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

Report developped under the supervision of Agnès Deboulet

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It also reflects the exchanges held between UCLG members, particularly those on the Committee on Social Inclusion, Participatory Democracy and Human Rights, during seminars or   individual   meetings.

INTRODUCTION - METROPOLITAN AREAS, HOME TO A QUARTER OF HUMANITY

The urban condition and urbanization are often presented antagonistically: 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 report tries to avoid caricatured perceptions of cities, particularly those of a megalopolis, which are commonly portrayed in the media. Nonetheless, it does attempt to establish a realistic and global analysis of this widespread urbanization trend, which is becoming an unavoidable situation for both governments and their populations. It actually represents a central living conditions issue for a quarter of humanity, whereas the remaining built-up areas considered urban represent a completely separate quarter.

Large cities with more vibrant populations must therefore learn to accommodate populations that have increased more rapidly in the last forty years than they have done in the past millennium and provide millions of new inhabitants with housing, services, as well as jobs and their own space within the city.

However, the main challenges are yet to come, alongside rapid urban growth in developing cities, which will require considerable efforts in terms of imagination and territorial organization. Furthermore, cities are subject to ongoing restructuring processes imposed by productive systems that constantly require them to find new ways of adapting.

While some cities are experiencing population growth rates greater than 2.5 per cent per year, thus doubling their population within 20 years, others remain powerless to the closure of their industries and services and declining populations. Although, broadly speaking, these inverse processes are respectively located in southern and northern cities, this report will try to avoid overly binary north-south comparisons, especially since they do not take into account real situations in terms of demographic transition. This report will also seek to avoid obsolete comparisons between north and south or developed and developing countries. However, it will discuss cities in wealthy or formerly industrialized countries and emerging or developing cities that correspond to recent urbanization trends (not necessarily the urban cores or urban fabric).

This introduction will present a few key elements regarding the current status of urbanization and the diverse ways in which it manifests itself. It will shed light on the many different perceptions of cities, which differ depending on whether they originate from the city centre or outskirts. The report will also highlight several major issues faced by cities and their surrounding regions, which constitute the very fabric of this report: the connection between city size, urban concentration and spatial inequalities, the questioning of urban planning and the role of local authorities and their ability 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 uneven distribution of resources and income[1].
- 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 and their relationships with citizens in order to meet a growing demand for well-being within cities.

1. "METROPOLIZATION": THE NEW URBAN CHALLENGES AND THEIR PARADOXES

1.1. 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, to the extent that it was then defined as a factor of civilisation, not forgetting that the urban population only represented 2 per cent of the entire population at the beginning of the 19th century. However, this growth is far from over: 54 per cent of the world's population live in cities 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.

In addition to a lack of morphological common characteristics between various forms of urbanization, the increasingly vague division between rural and urban zones has not prevented cities from being dominated and influenced by urbanisation or from overly structuring our general view of the world.

Within this unprecedented urban dynamic, it is important that we define both terms 'metropolis' and 'metropolization'[2]. On the one hand, it is worth stressing that this is a

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[1] As demonstrated by Thomas PIKETTY, *Le capital au XXIe siècle*, Paris, Seuil, 2013.
[2] References: Cynthia GHORRA-GOBIN, « De la métropolisation : un nouveau paradigme ? », *Quaderni. Communication, technologies, pouvoir*, 2010, n° 73, p. 25‑33.; Bernard JOUVE, « La démocratie en métropoles : gouvernance, participation et citoyenneté », *Revue française de science politique*, 2005, Vol. 55, n° 2, p. 317-337.; Guy Di MEO, « La métropolisation. Une clé de lecture de l'organisation contemporaine des espaces géographiques », *L'Information

constantly changing phenomenon, and that cities are by nature unstable, or in constant flux. On the other hand, there is no standard city 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 discontinuously) urbanized areas that shape the way large cities function. The development of urban corridors between several cities, often located hundreds of kilometres apart from each other, will also help establish a definition for mega-cities, which accommodate the greatest concentration of urban dwellers on earth. Cities containing more than 10 million inhabitants may also be referred to as mega-cities.

The definition used by UCLG is, by convention, reserved for cities with more than one million inhabitants[3]. In addition, most of the examples used in the report regarding cities reach this demographic threshold. That said, this in no way prejudges the real structure and organization of said cities, whose size is determined by the boundaries of built-up areas.

Among these cities, aside from their unique economic, political, morphological and social contexts, it is important to emphasize the role played by urban mega-regions and cities, which are often affected by the most significant issues caused by rapid urbanization[4]. Even though, ultimately, urban growth is faster in small and medium-sized cities, which should not be ignored at the expense of the former. Moreover, mega-cities are better equipped than small cities to deal with new arrivals due to the over-representation of professionals capable of managing urban growth in large cities. The mega-city situation requires particular vigilance, especially in cases where it has proven difficult to define clear urbanity and ensure satisfactory living conditions (particularly due to problems involving daily mobility, air pollution, etc.). This being said, large cities have many strong points, especially in terms of producing cultural and educational goods and offering highly-skilled job opportunities, which, in many cases, make up for difficulties in everyday life and large-scale problems.

Some anthropologists have discussed a worldwide reversal, which many of these recent and unfamiliar forms urbanization have followed up until the 20th century. Several decades ago, most of the world's largest urban agglomerations were found in the more developed regions, but today's large cities are concentrated in the global South[5]. Most of these large cities are actually located in Asia (six of the twenty large Asian cities are in China and seven are in India). Very large cities such as Ahmadabad, Bangalore, Chennai and Hyderabad, as well as those in Africa, including Dar es Salaam, Johannesburg and Luanda are expected to emerge as

géographique, 2010, Vol. 74, nº 3, p. 23-38.; as well as the Global Urban Observatory databasehttp://unhabitat.org/urban-knowledge/global-urban-observatory-guo/ and the World Bank data http://data.worldbank.org/topic/urban-development

[3] For more information, visit: UNITED NATIONS HUMAN SETTLEMENTS PROGRAMME, « Background paper », 2014.

