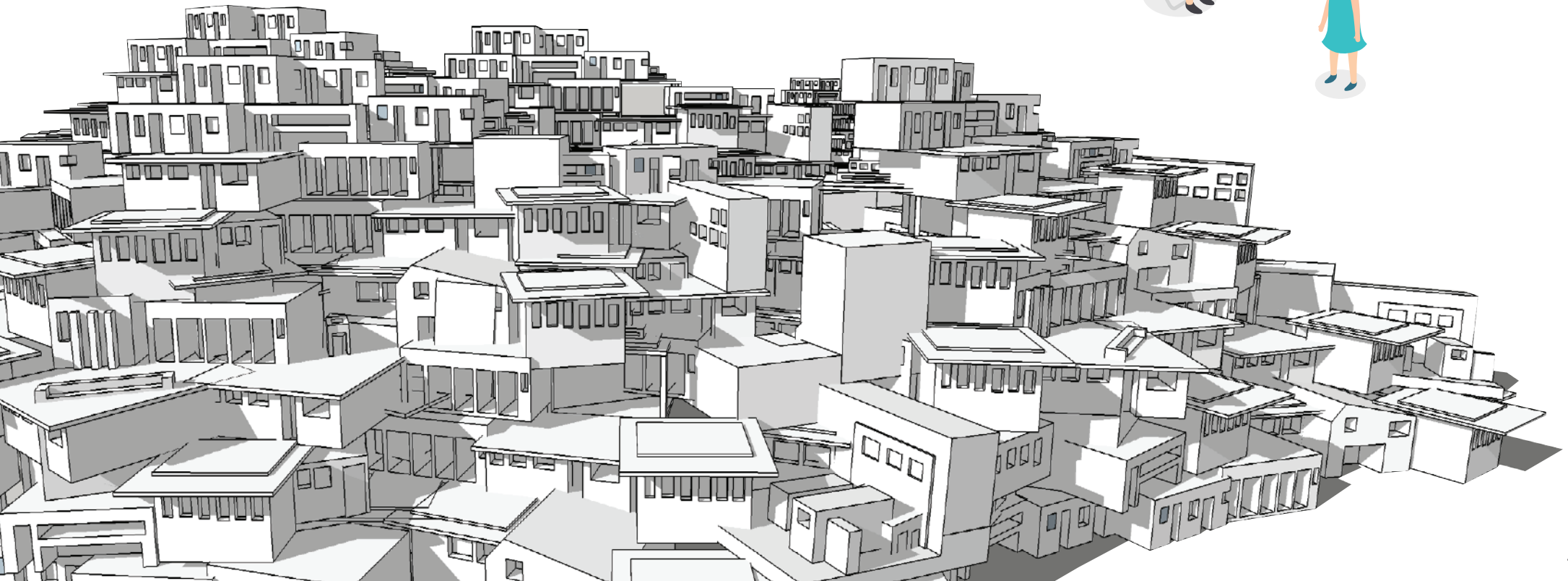
⁶⁶ Shobhan SAXENA, "Simply São Paulo: How a 'Communist' Mayor is making a City smart for its People", *The Wire*, 2015

- Setting up projects and organizing events: these networks and facilities can materialize within territorial projects that seek to collect and mobilize heterogeneous, mass resources. Montreal provides a unique example of this. With its multinational entertainment company (*Cirque du Soleil*), local creative communities, artistic training institutions and relatively dynamic scene, it has been able to deploy a project that combines the urban redevelopment of a working-class district, the collective mobilization of its citizens (namely from low-income backgrounds) and artistic innovation. One of the

outcomes of this has been supporting the promotion of *Cirque du Soleil* throughout the world. However, this success must not overshadow difficult daily working conditions among employees.

It is through the support of networks, projects, facilities and highly cooperative events that society will eventually steer

towards innovation based on a model in which citizens and users are not only consumers but innovators. Therefore, contrary to the exceptional city model, large cities will become a beacon of hope for a more inclusive development.



SECTION TWO

ENABLING THE EMERGENCE AND CONTINUITY OF SUSTAINABLE METROPOLITAN SPACES

How can the sustainable metropolitan environments be introduced and maintained? This is the question this section aims to address.

The term 'sustainability' first emerged in the 1990s and has since been rolled out as a guiding principle to counter the environmental crisis, especially in the Global North. It is based on the principles of sustainable development, which is defined as 'development that meets the needs of the present without preventing future generations from meeting theirs'¹. Sustainability has now become a bind and an essential benchmark for urban policies in terms of construction, urban form and flows, but also citizen behavior (eco-citizens). At the same time, many different issues are being raised; the concept itself is growing increasingly distant from its original meaning, particularly in terms of the principles of political ecology². Secondly, of the three main themes (social, environmental and economic), the social aspect is often neglected. Thirdly, the use of the term has become 'technologized'.

¹ United Nations World Commission on Environment and Development, *Our Common Future*, 1987
² Political ecology emerged in the 1960s and was then conceived as a collective alternative not only to industrial capitalism but also to authoritarian communism: Vincent RENAULD, *Fabrication et usage des écoquartiers français. Éléments d'analyse à partir des quartiers de Bonne (Grenoble), Ginko (Bordeaux) et Bottière-Chénaie (Nantes)*, Institut national des sciences appliquées de Lyon, Lyon, 2012. It is therefore assumed that 'ecological choices are clearly incompatible with capitalistic rationality. It is also incompatible with authoritarian Socialism which, in the absence of central planning of the entire economy, is the only system that has been established to date: Andre GORZ, *Ecologie et politique*, Paris, seuil, 1974



Additionally, this watchword is more of a model in the Global North but has also scattered further South with contradictory effects³. And lastly, the sustainable development model tends to disregard the 'social' aspect, as well as human rights, dignity and multicultural citizenship.

Having outlined the limitations and challenges associated with urban models focused on the concept of sustainability, we will propose that the action plan shifts towards a form of sustainable development that is mindful of environmental justice and quality of life. Specifically speaking, the action plan should shift toward the notion of '*buen vivir*' because it helps alleviate some of the excesses of sustainable development or those of initiatives solely conceived as a response to climate change and more importantly, because it prioritizes the protection of human rights.

³ Pierre-Arnaud BARTHEL, Valérie CLERC and Pascale PHILIFERT, "la 'ville durable' précipitée dans le monde arabe : essai d'analyse généalogique et critique", *Environnement Urbain/Urban Environment*, 2013, vol. 7, pp. 16-30.

Mainstream Models of Metropolitan Sustainability: Promising Initiatives and Serious Limitations

Numerous models for action have been developed in metropolitan areas in order to face environmental and climatic challenges and encourage sustainable development. The reason for this being that cities are responsible for two-thirds of global energy consumption and 70 per cent of greenhouse gas emissions, but also because climate change poses serious challenges for metropolitan areas. These emissions do not just affect urban areas, they can pollute entire regions and therefore conjure a stronger sense of solidarity than ever before between rural and urban areas, which are largely intermingled and destined for similar fates.

There is now an urgent need for a radical and fast reworking of production systems, modes of transport, heating mechanisms

and waste treatment systems. According to many experts, particularly those from the IPCC (Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change), the climate change phenomenon looming over the most vulnerable countries will reach a point of no return within the next twenty years. It is no longer simply a case of making cities more resilient, but of developing alternative production sources that can reverse the effects of global warming by drastically reducing the consumption of fossil fuels. This topic is closely related to the issue of governance because many of the most effective solutions have originated from citizen initiatives, the ideas behind which have been adopted by public authorities⁴.

Generally speaking, inherently technical models promoted by central and local governments come under the so-called 'ecological urbanism' or 'green urbanism' bracket, which is being increasingly theorized and incorporated into implementation guides.

In this respect, a certain number of principles are becoming crucial for those who are now building their cities with a view to making them sustainable. In this regard, certain watchwords, sectors or fields of action have become familiar to those who take an interest in the future of cities: (sustainable) mobility, (sustainable, ecological) housing, public spaces and nature within cities... As such, principles of action such as density or resilience become essential elements of the discourse and were discussed during the climate conference (COP21) held in

4 In this regard, a series of French examples has been developed in: Maëlle GUILLOU and Justine PEULLEMEULLE, "Énergies citoyennes dites-vous ? Quand les énergies renouvelables citoyennes sont moteurs d'une transition sociétale [Did you say people power? When Citizen Managed Renewables Drive Societal Transition]", in Viviana Varin and Julien Woessner (dir.), *Climat: Subir ou choisir la transition? [The Climate: Active Transition or Change Inflicted?]*, Passerelle, no15, 2015, pp. 129-135

Paris in November 2015. They have no doubt generated significant advances in metropolitan sustainability, and the effects of their practical implementation pose a series of questions when projects carrying these notions are closely examined.

PROMISING INITIATIVES

Three central themes were thoroughly investigated: the energy transition, circular economy and urban agriculture⁵.

EFFICIENCY AND THE ENERGY TRANSITION

The latest recommendations from the IPCC regarding global warming have set a target of reducing our CO₂ emissions by 50 per cent by 2030 if we hope to restrict global warming to 2°C by 2100. Some of the most stimulating practices and reflections in this area favor an approach in terms of transition, which reinforce energy efficiency or favor the use of renewable energies.

For example, the promotion of methods for reducing carbon footprints ('low carbon development') has proven effective like in Pune, San Francisco and Shanghai where the local authorities apply strict

5 In addition, we can focus on the analyses of David SATTERTHWAITE:
- David SATTERTHWAITE, *Sustainable cities – and how cities can contribute to sustainable development*, United Cities and Local Governments, 2015. This document lists and details other initiatives that should not be neglected,
- David SATTERTHWAITE, "How urban societies can adapt to resource shortage and climate change", *Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society of London A: Mathematical, Physical and Engineering Sciences*, 2011, vol. 369, no 1942, pp. 1762-1783.
- David SATTERTHWAITE, "The political underpinnings of cities' accumulated resilience to climate change", *Environment and Urbanization*, 2013, vol. 25, no 2, pp. 381-391.

criteria to promote 'low consumption' or energy positive buildings.

In Paris, the city is signing on to a thermal rehabilitation program in schools and social housing, which aims to save 500 gigawatts/hour⁶ or improving the energy performance of existing buildings (as demonstrated by an established model in the city of Leeds⁷).

Tokyo's metropolitan area has put in place a specific program to reduce greenhouse gas emissions known as the 'Tokyo Cap-and-Trade Program (TCTP)'. It is one of the outcomes of the Tokyo Metropolitan Environmental Masterplan, which stipulates that each building owner participating in the program must produce an annual emissions reading and commit themselves to reducing their emission levels. After being established in 2010, it facilitated a 13 per cent reduction in emissions that same year, rising to a combined 22 per cent in 2011⁸.

Policies must also focus on promoting sustainable mobility⁹. This can be done by improving public transport, by encouraging citizens to use networks or alternative means of transport, such as bikes¹⁰ more frequently

and therefore drive their personal cars less frequently¹¹.

An effective way of achieving this is to build cycle paths and provide free or tariffed bikes within the city. Although Montreal has implemented both free and tariffed systems, many other cities have opted solely for a tariffed system, which requires payment by bank card (Vélib' in Paris, Youbike in Taipei), but can often reduce the public's use of this means of transport. In Bogota¹², for example, car-free days are organized to encourage people to do without their cars.

Copenhagen: Promoting Mobility for Moving Towards a Carbon Neutral City

Copenhagen is carrying forward an ambitious policy to become neutral in terms of greenhouse gas emissions. Through a series of innovative projects and an ambitious Climate Plan, the city has already seen a 21 per cent reduction in its emissions between 2005 and 2011 (by promoting renewable energy, using bikes as a means of transport, etc.). For example, the first 'bike highway', launched in 2012, now enables commuters to travel between central districts and suburban areas by bike¹³.

This transition is also encouraged by the development of individual or shared sustainable transport systems e.g. many Bus Rapid Transit (BRT)¹⁴ systems are being set

6 COP 21, *21 Solutions to Protect Our Shared Planet*, 2015

7 Andy GOULDSON, Sarah COLENBRANDER, Andrew SUDMANT, Nick GODFREY, Joel MILLWARD-HOPKINS, Wanli FANG and Xiao ZHAO, "Accelerating Low-Carbon Development in the World's Cities", the New Climate Economy, 2015

8 C40, *Tokyo's Urban Cap-and-Trade Scheme Delivers Substantial Carbon Reductions*, 2016 http://www.c40.org/case_studies/tokyo-s-urban-cap-and-trade-scheme-deliverssubstantial-carbon-reductions, consulted on 24 February 2016

9 For example: UN-HABITAT, *Planning and Design for Sustainable Urban Mobility: Global Report on Human Settlements*, New York, Routledge, 2013. Catherine MORENCY, *Mobilité durable: Définitions, concepts et indicateurs*, Forum Vies mobiles, 2012

10 John PARKIN, *Cycling and Sustainability*, Cambridge, Emerald Group Publishing, 2012

11 International Transportation Forum, *Low-Carbon Mobility for Mega Cities. What Different Policies Mean for Urban Transport Emissions in China and India*, 2016

12 A Bogotá, pendant une journée, seuls pieds et vélos sont autorisés !, <http://www.mobilite-durable.org/innoverpour-demain/politiques-publiques/a-bogota-pendantune-journee-seuls-pieds-et-velos-sont-autorises.html>, Consulted on 8 January 2016

13 C40, *Copenhagen: CPH Climate Plan 2025*, <http://www.c40.org/profiles/2013-copenhagen>, consulted on 19 February 2016

14 Amélie PINEL, "Lorsque le sud innove en matière durable. le projet de transport en commun d'Amman", *Environnement Urbain/Urban Environment*, 2013, vol. 7, pp. 31-42



Bike highways in Copenhagen
(Source: Carfree.fr)

up (as in Amman) or have been set up (as in Curitiba, Bogota and Johannesburg)¹⁵; the planned air transport system in Mexico¹⁶ and the revival of tramway and segregated-lane transport systems in cities in the Global North¹⁷. The transition to all-electric vehicles is also a priority for many cities, such as Oslo, where the number of electric cars has tripled since 2005: more than 400 electric car charging stations have been installed. In addition, electric vehicles are provided

with free-of-charge parking bays, access to reserved lanes and certain tax concessions¹⁸.

Freiburg: the Transportation and Energy Transition

In Freiburg, encouraging initiatives have been put in place to reduce the production of greenhouse gases and address the issue of climate change. In order to achieve the targets shown in the table below, the city's aim is to reduce emissions by 40 per cent by 2030 through a transition towards renewable energy, but also by imposing strict standards in terms of energy consumption by buildings and by promoting an efficient public transport system combined with the promotion of bicycle use to achieve the objectives presented in the graph¹⁹.

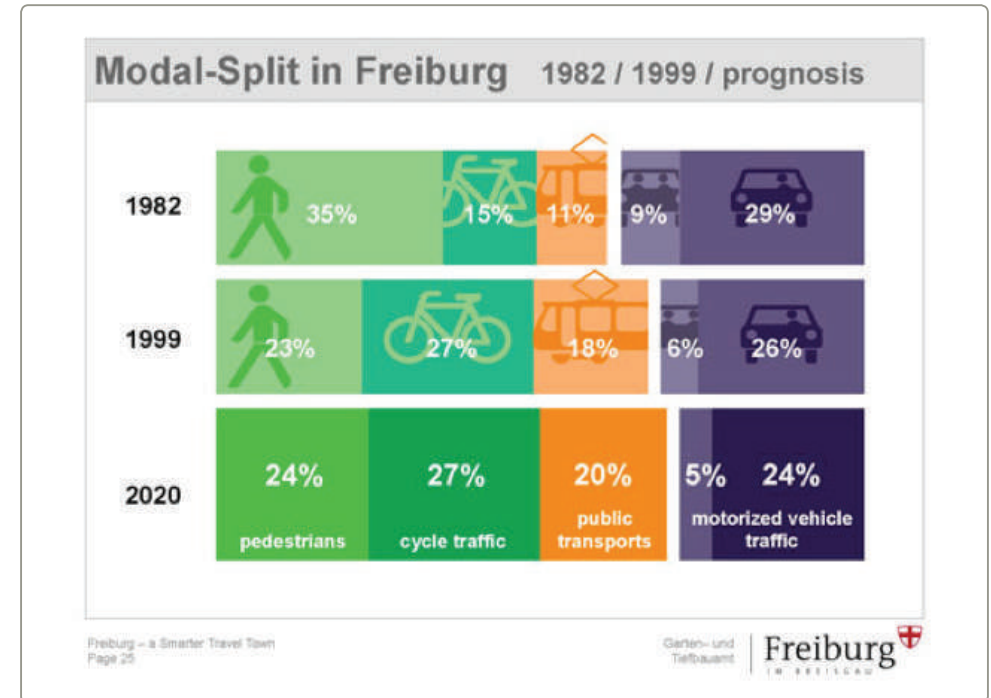
Technological innovations are also used to help cities become more sustainable, as demonstrated by the growing number of 'Smart Cities'²⁰. The ideas developed in Copenhagen regarding the installation of sensors on urban property (e.g. to measure air quality or traffic conditions) are paving the way to combating the climate change problem²¹. However, it is important to remember that the technological dimension alone cannot resolve all the issues regarding the need to reduce consumption by using different raw materials and production methods.

¹⁸ Cop 21, "21 Solutions to Protect Our Shared Planet", op. cit

¹⁹ The EcoTipping Points Project, Germany - Freiburg - Green City, <http://www.ecotippingpoints.org/our-stories/indepth/germany-freiburg-sustainability-transportationenergy-green-economy.html>, consulted on 17 February 2016.

²⁰ American Planning Association, *Smart Cities and Sustainability Initiative*, 2015

²¹ Olivier TRUC, « Copenhagen, laboratoire de la future ville intelligente », Le Monde, 2015



The distribution of means of transport in Freiburg (Source: City of Freiburg)

Smart City: What Kinds of Applications and How to Match Them with the Needs?

The concept of 'smart city' refers to the irruption of information and communication technologies (ICTs) over the last ten years, which, when applied to the city, disrupts lifestyles and urban governance.

In the context of rapidly expanding metropolises facing acute urban infrastructure and service needs, and the challenges of climate change, the need for 'smart city' tools appear to be secondary. They can even contribute to reproduce or even increase existing socio-spatial fractures, sometimes in contradiction with the stated goal. However, when it is thought not of as an end in itself

but as an instrument for development policies and projects, the 'smart city' can contribute, for example, to:

- **economize**, as in Hanoi, Vietnam, which, in its policy against water leakage, has launched two systems: (i) a sensor system piloted by the Hawaco water company to locate them and (ii) a system of signage by citizens through a mobile application, which acquired following a call for proposals by the Swedish Embassy.

- **reduce** traffic congestion with the establishment of a car-pooling application in Brasilia (Brazil), and self-service cars in Hangzhou (China) with the support of the global economic leader Alibaba.

¹⁵ See: - Taotao DENG and John D. NELSON, "Recent developments in Bus Rapid Transit: a Review of the Literature", *Transport Reviews*, 2011, vol. 31, no 1, pp. 69-96

- Ramon MUNOZ-RASKIN, "Walking Accessibility to Bus Rapid Transit: Does It Affect Property Values? The Case of Bogotá, Colombia", *Transport Policy*, 2010, vol. 17, no 2, pp. 72-84

- Luis ANTONIO LINDAU, Dario HIDALGO and Daniela FACCHINI, "Curitiba, the Cradle of Bus Rapid Transit", *Built Environment*, 2010, vol. 36, no 3, pp. 274-282.