[4] According to the UNITED NATIONS, *World Urbanization Prospects*, 2014. document, just three countries - India, China and Nigeria - are expected to account for 37 per cent of the projected growth of the world's urban population between 2014 and 2050. India is projected to add 404 million urban dwellers, China 292 million and Nigeria 212 million. Furthermore, by 2030, the world is expected to contain up to 41 mega-cities, including Tokyo (38 million inhabitants), New Delhi (25 million), Shanghai (23 million), Mexico, Mumbai and Sao Paolo (21 million).

[5] *Ibid.*

mega-cities, thus competing in size and possibly problems with Cairo, Kinshasa and Lagos.

The urban growth rate is different depending on a city's size, but also on the country it is located in, which poses separate challenges. In addition to the huge challenges faced by shrinking cities or those in decay, which is all the more evident in medium-sized cities and formerly industrialized countries, there has been a tenfold increase in problems related to rapid urbanization, especially in suburban towns and medium-sized cities. That being said, the majority of capital investments are concentrated within urban dwellings, and particularly metropolitan areas. The combination of capitalist accumulation and urbanization is the main cause for increasingly unpredictable, unforeseeable and irreversible organizational changes.

1.2. Globalization and the impacts of metropolization

In some ways, the urban condition may also be considered as a social phenomenon, the development of 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 definition[6], include all production chains and research into high-value goods, notably information and communication technology. If we take the *Silicon Valley* as an example, it becomes evident that the concentration of these production sites has encouraged urbanization throughout entire regions, spreading populations several hours away as employees search for affordable housing outside the San Francisco price range. That being said, many research projects now show evidence that fewer and fewer of these cities are playing a key role in globalization, often also complementing certain regional and transnational economic channels, "thus demonstrating huge differences between the global positioning of cities. Yet they do not all act in the same way. Each is a combination of specific economic functions and unique global connections"[7]. The international shifts of people, passenger flows, business or tourist trips and migration constitute many different indicators of this globalization, and often represent niches within the global economy.

In agglomerations that are either opulent or characterized by added-value production, it is important to stress the significance of makeshift housing, which clearly represents a key factor of rapid population growth and unresolved inclusive planning issues. The UN data regarding populations living in slums (1/4 of the urban population[8]) reflect how difficult it is to define such a heterogeneous phenomenon. It is particularly important to consider the relationship citizens have with their housing, and by extension, the area or habitat they live in. Even in vulnerable districts, living

[6] Saskia SASSEN, *The Global City - New York, London, Tokyo*, 2e éd., Princeton, N.J., Princeton University Press, 2001.
[7] Saskia SASSEN, « L'archipel des villes globales », *Les Grands Dossiers des Sciences Humaines*, 2009, vol. 17, no 12, p. 12.
[8]   UN   Habitat   Data   2012-2013
UNITED NATIONS HUMAN SETTLEMENTS PROGRAMME, « Background paper », *op. cit.*

areas often embody emotional values, which are completely ignored by public policies. In many cities, vulnerable habitats are considered as such because local authorities fail to recognise them, therefore depriving these districts of land security. As for the remaining districts, their constructive qualities and range of facilities can be extremely varied. However, the lack of interventions in terms of housing production is also a deliberate choice on the part of many countries and local authorities and has led to a deregulation of production, the social and political scope of which is ultimately often poorly anticipated. Unfortunately, in addition to this, local authorities in many countries do not have the legal or financial resources to build social housing. The same goes for housing so-called 'undesirable' populations in Europe, such as Romany and nomadic minorities, asylum seekers, and those side-lined by globalization throughout the world, who are often greater in number than the 'winners'.

Urbanization largely takes place on the outskirts of cities and is characterized by the opening of borders and the failure to prevent outward construction. The systemic transformation of modes of transport have modified urban systems more than any other change. As David Harvey explains, each capitalistic symbolic industrial revolution has allowed for a radical shift in the way that space is organized: motorway systems have changed the way we move around and transfer objects. As such, by radically altering the links between our places of living and places of work[9], there are now greater mobility, spatial, social and residential opportunities.

Cities and metropolitan regions are, in essence, becoming the very site of capital accumulation. This is one of the reasons why competition between companies has shifted, as companies relocate their headquarters to large cities, which become a breeding ground for competition, as well as other forms of complementarities that are productive or based in other sector (educational, artistic etc.). In this report, we deemed it necessary to emphasise one of the major changes caused by urbanization since Habitat II, in other words, the tensions that burden cities falling under the spell of global competition. Cities are becoming the perfect setting for high-profile investments and developments aimed at attracting (preferably international) companies, tourists and investors. More often than not, this remodelling puts the urban fabric and its inhabitants under great strain.

Cities have reached a crossroads; they are now starting to think more closely about means of conciliation between competitiveness and social balances. This report will look further into this by demonstrating that competitiveness objectives pose an often unanticipated serious risk of social and economic breakdown among entire sections of the population subjected to excessive increases in property prices across cities, especially large ones (particularly exaggerated cases include cities such as Hong Kong, London, New York) as well as crowding-out issues, which are a result of these capital gains prospects. The recent taxation imposed on luxury property in certain

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[9] David HARVEY, « Cities or urbanization? », *in* Neil BRENNER (dir.), *Implosions/Explosions: Towards a Study of Planetary Urbanization*, JOVIS Verlag, 2014, p. 52‑66.

cities indicates a tentative return toward the regulation of an almost completely ungoverned sector. In Tel-Aviv, the 65% increase in prices between 2007 and 2011 marked the beginning of a significant social shift[10] regarding the occupation of the capital city's main artery, Boulevard Rothschild, which particularly affected young people and the middle class. Other examples include the Taksim square protest movement in Istanbul and the rebellion against rising public transport prices in major Brazilian cities.

To take but one other example, the environmental damage and increased risk of disasters in cities should also be taken into account as they affect all cities that have failed or are unable to control urban sprawl. Some cities have recently acknowledged that air pollution is now reaching dangerous levels, however, it is important not to forget the rate at which cities are contributing to the global environmental crisis and their responsibility in this regard. We do not have much time before 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 both reflect 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.