¹⁶ It is a system with a monorail and gondolas carrying passengers that move over cars. Ana CAMPOY, « Mexico City looks to Gondolas to relieve its appalling Traffic Congestion » Citylab, 2015

¹⁷ Philippe HAMMAN, "La mobilité dans la "ville durable": la construction de l'évidence du Tramway par des dynamiques transactionnelles", *Vertigo - La revue électronique en sciences de l'environnement*, 2013, vol. 13, no 1

• **improve** the access of isolated areas to certain services, for example through policies to install wifi access points around metro stations in Guayaquil (Ecuador) and Buenos Aires (Argentina) and in public parks in Medellín (Colombia), or the establishment of a geo-referencing system for customers of Eneo, Cameroon's energy operator, in the New Bell district of Douala to facilitate projects for the implementation of urban networks.²²

CIRCULAR ECONOMY

Initiatives aimed at promoting circular economy, 'do-it-yourself' methods and at researching recycling-based production models also convey a systemic vision of the fight against global warming. This type of economy, considered by some to be an operational model for sustainable development, offers a different model to that of a linear economy (extract, produce, consume and throw away) by combining the issue of limited resources with the

²² Hind KHEDIRA and Jérémie MOLHO, *Synthèse des travaux*, Projet « Villes Intelligentes, Urbanistes du Monde, 2016

cyclical character of nature. It places particularly emphasis on prolonging duration of use, using environmentally-responsible designs and recycling methods. However, experiments in this domain are hindered by the need to teach and train actors and institutions on these issues. In Geneva, where the principle of circular economy has been written into the Constitution of the canton, a collaborative platform on which businesses can exchange their methods and resources has been developed²³.

San Francisco: Circular Economy and Waste Management

San Francisco is among some of the most heavily discussed examples of circular economy, having established a recycling system that covers 80 per cent of total waste production. It uses a model based on a taxation system, as well as financial incentives, to lower waste production in relation to consumption: the less waste you produce, the smaller your bills. Recovering organic waste, which is often lacking in most recycling systems, was the initial concept

²³ <http://www.economiecirculaire.org/>



Drawing on the ground of a subway station of Buenos Aires reminding that it is possible to use the free wifi access (Source: Delmas & Zuliani, Urbanistes du Monde, 2016)



Waste bins in San Francisco (Source: sfpublicworks.org)

behind having a mandatory collection system that could provide compost for farmers in the region. Compost free of chemical inputs can represent an unrivalled source of nutrients and revival for an often-dwindling agricultural sector²⁴.

URBAN AGRICULTURE AND PERMACULTURE

Urban agriculture feeds into approaches that are shifting in the same direction. In Detroit, which is now a shrinking city due to the automotive industry crisis (1,850,000 residents in 1950 compared with 680,000 in 2014), a considerable number (over 1,500) of urban abandoned areas have been renovated for use as individual or community allotments, thus representing a first step towards improving community spirit and quality of life. This also concurs with the municipal initiative in the city of Rosario.

Rosario, Urban Agriculture as a Global Solution

In 2001, the municipal authorities of Rosario (Argentina) initiated a solidary and ecological alternative to the severe economic crisis. Small garden lots and agricultural garden parks were developed to help improve food resources for citizens affected by the crisis and enable them to plant their own seeds.

²⁴ San Francisco's Fight to Counter Climate Change

The city also supported the marketing process. Currently, 2,500 families take part in the production and sales process. The local authorities are working with various households to improve marketing and trading to encourage a circular economy: for example, citizens may recycle in exchange for organic vegetables. Other initiatives have unfurled from this collective platform: establishing kitchen gardens on family properties; developing the production and sale of medicinal plants²⁵.

Urban agriculture is particularly prominent within the "Transition Towns"²⁶ movement initiated by R. Hopkins in 2006 and has been emulated in over 40 countries. It promotes permaculture, as opposed to agriculture, thus following a principle of independence from

²⁵ See:

- Luc J. A. MOUGEOT, *Agropolis: The Social, Political and Environmental Dimensions of Urban Agriculture*, London: Routledge, 2010.

- H. DE ZEEUW, R. VAN VEENHUIZEN et M. DUBBELING, « The role of urban agriculture in building resilient cities in developing countries », *The Journal of Agricultural Science*, 2011, vol. 149, Supplement s1, pp. 153-163.

- Mark REDWOOD, *Agriculture in Urban Planning: Generating Livelihoods and Food Security*, London, Routledge, 2012

²⁶ The network highlights local and citizen initiatives and experiments aiming at inventing lifestyles less dependent on petrol: Adrien KRAUZ, "les villes en transition, l'ambition d'une alternative urbaine", *Métropolitiques*, 2014 ; Antoine LAGNEAU, "la ville vue par... Quartiers en transition", *Mouvements*, 2013, vol. 74, no 2, pp. 91-100



The Urban Agriculture Program in Rosario, an example of sustainable development
(Source: Rosario Urban Agriculture Programme)

fossil fuels, by trusting the complementary nature of plant species to generate moisture and nourishing the earth in a completely natural way. In this regard, it can provide a source of production, free from external input. In a totally interdependent world, the future of 'monoculture' is increasingly uncertain in light of the need to avoid depending on non-sustainable transport for food.

LIMITATIONS THAT CANNOT BE IGNORED

These different initiatives must not eclipse the limitations that become apparent when considering the impacts, in terms of promoting spatial justice, at a metropolitan scale. Therefore, it is often observed that:

- sectoral approaches take precedence over those that are global or holistic;
- reproducing good practices takes precedence over designing contextualized and well-designed approaches that are adapted to local situations;

- the initially proposed environmental dimension technically tends to cast aside the social impacts of the actions undertaken, especially where the working class is concerned and for whom the need may be greater²⁷;
- the development of human rights and the quest for dignity are not the leading principles behind environmentally-friendly projects;

In addition, the vast majority of projects aiming at sustainability seek to make economic growth models compatible with respect for the environment. They come under the umbrella of 'green economy', without considering the key concept of development (or progress) and are ultimately unable to produce sufficient change at individual or collective scales²⁸. As such, actions undertaken are often referred to

27 Jean-Baptiste COMBY, "À propos de la dépossession écologique des classes populaires", *Savoir/Agir*, 2015, vol. 33, no 3, pp. 23-30

28 Julien VANHULST and Adrien E. BELING, "Buen vivir et développement durable: rupture ou continuité", *Ecologie & politique*, 2013, vol. 46, no 1, pp. 41-54.

as 'weak sustainability'²⁹ which, based on the idea that ecological limitations can be managed, fall into the ideology of progress, pursue goals of economic growth and are only attentive to the economic value of nature.

Ultimately, although many cities have already come up with funding mechanisms, such as municipal green bonds (levied on private funds and mostly exempt from tax) implemented in Johannesburg or Paris for example, which make it possible to finance infrastructures with low carbon emissions³⁰, it is clear that towns and metropolitan areas rarely have the means to finance sustainability. Given that they are less dependent on (automotive, oil and gas, food, etc.) lobbyists than the States themselves, they may be in a better position to carry forward energy transition projects and it would therefore be advisable to give them the means to act since almost 80 per cent of global GDP is generated by cities³¹.

In order to thoroughly understand some of the limitations of sustainable development, we will now focus on a sustainable urbanism watchword that is currently guiding the development of modern cities: 'densification', as well as two concrete terms formed in the name of sustainability that now punctuate many metropolitan renovation projects: eco-neighborhoods and eco-cities, and finally, policies for 'resilience' implemented in cities to prevent natural disasters.

DENSIFICATION

Owing to the explosion of urbanization, as well as the absence of or ineffective urban planning in many cities, in addition to increasing liberalization of land, cities are experiencing a process of spatial expansion in which rapid urban sprawl has immediately led to the emergence of suburban districts (often expanding faster than the population itself, which comes at great cost to cities³²). As an example, in Mexico, since the 1990s, giant housing estates have been built in the city outskirts, often containing more than 10,000 units³³.

Urban sprawl in Cairo

Between 1996 and 2006, the population rose by 3 million inhabitants; during the 1990s, the area covered by buildings (including those under construction) in the built-up area of Greater Cairo doubled³⁴, spreading further into the desert³⁵. This phenomenon is described as megapolization and an overflow of the city as urbanization sprawls around and throughout the social fabric of villages, as well as desert areas. Urban development in desert areas for the middle and upper classes attracted a third of overall investment while only one tenth of the 'new' inhabitants eventually settled there. The dense, compact city therefore remains home to central and peri-central working-class neighborhoods. The greatest aberration is that of new towns, which represent 2/3 of the total built area, yet serve a population of barely

32 Sylvie JAGLIIN, "Étalement urbain, faibles densités et « coûts » de développement", *Flux*, 2010, vol. 79-80, no 1, pp. 6-15

33 Sylvain SOUCHAUD and Marie-France PREVOT-SCHAPIRA, "Introduction : Transitions métropolitaines en Amérique latine : densification, verticalisation, étalement", *Problèmes d'Amérique latine*, 2013, no 90, pp. 5-16

34 Eric DENIS, "Du village au Caire, au village comme au Caire", *Égypte/Monde arabe*, 2001, no 4-5, pp. 225-253

35 David SIMS, *Egypt's Desert Dreams: Development or Disaster?*, The American University in Cairo Press, 2015

29 Eduardo GUDYNAS, "Développement, droits de la Nature et bien Vivre : l'expérience équatorienne", *Mouvements*, 2011, vol. 68, no 4, pp. 15-37

30 Cop 21, "21 Solutions to Protect Our Shared Planet", op. cit.

31 Jérémie DAUSSIN-CHARPANTIER, "Donnons les moyens financiers aux villes de répondre aux ODD" *Ideas4development.org*, 2015

more than one million inhabitants. As such, for many decades, prejudices against informal settlements have resulted in an accentuation of the losses on investment in very low-density areas³⁶.

As for self-built settlements, it is not possible to universally consider the densities of built-up areas. In Cairo, they house an average of 600 inhabitants per hectare, reaching a maximum of 1,500. Whereas in Tunis, the whole built environment (both formal and informal) follows a horizontal settlement pattern, thus consuming a lot of space. In Ouagadougou³⁷, competition over housing or land has resulted in an average density of 40 inhabitants per hectare, and approximately 100 inhabitants per two hectares in 'unplanned' or non-regulated neighborhoods.

Additionally, besides excessive land consumption, which contradicts sustainability objectives, urban sprawl also creates accessibility problems, particularly for the working classes, leading to congestion, air pollution and public health issues. It is also a major source of greenhouse gas emissions.

The urban density model can potentially solve some of these problems. The compact city and the 'Smart Growth' concept are often regarded as models of sustainability because of the way they reduce land consumption and transit demands (and thus reduce greenhouse gas³⁸ emissions and reliance on

36 D. SIMS, *Understanding Cairo*, op. cit; Pierre-Arnaud BARTHEL, "Relire le Grand Caire au miroir de la densité", *Confluences Méditerranée*, 2010, vol. 75, no 4, pp. 121-135

37 See Ph'd Léandre Guigma, *Vivre dans le non-loti de Ouagadougou : processus de marchandages fonciers entre citoyens, chefs traditionnels et autorités publiques*, Thèse de doctorat, Université Paris 8, 2017; also on this subject, the reports by L. GUIGMA and L. PIERRE-LOUIS for UN-Habitat, *Agence Perspectives, for the Participatory Slum Upgrading Programme*, 2012

38 Niovi KARATHODOROU, Daniel J. GRAHAM and Robert B. NOLAND, "Estimating the effect of urban density on fuel demand", *Energy Economics*, 2010, vol. 32, no 1, pp. 86-92

cars, while encouraging the use of non-motorized 'soft' transport, as well as reducing socio-spatial segregation³⁹).

The adoption of principles of densification has been facilitated in certain places by a combination of declining internal migration and accelerated urban growth, along with a decline in saturation of the land and property markets. In São Paulo, for example, urban growth largely takes place in existing neighborhoods (both informal and formal) through the densification of the built environment⁴⁰. In Lima, old two-story housing units, which were characteristic of the city center 50 years ago are being replaced by 10, 15 or 20-storey buildings, in line with the long avenues on which they are located⁴¹ and have resulted in heavy traffic congestion.

The operational modalities⁴² of the densification model is now being debated. Densification policies, particularly in cities of the South, too often consist of the creation of housing units for middle and upper classes, or the most-advantaged working classes (as

39 For pro-density arguments, see:

- OECD, *Compact City Policies: A Comparative Assessment*, OECD, 2012.

- UN-Habitat, *Leveraging Density: Urban Patterns for a Green Economy*, Nairobi, 2012. "Concentrating so many people in dense, interactive, shared spaces has historically provided a distinct advantage that is agglomeration advantages. Through agglomeration, cities have the power to innovate, generate wealth, enhance quality of life and accommodate more people within a smaller footprint at lower per capita resource use and emissions than any other settlement pattern"

-Amélia DARLEY, Gwenaëlle ZUNINO and Jean-Pierre PALISSE, *Comment encourager l'intensification urbaine ?*, IAU-IDF, 2009.-

40 S. SOUCHAUD and M.-F. PREVOT-SCHAPIRA, "Introduction", op. cit

41 P. V. CENTENO and S. LAFOSSE, "La densification récente de Lima et ses défis en matière de logement et de transport", op. cit

42 See: Carl GAGNE, Stéphane RIOU ET Jacques-François THISSE, "Are compact cities environmentally friendly?", *Journal of Urban Economics*, 2012, vol. 72, no 2-3, pp. 123-136



The eight New Towns, representing 2/3 of the built surface of Greater Cairo – excluding the New Administrative Capital currently under construction (Source: David Sims, *Egypt's Desert Dreams, Development or Disaster*, 2015)

in the case of the MIVIVIENDA SA fund in Peru), at the expense of the least privileged. These questions are all the more acute when densification mainly concerns the central and peri-central districts: the less well-off classes are relegated to the periphery, in less well-endowed neighborhoods. In this case, densification is accompanied by gentrification mechanisms that discard the most disadvantaged populations.

This can be accompanied by significant identity issues, as in the case of the predominantly Francophone Vanier neighborhood of Ottawa, which is otherwise predominantly Anglophone⁴³.

43 Kenza BENALI, "La densification urbaine dans le quartier Vanier : germe d'un renouveau urbain ou menace pour le dernier îlot francophone de la capitale canadienne ?", *Cahiers de géographie du Québec*, 2013, vol. 57, no 160, pp. 41-68

However, the inadequacy of densification tools to meet the requirements of a fair city does not invalidate the need to counter urban sprawl that leads to overconsumption of agricultural land and a high cost of infrastructure.

Densification and rising property prices. The example of Los Angeles⁴⁴

In Los Angeles, densification is becoming a market process, taken over by promoters working on the basis of profit margins, 'as these margins increase, poor or middle-class neighborhoods are becoming more appealing because the purchase price of older properties is offset by the prospects of re-selling or renting at much higher prices'. As the densification

44 Main reference: Florence CHILAUD, "La densification résidentielle à Los Angeles", Master's thesis, Université Paris-Ouest Nanterre-La Défense, 2015

process persists, the amount of affordable housing decreases (affordable housing is demolished to make room for new housing), which can, in turn, force the poorest households to leave, thus impeding their access to housing. This situation stresses the need for increased vigilance against the eviction of the least wealthy communities in certain neighborhoods and the use of density as the watchword for reclassifying neighborhoods to attract the middle and upper classes.

ECO-NEIGHBOURHOODS AND ECO-CITIES

Eco-districts and eco-cities are designed as spaces that allow for testing out diverse solutions in terms of urban density, energy, biodiversity, soft mobility and citizen participation. They are also one of the most visible indications of the importance of incorporating sustainable development into urban policies and disseminating this new model for urbanism, which simultaneously promises a new way of life⁴⁵. There are certain pitfalls preventing the spread and generalization of these urban forms, which come in the form of criticisms. Based on an environmental approach, eco-districts are more commonly designed as a form of technical sustainability rather than 'social sustainability'. In addition, they tend to be primarily used as competitiveness tools and are designed for promoting the city and demonstrating the powers of public authorities or companies.

The design and functioning of these eco-cities and eco-districts raise certain issues,

⁴⁵ Grand Paris#Climat Démonstrations territoriales, *Urbanisme*, Hors-série no 54, 2015

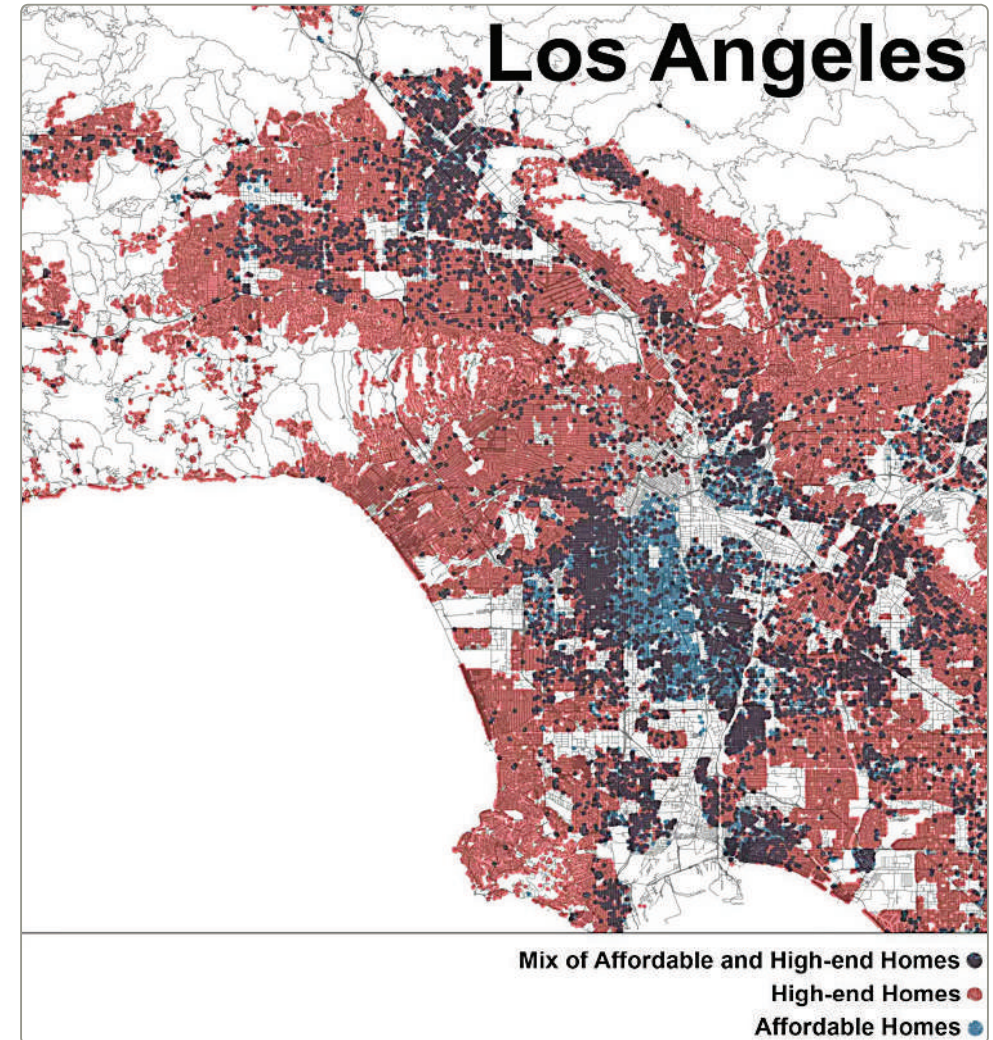
which must be taken into account in order to achieve inclusive metropolitan sustainability⁴⁶.