1.2.1. Cities: central places of capital gains production and well-being?

To a greater extent than towns, large cities each amass the majority of all the generated economic wealth and gross domestic product (GDP). It is now commonly recognised that some cities produce more wealth alone than certain countries and generate far more income per citizen than the rest of the country they belong to. As an example, with its 7.5 million inhabitants, the San Francisco bay area represents the 22nd strongest global economy[11]. The wider the range of high-level and high-quality education for citizens, the more prosperous the city, thus forming a knowledge-based society. However, prosperity can also go hand in hand with the quality of communal life.

The *buen vivir* (well-being) or quality of life of citizens is also associated with a wide range of public health policies, cultural policies and the implementation of citizen[12] participation.

1.2.2. Cities must control the balance between their attractiveness and negative externalities, as well as any growing inequalities

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[10] The so-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, p. 704‑725.

[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, Kemeny THOMAS, Makarem NAJI et Osman TANER, *The Rise and Fall of Urban Economies: Lessons from San Francisco and Los Angeles*, Stanford, California, Stanford University Press, 2015.

[12] UNITED NATIONS, *World Urbanization Prospects*, *op. cit.*

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', has largely come to a halt in more urbanized countries of Europe, North America, the Arab world and Latin America. However, in certain countries, this flux has now been replaced by domestic farmers or migrants leaving their homes because the combination of climate imbalance, soil erosion, poor, quasi-feudal working conditions, over-indebtedness (such as Dhaka in Bangladesh where this flux is estimated at one million people per year), armed conflicts and forced displacements have diminished their living conditions.

Climate imbalance is deemed responsible for the immigration of 500,000 people to Dhaka each year, and 70% of migrants claim they moved for environmental reasons[13]. 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 decent housing or living conditions.

However, despite this concentration of wealth and provision of resources and high-quality services, internal inequalities within cities 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.

For the inhabitants who are most heavily deprived of access to central resources, and to a lesser extent, all residents including those living in deteriorated town centres, large cities produce negative externalities (slower transport connections, pollution, environmental degradation, etc.). The impact on health, transport connection times, mobility costs and mobility obstacles is often poorly evaluated. In fact, many public authorities are slow to publicise and document the social and sanitary effects of these negative externalities, as well as, on a wider scale, the unequal nature of public investment, which under-invests in public transport, accessible forms of mobility and widely accessible services. The most poorly supplied suburban areas are often the first to be affected by these spatial inequalities, which are further intensified by their overall openness and the introduction of inter-urban competition.

1.3. Contradictions of the metropolization process and spatial inequalities

In light of these challenges, some local authorities and citizens have joined forces to provide access to reliable, real-time data on pollution (mobile apps), traffic, minibus and 'informal' shared transport journeys and spatial inequalities, etc. All these measures, which are crucial to an ecological transition, seem to actually work in contradiction with growth trends in large cities as they come under pressure from

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[13] CITIES ALLIANCE, *Climate migration drives slum growth in Dhaka*, 2011.

commercial and property developers who are constantly looking to extend their territories. However, these negative externalities can be remedied.

The contradictions created by metropolization processes are largely caused by an uneven allocation of resources: between popular central and suburban areas for example, but also in town centres that have been abandoned in favour of protected suburban areas. The geography of territorial inequalities is constantly changing, but the overwhelming tendency among public authorities or nations is to favour areas that are already better provided for.

The most obvious examples of these inequalities can be found in the biggest of cities, which are often the most unequal, and where the upper classes are concentrated within gated communities that, apart from their detrimental effect on urban life, are also huge consumers of space, water and non-renewable resources[14]. Moreover, in some cities, central areas prosper and maintain their economic dominance at the expense of suburban areas by capturing incoming 'rich' migrants, taxes and national and international investments[15]. In some cases, alliances between public and local authorities, private developers and the ruling classes almost 'randomly' allocate the resources among the already privileged districts[16], completely disregarding the needs of working-class neighbourhoods. As such, the authorities among new communities, who only account for 10% of the Cairo population, have a budget greater than the one allocated by the entire Ministry of Housing. Around cities, suburban towns are often also victims of this uneven development and have always received rejected resources (e.g. polluting facilities, dumping areas) and are often considered as low-quality urban fringes[17].

Cities are common goods that must be shared. Additionally, the awareness of the ways in which urban solidarity can benefit the city are 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.

However, it is essential that public authorities urgently work towards forming a general consensus between city centres and their outskirts in an effort to control urban sprawl, preserve agricultural and wetland areas and address the environmental and social issues that require renewed town planning. This work requires a quick consideration of the forms of metropolitan government that will

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[14] For example, in 2000, in Greater Cairo, 1,200 km^2 was set aside for private property development (mostly in new towns), in other words covering an area 2.5 times the size of the agglomeration in Cairo, which took 100 years to grow from 35 to 480 km^2 . At the same time, the environmental performance of new towns is often an ill-considered part of their conception. No studies are carried out on the cost of urban sprawls (in terms of infrastructure and urban services), nor on the consumption of resources (water, land, electricity), which often come at the expense of districts in more central areas. See: Pierre-Arnaud BARTHEL, « Repenser les « villes nouvelles » du Caire : défis pour mettre fin à un développement non durable », *Égypte/Monde arabe*, 2011, n⁰ 8, p. 181‑207.
[15] WORLD BANK, *Reshaping Economic Geography*, 2009. Also see the research by economist Paul Krugman.
[16] TADAMUN, « Investigating Spatial Inequality in Cairo », *Tadamun*, 2015.
[17] Alexis SIERRA et Jérôme TADIE, « Introduction », *Autrepart*, 2008, vol. 1, n⁰ 45, p. 3‑13.

complement local governments and clearly not expand in relation to these cities; mega-cities raise their own specific governance issues[18].

Cities must aim for targets that 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. The idea of justice, particularly that of spatial justice, is at the heart of this urban renewal, making it possible to conceive a future for all inhabitants in cities that will strive for well-being and are structured around common objectives.

2. THE GUIDING PRINCIPLE OF THIS REPORT: PROMOTING SPATIAL JUSTICE

Although spatial justice is not a pre-conceived idea used as a frame of reference, the use of this notion as the basis of this report stems from the initial discussions regarding its composition. It therefore became clear that the new challenges faced by cities could be largely addressed by literature based on the relationship between city dweller demands and the realities of existing urban systems, which public authorities must take responsibility for. This has become particularly evident following the social urban protest movements in Turkey, Brazil, France, the United Kingdom and Unites States, which are all shedding new light on the question of rights to the city by demanding inner-city justice. In recent years, the fight for justice has grown stronger by the very fact that its roots lie in spatial and territorial policies.