- They especially call into question the reliability and viability of technical innovations, which are developed within them, and constitute an element central to the justification of their existence and promotion. For example, in the Kreuzberg eco-neighborhood in Berlin, green rooftops tend to be prone to subsidence and leaks due to an oversized green layer and the improper installation of isolation membranes by construction companies. This therefore raises the issue of training actors on technical innovations, both prior to projects and on a continuous basis, with a view to making the use of these technologies an increasingly viable option.

- They also raise the issue of citizen appropriation, given that they are not involved in the design process. The issues are twofold: the efficiency of an innovation's energy performance when its eventual uses differ from those intended; and the supervision of its uses and social control. In the 'car-free' eco-neighborhood of GWL-Terrain in Amsterdam, parking was reduced to one space for every five homes, creating problems of illegal parking and conflicts between neighbors as inhabitants started to park in surrounding neighborhoods.

- Moreover, generally speaking, this tool does not offer a sustainable and inclusive solution in terms of access to housing because the social or economic costs of entry are too high for certain population groups.

⁴⁶ Main reference: V. RENAULD, *Fabrication et usage des écoquartiers français. Éléments d'analyse à partir des quartiers De Bonne (Grenoble), Ginko (Bordeaux) et Bottière-Chénaie (Nantes)*, op. cit. ; Yvette VEYRET, Jacqueline JALTA and Michel HAGNERELLE, *Développements durables : Tous les enjeux en 12 leçons*, Paris, Editions Autrement, 2010



Geography of inequalities in Los Angeles (Source: projects.scpr.org)

As products of 'sustainable cities', eco-districts are often hastily implanted in cities of the South⁴⁷, causing further problems. In the Arab world, research has shown that even though 'sustainable' urban management

⁴⁷ P.-A. BARTHEL, V. CLERC and P. PHILIFERT, "La 'ville durable' précipitée dans le monde arabe", op. cit. ; Pierre- Arnaud BARTHEL, "L'exportation au Maroc de la 'ville durable' à la française", *Métropolitiques*, 2014.

systems are deployed (open-air storm water management, housing settlement impact studies...), projects are branded as eco-districts by their promoters despite the absence of any organization or officially standardized assessment criteria to ensure the project's 'sustainability'. The use of the term is therefore no guarantee of the

project's performance in terms of sustainable development. Although widespread 'greenwashing'⁴⁸ can produce positive effects in terms of urban attractiveness and the sale of housing to the middle and upper classes, the effects are much more ambiguous in terms of environmental and social sustainability.

Another example of these 'windows' is the green city Masdar, located to the east of Abu Dhabi in the United Arab Emirates, and for which development began in 2011. The city expects to welcome 50,000 new inhabitants by 2030. At a cost of 15 billion dollars, this city has only been made possible through the nation's oil-rich economy, thus making it a difficult model to replicate.

RESILIENCE AND RISK OF NATURAL DISASTERS

The vulnerability of urban spaces (which can be measured using a series of indicators⁴⁹) is a key mobilizing factor among metropolitan actors. Such vulnerability is further intensified as cities are starting to adapt to climate change and the frequency and intensity of natural disasters continues to increase. As such, the challenge here is to integrate climate change into urban development strategies⁵⁰, more especially for at-risk

territories through crisis management and prevention policies⁵¹.

These phenomena clearly do not solely affect cities, but cities are of particular interest because the most densely populated and artificially built areas are the most threatened. In this regard, resilience (or ability to adapt) has become a core policy principle in the construction of sustainable cities. Initially defined as a systemic property (and relayed as such by international organizations), resilience is generally defined as a city's ability to react and adapt to natural catastrophes in an attempt to go back to normal⁵².

These risks can be hydro-climatic (storms, heat waves, heavy rains) as much as they are geological (tsunamis, earthquakes, volcanic eruptions) and are often cumulative. It is also worth noting that currently, the majority of large cities are situated along coast lines and are therefore directly threatened by rising sea levels and weakened by depleting vegetation cover. Most of the worst affected metropolitan regions are in countries of the Global South where the impact of climate specificities is coupled with rapid urban growth, which often takes place without the implementation of protective arrangements or effective storm water drainage networks. However, the wealthiest cities are not exempt from these risks⁵³.

Impact of sea levels rising by a meter across the city of Alexandria (Source: flood.firetree.net)

51 Valérie NOVEMBER, Marion PENELAS and Pascal VIOT, *Habiter les territoires à risques*, Lausanne, Presses polytechniques et universitaires romandes, 2011

52 Yvette VEYRET and Bernard CHOCAT, "les mégapoles face aux risques et aux catastrophes naturelles", *La jaune et la rouge*, 2005, no 606

53 See for example in New York, where flood risks are on the rise: Doyle RICE, « New York City flood risk rising due to climate change », *USA TODAY*, 28/09/2015.; Justin WORLAND, « Why New York City Flood Risk Is On The Rise », *Time*, 2015, 28/09/2015



Impact of sea levels rising by a meter across the city of Alexandria
(Source: flood.firetree.net)

Risk prevention is extremely complex due to the many different (technical, socio-economic, psychological, political, etc.) factors at play and is even more so in certain metropolises insofar as vulnerability is increased by poverty, since precarious neighborhoods are installed in the areas most subject to these risks. Moreover, in this case risk is an indicator of social inequalities and socio-economic and spatial dysfunctions⁵⁴. That is why resilience can only be thought of collectively with citizens to find truly viable solutions where finance and often coordination capacity are lacking.

Many cities have undertaken initiatives to foster resilience. Since 2008, the Brazilian coastal city of Curitiba has suffered many floods. As such, a vulnerability study was carried out, which enabled the city to develop

54 Y. VEYRET and B. CHOCAT, « Les mégapoles face aux risques et aux catastrophes naturelles | La Jaune et la Rouge », op. cit

a risk map in order to decide on future investments. An alert system between the city and its federal partners is currently being tested. This issue is also central to coastal cities⁵⁵, among the most affected by these threats.

Many cities in Europe are just as vulnerable and are implementing measures⁵⁶ such as aligning protective measures at an agglomeration scale (by creating and upgrading projects, protecting infrastructures, etc.) and redefining chains of responsibility. This extends to aligning information, communication and involvement measures among all actors (with an emphasis on awareness-raising initiatives) as well as the consideration of combined

55 Cop 21, « 21 solutions to Protect Our shared Planet », op. cit.

56 Brigitte MAZIERE, « Penser et aménager les agglomérations urbaines : quelques exemples de métropoles européennes », *Annales des Mines - Responsabilité et environnement*, 2009, vol. 56, no 4, pp. 72-79.

risks and their externalities, which is often achieved through the funding of research programs.

There are networks of resilient cities already proposing and passing on inspirational initiatives in terms of resilience, such as the United Nations Office for Disaster Reduction (UNISDR) network, the ICLEI (Local Governments for Sustainability) and the 100 resilient cities network of the Rockefeller Foundation⁵⁷.

Climate change is severely increasing the vulnerability of metropolitan cities undergoing rapid growth. The biggest known paradox is that of cities in Sub-Saharan Africa that have been affected by catastrophic floods for over a decade due to the combined effects of sudden and severe rainstorms, the huge expansion of informal settlements in areas of serious erosion, the lack of soil drainage and the filling of all-natural evacuation zones with rainwater. The list is long: Ouagadougou, Niamey, Dakar, Accra have been hit by a series of fatal floods in areas where 60 per cent of the population often has no fixed income and are faced with a lack of resources, means of production or use of personal facilities (out-of-use toilets, flooded houses). Cases of malaria, respiratory illnesses and diarrhea drastically increase a population's vulnerability and make it all the more necessary to find sustainable ways of strengthening built-up areas: strengthening open spaces, but also freeing them up and preserving vulnerable natural areas⁵⁸.



Impacts of floods at Guediawaye located to the North of the Dakar region (Source: Urbamonde)

Metropolitan Areas in the face of Risk: Actions Taken and Prospects in Jakarta, Khulnâ and Istanbul

The city of Jakarta is also faced with flood risks. Government initiatives are based on strengthening crisis management, relocating populations and top-down awareness-raising campaigns. In this case, as with many others, policies would be more efficient if they were based around the abilities of poor communities in informal neighbourhoods, who also represent the most vulnerable population groups. In this sense, the NGO Sanggar Ciliwung, based in Bukit Duri, showed exemplary crisis management during the floods of February 2007⁵⁹.

However, participatory approaches should

59 Pauline TEXIER, Monique FORT and Franck LAVIGNE, "Réduction des risques d'inondation à Jakarta : de la nécessaire intégration d'une approche sociale et communautaire dans la réduction des risques de catastrophe", *Bulletin de l'Association de géographes français*, 2010, vol. 4, pp. 551-570.

not be combined with disinvestment from institutions, who must continue to invest in supporting community initiatives rather than developing programs that are not based on the realities of the populations concerned. Cooperation between these various levels of authority represents a key approach to strengthening resilience.

In Khulna (Bangladesh), another vulnerable metropolitan city, it has been demonstrated that a city's ability to adapt depends on its capacity to acknowledge, value and consider the adaptive measures adopted by the poorest communities, particularly those living in self-built working-class neighborhoods⁶⁰.

In these metropolitan areas, like many others, resilience-based policies can lead to the exclusion of vulnerable populations, particularly unmanaged relocation of vulnerable population from at-risk locations. For example, in Istanbul, town planners actually harnessed the risk of earthquakes to enable the eradication of working-class neighborhoods⁶¹.

The quality of prevention is also intrinsically linked to the authorities' ability to deal with these issues, as well as the nature of the governance in place, which is often completely undermined by money-making, clientelism or corruption.

60 Afroza PARVIN, Alam ASHRAFUL and Rumana ASAD, "Climate Change impact and adaptation in urban informal settlements in Khulna: a built environmental Perspective", *ClimbUrb International Workshop, on living in low-income urban settlements in an era of Climate Change: Processes, Practices, Policies, and Politics*, 9-10, 2013, The University of Manchester

61 See also:

- Sylviane TABARLY, *Mégapoles et risques en milieu urbain. L'exemple d'Istanbul*, <http://geoconfluences.ens-lyon.fr/doc/transv/risque/risquedoc6.htm>, consulted on 10 novembre 2015.

- Claire LABOREY and Marc EVREUX, *Mainmise sur les villes*, Arte France, Chamaerops Productions, 2015



Young boys collecting waste in the Kampung Melayu district, Municipality of Jakarta, after January 2013 floods (Source: Espazium.ch)

Naples: the Issue of Control Over Land

The Naples example is interesting because of its 'red zone' area where construction is prohibited due to the risk of Vesuvius erupting. Yet no one has taken enforcement measures against it. The authority protecting Vesuvius National Park, is only partially able to enforce the ban on building⁶² due to the Camorra's (local mafia) total control of the land and property markets and suspected collusion with local authorities, almost all of whom have been disbanded by the Italian government. However, the build-up of illegal activity has led to an even bigger issue: the

62 Fabrizio MACCAGLIA and Sylviane TABARLY, *Gouvernance territoriale et gestion des déchets : l'exemple de la Campanie (Italie)*, <http://geoconfluences.ens-lyon.fr/doc/transv/DevDur/DevDurDoc8.htm>, consulted on 7 January 2016

57 <http://www.100resilientcities.org/>
58 Oumar CISSÉ and Moustapha SEYE, « Flooding in the suburbs of Dakar: impacts on the assets and adaptation strategies of households or communities », *Environment and Urbanization*, 2015, pp. 183-204

Camorra and Berlusconi's government have repeatedly used wild landfill areas for dumping (often toxic) waste, thus generating a much higher cancer morbidity rate than in the rest of the country. The area surrounding Vesuvius has been labelled the 'triangle of death', not only due to the natural risk it poses, but also the by-product of a very lucrative form of illegal activity: waste traffic⁶³.

In conclusion, the resilience framework often avoids the systemic approach that characterized it; this leads to an abandonment of notions of interactions between actors and between levels of the system, diversity of actors, etc. Resilience is thus emptied of its meaning, is not territorialized nor integrated into development choices (especially post-disaster), which limits the scope of actions undertaken on its behalf.

Finally, given the weight of the economic and financial stakes faced by cities, citizen control and vigilance prove to be essential conditions for the effective functioning of local resilience systems put in place by the public authorities.

Prioritizing Human Dignity in Metropolitan Areas

As we have seen, climate change is posing challenges for public authorities at an unprecedented scale. Technological innovation is by no means enough; society must use it to face the growing demand for spatial and social justice in urbanized metropolitan areas and territories.

63 Universités Mimar Sinan, Federico et Paris 8, "Les associations territorialisées face aux crises urbaines émergentes et aux risques", *Programme Erasmus*, 2014



Image of the 'triangle of death', close to Naples, where the risk of cancer is the highest compared to the national average (Source: www.ulcyes.co)

Having been formed in the 1980s in the United States, the environmental justice movement now poses limitations on the centralized, top-down and non-egalitarian management of climatic risks, which almost all result in the penalization of the city's least secure populations. Meanwhile, urban planning management procedures have further exacerbated existing discriminations, for example, by installing the most polluting facilities in marginalized neighborhoods⁶⁴.

Despite the limitations and various criticisms of sustainability as it is currently understood in the modern world, an alternative project called 'buen vivir' (living well) has gained momentum in Latin America, in an attempt to shift away from the paradigm of development and establish new prospects. In many respects, the main mobilizing principles behind this notion correlate with that of spatial justice, thus making it possible to consider social inclusion and citizenship as crucial components of a global approach to sustainability.

64 Sophie MOREAU et Yvette VEYRET, « Comprendre et construire la justice environnementale », *Annales de géographie*, 2009, vol. 665-666, no 1, pp. 35-60

BUEN VIVIR AND HUMAN RIGHTS

"BUEN VIVIR"⁶⁵

'Buen vivir' involves starting an alternative dialogue to that of development; one that 'revives the social and ecological demands that prompted discussions on sustainable development twenty-five years ago'. This

65 Main references :

- J. VANHULST and A. E. BELING, « Buen vivir et développement durable », op. cit.
- Christophe AGUITON and Hélène CABIOC'H, « Quand la justice climatique remet en cause la modernité occidentale », *Mouvements*, 2010, no 63, no 3, pp. 64-70.
- Fernando HUANACUNI MAMANI, *Buen Vivir / Vivir Bien. Filosofía, políticas, estrategias y experiencias regionales andinas*, Lima, Coordinadora andina de Organizaciones indígenas, 2010.
- Alberto ACOSTA and Esperanza MARTINEZ (dir.), *El Buen Viviruna Via Para El Desarrollo*, Quito, abya-Yala, 2009.
- Ivonne FARAH et Luciano VASAPOLLO (dir.), *Vivir bien: ¿Paradigma no capitalista?*, La Paz, Cides - umsa, 2011

concept questions existing growth models and aims to address biases and overcome the limitations of sustainable development by basing itself on social, economic and environmental rights. In doing so, it challenges the capitalist economic system by presenting itself as a 'critical discourse of the ideology of progress, rationalization and universalism inherent in European modernity'. 'Buen vivir' is designed to provide "an opportunity to build a new society based on the diverse and harmonious co-existence of humans with nature⁶⁶, by recognizing different cultural values in each country and around the world". "It aims to satisfy people's needs, abolish forms of discrimination and exploitation, establish a harmonious way of life and achieve a balance between human beings and nature".

66 It is therefore part of a Western or Judeo-Christian vision in which nature is traditionally domesticated (which is to be distinguished from an Eastern vision)



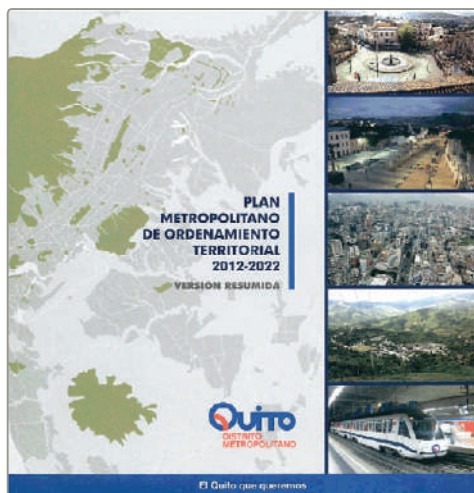
Picture depicting Buen Vivir (Source: otra-educacion.blogspot.fr)

In some countries, such as Ecuador and Bolivia, rights to well-being are actually constitutional rights. The objectives and principles behind metropolitan planning, which are based on achieving 'buen vivir' in the city, may be examples of ways in which this notion can be used to build fairer metropolitan areas.

THE LOCAL DEVELOPMENT PLAN OF QUITO (ECUADOR)

The aim of the plan is to identify planning instruments that will provide substance to the philosophical principles behind *buen vivir*. Thus, a participatory process and widespread dialogue has been initiated among citizens. The plan must make it possible to implement the notion of a fair and solidary city by way of several principles regarding: territorial equity (universal access to public services, reducing urban fragmentation, decentralization of facilities, promoting high-quality housing) and social (gender, ethnic and generational) equality, environmental sustainability (preventing natural risks, conserving natural heritage and resources like water and soil, improving air quality, reducing the carbon footprint of metropolitan areas). The plan also prioritizes the promotion of public spaces as spaces for meeting and "*vivir ensemble*" avoids land speculation and ensures sustainable and democratic use of the land.

This being said, while the right to housing and to the city is enshrined in the 2008 Constitution, there is no "concrete mechanism to guarantee its implementation" when there exist the "privatization of the construction of social housing⁶⁷" and the



Front page of the Quito local development plan (Source: Conseil métropolitain de Quito, 2012)

development of speculative practices around housing loans for scarce middle classes.

The paths opened by this principle make it possible to emphasize the importance of an approach centered on the promotion of human rights, the preservation of human dignity in metropolises, and the non-disregard of "climate justice", thereby allowing one to challenge Western modernity⁶⁸, as suggested by the "Medellin Charter".