The reason why this quest for justice is based solely on a concept of democracy is that the principle of equality still remains an unachievable ideal. As underlined by Edward Soja, the creation of space, town planning and urban policies are unfair, and yet the principle of justice still remains "one of the founding purposes that seeks to preserve human dignity and equality"[19].

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 implores local authorities to take public action that carefully addresses possible discrimination and works towards the social and political organization of space and services to reduce 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 city-wide objectives, meanwhile pursuing targets to drastically reduce greenhouse gas emissions[20].

2.1. Tensions/contradictions between competitiveness and spatial justice

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

[19] Edward W. SOJA, « La ville et la justice spatiale », *in* Bernard BRET, Philippe GERVAIS-LAMBONY, Claire HANCOCK et Frédéric LANDY (dir.), *Justice et injustices spatiales*, Nanterre, Presses universitaires de Paris Ouest, 2012, p. 57‑72.

[20] For the debate on 'spatial justice' and 'fair cities', see: Susan S. FAINSTEIN, « Justice spatiale et aménagement urbain », *JSSJ*, 2009, nº 1.

Adjusting urban policies towards spatial justice follows on from an empirical analysis of contradictions that have resulted in widespread competitive policies in most cities over the last decade. 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 as well as potential pathways and 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. However, in contexts as complicated as cities, the results are often slightly nuanced.

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. This section re-articulates the elements of macro-economics and local and urban economics by endeavouring 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 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 production 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 rights to the city, presented through various themes such as access to housing, anti-crowding-out policies and forms of land regulation are all part of this vision of a sustainable city.

Due to the fact that governance is a prerequisite to the type of effective and fair urban management that respects everybody's quality of life, 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 a fair urban policy[21]. 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.

2.2. The Right to the city and *buen vivir*; key components and conditions of spatial justice

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[21] Frédéric DUFAUX et Pascale PHILIFERT, *Justice spatiale et politiques territoriales*, Nanterre, Presses universitaires de Paris Ouest, 2013.

The Right to the city is a notion originating from urban study research, which has since been adopted by social protest movements. Its adaptability makes it an extremely applicable concept. According to international networks such as the Housing International Coalition (HIC), the right to the city is the equivalent of human rights in an urban context, drawing criticisms on the consequences of commodification (services, social housing, land)[22], on the ability of citizens to exist and remain in towns in dignified conditions. As for social protest movements, the right to the city bridges the gap between the growing number of ecological and social transition notions and practices. Such practices are re-inventing urban societies based on the conviviality and simplicity needed to foster prosperity independent from economic growth[23], which is the Latin American concept of *buen vivir* (well-being). All of these movements are now 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[24]). The right to the city has also been adopted by many municipalities as a charter to seal an operative or tentative agreement on fundamental urban rights, a good example of which would be the Medellín 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 DPU[25]. There are six constituent points:

- The social function of property and land
- The right to social housing
- The full exercise of citizenship and the democratic management of a city
- The right to a fair economy (including the recognition of alternative or different forms of work)
- The right to a healthy environment and fair, sustainable development
- Spatial justice

This report draws upon a series of observations that emphasize the need to take intervention capabilities in cities seriously and strengthen them. These cities then become key players in the fight against climate change, as evidenced by the C40 initiatives. However, as many have done since Habitat II, cities must also still be able to incorporate solidarity and redistribution principles that take effect by effectively implementing the aforementioned principles.

2.3. A democratic renewal of management procedures

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[22] Report on the "*A qui profite le droit à la ville/Who benefits from rights to the city*" discussion evening, organized by the Centre SUD and Réseau Sud in Paris on 9th December 2015, with Lorena Zarate, CEO of HIC. Online.

[23] Contributions from associations during meetings in conjunction with the COP21 organized by UCLG, written by Benjamin Ball & Gustave Massiah.

[24] See research and discussions by Cyria Emelianoff on this topic, idem, COP21 oral source, UCLG day in Saint-Denis.

[25] Alexandre APSEAN FREDIANI et 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 en collaboration avec Habitat International Coalition Habitat III working group, 2015.

This change of direction requires a clear political willingness and a clear understanding of the overlapping nature of urban, environmental, economic and social issues. Metropolization must be controlled in order to ensure satisfactory solutions and 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. This work is all the more effective and sustainable if it is able to take root alongside citizen initiatives or form democratic alliances.

This democratic renewal of management procedures, with which many municipalities are already paving the way, cannot properly take shape and spread without launching training programmes for elected representatives, technicians and citizens, or without being rooted in a collaborative economy for training.

Training is required before implementing well thought-out production and planning tools based around a common good. It is also necessary to put in place monitoring tools, which are the responsibility of local authorities. Technical and practical democracy and assessment training may set up as mutual 'peer-to-peer' apprenticeships, based on experiences.

Only then will it be possible to systematize the implementation of monitoring services for inequalities, pollution and urbanization in all its forms, including ordinary and architectural heritage. Local authorities must also be able to produce quality indicators for housing and habitat, in other words, urban environments that have taken into consideration their costs, sustainability, geographical location and maintenance. They must ultimately establish tools for assessing these urbanization and energy transition phenomena, policy and planning tools and the ability to drastically reduce greenhouse gas emissions through citizen-controlled procedures. Clearly, it is only by actually (and not symbolically) opening up these various steering and monitoring committees to citizens that it will be possible to ensure that they remain impartial tools for the common good.

SECTION ONE - FACED WITH THE CONSEQUENCES OF METROPOLITAN COMPETITION, HOW CAN WE DEVISE FAIRER URBAN POLICIES?

To start with, this section will demonstrate how, 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 (1).

Following on from that, this section will explain that this competition between cities is not an unequivocal process that governments and populations have no control over. 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 (2).

1. ANALYSIS OF COMPETITION BETWEEN CITIES AND ITS CONSEQUENCES

Globalization is responsible for the emergence and structuring of policies that favour territorial attractiveness and competition within cities and metropolitan areas (1.1). These policies have rather contrasting effects on economic, social and environmental levels (1.2).

1.1. Analysis of competitiveness between cities

The rise in competition is intricately linked with globalization, and consequently the emergence of an 'exceptional city' model (presented below), which has transformed territorial policies governed by public authorities (nations and local governments). This phenomenon is further accentuated by the financialization of the global economy.

1.1.1. Why do cities benefit from globalization?

Cities are witnessing spectacular transformations within their built environments. This 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 city[26].

This competition can be explained by two intricately woven phenomena:

- The current <u>globalization</u> 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 favour the free movement of goods and capital[27]. In this regard, the appropriate scope for important economic actors in cities (multinationals, institutional investors) is no longer the Nation-State, but the world, thus contributing to the transformation of local productive systems.

- The increasing power of a <u>new innovation model</u> caused by the emergence of industries whose development is predominantly based on human capital - biotechnologies, new information and communication technologies, etc.[28], also known as 'cognitive economy' - and 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 further than scientific discoveries themselves, 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. Due to the fact that cities combine both population diversity and density, they provide a natural platform for these new economic development challenges[29].

There are three key characteristics that can help explain the metropolitan advantage:

- Their <u>advanced material connectivity.</u> From a technical standpoint, the infrastructures and facilities found within cities (means of telecommunication and transport) facilitate long-distance relationships. This aspect has been discussed in particular detail by the economist Paul Krugman, winner of the 2008 Nobel Memorial Prize in Economic Sciences for his contributions to New Economic Geography[30].

- The existence of a <u>cosmopolitan culture or 'transnationalism'</u>, often felt 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

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[26] PIERMAY, « Introduction », *in* Antoine LE BLANC, Jean-Luc PIERMAY, Philippe GERVAY-LAMBONY, 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, .

[27] Agnès DEBOULET, « Villes globales convoitées et inégalités », *Idées économiques et sociales*, 2012, N° 167, nᵒ 1, p. 37‑47.

[28] Dominique LORRAIN, « La ville et les marchés : ce qui change au début du 21e siècle. », *EspacesTemps.net*, 2013.

[29] Frédéric GILLI, « Les territoires de l'innovation... ne sont pas ceux qu'on croit », *L'Économie politique*, 2015, vol. 68, nᵒ 4, p. 20‑35.

[30] Jacques-François THISSE, « Le développement inégal des régions : l'apport de la nouvelle économie géographique », *Idées économiques et sociales*, 2012, nᵒ 167, p. 26‑36.

cities, such as Ahmadabad, Pune and other Indian cities, take advantage of investments from expatriated Indians, especially in the property sector.

- The <u>presence of actors connected to extra-regional channels</u>, particularly multinational firms, which are the experts of multilocation.[31]

Ultimately, this explains the rise in <u>metropolization</u>, which is, in many respects, the 'spatial and sub-national equivalent of globalization'[32]. This is characterized by the concentration of people and businesses within the main agglomerations of a given urban system[33] 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.

1.1.2. The lure of 'exceptional cities'

In this regard, it should be possible to detect the emergence of an 'archipelago[34] economy' in which large urban regions tend to work with each other as a network, rather than with peri-urban and rural areas, which become increasingly distant from state-promoted productive systems. This phenomenon has been studied by many writers, whose developed concepts will soon be interpreted as guidelines for competing alongside globalization. As such, it is possible to distinguish:

- Global cities, which is the title of a paper written in 1991 by Saskia Sassen, an urban sociology specialist[35]. According to Sassen, by becoming practically indispensable to multinational companies who use them for the services that sustain their day-to-day functioning (marketing, auditing, consultation, law, IT services, financial services, etc.) global cities such as London, New York and Tokyo are the champions of the ongoing globalization trend. At the same time, this is accompanied by a rising social polarization between groups working in leading sectors (executive managers, consultants, traders, etc.) and the working-classes and minorities who consigned to the services sector. This phenomenon is linked to the growing demand for senior executives, who greatly benefit from this new situation. Furthermore, such minorities have to deal with the gentrification of entire sections of large cities in favour of wealthier social classes[36].
- The emergence of <u>technology centres</u> (such as the Silicon Valley in California) is partly due to firms refocusing on innovation, after having relocated their low added-value businesses to countries with low production costs. In order to keep competing and maintain a flow of internal knowledge, innovation centres

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[31] Ludovic HALBERT, *L'avantage métropolitain*, Paris, Presses Universitaires de France, 2010.
[32] C. GHORRA-GOBIN, « De la métropolisation », *op. cit.*
[33] L. HALBERT, *L'avantage métropolitain*, *op. cit.*
[34] Pierre VELTZ, *Mondialisation, villes et territoires - L'économie d'archipel*, 2e édition., Presses Universitaires de France, 2014.
[35] S. SASSEN, *The Global City - New York, London, Tokyo*, *op. cit.*
[36] Jean-François SERRE, « La ville interpellée par la mondialisation : 6) Ville mondiale ou ville globale/duale ? avec Saskia Sassen, Manuel Castells et Pierre Veltz », *La ville à la croisée des chemins - Promenade dans la littérature de l'urbanité*, 2014.

- mainly those located in metropolitan areas, forming 'clusters' with research centres and training units - become interrelated. For example, in 2006, the firm Scheider Electric had around forty research and development (R&D) centres around the world, most of which were located in large urban regions[37]. In addition to geographic specialization, there are often skill specializations, bringing companies closer to certain markets. In this regard, companies are establishing themselves in Bangalore (India) because it has become the global headquarters for software development[38].

- <u>Creative cities</u>, which American geographer Richard Florida named as such because he believes that a city's economic success is dependent upon its ability to attract a 'creative class' comprised of a population working in a complex web of intellectual and artistic professions. According to Florida, people in this sector represent 30% of the working population in Western economies. This proportion is actually much smaller in reality. They seek an environment characterized by three key criteria (the 3Ts): technology (adapted technological environment), talents (highly qualified workforce) and tolerance (most contested indicator since it is measured with regard to irrelevant criteria such as the number of people born abroad, the size of the homosexual community and the proportion of people working in the arts sector). Policies in aid of culture or redefining urban spaces are put in place to attract them, but at the same contribute to the crowding-out of the working classes[39].