THE CHARTER OF MEDELLIN⁶⁹

The Charter of Medellín includes a series of values and approaches that promote 'cities for life'. The philosophy behind *buen vivir* is at the Charter's very core, as it puts forward a governance model based on notions of co-responsibility, justice, transparency and equality and proposes to make education a cornerstone

68 C. AGUITON and H. CABIOC'H, "Quand la justice climatique remet en cause la modernité occidentale", op. cit.

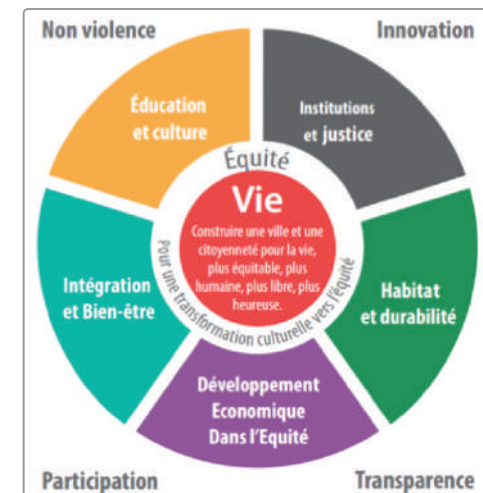
69 Isvimed, *La charte de Medellín. Sur l'avenir humain des villes du monde*, Instituto Social de Vivienda y Hábitat Alcaldía de Medellín - Isvimed., 2014

of well-being. It also seeks to reduce the "blindness that leads us to believe that he who governs does not suffer, he who thinks does not produce and he who manages cannot create", therefore suggesting that "the roles of the 'governor' and the 'governed' are mutually exclusive. In addition, the Charter promotes art within the city (art is a way of sharing life experiences and building communities), targets transport and mobility as tools for democratization and equality and supports fair economic development, which progresses along the pathway of competitiveness without widening social divides.

In order to implement these principles (and many others), the city has updated its main planning tool, the *Plan de Ordenamiento Territorial*, based on the concept of 'cities for life'. It has put in place an annual tax on property ownership, pursued the completion of partial plans to build housing and public spaces, and established social pacts regarding the social construction of sustainable cities and well-being.

As a principle of justice, the pursuit for *buen vivir* may help cities establish a 'stronger sustainability' that "recognizes the importance of technical solutions and economic value, while acknowledging that other actions are also necessary for ensuring sustainability"; or even a 'very strong sustainability' that, after an in-depth analysis of its progress, "promotes major changes in all points of view", "defends the many values of Nature, of which natural capital is only one form⁷⁰" (ecological, aesthetic, religious and culture values, etc.). Under such approaches, instead of economic growth being a fundamental objective, emphasis is placed on citizens' quality of life.

70 E. GUDYNAS, "Développement, droits de la Nature et Bien Vivre", op. cit



The principles of the Medellín Charter (Source: Instituto Social de Vivienda y Hábitat Alcaldía of Medellín, 2014)

The idea here is not to push for replacing current sustainability policies with those focused on *buen vivir*. Rather, the aim is to harness the way in which '*buen vivir*' encourages cities to reconsider the society we live in. The plan places particular emphasis on considering the principles advocated by the '*buen vivir*' philosophy to avoid casting aside or forgetting the 'social' dimension of sustainable development in favor of 'environmental' or 'economic' dimensions in order to achieve a holistic approach that prioritizes humans.

There are multiple human rights to be defended or promoted in this way. We can name, among others: the right to land, the right to housing, the right to basic services, the right to mobility, the right to public spaces, the right to food, the right to culture, the right of cultural and sexual minorities or the right

67 Aurélie QUENTIN, "La politique du logement en équateur : de la bonne gouvernance au *Buen Vivir*, un tournant postnéolibéral ?", *Cahier des Amériques Latines*, pp. 53-73

to memory⁷¹. These last two dimensions are all the more necessary to take into account in that cities, given the effect of internal and international migrations, have now become the home to the social and cultural diversity of their country of belonging.

The democratization of a part of the world's States and the increasing influence of resident communities in urban areas simultaneously faced with opportunities and with growing inequalities within the cities have generated a renewed sense of 'rights', to which special attention must be given.

The success and dissemination of the concept of 'right to the city' within many social movements further emphasizes a less visible, but nonetheless powerful, demand for justice. This occurs in many metropolitan areas through the application of legal rights, which were often considered to be reserved for those in power. Individual actions are made possible by support at community or even international level, as well as legal support, regardless of whether it involves recognizing property ownership or the right to avoid eviction as a result of urban projects⁷².

With regards to globalization, citizen ownership claims among the middle classes usually involve public spaces, as demonstrated by the occupation of Gezi Park in Istanbul. However, among the working classes, such ownership claims are expressed through new forms of expression

71 Here we can think about the questions of urban agriculture and food security. See:
- Stefan REYBURN, "Les défis et les perspectives de l'agriculture urbaine", *Environnement Urbain/Urban Environment*, 2012, vol. 6, pp. iii - Vi.
- Eric DUCHEMIN (dir.), *Agriculture urbaine: aménager et nourrir la ville*, Montréal, Vertigo, 2013

72 James HOLSTON, "Insurgent citizenship of global urban peripheries", *City and Society*, 2009, vol. 21, no 2, pp. 245-267

within suburban areas themselves, both in daily life and through forms of production. Work on recognizing citizen diversity is achieved by accepting the equal dignity of different uses of the land and city, which are often substitutes for a lack of public authority. In light of a lack of social facilities, the city of Rome has become populated with 'self-managed social centers', which play the important role of welcoming and integrating vulnerable populations; another example of this can be found in the Rio de Janeiro favelas and their community's dance clubs, expressiveness surrounding the carnival and ability to deal with drug cartels and prevent violence in townships and other working-class neighborhoods in Latin American cities⁷³.

In order to understand some of the issues concerning these rights when integrating them into social sustainability practices, we will further examine two of these rights: right to land and right to housing. In this way, some of the aforementioned rights will also be discussed. Our approach also converges with that of the preparatory work carried out for the United Nations Habitat III Conference⁷⁴ that took place in October 2016, which states the importance of a right rooted in the social uses of land and property.

RIGHT TO LAND

The concept of right to land refocuses attention on one of the founding principles of the right to be and live in the city; access

73 Alain DURAND-LASSERVE and Etienne LE ROY, *La situation foncière en Afrique à l'horizon 2050*, AFD, 2012

74 Alexandre APSAN FREDIANI and Rafaella SIVAS LIMA, "Habitat III National Reporting Processes : locating the right to the city and the rôle of civil society" *University College london*, 2015

to land, which has been an essential building block for housing in most cities subject to recent urbanization. Moreover, the term 'right to land' comprises the concept of having greater control over land transactions by protecting all or part of urban plots from market forces. There is an increasingly urgent need for the promotion and development of proper policies for controlling land in metropolitan areas in which significant rises in land prices are linked to a greater concentration of people settling in a certain area.

This problem is excessive housing costs, which penalize most citizens living in large metropolitan areas. It also prevents the production of affordable social housing as well as affordable private housing. Ultimately, the consequences are even more serious in countries where affordable housing policies are not designed to meet the needs of the millions of poor citizens who (according to UN-Habitat), in 2/3 of developing countries, live on non-tenured land.

THE QUEST FOR AFFORDABLE LAND: A MAJOR SOCIO-POLITICAL ISSUE

In many cities, the quest for housing is the equivalent of searching for a plot of land to build on. In the 1960s and 1970s, in the first phases of urbanization of the most dynamic metropolises, the search for land was relatively easy. However, in the past 20-30 years, and particularly in developing countries, this search in cities has become more complex, with a general shortage of affordable housing. Some fast-growing metropolitan areas have seen the spread of non-regulated informal settlements alongside a process of liberalization and commodification of the land market.

Initially, in Abidjan, the State-owned planning company for urban areas was removed, sparking a 'rush into available land reserves' amidst a power struggle between authorities at municipal and departmental level. The latter was suspected of land grabbing and accused of rolling out all its metropolitan plans across peripheral local authorities, without having the means to fund them. In the 1960s and 1970s, moving into the city involved paying symbolic sums whereas now, customary land owners have self-organized and manage the land division process. This authority over the land is further strengthened by land administration village councils, as implemented by the 1999 Land Act, which attest to the identity of both buyers and sellers, as well as the appropriateness of transaction amounts. Ultimately, private sector land agencies and property companies linked to customary land owners have a significant presence on these markets⁷⁵.

In larger, more globalized metropolitan areas, obstacles faced by households in accessing plots of land to build on are largely due to land grabbing, which often accompanies the continuous urban densification and expansion process. While in Cairo, for example, plots currently being invaded (in abandoned public areas) had no trade value in the 1980s or were handed over for nominal amounts, yet those same plots are being sold for little less than those in developed, well-supplied areas, without the occupants requiring any job security. The army is the main cause of concentrated landholdings in this city, where the elite close to power have recognized the appeal of buying land that is yet to be claimed by lawful authorities. Private illegal

75 Alphonse YAPI-DIAHO, Emile BROU-KOFFI and Adjaba-Marthe KOFFI-DIDIA, "La production du sol à Abidjan : du monopole d'Etat au règne du privé", in Jean-Louis CHALEARD (dir.), *Métropoles aux Suds. Le défi des périphéries ?*, Paris, Karthala, 2014, pp. 385-396

operators have also began commodifying the land market, even using the most popular channels, which explains the extremely rapid and concerning top-down and densification phenomena in terms of quality of life⁷⁶.

PREVENTING DISCRIMINATION AND THE PLURALITY OF LAND TENURE SECURITY METHODS

Although access to land affects a considerable number of citizens who are poorly housed or deprived of land tenure security, it is important to emphasize the importance of preventing discrimination within land markets and ownership transfer rights. In many countries, women are particularly subject to discrimination as the lack legal right to inheritance and are therefore extremely vulnerable in the event of divorce or widowhood, etc. Additionally, the illegality of slums means limited social safety nets and family protection, particularly in the face of violence⁷⁷.

It is essential to overturn the common acceptance of individual property rights as a universal standard and give back indigenous communities their right to settle through collective or communal tenure rights. In Benin⁷⁸, much like in Jordan (Amman), the Bedouin population is reclaiming semi-desert suburban areas as part of their grazing and

collective farming rights. Despite the State claiming ownership of the land and denying their presence, they are still fighting for their collective demands⁷⁹. Land tenure security is comprised of a range of intermediary laws and forms of popular legitimacy (which have often been promoted by former legislations and have since lapsed), as well as usufruct rights, the right to lease land to local authorities and collective tenure recognition rights. Land tenure is a key issue for most metropolitan areas around the world and numerous studies and reports have demonstrated that it is not just a case of distributing property titles, but of recognizing property rights.

RECOGNITION OR LEGALIZATION?

In some metropolitan areas, the governing bodies in place have never successfully implemented the legislation they promised for projects led by international development lenders. Therefore, the millionaire's district of Manshiyet Nasser in Cairo is experiencing a failure of securitization programs that was set up with German cooperation, and which is regularly blocked by the governorate. Since the late 1990s, many actors and professionals believe that legalization through property rights recognition works against the need for inclusion. The rising prices caused by tenure recognition lead to exclusion and marginalize households that are not able to benefit from legalization⁸⁰ processes and thus remain in the 'grey' areas of property management. We must move away from these post-colonial approaches, which often entail a "legal

⁷⁶ Agnès DEBOULET, "Secure land tenure ? Stakes and contradictions of land titling and upgrading policies in the global Middle east and Egypt", in Myriam ABABSA, Baudouin DUPRET and Eric DENIS (dir.), *Popular Housing and Urban Land Tenure in the Middle East: Case Studies from Egypt, Syria, Jordan, Lebanon, and Turkey*, The American University in Cairo Press, 2012, pp. 203-226.

⁷⁷ Ayona DATTA, Peter HOPKINS and Dr. Rachel PAIN, *The Illegal City: Space, Law and Gender in a Delhi Squatter Settlement*, New Edition. Ashgate Publishing limited, 2012

⁷⁸ Philippe LAVIGNE DELVILLE, "La réforme foncière rurale au Bénin", *Revue française de science politique*, 2010, vol. 60, no 3, pp. 467-491

⁷⁹ Omar RAZZAZ, *Why and how property matters to planning*, American university in Beirut, 2014

⁸⁰ Jean-François TRIBILLON, *Rendre plus surs les droits fonciers urbains populaires en Afrique de l'Ouest en leur donnant forme juridique mais aussi dans le même temps en leur donnant forme urbaine*, University of Montreal, 2012

dualism between areas governed by written law and those that are not"⁸¹.

Two countries, Peru and Brazil, have adopted recognition policies that facilitate the large-scale distribution of property titles, with more than one million titles distributed. In the first case, the cost of access was not increased, however the legalization process failed to take into account the socio-spatial integration of houses. In Brazil, in some cases, municipalities carried out rehabilitation projects in conjunction with recognition of land tenure. However, both policies are faced with blockages, which include difficult access to cadastral registers and building-permit systems and weak management of vacant public land⁸².

While legalization can be difficult or exclusionary, it is better, in practice, to promote property rights recognition. In certain restructuring program, such recognition is conferred by the presence of infrastructures, but also by certain hybrid approaches: by local tax departments (Damascus) through a 'communal tenure right' based on recognition by the neighbors, peers or fellow villagers of 'real tenure' and acceptable occupancy standards (in Amman contracts are based on oral agreements or *Hujja*⁸³). This involves validating the existence of social groups, who use the city on a daily basis, and providing them with political representation.

⁸¹ Philippe Lavigne DELVILLE and Alain DURAND-LASSERVE, *Gouvernance des droits et sécurisation des droits dans les pays du sud. Live blanc des acteurs français de la coopération*, AFD, 2009

⁸² Edesio FERNANDES, *Regularization of informal settlements in Latin America*, Cambridge, Lincoln Institute of Land Policy, 2011

⁸³ Myriam ABABSA, "Public policies towards informal settlements in Jordan", in Myriam ABABSA, Baudouin DUPRET and Eric DENIS (dir.), *Popular Housing and Urban Land Tenure in the Middle East: Case Studies from Egypt, Syria, Jordan, Lebanon, and Turkey*, The American University in Cairo Press, 2012, pp. 259-283;

regarding the oral recognition of land tenure rights in a rural African context; see work by P. LAVILLE-DELVIGNE

THE CALL FOR JUSTICE AND RIGHT TO TENURE

The call for justice emanates from all parties that have been misled by liberal land tenure policies, which very rarely provide the means for even partial municipal development of land, thus broadly opening up land grabbing opportunities to those with better resources, financial capital and other money-making schemes. Land may be an investment to some, but it is an area of exclusion to others. In Mumbai, for example, more than half of the population is living in slums, occupying just 5 per cent of the country's territory. Meanwhile, certain large families are monopolizing thousands of hectares of land. Major land reforms are required but will only work if accompanied by a change in political alliance.

Right to tenure is another aspect of the right to land. In an increasingly competitive urban world, inhabited areas are frequently subjected to eviction policies imposed by the market or public authorities, or more often than not, a combination of the two. New Orleans in the US has become a textbook case, following the demolition of housing without consultation of the owners as part of a proactive racial change approach, aimed at preventing disadvantaged black populations from returning²⁰⁸. This right to tenure goes hand in hand with the need to provide compensation for all types of occupants in the event of relocation, even if it must be absolutely minimized.

RIGHT TO HOUSING

The right to housing involves recognizing the right to a decent and healthy place to live for everybody. This definition also extends to the notion of right to adequate

housing, which has been recognized by international bodies such as the United Nations Centre for Human Settlements and was reiterated at the UN's Habitat II+5 Conference. The most recent deliberations have been taken within the framework of the United Nations Human Rights Council, which reiterates the importance of considering the right to housing as a human right and reiterates its request to States to "take proactive and effective measures in promoting the progressive realization of the right to adequate housing ... by ensuring that tenure security is legally guaranteed to provide legal protection against expulsion, harassment or other threats"⁸⁴. In line with the question of the right to land, the right to housing appears as an essential dimension of social sustainability, if only to consider the importance of "home" and being anchored to a residence.

Preserving housing: a commonly forgotten priority

Right to housing policies must not overlook relocation and expulsion processes among populations (generally the most vulnerable), particularly within the context of large-scale urban projects or urban renewal projects, as well as the loosely related gentrification processes taking place in working-class neighborhoods. The huge cost of demolition with regards to urban renovation projects drives forward the idea that changing urban forms, (building smaller buildings rather than tower estates) and removing the most 'problematic' populations from urban centers, will resolve some of the most sensitive problems caused by spatial segregation, or in some cases,

84 Organisation des Nations-unies, Conseil des droits de l'homme, "Promotion et protection de tous les droits de l'homme, civils, politiques, économiques, sociaux et culturels, y compris le droit au développement", 2017, 35ème session.

discrimination. Although the architectural and urban outcomes of these huge program may be good, the social outcomes are somewhat lacking, especially if dismantling of public housing is carried out in aid of gentrification. Nonetheless, private investors in London or Leeds, municipalities in Atlanta or Chicago, national agencies in France and all housing associations have a primarily financial interest in the long-term futures of these operations⁸⁵.

Such a policy must acknowledge the presence of precarious, partially self-built housing and its inhabitants, and as such, consider policies that do not solely focus on eliminating such settlements. All metropolitan areas, especially highly globalized ones, are not immune to the temptation of eradication. In New Delhi, between 1990 and 2008, 221 precarious neighborhoods were destroyed in order to clean up the city; a process sped up by the approaching Commonwealth Games⁸⁶.

In Casablanca, much like other Moroccan cities, the 'Cities without Slums' program involved population resettlement operations. In other words, settlements were demolished and inhabitants were rehomed in distant peripheral areas. In reality, in situ upgrading was only carried out where land development opportunities for *Holding d'Amenagement Al Omrane* were less likely⁸⁷. Housing conditions have been drastically improved, but urban integration is still lacking and there exists a

85 See: Agnès DEBOULET and Christine LELEVRIER, *Rénovations urbaines en Europe*, Rennes, PUR, 2014; Edward G. GOETZ, « Where Have All the Towers Gone? The Dismantling of Public Housing in U.S. Cities », *Journal of Urban Affairs*, 2011, vol. 33, no 3, pp. 267-287

86 Véronique D.n. DUPONT, « The Dream of Delhi as a Global City », *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 2011, vol. 35, no 3, pp. 533-554

87 Observations made during field visits and an assessment carried out with Aitec in 2007



Demolition being carried out in the Kathpuli Colony neighborhood (2700 households) in Delhi (Source: Shankare Gowda, 2017)

clear discrepancy between the promises that were made and the actual construction of facilities⁸⁸.

In this respect, the UN Conference on the Human Environment's focus on 'slums', which many large cities followed up on, has substantially reduced understanding of the diverse forms of social housing, which are detrimental to the dignity of inhabitants who often deny that their place of living could be likened to a slum⁸⁹, especially since the vast majority of such settlements are actually made with bricks. Demolition leads to poor living conditions, diminishes communities, local neighborliness and job opportunities, and never focuses on *buen vivir*. Its sole aim is to free up land in targeted areas.

88 Olivier TOUTAIN and Virginie RACHMUEHL, "Evaluation et impact du programme d'appui à la résorption de l'habitat insalubre et des bidonvilles au Maroc", *Ex-post, AFD*, 2014, no 55

89 Alan GILBERT, "The Return of the Slum: Does Language Matter?", *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 2007, vol. 31, no 4, pp. 697-713

Having an adequate proactive housing production policy

From this perspective, it is important to stress the need for providing access to affordable housing (and simultaneously promoting a non-speculative housing market) and preserving the security of tenant status. Several initiatives can contribute to making the right to housing more effective in the various aforementioned dimensions, thus satisfying many general principles, particularly:

- strong public influence behind the production of affordable housing, ensuring their sustainability and preventing land speculation and private sector expropriation of property;
- support for public influence behind civil society initiatives in terms of housing production and management, particularly in collective or communal developments (like community land trusts or housing cooperatives);
- preserving tenants' status and not just promoting property ownership, the consequences of which are now well documented⁹⁰;
- preventing vacant housing and
- promoting fair and equitable access to housing as well as proximity to basic services.