These three models are not mutually exclusive and many cities can even be considered as hybrids. This is explained by the fact that, even though they may sometimes be portrayed as competing, they are all based around the notion that cities excel in cognitive economies. In other words, they rely on the creation and mobilization of knowledge through a whole range of professions, from artists to engineers, business angels to lawyers. However, focusing solely on these professions does not encapsulate the inner workings of a city as a whole.

Moreover, these models were exclusively developed in Western cities, which for the last twenty years, have stopped being dominant among the demographic ranks of the world's major cities. Furthermore, it is no longer possible to consider globalization as a method for reaching a rank that excludes developing cities or booming economies, bearing in mind the fact that globalization also constitutes an unavoidable political and economic reality across the entire planet.

In any case, these models result in the mobilization of a whole imaginary 'world-class' city, which has very real repercussions in terms of urban policies.

1.1.3. The repercussions in terms of urban policies

While competition between territories and their attractiveness is considered a key issue, in some cases, public decision-makers, who may be swayed by economic

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[37] L. HALBERT, *L'avantage métropolitain*, *op. cit.*
[38] *Ibid.*
[39] Elsa VIVANT, *Qu'est-ce que la ville créative*, Presses Universitaires de France, 2009.

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 scale[40]. There are two particularly emblematic elements to these transformations: at metropolitan level, the development of 'strategies' and other 'visions'; in portions of the city, the implementation of 'luxury' development projects.

<u>Metropolitan strategies</u>

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 <u>strategic urban planning documents</u> with the help of consulting firms. There are many examples of this, from Singapore to London, Mumbai[41], Cairo[42], Algiers[43] and Brussels[44]. 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.
- 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 <u>clusters</u>, which can be positioned as strategic levers for economic development, as is the case in the context of Greater Paris. In metropolitan Paris, 'sectoral' clusters (characterized by different business sectors) have emerged all around the city. However, rather than ensuring proper economic development (to the extent that it is difficult for public authorities to control the geographic placement of businesses and that these clusters do not take the existing economic geography into account) the

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[40] Colin CROUCH et Patrick GALÈS (LE), « Cities as national champions? », *Journal of European Public Policy*, 2012, vol. 3, n° 19, p. 405‑419.

[41] The example of Mumbai is presented in an information box in the third section of this report, under the heading: "The city: a new player?".

[42] 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 GERVAY-LAMBONY, 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, p. 295‑314.

[43] 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, n° 26.

[44] Gilles VAN HAMME et Mathieu VAN CRIEKINGEN, « Compétitivité économique et question sociale : les illusions des politiques de développement à Bruxelles », *Métropoles*, 2012, n° 11.

labelling of 'clusters' enables local development agencies, developers and mayors to use attractiveness as a justification for their actions[45]. 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 to the clusters of Paris or London, where businesses are tightly concentrated[46].

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 centres: in the space of a decade, a growing number of large cities have realised the added-value potential of historical buildings, either to reinforce attachment to the city (citizenship) 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 favour of the façade and therefore creating a non-sustainable structure, often ultimately reinvents history[47].

- Projects for urban renewal or 'renovation' 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 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 hectares[48].

- 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 centre 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

[45] Nicolas Rio, « Le mythe des « clusters » du Grand Paris », *Métropolitiques*, 2014.
[46] Dominic Stead et Evert Meijers, *Urban Planning and Transport Infrastructure Provision in the Randstad, Netherlands. A Global City Cluster*, International Transport Forum/OECD, 2015.
[47] 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.
[48] 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, p. 330-357.

thousands of hectares have been expropriated for a motorway that leads to a relatively small airport, in Bangalore[49].

Ultimately, competitiveness is seen as more of a constant construction process in which infrastructures, in the broadest sense of the term, must incorporate property and fundamental urban services (energy, water, sanitation, etc.) and meet the highest expectations of the very services they hope to attract. It no longer, or at least hardly seeks to help citizens benefit from the city's or town centre's existing assets without bureaucratic or income restrictions.

1.1.4. 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 the urban business management sector, particularly in property markets (offices, warehouses, shopping centres, hotels, clinics, retirement homes, cinemas, etc.), certain infrastructures (motorways, airports, telecommunications and energy networks, etc.) and widespread urban services (production and distribution of electricity and water, etc.). This phenomenon affects not only cities in the Global North but also cities in the 'Global South', where there are increasing numbers of creditworthy customers.
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 factors involved in strengthening the finance and consulting industry

The growing strength of this industry is owed to a certain number of factors:
- The deregulation of financial markets in Great Britain and the United States - with the end of the separation between commercial banks and investment banks, introduced after the 1929 Wall Street Crash (Glass-Steagall Act of 1933).
- The globalization of exchanges within the economy, which encourages large banks to offer other services in addition to banking transactions (preliminary studies and economic analyses, credit ratings, external audits for global companies) in order to support their customers as they spread internationally.
- Privatizations; the consequences of challenging the legitimacy of public policy and the idea that public authorities should be open to private stakeholders. New sectors are entering market economics: initially in energy (like in Chile)

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[49] Solomon BENJAMIN, « Occupancy Urbanism: Radicalizing Politics and Economy beyond Policy and Programs », *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 2008, vol. 32, nº 3, p. 719‑729.

and telecommunications, quickly followed by public urban services, property, leisure resorts, etc. Through the emergence of new set-ups (public-private partnerships, Build-Operate-Transfer (BOT) type contracts, etc.), this industry is now able to offer new services.

- The <u>rising influx of resources available for investment</u> by investment funds and other sovereign wealth funds. This is a result of managing capital-based pension funds and ageing populations in industrial countries, the huge rise in fuel prices following the 2003 war in Iraq, the emergence of a new class of millionaires as a result of economic growth in the 1990 and the privatization of industries.
- The calculation capabilities of computers has made it possible to process large quantities of data in accountable ratios and values, therefore facilitating comparisons between firms, sectors, countries and cities (in other words the basis of work carried out by consulting firms).[50]

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 quantity of projects, and therefore influence a company's strategy (even those in which banks and investment funds are minority capital shareholders) or public policies. It is what is referred to as 'information-based power'[51].