90 See, for example: Frédéric CAZENAVE and Jérôme PORIER, "Propriétaires à tout prix", *Le Monde Argent et Placements*, 18/09/2015; See also the gray zone situation between home ownership and the right to housing in which occupants of so-called social housing units are living in Buenos Aires, as a result of the failure of the home ownership policy: Emilia SCHIJMAN, "Usages, pactes et 'passes du droit'", *Déviante et Société*, 2013, Vol. 37, no 1, pp. 51-65

Policies directed towards the right to housing include citizens in governance and steering bodies that plan and build social or non-market housing, and also aim to avoid cronyism and racial bias in housing allocation.

If the cities can be spearheads of initiatives in the field, other levels (national, international) are to be taken into account so that their effectiveness is made possible.

In order to design policies that facilitate the preservation of affordable housing, we will now closely analyze two types of initiatives: those that involve the co-production of low-cost housing, and those that meet actual working-class housing production requirements.

Co-production of low-cost housing

Social housing policies enhance the appeal of providing affordable housing. One example would be the innovative 'Solidarity and Urban Renewal' Act in France (2000) which obliges each commune with a population greater than 35,000 people to ensure that at least 25 per cent of all housing within its territory is subsidized. In some locations, such as Ouagadougou, Yaoundé and Nouakchott, social housing models need to be redesigned as they currently favor citizens with higher incomes.

In almost all metropolitan areas, liberalization policies at national level have been brought about by the need to produce social housing. However, the tendency is for private real estate companies, and even public traded companies (like in Mexico⁹¹),

91 Marie-France PREVOT-SCHAPIRA, "Les villes du sud dans la mondialisation. Des villes du tiers-monde aux métropoles en émergence ?", in Jean-Louis CHALEARD (dir.), *Métropoles aux Suds. Le défi des périphéries ?*, Paris, Karthala, 2014, pp. 33-41

to develop affordable housing projects which ensure, moreover, an urban development contrary to what would be supposed the sustainable and compact development of the city. These new sectors are forcing a growing proportion of the population to return to the market economy by imposing long-term debts on them.

Other giants in the property market, such as Al Omrane in Morocco and Toki in Turkey, have self-organized. The mass production of housing is becoming the new standard model, without consideration for the inevitable social damage caused by cutting suburban areas off from everything else, which often encourages the middle classes to form their own consumerist communities. Launched in Egypt in 2005, the *One-million-unit housing project* is another example of this model.

In addition to social housing policies, both collective and communal civil society initiatives feed into this objective. They represent organizational procedures that public authorities have an interest to support with a view to social sustainability. To this end, several cooperative housing initiatives have been set up – with varied outcomes, as portrayed by the terms used to describe them⁹². Some of them have been or are being formalized, as is the case in Quebec, France and Uruguay⁹³.

92 Claire CARRIOU, Olivier RATOUIS and Agnès SANDER, "Effervescences de l'habitat alternatif", *Métropolitiques*, 2012.

93 Sarah FOLLEAS, "Les coopératives de logements en Uruguay", *Métropolitiques*, 2015; Marie J. BOUCHARD, "L'habitation communautaire au Québec, un bilan des trente dernières années", *Revue internationale de l'économie sociale*: Recma, 2009, no 313, pp. 58-70; Camille DEVAUX, "De l'expérimentation à l'institutionnalisation : l'habitat participatif à un tournant?", *Métropolitiques*, 2012.

Community Land Trusts (CLTs) – New York and Brussels

CLTs are a form of initiative adopted by this type of organization. They are "instruments for preventing gentrification" and prioritize usage value over trade value⁹⁴. These trusts are non-profit community corporations and own land solely allocated for the building low-cost housing, which is to be maintained at affordable prices in the long-term. They work in collaboration with non-profit housing companies who lease residences to tenants (that have limited access to the free market) or individual owners who fit a certain profile (who have very limited profitability prospects). This model, which has been widely developed in the United States, has demonstrated the effectiveness of using land as social heritage and as a vector for solidarity in access to housing⁹⁵.

In New York, for example⁹⁶, while affordable housing policies have proven ineffective in terms of providing the most vulnerable populations with access to decent housing, the formation of a CLT provided a solution for maintaining economic accessibility to housing. Initially, it was formed using expertise gathered from an organization combating homelessness ('Picture the Homeless'), from academicians (Columbia University), a community organization (New Economy Project) and inhabitants of East Harlem.

94 Tom ANGOTTI, "La lutte pour le foncier et les promesses des fiducies foncières communautaires (Community Land Trusts)", in Yann MAURY (dir.), *Les coopératives d'habitants, des outils pour l'abondance. Repenser le logement abordable dans la cité du XXI^e siècle*, Chairecoop, 2014, pp. 30-54

95 Jean-Philippe ATTARD, "Un logement foncièrement solidaire : le modèle des community land trusts", *Mouvements* 74, no. 2 (2013): 143-53

96 John KRINSKY, "Dix problèmes à résoudre pour un futur différent: la mise en place d'une fiducie foncière communautaire (CLT) à New York", in Yann MAURY (dir.), *Les coopératives d'habitants, des outils pour l'abondance. Repenser le logement abordable dans la cité du XXI^e siècle*, Chairecoop, 2014, pp. 80-105

In Brussels⁹⁷, as housing prices (both rental and sale) doubled between 2000 and 2010, gentrification spread and the provision of social housing failed to meet demand, a few associations developed widely accessible housing projects leading to the creation of the 'Brussels Community Land Trust Platform' in 2009. In 2012, the City of Brussels decided to develop a CLT. It is now financially supported and legally protected by public authorities (integrated into the housing code under the Regional Land Alliance) and is recognized as an efficient instrument for the production of affordable housing

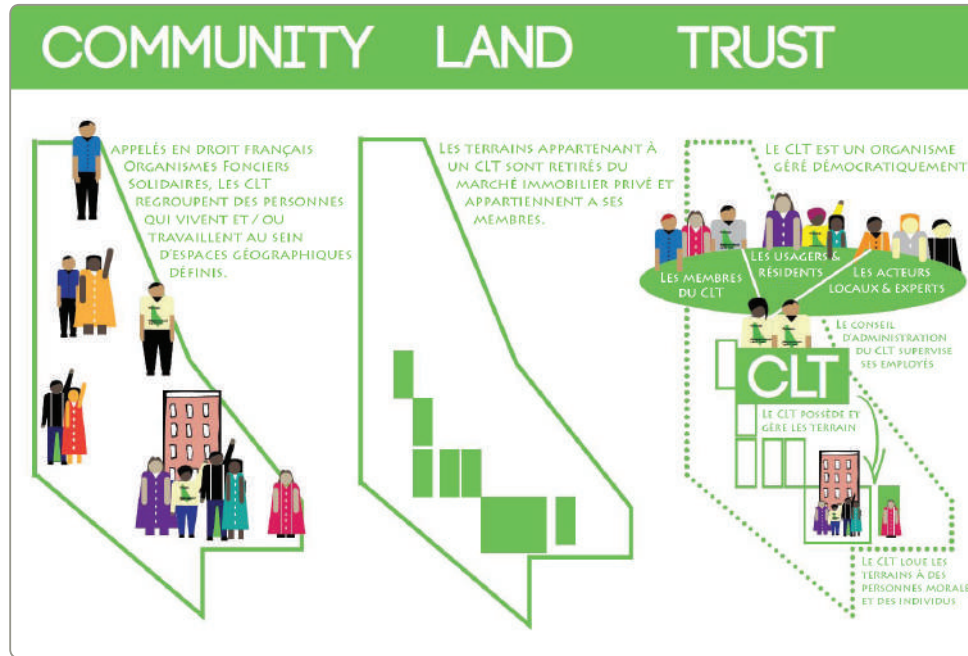
In short, there are new ways of addressing increasingly complex issues. Self-training and knowledge management are becoming central themes in a globalized world in which solutions are invented and disseminated beyond local authorities, but sometimes, and often for the best, alongside them.

RENEWAL OF INFORMAL HOUSING

Parallel to demolition-eviction policies accompanied by ex-situ rehoming strategies, cities have started also developing in-situ rehoming or resettlement strategies⁹⁸.

97 Thomas DAWANCE and Cécile LOUEY, "Le 'Community Land Trust' de Bruxelles: quand l'Europe s'inspire des Etats-Unis pour construire un gouvernement urbain et une politique de l'habitat, coopérative, solidaire et anti-spéculative", in Yann MAURY (dir.), *Les coopératives d'habitants, des outils pour l'abondance. Repenser le logement abordable dans la cité du XXI^e siècle*, Chairecoop, 2014, pp. 133-146

98 Catherine SUTHERLAND, Einar BRAATHEN, Véronique DUPONT and David JORDHUS-LIER, "Policies towards substandard settlements", in Véronique DUPONT, David JORDHUS-LIER, Catherine SUTHERLAND and Einar BRAATHEN (dir.), *The Politics of Slums in the Global South: Urban Informality in Brazil, India, South Africa and Peru*, London, Routledge, 2015, pp. 49-78.; Pierre-Arnaud BARTHEL and Sylvie JAGLIN (dir.), "Quartiers informels d'un monde arabe en transition. Réflexions et perspectives pour l'action urbaine", *AFD - Conférences et séminaires*, 2013, no 7



What Community Land Trust is

(Source: parkdalecommunityeconomies.files.wordpress.com)

In-situ rehabilitation

Many countries have supported in-situ municipal and national upgrading programs, even if this is still not the norm and there is still strong resistance to the recognition of informal settlements. These operations are sometimes coupled with land redistribution (e.g. through 'developed plots') and urban standardization through a grid street plan to regulate the urban frame⁹⁹. Providing clearly outlined plots for development is becoming less common for arguably ideological reasons (namely the idea that urban forms created by self-construction will remain sub-urban), as well as rising land costs, while relocation in new urban areas, in association with

developers, is increasingly relied upon. There are two clear examples of this: Lima and Mexico.

In Lima, the 'Barrio Mío' program provides subsidized basic infrastructure, water, sanitation, access streets and stairs for residents of upgraded areas and also integrates an environmental component: retaining walls, tree plantations and the construction of public facilities¹⁰⁰.

In Mexico, the neighborhood improvement program (PMB) used proposals from a local

⁹⁹ Carlos ESCALANTE ESTRADA, "Self-help settlement and land policies in peruvian cities", in Véronique DUPONT, David JORDHUS-LIER, Catherine SUTHERLAND and Einar BRAATHEN (dir.), *The Politics of Slums in the Global South: Urban Informality in Brazil, India, South Africa and Peru*, London, Routledge, 2015, pp. 56-58

group in a 'highly marginalized' area to put forward a redevelopment project based on creating a high-quality 'micro-urbanism'. The municipal support covered the entire process of engaging the public's use of local facilities (educational and artistic activities), then the neighborhood committee chose to set up a community restaurant, followed by a plastic recycling workshop

Each of these policies, which each municipality carries out in its own way, can be evaluated according to the intensity and coherence of municipal urban policies, their outcome (inclusive or elitist), the level of knowledge of the population's diversity, tenancy statuses and types of building, the initial amount of information available on population and the degree of participation in the process itself. It should be noted that there is still a general lack of preliminary multidisciplinary studies being carried out to provide information on population diversity

and statuses, the specificities of urban forms, resident resources and forms of production. Not only for the purposes of efficiency, but also of social inclusion and realism, policy aimed at spatial justice needs to be based on shared knowledge of an inhabited area, regardless of its nature.

Participatory Rehabilitation

It now remains for us to shed light on a few significant participatory rehabilitation initiatives, particularly in Thailand, in the Philippines, in India (see the mitigated success of 'slum resettlement' programs in Mumbai) as well as in Nicaragua and other countries. The success of these programs is largely due to the formation of alliances between organized citizenship and the central government, which, having failed to produce enough low-cost housing, has delegated the responsibility and supervision of slum resettlement operations and in-situ rehabilitation to citizen associations.



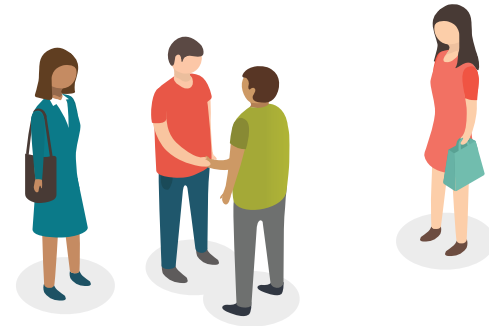
Self-built Neighborhood, city of Pikine in the periphery of Dakar (Source: A. Deboulet)

The Baan Mankong/Secure Housing Program in Thailand

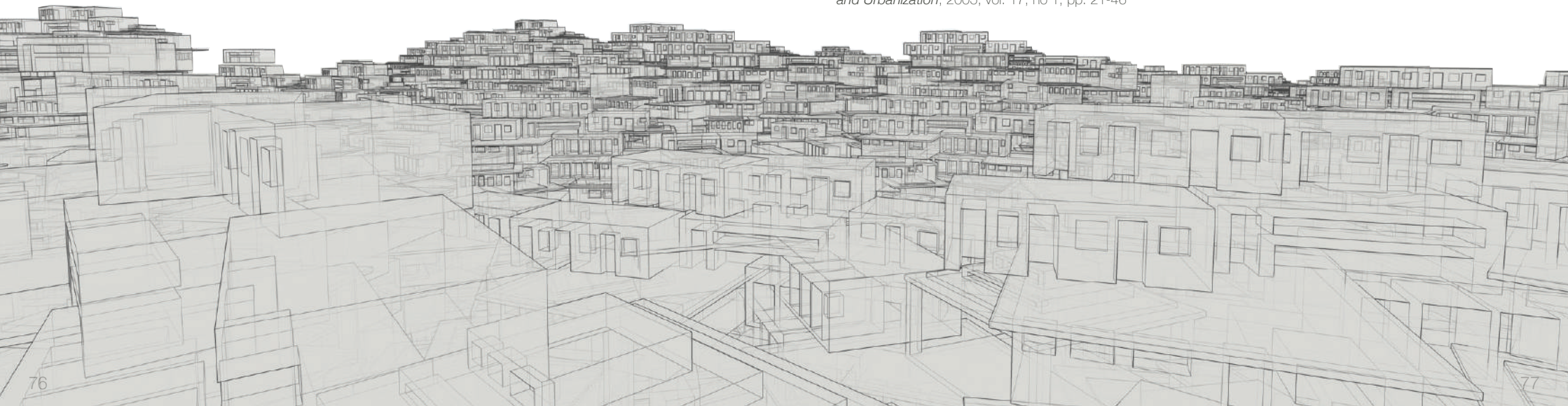
The Thai Community Restructuring Program was established in 1992 to provide the poor with the benefits of growth from which they had largely been deprived. Its activities are inclusive; they include a precarious habitat improvement component, support the creation of activities and are based on support for local savings groups.

These groups were encouraged to come together and network, with loans being given to communities as well as networks of community groups. Environmental improvement activities were also undertaken as well as community welfare funds aimed at fighting poverty. In 2003, the Baan Mankong (secure housing) program, designed to provide support for design processes led by the “grassroots” groups, was set up.

These groups work with professionals and researchers, in return facilitating the transfer of funds to finance infrastructure and housing loans that have (until 2005) 300,000 households¹⁰¹.



¹⁰¹ Soomsok BOONYABANCHA, “Going to scale with “slum” and squatter upgrading in Thailand”, *Environment and Urbanization*, 2005, vol. 17, no 1, pp. 21-46



SECTION THREE

PROMOTING DEMOCRACY WITHIN METROPOLISES FOR FAIR PUBLIC POLICIES

The notion of governance can be defined as 'a process of coordinating actors, social groups and institutions to achieve collectively defined and discussed objectives'. It is emerging within a context of interpenetration between different levels of government and a growing number of both government and non-government actors at urban and metropolitan levels. This complexity challenges traditional views of authority and the management of public action, which falls under the notion of government, which is therefore considered in a negative light due to such complexity¹.

Two dominant trends are shaping this transformation of actors who are largely dependent on the socio-historic and cultural weight of the States themselves:

- globalization – and integration processes in certain regions around the world (Europe, Latin America, etc.) – that reinforce commercial and financial exchanges as well as transport flows and dissemination of technological innovation and for which cities are the 'anchoring points';
- decentralization, which has been in action since the early 1980s in Europe and many countries around the world, has rapidly introduced local actors, local authorities and communities into the political scene².

¹ Patrick GALES (le), « Gouvernance », in *Dictionnaire des politiques publiques*, 3rd updated and expanded edition, Presses de sciences Po, 2010, pp. 299-308
² Christian LEFEVRE, « Les défis de la gouvernance », *Mairie de Paris*, Paris, 2012



In this context of strengthening economic power of metropolises³, a double phenomenon can be observed:

The directive to enhance the 'quality' of urban governance⁴, which is all the more important as 'administrative' territories are becoming increasingly fragmented. Due to urban growth, which is particularly rapid in recently urbanized cities, administrative limitations are no longer consistent with the 'functional' territories within metropolitan areas⁵. Improving urban governance would make it possible to reduce coordination costs, and therefore help rationalize public expenditure through economies of scale; in addition, it would strengthen fiscal equalization between metropolitan territories and improve the overall effectiveness of public action, and therefore better address metropolitan issues.

This discourse is now a leitmotif for international organizations, but with a relative implementation: metropolitan areas struggle to work as collective and political actors since

they are often caught in the middle of power struggles between (i) municipalities within the same metropolitan area (particularly between city centres and suburban areas) or (ii) with others across the State.

Metropolitan Governance in São Paulo

- In São Paulo (Brazil), the metropolitan region regrouping 33 communes (prefeituras) was established in 1973, which attributed several responsibilities to the State of São Paulo along with competencies at the scale of the metropolitan territory.



View of São Paulo (Source: haikudeck.com)

³ M. STORPER, T. KEMENY, N. MAKAREM, T. OSMAN, S. MICHAEL, K. THOMAS, M. NAJI and O. TANER, *The Rise and Fall of Urban Economies: Lessons from San Francisco and Los Angeles*, op. cit.

⁴ P. VELTZ, « Pourra-t-on maîtriser le phénomène urbain ? », op. cit.

⁵ Organisation de coopération et de développement économiques, *Mieux vivre dans la ville : le rôle de la gouvernance métropolitaine*, éditions OCDE, 2002



Johannesburg Skyline (Source: samsterwasi.files.wordpress.com)

• However, since the Federal Constitution of 1988, metropolitan responsibilities have practically disappeared; the powers of the municipalities have been increased, which has posed problems for the management of certain public services: public transport, social housing, waste management, etc⁶.

• A new legislation, forcing major Brazilian cities to gather around a supra-municipal institution, entered into force in 2015 and could change the existing situation.

At the same time, in many other contexts, particularly but not exclusively in the case of authoritarian regimes, municipalities have very little independence (especially in terms of financial resources). However, decentralization programs that have been implemented have sometimes weakened the role of the Central State which relies on local

6 Helena MENNA-BARRETO SILVA, "São Paulo : La difficile gestion d'une inégalité croissante", in *Métropoles en mouvement. Une comparaison internationale*, Paris, IRD Orstom, 2000, pp. 401-405.

authorities to ensure the provision of certain services, regardless of whether or not the latter have the financial means. Nonetheless, in many cases, these programs have tended to spread the State's control across territories and therefore more closely resemble an 'administrative devolution' process.⁷

Local Finance and Redistribution in Johannesburg

Having started with a difficult context, marked by the legacy of apartheid and the strong persistence of socio-spatial inequalities, the municipality of Johannesburg has imposed requirements within its public policies that fall in line with a national 'pro-poor' policy.

These efforts are reflected in (i) the very structuring of the local tax system insofar as the poorest populations are exempt from paying land tax and (ii) a development policy

7 Mona HARB and Sami ATALLAH, *Local Governments and Public Goods: Assessing Decentralization in the Arab World*, Beirut, The Lebanese Center for Policy Studies, 2015

for increasing contributive capacity of the poorest as well as revenues from land taxes.

This is the case, for example, in Soweto township where significant investments have been made (through national and local public policies), which has facilitated the emergence of a new middle class with means to invest in properties; this automatically leads to a rise in rent prices and therefore an increase in tax revenues.

It is important, however, to bear in mind (i) the consequences of such policies in terms of gentrification and the permanent exclusion of the poorest citizens; (ii) that the success of this fiscal policy is largely connected to the national context of decentralization: indeed, the municipality of Johannesburg has grasped remarkable control over the tools needed to manage its local tax system (85 per cent of its income comes from local taxes) and has employed a highly functional structure to make it work: constantly updated databases, a frequently expanding tax base, easier methods of payment, a payment, late-payment and back-payment follow-up department and a complaints and disputes department, etc.⁸

Solidarity between economic and financial actors with public actors. More often than not, economic actors are those who, either directly or through their representative organizations, have best understood how pertinent it is to consider the metropolitan scale when developing public policies⁹ or development strategies with longer-term prospects (generally 15-30 years)¹⁰. Some

8 Sarah BOISARD, Carlos FREITAS (de) and Ghazi HIDOUCI, *Renforcer les recettes fiscales locales pour financer le développement urbain*, Fond mondial pour le développement des villes, 2014.

9 C. LEFEVRE, « les défis de la gouvernance », op. cit.

10 For further information on this phenomenon, see the chapter on 'the Repercussions in Terms of Urban Policies' in the first section of this report.

of these undertakings therefore become involved in formulating urban plans. For example, the Brussels International Development Plan (IDP) was initially developed by a private consultant and was subsequently commissioned by the regional government. It was shown to be very effective at passing on the wishes of its regular clients, namely real-estate developers, but remained mostly ignorant to the concerns and arguments expressed by citizens or unions¹¹. The same phenomenon is also observed in Mumbai.

Challenging Mumbai's Strategic Vision

At a time of uncertainty in Mumbai due to the decline in employment in the manufacturing sector and the city's inability to attract new investments, in 1995, powerful industrialists close to Mumbai's Chamber of Commerce and Tata's Department of Economics and Statistics¹² set up 'Bombay First', a think tank for coming up with new future prospects for the city.

In 2003, Bombay First published a lengthy consultancy report commissioned by one of the biggest management consulting firms in the world, the stated aim of which was to develop a strategy for transforming the megalopolis into a 'world-class' city by 2013, based on the example of Shanghai, which was a model city in Asia at the time, in terms of infrastructures. This report was widely disseminated and adopted by the Maharashtra government (federal state comprising Mumbai), which was governed by the Congress party at the time.

11 G. VAN HAMME and M. VAN CRIEKENING, "Compétitivité économique et question sociale", op. cit.

12 One of the largest Indian conglomerates.



View of Mumbai Train Station (Source: <http://globalnation.inquirer.net/>)

However, this unequivocal vision was not shared by local non-governmental actors, who rigorously opposed it. This explains why, more than ten years after it was published, most of Mumbai's metropolitan governance transformation measures are yet to be implemented¹³. One of the demands of the many social movements was to preserve the *slum* settlement in the city center, as well as the industrial economic businesses, by preventing their dilution and expulsion to peripheral areas¹⁴. It also involves establishing large public spaces that do not conform to the aim of privatizing part of the city center using redeveloped textile factories.

On the contrary, in Rio de Janeiro, growing interest from large economic groups, especially those involved in property development, complicates or in some cases

¹³ Marie-Hélène ZERAH, "Mumbai ou les enjeux de construction d'un acteur collectif", in *Métropoles XXL en pays émergents*, Presses de Sciences Po, 2011, pp. 139-214.

¹⁴ S. KRISHNAN, "Les espaces de Mumbai à l'ère post-industrielle", op. cit.

even hinders the application of municipal master plans (developed by cities belonging to the metropolitan region)¹⁵.

In any case, this transformation of governance at the metropolitan level to the benefit of private actors raises the question of its social effects, and the available means that would lead to a management that is not done to the detriment of weaker groups and local democracy.

Strengthening Democracy

In their capacity as political institutions, metropolitan governments have difficulty being democratic spaces, the latter being located more at the sub-metropolitan level.

¹⁵ Luiz Cesar DE QUEIROZ RIBEIRO and Ana Lucia BRITTO, "Démocratie locale et gouvernance métropolitaine. Le cas de Rio de Janeiro", in *De la ville à la métropole : Les défis de la gouvernance*, Paris, l'Oeil d'Or, 2013

As a result, metropolitan governance can lead to potential offshoots of the nation states, particularly leading to risks of authoritarianism and technicism, without any real legitimacy¹⁶. In this context, the challenges of strengthening democracy and promoting urban citizenship¹⁷ increase significantly.

STRENGTHENING THE LEGITIMACY OF GOVERNANCE AT THE METROPOLITAN SCALE

In order to strengthen the legitimacy of governance and influence policies towards greater spatial justice, there are at least two opposing philosophies to consider:

On the one hand, that of an 'integrated' or 'federated' metropolis, comprising a single dedicated establishment that concentrates all decision-making powers, and

On the other, that of a polycentric city founded on a confederated or federated governance model – with a metropolitan body aligned with sub-metropolitan bodies that both share attributes based on a principle of subsidiarity).

MODEL OF A POLYCENTRIC METROPOLIS

Many local elected representatives, particularly those of suburban towns, are now advocating the polycentric or multipolar city models: such models encourage the consideration of issues emanating from all metropolitan territories by way of a democratic structure that does not exclude

¹⁶ Jihad FARAH and Jacques TELLER, "De la territorialisation des controverses : métropolisation, déterritorialisation et (re)territorialisation à Beyrouth", *Métropoles*, 2015, no 16.

¹⁷ John CLARKE, Kathleen M. COLL and Evelina DAGNINO, *Disputing Citizenship*, Policy Press, 2014.

'suburban' municipalities. This contributes towards the "organization of a peripheral rebalancing. It thus contributes to relations between the center and the peripheries, both in the definition of public policies and in institutional power relations."¹⁸

In the Ile-de-France region, a suburban intercommunal association, Plaine Commune, has favored a polycentric model over that of an integrated city as a way of rejecting a unilaterally-represented city and one that entrusts all the responsibility and legitimacy of making decisions regarding the future of all territories to a single structure. Thus, the idea is to promote the continuation of a right to the city by promoting right to centrality within a city remodeled around a network of several hubs. Other similar experiences include those of AMASUR (Association of Municipalities of the Area Sur of Lima), gathering cities of the metropolitan area of Lima; the Metropolitan area of Barcelona within which an important place is left to the cities of suburbs – if the mayor of Barcelona is ex officio the president of the instance, an executive president is also appointed by the metropolitan assembly resulting from municipal councils; as well as the association of municipalities Ciudad Sur in Santiago de Chile.

The Ciudad Sur Municipal Association

The Ciudad Sur municipal association encompasses six heavily-populated towns to the south of Santiago de Chile's metropolitan area: Granja, Pedro Aguirre Cerda, San Ramón, Lo Espejo, San Joaquín and El Bosque. These towns all share a common development plan. They are home to 728,000

¹⁸ Philippe GERVAIS-LAMBONY, Claire BENIT-GBAFFOU, Jean-Luc PIERMAY, Alain MUSSET and Sabine PLANEL, *La justice spatiale et la ville. Regards du Sud*, Paris, Karthala, 2014

inhabitants (compared to 200,000 inhabitants in 1950).

The aim of the structure is to promote the productive, social, environmental and economic development of the southern section of the metropolitan area and, in doing so, continuously improve the overall management of the municipalities. It is a matter of promoting the best conditions for territorial equality and social inclusion, as well as enhancing opportunities for a municipality's inhabitants. This must be done through the exchange of good practices, sharing, strategic planning and the establishment of a common language.

By organizing themselves into commissions (Culture, Education, Health, Territorial and Environmental Development, Social and Housing Development, Local Economic Development, Citizen Safety), the constituent municipality members are hoping to

implement urban policies that includes the population¹⁹.

THE MODEL OF THE INTEGRATED METROPOLIS AND ITS DEMOCRATIC STAKES

The other model, that of the integrated metropolis, set up in Toronto but also Montreal – where the autonomy of its various boroughs is strong – shows that we decentralization is essential in order to meet the challenges of legitimacy and of democracy.

Toronto, balancing the need for local democracy and economic efficiency

The amalgamation of Canada's economic capital, Toronto, with its neighboring municipalities, as enacted by the *City of Toronto Act* in 1998, with a view to creating a single city, synthesized the contrast between a need for local democracy and a need for

¹⁹ Sadi MELO MOYA, Mayor of El Bosque, Speech to the third FAIP Congress (Canoas, June 2013)



View of Santiago de Chile (Source: static.t13.cl)

economic efficiency. This amalgamation, carried out by the conservative provincial government with the support of the business community, was proposed as a way to achieve economies of scale by sharing services and workforces, by offering investors a wider, more streamlined territory, and creating a package that was more favorable to the incumbent party.

The opposition, led by the city's former mayor through the 'Citizens For Local Democracy' (C4LD) group, criticized the project because its structure was too vast to be managed by fewer people and further separated elected representatives from their fellow citizens, especially since Toronto boasts a long tradition of active citizen participation in city life.

In the end, the amalgamation did not generated savings as anticipated, in fact, the outcome was quite to the contrary. Furthermore, bureaucratic red tape was further compounded: for example, each municipal council meeting stretched out over a week. However, local democracy has remained central to its functioning, particularly after the establishment of 'community councils' in 2003, which now forces municipal councilors to keep a close relationship with residents of the new commune through regular meetings. Ultimately, metropolitan governance in Greater Toronto (including the city of Toronto and neighboring towns that were not part of the amalgamation) is yet to be properly devised.²⁰

²⁰ Guillaume POIRET, "la gouvernance métropolitaine écartelée entre adaptation économique et spatiale à la globalisation et respect de la démocratie locale, l'exemple de la fusion de Toronto (Canada)", *Annales de géographie*, 2011, vol. 681, no 5, pp. 509.



In the streets of Toronto
(Source: filmmonsellie.com)

Montreal

In Montreal, the amalgamation approach has opened up interesting prospects: the city has undergone significant decentralization and the autonomy of its various constituent entities has helped establish a balanced and cooperative governance of the territory.

Each district has a mayor and a district council (the members of which are elected through direct suffrage). A little over half of the elected representatives on the district council also sit on the city council. As such, each district has a legal and indisputable presence and a relatively strong political influence. Their jurisdiction covers highway maintenance, snow-clearing, local parks

and infrastructures, urbanism, sport, leisure, culture and waste collection.

The city itself is responsible for maintaining water infrastructures, waste disposal, economic development, large events, coordinating inter-district activities and services, human resources management, tax levies and parking.

Lastly, the metropolitan agglomeration government is responsible for land valuations, public safety, public transport, major infrastructures, highways and water infrastructures. In 2012, the districts had a budgetary independence and total budget of 950 million dollars, 90 per cent of which was funded by the city, and the remaining 10 per cent came from land tax, issuing permits and charging for the use of certain services.

GIVING BACK A PLACE AND A POWER TO THE CITIZENS: POTENTIALS, LIMITS AND MEANS

In response to the current democratic challenges, we are witnessing the profusion of initiatives and devices aimed at making citizens more involved in the development and implementation of public decisions.

These initiatives, pushed forward by public authorities, should be considered as tools for addressing the significant challenges faced by a city, such as strengthening a sense of belonging to a city and the emergence of a shared and widely adopted metropolitan identity²¹. They are all the more important to discuss in order to imperatively and effectively

21 Paul METRO, "Avant-propos. Paris 2013. Manifeste rétroactif pour la construction métropolitaine", in Tommaso Vitale, Christian LEFEVRE and Nathalie ROSEAU (dir.), *De la ville à la métropole. Les défis de la gouvernance*, Paris, l'oeil d'or, 2013, pp. 7-19.

deal with the problems experienced and expressed by citizens, but also to avoid the technocratic²² by-products of different forms of metropolitan governance. However, these systems are often faced with much criticism and are accused of behaving as artefacts, thus preventing all citizen opinions from being taken into consideration, and ensuring even less the delegation or distribution of power among citizens.

The question of urban citizenship: The Immigrant in China

Spatial and demographic expansions are renewing issues regarding a 'sense of belonging' and shared identities within metropolitan areas. Citizenship or sense of citizen belonging is a real issue for newcomer inhabitants, who are often involuntarily referred to as 'neo-citizens' for many generations. The issue of practical and symbolic integration is particularly pertinent in cities undergoing rapid and recent development, as well as those who have long since forced out their workers and rural migrants, as is the case in Harare (Zimbabwe)²³.

The most typical case of non-inclusive urban citizenship is that of immigrants in major Chinese cities, who form a 'floating population', represent approximately a quarter of all urban dwellers and yet do not have a 'right to reside' or social protection²⁴. This fragile situation of immigrants living in urban zones is directly related to the household registration system. The *Hukou*

22 Ibid.

23 Philippe GERVAIS-LAMBONY, De Lomé à Harare: le fait citadin : images et pratiques des villes africaines, KARTHALA Editions, 1994 ; Elisabeth DORIER-APPRILL and Philippe GERVAIS-LAMBONY, *Vies citadines*, Paris, Belin, 2007

24 Kam WING CHAN, "China, Internal Migration", in *The Encyclopedia of Global Migration*, Blackwell Publishing, 2013

is a household registration record, like a domestic passport owned by each Chinese citizen, which entitles them to certain social welfares and public services based on where they live. This system, initially imposed to reduce the huge influx of peasants moving into cities, now poses a major hindrance to integrating immigrants into the city, who remain classed as 'peasants' because of their rural *hukou* and may not use the same public services and social welfares as other citizens²⁵.

In order to overcome these contradictions, it is important to remember the **citizen initiatives emerging alongside systems formed by participatory democracy**, which are devised and implemented by public authorities.

The challenge here is crucial because, alongside local authorities, they represent a wide range of varied responses to the climate crisis or imbalances on employment markets by favoring a circular economy, for example. Some of these initiatives come from local authorities partly or barely responding to immediate demands, but their collective actions or demands help stress the importance of acknowledging that citizens are able to sustainably transform urban territories.

In this regard, 'people's committees' were formed in Cairo in the wake of the 2011 revolution. Certain committees from among those created have undertaken regular development work by organizing community projects, such as the paving of certain streets in busy suburban areas affected by heavy subsidence due to poor drainage²⁶.

25 Alice EKMAN, "la pauvreté dans les villes chinoises : le cas des migrants" *CerisCOPe Pauvreté*, 2012

26 Tadamon, "Paving the Streets of Mit 'Uqba", Tadamon, 2013.

Another notable aspect of these initiatives is the manifestation of social movements, which are increasingly poignant and either related or not to networks of inhabitants or broader rights advocacy movements: Habitat International Coalition, Asian Coalition for Housing Rights, Slum Dwellers Association, etc. This is the case in Caracas, Rio or Madrid through coordinated invasions of empty dwellings or tower blocks in the city center, which are turned into viable accommodation, giving a voice to homeless people, but also, in the case of Madrid, to those evicted by the mortgage crisis.

We will now discuss some initiatives of 'participatory' metropolitan governance (which make room for the citizens), their contributions to the construction and the development of the social justice, as well as their limits.

INSTITUTIONALIZED SYSTEMS: PARTICIPATORY DEMOCRACY

Participatory democracy refers to all procedures, instruments and systems that favor the direct involvement of citizens in the governance of public affairs²⁷. It falls in line with the concept of renewing representative democracy. It involves (the public authorities) allowing citizens – broadly defined – to participate, despite not having the necessary status or mandate normally required to take part in decision-making processes. Although the original idea held by the proponents of this democracy was to enable 'ordinary' citizens to influence decisions, participants have begun criticizing these systems and

27 Sandrine RUI, "Démocratie participative", in Ilaria CASILLO, Rémi BARBIER, Loïc BLONDIAUX, François CHATAURAYNAUD, Jean-Michel FOURNIAU, Rémi LEFEBVRE and Dominique SALLES (dir.), *Dictionnaire critique et interdisciplinaire de la participation*, Paris, GIS Démocratie et Participation, 2013

have become increasingly disenchanted with them.

First of all, we are seeing an extremely varied adoption of systems and procedures that fall under the same heading²⁸. In this regard, they can be considered both as tools for managing social conflicts, as well as tools for democratizing decision-making processes²⁹. In addition, they often prevent the participation of those who are uncomfortable with public speaking, and this is without accounting for the cronyism that privileges certain sections of the population. Moreover, such procedures are still far from affording participants any real influence over the management of local affairs.

The systems require both the participation of individuals as individuals and as collective entities on behalf of (more or less official) groups. In both cases, the lack or absence of legitimacy among participating actors has been highlighted, particularly through the issue of representation. However, these same questions are now being asked with regard to representative democracy, to the extent where the legitimacy of elected representatives is being called into question due to the high rates of absentees during elections, especially at the municipal level and notably in poorer neighborhoods. Certain participatory democracy initiatives are now making it possible to strengthen democracy within cities with the understanding that true urban citizenship would allow for the participation of international inhabitants at local elections.

28 Marie-Hélène BACQUE and Yves SINTOMER (dir.), *La démocratie participative inachevée: genèse, adaptations et diffusions*, Gap, Yves Michel, 2010

29 Loïc BLONDIAUX, "La délibération, norme de l'action publique contemporaine ?", *Projet*, 2001b, vol. 4, no 268, pp. 81-90.

There are two major challenges to overcome: the first being democratic inclusion; the second being to accept the emergence of an opposition force, as created by the aforementioned systems, as well as recognizing the benefits of such a dynamic in achieving greater spatial justice.

In Manchester and Barcelona, two types of limitations have been observed: the non-modification of the division of power between public authorities and civil society; and the lack of citizen empowerment³⁰. In Cape Town, the use of the 'empowerment' rhetoric led to the authorities justifying the use of vulnerable and underpaid workers from poor black neighborhoods for waste collection services³¹. Some initiatives, like the Municipal Women's Conferences in Recife, prove that participatory systems can, given the right conditions, become excellent forums for negotiation regarding women's issues³².

In any case, the different forms of participatory governance are only genuinely inclusive when citizens are involved, prior to and throughout the process, in defining redistribution methods and access to resources that enhance spatial and environmental justice, which entails a certain amount of risk-taking by local authorities.