For example, local authorities in France, who were quick to act on the price of water and rising electricity tariffs, negotiated debt arrangements that caused them (and the taxpayer) to lose considerable sums of money. Likewise, prior to the financial crisis of 2008, many cities fell into debt due to toxic assets. This situation is completely different to the one that prevailed until now, in which the role of finance in the city was limited to capital contributions through banks, particularly to ensure the development of major infrastructures.

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 infrastructures[52].

This is often the case in large cities in the Arab world (in capital cities and large secondary cities such as coastal towns), which now all have their own 'large-scale urban projects', predominantly funded by Emirati 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 the Bou-Regreg

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[50] Dominique Lorrain, « La main discrète », *Revue française de science politique*, 2011, Vol. 61, n° 6, p. 1097‑1122.
[51] *Ibid.*
[52] Vincent Renard, « La ville saisie par la finance », *Le Débat*, 2008, vol. 1, n° 148, p. 106‑117.

valley and made project promoters more attentive[53]: 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.

<u>The impact of financialization on metropolization and competitiveness</u>

The financialization of urban production is a deep-rooted trend that, in a manner of speaking, 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. Global finance institutions will invest in a city with a good reputation in one sector or another, which in turn, causes property prices to rise and attracts further investors. However, by becoming reliant on financial input, cities also risk being at the mercy of an inverted financial bubble, as was the case in Spain during the financial crisis of 2008.

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 social 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 Cuitat Meridiana district located in the north-east of Barcelona, but also in Madrid and Valencia[54].

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[53] 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.
[54] 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, p. 218‑235.

Consequently, between 2000-2007, financial capital investments were focused towards global cities in industrial countries and into a few large cities in emerging countries, which were rising in the rankings: Shanghai, Bangalore, etc. Moreover, there were also 'strategic' cities, which managed to position themselves globally, extreme forms of which include Macau, Las Vegas and Dubai.

Urban development in cities in the Gulf and Islamic finance

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

In order to attract private local capital such as foreigners 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 construction companies in order to compensate for the lack of local expertise, for example by allowing completely 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 property and financial networks, 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 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 (86 billion American dollars, 173 km^2) in Jeddah in Saudi Arabia or the Pearl Artifical Island Development in Doha in Qatar (7 billion dollars for 2.2 km^2) - have seen the region profit from the greatest growth in direct foreign investments in the past decade[55].

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

The following section will demonstrate the consequences and effects of these policies, particularly at a societal level.

1.2. How does competitiveness affect cities?

Metropolization and competitiveness bring about some of the most contrasting economic and socio-spatial consequences. These will each be elaborated on in turn. The second section of this report will touch upon another type of consequence that should not be overlooked, that is to say the environmental damage on an urban,

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[55] Michelle BUCKLEY et 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, n° 1, p. 155‑175.

regional and international scale (health effects, increased emissions of greenhouse gases and other pollutants, insufficient risk management, large agglomerations requiring the use of cars and the spread of suburban housing, etc.).

1.2.1. The secondary effects of competitiveness on the economic front

The report will explain how, on the one hand, although metropolitan regions may have excellent productivity and be driving economic forces for their country, or even the global economy, their success also 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.

On the other hand, it would appear that, in certain contexts, territorial policies do not guarantee increased attractiveness, despite it being their intended objective. Behind this objective remains a tendency to monopolize land tenure.

From a purely economic standpoint, the high cost and 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 expensive.

Furthermore, the same consequences are brought about by public authorities when they favour expulsion in the name of competitiveness. Examples of this include:

- The relocation of 'sedentary' businesses, including the relocation of craftspeople from the Grand Bazaar in Istanbul, or redevelopment projects in self-built working-class districts that do not take into account the existing economic fabric, as is the case with the *Strategic Upgrading Project for the Northern Giza Sector* in Cairo's Imbaba district. In fact, as more people move into this type of district, within their midst or surroundings, they generate a residential economy that supplies most of the economic businesses and jobs required by its inhabitants[56].

- Street vendors, who are directly targeted by this clean-up of spaces, as deemed necessary for urban competitiveness policies. This past century has also seen intensified banishment of street vendors across all continents, including European countries, and the eviction of rag dealers, both on the outskirts of urban renewal projects or more generally in reclaimed town centres[57].

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[56] David SIMS, *Understanding Cairo: The Logic of a City Out of Control*, Reprint., Cairo; New York, The American University in Cairo Press, 2012.

[57] Jérôme MONNET, « L'ambulantage : Représentations du commerce ambulant ou informel et métropolisation », *Cybergeo : 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, n° 39, p. 93‑109.

Competitiveness can therefore have very negative effects on certain 'fragile' economic sectors, such as the so-called informal economy. At the same time, territorial policies aimed at competitiveness <u>do not necessarily increase a location's attractiveness</u>.

This is certainly the case in Cairo where the intended multiplying effect on the local production base of transforming the built environment has not occurred, coupled with the lack of necessary tools for assessing such change. In this regard, increased competition for depleting land resources, in a context of land and property deregulation, which has, since the second half of the 2000s, enabled private Egyptian and foreign operators to invest in this rapid added-value sector, does not necessarily prompt competitiveness.[58]

Generally speaking, in emerging industrial economies, competitiveness often indicates twofold economic development: an affordable and abundant workforce, correlated with an equally attractive urban environment, which is obviously difficult for large heavily-polluted Asian cities or cities such as Lagos, Nairobi, Mumbai or Shanghai, which lack the necessary infrastructures to achieve this economic offer.

Moreover, even in the context of a northern city, 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 asset[59].

1.2.2. Socio-spatial impacts: increased social polarization

It is important to highlight two concomitant phenomena: on the one hand, territorial policies geared towards attractiveness are accompanied by the implementation of development projects which, if not initially, often reinforce gentrification trends and the exclusion of the most socially vulnerable populations. On the other hand, for lack of the financial resources that would facilitate a more ubiquitous urban development within the city, these territorial policies tend to favour a dual urbanism that causes entire sections of the urbanised space to become redundant. Ultimately, competitiveness within cities is coupled with heightened socio-spatial inequalities.