30 Georgina BLAKELEY, "Governing Ourselves: Citizen Participation and Governance in Barcelona and Manchester", *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 2010, vol. 34, no 1, pp. 130-145

31 Faranak MIRAFTAB, "Neoliberalism and casualization of public sector services: the case of waste collection services in Cape Town, South Africa", *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 2004, vol. 28, no 4, pp. 874-892.

32 Marie-Hélène SA VILAS BOAS, "Politiser les 'différences': les rapports sociaux en débat au sein des conférences municipales des femmes de Recife", *Participations*, 2015, vol. 12, no 2, pp. 139-165

Challenges Regarding Neighborhood Associations Participating in Metropolitan Governance: The Example of Indian Cities³³

The example of resident associations in Indian metropolises helps highlight the ambiguities within participatory democracy processes.

Following the implementation of participatory procedures, over the past twenty years, these associations have become legitimate actors within urban governance. This, in itself, constitutes a major determinant in renewing local democracy. Though they may suffer a few democratic deficits (co-optation, consensus) and may be elitist (represent the "excessively politically-resourced elite"), they do fulfil an important function in guaranteeing, preserving and enhancing democracy: they help the governed monitor the governors, and in doing so, increase the transparency and accountability of local authorities. At the same time, within the context of India, they also provide a way for the 'middle class' to take action, because they rarely go to the polls (contrary to what is observed in many other contexts, the poorer populations are the most active voters).

However, the adverse effects of such processes must not be underestimated: "to a certain extent, the effectiveness of letting resident associations 'speak out' favors the privileged, rather than the poor". Much like elsewhere, those who gain access to public address through such systems rarely reflect the voices or issues of the poorest citizens. As such, ideally, these systems should mobilize and include the individuals or groups that represent the social diversity of citizens

33 Stéphanie TAWA LAMA-REWAL, "La démocratie locale dans les métropoles indiennes", *Transcontinentales. Sociétés, idéologies, système mondial*, 2007, no 4, pp. 131-144.

within a metropolis, in order to ensure the consideration of everybody's interests.

Participatory budgeting

Participatory budgeting is described as a participatory system that has revolutionized the possibility of properly involving citizens in the governance of a city, particularly by including them in certain budgetary decisions, over which elected representatives used to exclusively preside.

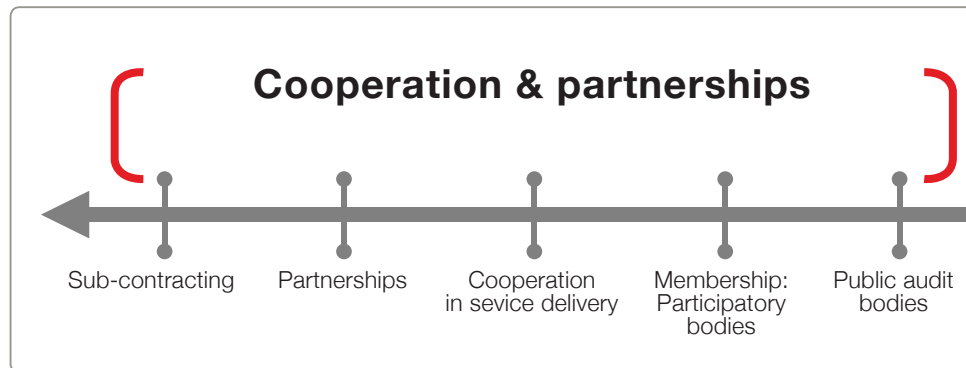
This type of system is now widespread around the world: almost 3,000 such initiatives exist. The model of Porto Alegre (a city where such a system was implemented for the first time in 1989) has become a globally referenced model³⁴ in terms of redistribution of public resources to sectors that need them most (construction of schools, sewage systems, asphalted roads, etc.). Furthermore, once fundamental remedial urban infrastructure targets are achieved, the city's demands tend to progress to more social issues, such as access to education or health³⁵.

Additionally, many participants have received civic training through their participation in participatory budgeting. However, while some participatory budgeting systems have made it possible to "surpass the specific interests and class struggles", many are now blighted by practices of cronyism: "Even though self-management originally helped strengthen public influence, particularly for the marginalized classes, it now weakens them by succumbing to political manipulation³⁶".

34 Yves CABANNES, "Les budgets participatifs en Amérique latine", *Mouvements*, 2006, vol. 5, no 47-48, pp. 128-138.

35 Héloïse NEZ, "Le budget participatif : un outil de justice sociale ?", *Millénaire 3, Modes d'action*, 2014

36 Simon LANGEILLIER, "Que reste-t-il de l'expérience pionnière de Porto Alegre ?", *Le Monde diplomatique*, 10/2011

Spectrum of civil society actions with respect to public authorities³⁷

One of the most realistic possibilities would be to drastically increase the total proportion of public budgets governed by participatory budgeting (an increase from 5 per cent to 30 per cent seems realistic).

Participatory Planning

The centrality of planning strategies (which aim at developing a common 'vision') goes along with the participation of a greater number of institutional and economic actors, as well as the participation of the population, which nevertheless varies considerably from one context to another.

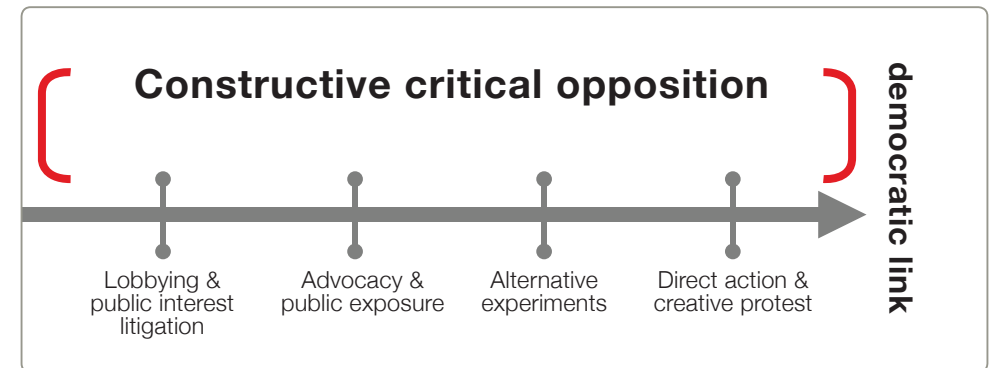
Local Democracy and Planning in Brazil and São Paulo

In São Paulo, regarded as a pioneer city in terms of urban policies within Brazil, a strategic master plan (*Plano Diretor Estratégico*) presented by Mayor Marta Suplicy (a member of the central left-wing Worker's Party, founded by Presidents of the Republic Lula Da Silva and Dilma Rousseff) was approved in 2002.

The initial assessment of the master plan placed emphasis on two characteristics of urban spaces that should be taken into account: (i) the legalization of 'illegal cities' (by changing urbanism regulations), (ii) the promotion of densification in already-urbanized areas and the slowing down of the city's expansion, which goes hand in hand with creating 'Special Zones of Social Interest' in suburban areas.

It also creates a system of public participation and highlights a new approach to planning based on the notion of a 'pact' between citizens. Public participation takes place in two stages: i) producing an initial vision before the plan is submitted to the municipal council, ii) producing a second version before the final approval of the document. Public meetings and hearings have been organized and these generally mobilize two types of citizens: experts (usually town planners or architects) and members of associations.

Ultimately, it seems that this new paradigm of urban planning has been met with success among the middle classes, but still struggles to incorporate the needs of the working-class populations into a city's future prospects. This suggests the establishment of an 'insurgent



urbanism'³⁸, whereby the possibility for lower classes to voice their needs is not limited to institutionalized participatory spaces but is also possible outside, for example by stressing the primacy of the constitutional principles of social justice in the development of the city, the streets and the courts.

CIVIL SOCIETY INITIATIVES

Alongside these systems, there are other particularly appealing methods of democratizing metropolitan governance: those initiated by 'civil society' in the broad sense of the term. One of the well-known and now widely institutionalized methods is that of 'community movement' and support (or even delegation of power) from public authorities to community organizations.

This trend is particularly developed in traditionally Anglo-Saxon countries, but it is also emerging under different names in many cities. Although these initiatives help share or even delegate power among citizens, they are not without risk as they can lead to a massive withdrawal from the public authorities, and

when power is delegated, it is often expected that costs will lower for the public purse.

Their status is insufficiently recognized and under-valued within local development programmes, much like in the large or medium-sized Moroccan cities impacted by the *Villes Sans Bidonvilles* (Cities Without Slums) program³⁹. However, they are playing an increasingly important role by contributing to knowledge sharing through actions across the city and its development. Many initiatives no longer just demand but actually implement proper tools for documenting and acknowledging metropolitan realities.

Alongside the Egyptian 'shadow ministry of housing' blog, which supplies a huge amount of non-documented and non-disseminated government data concerning housing, there is also the '*Un centre-ville pour tous*' (A city-centre for all) initiative in Marseilles, which has led several investigative campaigns regarding

³⁷ Edgar PIETERSE, "Urban Governance and Legislation", in *World Cities Report, United Nations Human Settlements Programme*, 2015, p. 34.

³⁸ Teresa CALDEIRA and James HOLSTON, « Participatory urban planning in Brazil », *Urban Studies*, 2014

³⁹ Françoise NAVEZ-BOUCHANINE, "Les nouvelles voies de la négociation dans les politiques de résorption des bidonvilles au Maroc. Entre recasement et accompagnement social", in Françoise NAVEZ-BOUCHANINE and Agnès DEBOULET (dir.), *Effets sociaux des politiques urbaines: l'entre-deux des politiques institutionnelles et des dynamiques sociales*, Rabat, France, Maroc, Centre Jacques Berque, 2012, pp. 167-190.

the impacts of rehabilitation policies on employment statuses and opportunities for households to maintain their residences. Similarly, in response to collective inhabitant demands, investigations were carried out by the APPUII association in the Ile-de-France region regarding the various forms of tenancy in buildings threatened by destruction following collective requests by the residents.

In Caracas, cooperative architect firms rely on 'barrio' (neighborhood) committees and the endogenous development program for transforming barrios. Within the framework of the National Housing Policy, 'self-managing community organizations' aided by local technical assistance committees, use the transfer of funds to develop plans, encourage 'capacity building', provide such areas with facility-building programs and better equip citizens living in working-class neighborhoods. However, such participation does not always materialize and is often perceived as a stopgap to the blatant inequalities between barrios and wealthy neighborhoods. Yet in some neighborhoods it has successfully given way to genuine socio-technical partnerships and even in-depth area studies prior to regulatory processes⁴⁰.

In the Milanese agglomeration, the Non-Profit Sector Forum (*Forum del Terzo Settore*), a political representation structure for the non-profit sector (associations, cooperatives), provides an interesting example of approaches based on discussions,

negotiations and advocacy with public authorities⁴¹

In Johannesburg, the Josi@work initiative is a noteworthy example of the co-production of services between municipalities and communities⁴².

Some local governments have started depending on endogenous development through participation based on a pre-existing form of involvement. They have noticed that strengthening a citizen movement organization's capacity is more sustainable and able to bring about real changes to someone's quality of life than the ad-hoc creation of participatory forums.

Neighborhood Round tables in Montreal: a Community Initiative for Democratic Governance at Metropolitan Scale⁴³

"For more than 50 years, communities of various neighborhoods in Montreal have invested in local actions to address the issues directly affecting their living conditions and surrounding environment. In order to do so, over the years, they have set up neighborhood 'social development round tables' to improve conditions and the living environments of local populations. "

41 Tommaso VITALE, "La partecipazione alle politiche sociali in Lombardia: arene deliberative e processi di coordinamento", in Giuliana CARABELLI and Carla FACCHINI (dir.), *Il modello lombardo di welfare: continuità, riassetamenti, prospettive*, Milan, FrancoAngeli, 2011, pp. 139-158

42 <http://www.joziatwork.org.za/about/>

43 References:

- Marie-Hélène BACQUE and Mohamed MECHMACHE, *Pour une réforme radicale de la politique de la ville*, Paris, la documentation française, 2013.

- Initiative montréalaise de soutien au développement social local, *Initiative montréalaise de soutien au développement social local. Des quartiers où il fait bon vivre! Cadre de référence*, Montréal, 2015.

- Coalition montréalaise des tables de quartier, *Mémoire déposé à la commission sur le schéma d'aménagement et de développement de Montréal*, Montréal, 2014



Images of neighborhood' round tables in a Montreal neighborhood
(Source: tablesquartiermontreal.org)

In Montreal, the 'Coalition montréalaise des tables de quartier' (Montreal Neighborhood Round Tables Coalition) comprises 30 tables. These tables are financially recognized and supported by the City of Montreal, the Centraide of Greater Montreal foundation⁴⁴ and the public health department of Montreal's health agency and social services.

These tables, which are held and coordinated by a nonprofit organization (NPO), invest in both local and national actions involving the planning and development of a neighborhood, defending socio-economic rights and the independence of community groups. As such, Neighborhood Round Tables are often responsible for directing integrated urban renewal initiatives in Montreal; some of them are in charge of sustainable development projects, whereas others work to improve access to food, etc.

44 The objective of this foundation is to raise funds – mainly in the business world – to redistribute them with the aim of supporting local initiatives.

Moreover, the Coalition has intervened during several occasions to ensure that Montreal's master plan is used as a proper social development tool.

The democratization of metropolises is supported by such initiatives in many ways: they enhance democratic inclusion by ensuring that the representation of those furthest removed from public speaking – a cornerstone of their action policy; they are sources of creativity in terms of renewing policies, particularly with regard to the conception and implementation of policies adapted to the realities experienced by citizens; they encourage citizen recognition at the metropolitan scale and the adoption of a metropolitan identity. They are therefore involved in ensuring that the metropolis is sustainably developed as a political forum, which is an essential condition of its legitimacy⁴⁵.

45 P. METRO, "Avant-propos. Paris 2013. Manifeste rétroactif pour la construction métropolitaine", op. cit.

40 Internship reports and master's thesis produced on the NGO Appoyo Urbano by Bérangère DELUC, Delphine HENNEGRAVE (2013). See also: Populaire, Précaire ? – Regards croisés sur un habitat majoritaire – cités territoires gouvernance, <http://www.citego.info/?-Populaire-Precaire-Regards-croises-#tabs-2>, consulted on 7 January 2016.

EMPOWERMENT PROCESSES AND RESIDENT NETWORKS

Resulting from multiple influences⁴⁶, empowerment is based on increasing the capacities for action of the most disadvantaged populations, or those who live far from decision-making and public speaking forums (also referred to as capacitation). The assumption of responsibility through and within the community is therefore becoming an objective that no longer contradicts the continuation of public investment, but nevertheless calls for control over resource allocation.

The role played by implicated resident associations in the improvement of living and habitat conditions and defence of the right to the city is becoming increasingly obvious in both longer-settled and recently urbanized cities. This coincides with the recent emergence of action platforms originating from deprived areas (in Dakar, Accra, Istanbul, Rio de Janeiro, and many others); these action platforms promote the establishment of equal rights, a noteworthy example bring the *'Fédération Sénégalaise des Habitants'* (Senegalese Resident Federation), which sprung up in response to the threat of repeated flooding in part of the city of Pikine; a city of 1 million inhabitants, located next to Dakar.

Dakar and the Collective of Associations for the Development of Djiddah Thiaroye Kao

In 2007, a resident group, the Collective of Associations for the Development of Djiddah Thiaroye Kao (CADDTK) reached out to a Swiss NGO (now Urbamonde), to help them carry out a flood-risk assessment. The aim

⁴⁶ Marie-Hélène BACQUE and Carole BIEWENER, *L'empowerment, une pratique émancipatrice*, Paris, la découverte, 2013.

of the project was to achieve participatory planning and establish a cadastral plan to reduce the hydraulic and land risk of flooding and incorporate this into the goal of using inhabitants' skills to facilitate local autonomy.

In 2012, a comprehensive census of all areas was carried out. This was then integrated into a database and proposals for UrbaTDK1 (project name) as part of the plan to redevelop the area. Ex-post investigations revealed that residents were greatly satisfied with this sector and that the development has been carried out according to their demands and initiative.

Currently, the project for developing the area and built environment is predominantly supported by pre-existing women's saving groups who place their money in an account dedicated to habitats and are in consultation through the 'Penc' network. This process has also recently started to receive support from the NGO Slum Dwellers International⁴⁷.

TRAINING ELECTED REPRESENTATIVES, EXPERTS AND CITIZENS

In all these areas, training elected representatives appears to be a crucial tool for further democratizing public policies. In France, the *Centre National de la Fonction Publique Territoriale* (National Centre for the Territorial Civil Service) organizes constant training cycles for these particular issues, in select cities and for specific issues (environment, health, disabilities, etc.).

⁴⁷ Romain LECLERCQ, "Vers un « urbanisme critique ?" *Rapport de stage au sein de la Fédération Sénégalaise des Habitants*, Institut Français d'Urbanisme, Marnela-Vallée, 2015. See also the summary of the speech at the discussion evening organized by Centre Sud : "Risques et catastrophes : quelles réponses des habitants ? Etude de cas du Sénégal au Chili", 6 January 2016, *Ecole Nationale Supérieure d'Architecture de Paris-la-Villette*

Training competent municipal staff is all the more important as urban contexts are rapidly changing. There are many matters that need to be addressed. Constructing infrastructures and reasoning on a project-by-project basis often comes at the expense of more refined programming work. Developing a genuine ability to manage urban facilities and their functionalities (from land-mapping to highway infrastructures) in the long term is also a crucial challenge. One of the most significant obstacles is corruption and should be dealt with by reformative programs such as specific training for managing disruptions in the achievement of spatial justice.

In addition to this urgent need for continuous training comes the need to produce knowledge that can be accessed by all and easily disseminated. All too often, inhabitants learn of plans for urban projects to displace them or affect them by chance. Citizens in metropolises treat access to information as a priority, as such, it should be made accessible to all.

Ensuring the fairness of urban policies

The way in which metropolitan policies are conceived and implemented is a key issue when building cities based on principles of spatial justice.

To this end, the coordination of policies between local actors, but also between policy areas is a central issue: no policy can claim to promote a fair city without taking a broad view of the territory, its local context and the social and economic issues affecting it, in other words, without incorporating itself into

a cluster, or more specifically a network of integrated policies.

Therefore, the goal is to attain better political representation for the residents, the beneficiaries concerned, which can be achieved by defining and implementing policies for services adapted to local realities. Decent, accessible social and urban services help re-establish forms of spatial justice, but also enhance citizen 'capabilities' (as described by Amartya Sen).

The following three themes can help clarify these issues: management of public services; access to housing; mobility.

MANAGEMENT OF PUBLIC SERVICES: THE RISKS OF PRIVATIZATION AND PUBLIC-PRIVATE PARTNERSHIPS

The use of partnerships linking the public and private sectors (jointly referred to as Public-Private Partnerships (PPP)) is now often regarded as a key strategy for providing the investments needed to develop urban infrastructures for municipalities with poor or very limited financial resources, or for those hoping to speed up their development.

Within this debate on the merits of public-private partnerships, the distinction between the private sector and public sector is often very vague. Indeed, there can be situations where public organizations set forth a strategy of 'entrepreneurialism'⁴⁸ without first turning to the private sector. An example of this is demonstrated by territorial development strategies in the state of Haryana, which is included in the National

⁴⁸ This concept has been used by the English geographer David HARVEY to characterize the concern of municipalities to promote economic development in the context of the post-Fordist crisis.

Capital Territory in India. By contrast, some partnerships between private actors can also be largely 'non-profit'; it all depends on the regulations imposed by the government. The aim is therefore to ensure the existence of a framework for negotiating with the private sector in order to better decide what form of action is acceptable to communities and conducive to improving quality of life. It therefore becomes crucial, for example, when building transport infrastructures, to recover capital gains generated by land tenure.

Ultimately, PPPs are not necessarily a good solution for dealing with a lack of resources, in the sense that they can be more expensive than publicly-funded investments and risk local communities falling into debt. As such, it would be preferable to strengthen financial resources within the municipalities themselves. Depending on the local context,

bringing back certain basic services (water, waste collection, etc.) under public control may help achieve this objective.

Access to water and public-private partnerships (PPP)⁴⁹

The issue of privatizing public services is particularly relevant when it affects essential services, such as the distribution of drinking water. In some sub-Saharan countries in Africa, a model was established in the twentieth century whereby the management of water was entrusted to three private, multinational water suppliers.

This model led to the commodification of the service insofar as, in addition to allowing private companies to exploit it, prices were

⁴⁹ The state of the situation is analyzed in: Catherine BARON and Elisabeth PEYROUX, « Services urbains et néolibéralisme. Approches théoriques et enjeux de développement », *Cahiers d'études africaines*, 2011, vol. 202-203, no 2, pp. 369-393.

set based on the total cost of providing such services (production, distribution, treatment). Later, in the 2000s, in light of the growing inequalities in access to water, PPPs were restructured in order to introduce small private suppliers, associations or NGOs.

Alongside this, Burkina Faso has taken an approach in the other direction in the sense that the State has discontinued any direct forms of intervention in this respect: the National Office for Water and Sanitation is solely responsible for water management and only one technical supervision contract of a limited duration with a foreign operator was concluded for the capital (Ouagadougou).

However, the city's rapid urban growth has called into question the durability of such a model. The public authorities are now faced with the challenge of expanding its coverage area: in order to ensure distribution to expanding 'non-planned' neighborhoods, public authorities are encouraging local private operators from within the informal sector to organize and officialize themselves, thus prompting a revision of the formation of PPPs.

A WIDESPREAD ISSUE IN ACCESS TO HOUSING: PRIVATIZATION AND CHALLENGED HOUSING POLICY REFORMS

The lack of available housing in large cities is a common theme and is most often explained by the lack of or sheer cost of available units.

Too often, property prices, whether for rental or purchase, have sky-rocketed since the 2000s with frequent 100 per cent increases within ten years in some European cities, or within the two to three years preceding the

Olympic Games, as was the case in Rio de Janeiro. This drastically reduces access to housing for certain sections of the population and requires families to set aside increasingly substantial proportions of their income towards housing.

At the same time, in certain areas, the high cost of land and prospects of real-estate gains lure housing authorities away from very low-cost social housing and towards lower-risk projects with better prospects⁵⁰ in terms of profit designed towards medium and high class population.

Property ownership and rental: a relation that needs changing

Parallels can be drawn with a movement involving the neo-liberalization of social housing, which was widespread in socialist countries in transition as well as in Australian cities undergoing a 'subtle' privatization and decentralization movement. In New York City itself, since 1990, 35,000 state-subsidized housing units have been 'lost', while changes regarding rental regulations have led to the disappearance of so-called 'stabilized' rents⁵¹.

This privatization approach is supported by social funding agencies keen on recapitalizing their business. This is definitely the case in England where the proportion of social housing has drastically dropped in the last twenty years, which has brought about severe tensions. Like many other British cities, metropolises like London have chosen to abandon council estates (common housing) in favor of houses built by private

⁵⁰ D. PINSON and M. ROUSSEAU, "Les systèmes métropolitains intégrés - état des lieux et problématiques", op. cit.
⁵¹ David DODGE, "Right To The City-NYC's Policy Platform and condo conversion campaign : grassroots visioning and policies for the future of New York City", *Les Cahiers d'architecture*, 2013, no 9, pp. 265-282



Traffic gridlock in Delhi (Source: A. Deboulet)

landlords known for building social housing (registered social landlords), such as housing associations⁵². It is within this framework of massive withdrawal from public investment of subsidized housing that the tragedy of the Grenfell tower fire in North Kensington, London in 2017, which resulted in the death of 80 people should be viewed⁵³.

This radical shift has also hugely affected large cities in former socialist countries, particularly Chinese cities – in China, more than 90 per cent of social housing disappeared within fifteen years⁵⁴.

We now know that, although access to ownership can represent a source of security or income for the wealthier classes, it can also pose a significant risk to the poorest by further exposing them to over-indebtedness. Monthly repayments can require cuts in other budgetary items no less important than housing. On the contrary, regulations that promote or protect a tenant's status are growing scarce, thus making tenancy agreements more vulnerable to contractual changes.

Several national legislations have made a dent in rental law, drastically reducing tenancy durations and the possibility of renewing them; this applies both to de facto private housing (former dilapidated housing acting as de facto social housing) and frozen rent rates, which are often used in countries emerging from conflict situations. Housing economists believe that this policy of freezing rent rates

52 Paul WATT, "Housing stock transfers, régénération and state led gentrification in London", *Urban Policy and research*, 2009, pp. 229-242

53 Paul WATT, "'This Place is Post-Something' – London's Housing in The Wake Of The Grenfell Tower Fire", *City*, 2017

54 Ya PING WANG, Lei SHAO, Alan MURIE and Jianhua CHENG, "The Maturation of the Neo-liberal Housing Market in Urban China", *Housing Studies*, 2012, vol. 27, no 3, pp. 343-359.

is responsible for landlords failing to maintain their housing, without deregulation measures being offset by alternative housing solutions.

There have been cautious attempts recently to re-establish regular checks on increasing rent prices with caps on price hikes (1 per cent per year in New York) in cities with the highest rent prices. However, it is safe to assume that the safeguard-free liberalization of frozen rent rates has largely contributed to increasing inequalities in access to housing.

At the end of all this, the municipal authorities (those responsible for producing housing) find themselves faced with a contradiction regarding the production of affordable housing: standardization and accessibility. There is still the need to look for regular funding for social housing.

Furthermore, access to housing or plots of land for the poorest populations often comes at the expense of a central location or proximity to transport systems, which can lead to a series of negative externalities for the concerned individuals: distance from services and employment facilities (which makes moving around increasingly difficult) and an unhealthy environment (for example noise, pollution), the complete opposite of *buen vivir* or sustainable development goals, as demonstrated by the *Minha Casa, Minha Vida* national building programme⁵⁵ in Brazil.

It can be agreed that metropolitan policies need to focus on providing access to housing for all, access to clean, stable and 'well-located' housing, in other words housing that will generate positive externalities for

55 João SETTE WHITAKER FERREIRA (dir.), *Produzir casas ou construir cidades? Desafios para um novo Brasil urbano Parâmetros de qualidade para a implementação de projetos habitacionais e urbanos*, São Paulo, FUPAM : LABHAB, 2012

inhabitants; however, metropolitan actors first need to address the trend of privatization within the housing sector and the 'high-cost housing' crisis, which is further exacerbating the issue of inadequate housing and housing shortages⁵⁶. One way to respond to this issue, which is still at the initial phases, would be to circumscribe the financial industry's share of housing production⁵⁷.

And since the majority of citizens around the world are rental tenants and as a large majority lives in precarious neighborhoods⁵⁸, it is imperative to ensure that urban studies factor in this often forgotten population. This must be done through censuses, identifying citizen needs, developing effective protection clauses, as well as through compensatory or alternative housing measures, which are often lacking in urban projects, thus leading to all forms of eviction⁵⁹.

COMBINING MOBILITY AND ACCESSIBILITY

Mobility represents a key challenge with regard to the coordination of metropolitan

56 Fondation Abbé Pierre, *L'état du mal-logement en France. 20e rapport annuel*, 2015.

57 UNITED NATIONS, Report of the Special Rapporteur on adequate housing as a component of the right to an adequate standard of living, and on the right to non-discrimination in this context, op. cit

58 See on this topic: Alan GILBERT, "Informalité, immobilier locatif et logement dans les pays du Sud global", in Agnès DEBOULET (dir.) *Repenser les quartiers précaires*, Etudes de l'AFD, 2016 and David SATTERTHWATE, "Trouver une place en ville : un réexamen des sous-marchés du logement pour les personnes à faible revenu", in Agnès DEBOULET (dir.) *Repenser les quartiers précaires*, Etudes de l'AFD, 2016

59 See: Marie HUCHZERMAYER and Aly KARAM, *Informal Settlements: A Perpetual Challenge?*, Claremont, Juta and Company Ltd, 2006. ; Valérie CLERC-HUYBRECHTS, *Les quartiers irréguliers de Beyrouth: Une histoire des enjeux fonciers et urbanistiques dans la banlieue sud*, Presses de l'Ifpo, 2009.



Light transportation: different types of Tuktuk in Delhi
(Source: A.Deboulet)

policies. In fact, enabling everybody to move around an entire metropolitan area portrays a shift towards equal access to urban resources, the right to the city and polycentrism. Presently, there is a notable difference between individuals' access to mobility, which accentuates the gaps between certain individuals and social groups⁶⁰. Those with the least access to mobility are more likely to have to deal with isolation and marginalization.

With regard to mobility, strategic thinking in terms of accessibility policies at the metropolitan scale is therefore particularly important. Accessibility can be defined as "the degree of ease with which a place can be reached from one or several other places,

60 Marie-Hélène BACQUE and Sylvie FOL, "L'inégalité face à la mobilité : du constat à l'injonction", *Revue suisse de sociologie*, 2007, vol. 33, no 1, pp. 89-104.

by using all or some existing means of transport"⁶¹. As the metropolization process continues to increase spatial distances and exclude the poorest populations to the city outskirts, the issue of accessibility becomes all the more poignant.

In many places, policies aimed at reducing exclusion – by improving the provision of public transport systems or individual motor assistance – have been rolled out. While most policies focus on access to the city center, some metropolitan areas have implemented significant initiatives for resolving suburban traffic issues.

In the metropolitan area of Madrid, the Metro line 12 (Metro SUR) was inaugurated in 2003 and now covers a 133km loop (29 stations linking town centers, hospitals, universities and neighborhoods) around five towns in the south suburb (Alcorcon, Mostoles, Fuenlabrada, Getafe, Leganes). The project was implemented following the initiative of the communities concerned. It is therefore not a Madrid-based line that reaches the suburbs, but a suburb-based line. At the same time, it is connected to the rest of the metro network via line 10. Consequently, mobility in these towns has been transformed: Thanks to public transport, once this line was established, Madrid was no longer the only possible destination, and a major urban center was able to form in the southern metropolitan area of Madrid.

Looking at this issue from a different perspective, certain local as well as central governments have pursued cost-reducing policies. This has allowed employers to assume a part of the mobility costs. For

example, in Bogota, financial assistance for the most deprived citizens has helped reduce their transport costs.

However, these policies are not necessarily aimed towards spatial justice: in certain cases, they more closely resemble *workfare* policies and focus more on improving employability among individuals (lack of mobility representing an obstacle to job hunting). This idea is being challenged insofar as lack of mobility is not necessarily a determining factor in the professional exclusion process: 'spatial mismatch'⁶² is a key element, but 'human capital' and (social, racial) discrimination are equally influential factors. Territorially localized policies carried out with a view of reducing exclusion are also the subject of debate: the hypothesis that associates clusters of poor, immobile populations with poor socio-professional integration only serves to cast a negative image of these neighborhoods and their inhabitants, and this further reinforces the designation of a middle-class lifestyle as a standard model⁶³. This dynamic certainly does not favor the recognition of different social groups within the metropolitan area.

As with other metropolitan policies, it is important to develop the coordination of actions and an integrated vision of implemented policies that considers all the obstacles and levers involved in creating fairer metropolitan areas. Strategic thinking and actions related to mechanisms causing an increasingly capitalist economy, the root of poverty, inequalities and exclusion should not be disregarded. In certain metropolitan areas, reformative policies are able to reduce these inequalities, but they are rarely

capable of finding alternatives once they have prioritized attractiveness based on principles of competitiveness.

The main challenges now concern the development of effective, functioning infrastructures in cities undergoing rapid urban growth in the Global South, in which the organization of public transport systems is still in its early stages⁶⁴ and a large discrepancy exists between the service required and that which is actually provided. However, these policies cannot move forward without careful consideration of accessibility issues, as demonstrated by the situation in Shanghai⁶⁵. Furthermore, it is also essential take into account the many existing means of getting around and it is important not to ignore the fact that walking still remains the dominant mode of mobility in many cities, nor should we overlook the influence of informal public transport systems. In Mediterranean cities, examples of these include minibuses and public taxis in Algiers and Beirut, as well as in Casablanca, Tel Aviv, Cairo and Istanbul⁶⁶. Another example would be the Peruvian moto-taxis in Villa El Salvador on the outskirts of Lima, which came about following the 1980s crisis, largely to assist with mobility issues. Work must also be done to ensure the complementarity between different forms of transport. It means not giving priority to investments in urban, radial or peripheral highways and going beyond a mobility system focused on automotive mobility.

⁶⁴ Xavier GODARD, "L'évolution des systèmes de transport des villes méditerranéennes face à la métropolisation", REM. *Revue de l'économie méridionale*, 2005, vol. 53, no 209-10, pp. 99-114.

⁶⁵ Qing SHEN, "Urban transportation in Shanghai, China: problems and planning implications", *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 1997, vol. 21, no 4, pp. 589-606.

⁶⁶ X. GODARD, "L'évolution des systèmes de transport des villes méditerranéennes face à la métropolisation", op. cit.

For all these policies to work, it would appear necessary to focus on developing an understanding of local democracy in order to be able to visualize, represent and ultimately take into account all the challenges presenting themselves across metropolitan areas.

SOCIAL IMPACTS OF URBAN POLICIES AND FOLLOW-UP PROCEEDINGS

Social impact assessment studies are important to make public policies more effective, reduce their unintended impacts and understand their consequences on society and economic activities. The assumption is that public (urban) policies are rarely designed for and with citizens and also that policies and projects are seldom developed in a precise fashion with regard to the monitoring of processes among populations, their impacts and social consequences, which in turn adds considerable pressure on feelings of justice or injustice. As such, this often makes it difficult:

- to maintain habitats in a decent condition, due to projects involving urban reorganization, ex-situ rehoming or resettlement, which have been met with resistance from inhabitants in many documented cases around the world, such as in Rabat-Salé and Rio de Janeiro;
- to relocate to the location of one's choice due to land occupation opportunities;
- to maintain the social fabrics and economic connections needed for material survival and moral well-being⁶⁷ within an urban space.

⁶⁷ Françoise NAVEZ-BOUCHANINE, *Effets sociaux des politiques urbaines. L'entre-deux des politiques institutionnelles et des dynamiques sociales*, Rabat; Paris; Tours, Karthala, 2012

⁶¹ Sylvie FOL and Caroline GALLEZ, "Mobilité, accessibilité et équité : pour un renouvellement de l'analyse des inégalités sociales d'accès à la ville", Colloque international du Labex Futurs Urbains, 2013

⁶² Or discrepancy between place of residence of low-income people and location of jobs.

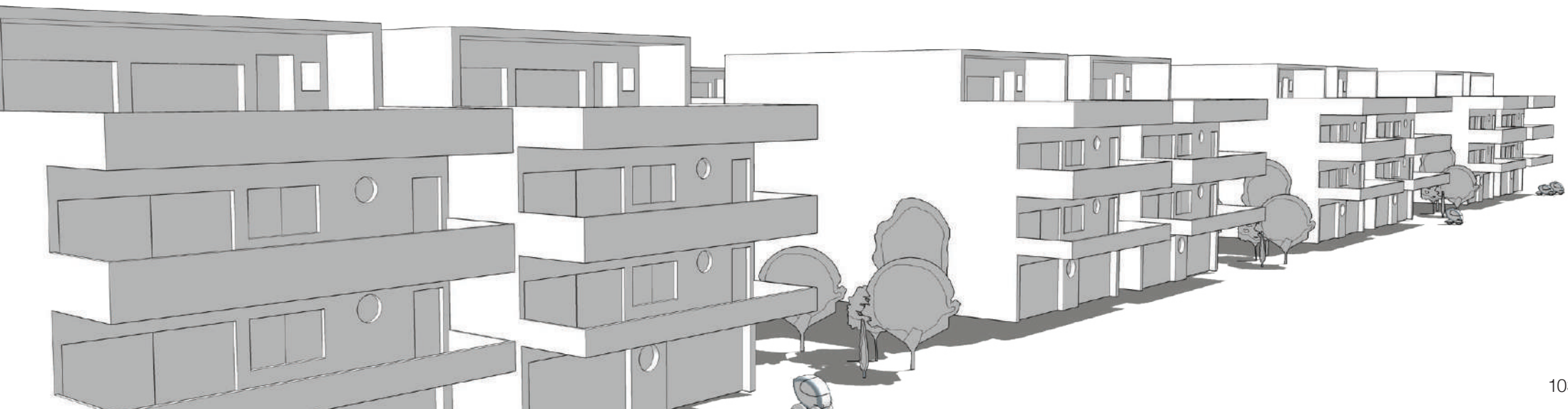
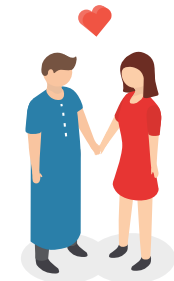
⁶³ M.-H. BACQUE AND S. FOL, "L'inégalité face à la mobilité : du constat à l'injonction", op. cit.

The prior consideration of the social impacts of large projects was brought about in development contexts upon the World Bank's establishment of assessment bodies in the 1980s. That being said, there is a total lack of environmental or social impact studies being carried out in metropolitan areas, which tend to favor rapid economic growth and policies for upgrading infrastructures, such as

motorways or large urban building projects. The resulting social and spatial divides and the loss of social and relational fabrics are sometimes unintentional. However, they are also sometimes caused by policies that favor the repossession of land, much to the detriment of vulnerable or minority social groups. Such situations have been documented in many cities, such as Beirut, Tehran and Karachi⁶⁸.

However, generally speaking, in countries where social support policies regarding transport or rehousing are put in place, such policies do not reverse the damage done by the loss of landmarks and the uprooting of citizens in the cities, as demonstrated by urban renewal policies in major European and American cities. It is therefore important to design policies that enable people to stay rooted.

⁶⁸ Regarding Beirut, see: Agnès DEBOULET and Mona FAWAZ, « Contesting the legitimacy of urban restructuring and highway's in Beirut's irregular settlements », in N. LIBERTUN DE DUREN and D. DAVIS (dir.) *Cities and sovereignty: Identity politics in urban spaces*, Bloomington, Indiana University Press, 2011, pp. 117-151; For Tehran: Mina SAIDI-SHAROUZ, *Le Téhéran des quartiers populaires: transformation urbaine et société civile en République islamique*, Paris, Karthala, 2013



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