<u>Urban projects that contribute to gentrification and the exclusion of the most vulnerable populations</u>

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

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[58] P.-A. Barthel, A. Deboulet et M. Pappalardo, « Le « Caire 2050 » : l'entrée dans la compétition globale par le renouvellement urbain », *op. cit.*

[59] Greig Charnock, Thomas F. Purcell et 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, n° 1, p. 198-217.

- Indirectly speaking, whether intentionally or not, these programmes usually drive out the population due to increased rent prices. This particularly affects tenants, migrants (often also tenants) and 'squatters'.
- Directly speaking, these policies can lead to the expulsion of working-class populations, or simply prohibit their access to certain areas. In this regard, the demolition/conversion of social housing estates into deluxe residential housing can engender the expulsion of the existing resident populations - particularly low-rent tenants - thus intensifying social polarization. In some cases, some residents feel compelled to fight against their expulsion, much like in Istanbul after the plans to build a technology centre were announced[60] Moreover, through the *Business Improvement District* (BID) approach, which has been trialled in Hamburg[61], as well as other southern cities - in Cape Town and Johannesburg through *City Improvement Districts*[62] 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.

An increasingly 'selective' urbanism

Alongside competitiveness, we are now seeing the emergence of an increasingly selective urbanism that excludes entire sections of urbanized spaces within cities[63]. This trend is further intensified by the growing influence of global finance within urban affairs which, by introducing a profitability/risk approach, creates a progressively greater dissociation between 'luxury' projects, which are often granted substantial funding, and others.

This selectivity of competitiveness policies is particularly apparent in terms of:
- Technical networks and facilities, in which there is an increasing spatial differentiation between (mainly private) infrastructures, that are designed to keep up with the requirements of economic development based on integrating into globalized production networks, or others dealing with insufficient or reduced funding. This creates a divide from the western vision of urbanism, which seeks to organize a city's geography through coherent, standardized development and widespread water, energy and transport networks and communication infrastructures. This is what is referred to as *splintering urbanism*[64].

[60] Jean-François PEROUSE, « Istanbul, entre Paris et Dubaï : mise en conformité « internationale », nettoyage et résistances », *in* Isabelle BERRY-CHIKHAOUI, Agnès DEBOULET et Laurence ROULLEAU-BERGER (dir.), *Villes internationales. Entre tensions et réactions des habitants*, Paris, La Découverte, 2007, p. 31‑62.
[61] Claire LABOREY, *Mainmise sur les villes*, 2015.
[62] Sophie DIDIER, Elisabeth PEYROUX et 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, p. 915‑935.
[63] OECD, *Competitive Cities in the Global Economy*, 2006.
[64] Steve GRAHAM et Simon MARVIN, *Splintering Urbanism: Networked Infrastructures, Technological Mobilities and the Urban Condition*, London ; New York, Routledge, 2001.

- Gated communities and other *compounds* - a term used to refer to residential properties developed for western professionals working in the Gulf States, which also come under the umbrella of gated communities in general [65] - have become the symbol of a new lifestyle. They are built like bunkers, cut off from the surrounding environment and therefore the concept of public spaces or the city and its community. This model first manifested itself in Brazil (São Paulo) - which demonstrates that the globalization of urban forms also originates from the Global South - and then spread further to many other cities: Cairo, Beijing, Hanoi, Mexico, etc.

This trend has further intensified under the pressure of global finance. In fact, in order to cover the financial risks and counteract reduced local resources, local authorities turn to investors, who tend to favour project-based urbanism and set up ad-hoc vehicles within special purpose vehicles. As such, should anything go wrong, the mother company will not suffer any immediate losses.

Furthermore, this approach also favours the most straightforward development projects. Consequently, investors prefer large projects - office buildings, shopping centres, sports complexes, casinos, large-sized urban networks, etc. - which are also referred to as 'mega projects', for two reasons: i) their substantial size makes it possible to implement exorbitant planning procedures in terms of common law (e.g. accompanied by a slackening of land rights) which grants the investor more leniency; ii) this makes it possible to establish multifunctional projects, offering a range of services (renting out offices, shopping centres, car parks or luxury hotels) that are much more attractive than a specialized centre, isolated within a district. These urban structures are consistent with the modernizing world because they are detached from their surroundings, even if they incorporate a few local, often cosmetic, adaptations.

As a result, finance evades the projects required by the majority of the population: public transport, health and education systems and widespread access to culture. Thus, investors from the Gulf States choose projects that offer the best return on investment. This is particularly obvious in the MENA (Middle East and North Africa) region along waterfronts and industrial wastelands situated in carefully selected locations. Development projects of this nature include the coastal road in Rabat, the North Lake Tunis Waterfront, the Casablanca Marina, etc. [66] This contributes to the establishment of an exceptional city that is cut off from the surrounding populations and economic activities that cannot sustain such levels of profitability[67].

The transformation of socio-spatial inequalities and its consequences

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[65] Elise BRAUD, « Derrière les murs, l'écho de Tahrir : le Caire et ses compounds, une fragmentation à nuancer », *in Villes arabes, cités rebelles*, Editions du Cygne, 2015, .

[66] Pierre-Arnaud BARTHEL, « Arab Mega-Projects: Between the Dubai Effect, Global Crisis, Social Mobilization and a Sustainable Shift », *Built Environment*, 2010, vol. 36, n° 2, p. 133‑145.

[67] D. LORRAIN, « La main discrète », *op. cit.*

Due to competitiveness and metropolization the geographical spread of inequalities is changing, which often comes at a high price in terms of urban violence or health risks. However, this analysis of inequalities must be nuanced.

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' hypothesis[68].

Such social polarization can lead to higher crime rates (on average, 30% higher in urban areas than the national average)[69], even though the trends in this area remain primarily national. Moreover, it intensifies public health issues, particularly in cities of the Global South where health care services are still being developed or are reserved to high-income populations. Health risks can be linked to unsanitary conditions caused by inadequate habitat conditions, poor management of urban waste, but also the lack of access to drinking water, sanitary facilities and health care, etc. Such risks are further heightened in areas subjected to frequent flooding.

The best policies for resolving this social polarization are not at all straightforward, as demonstrated by the example of San Francisco.
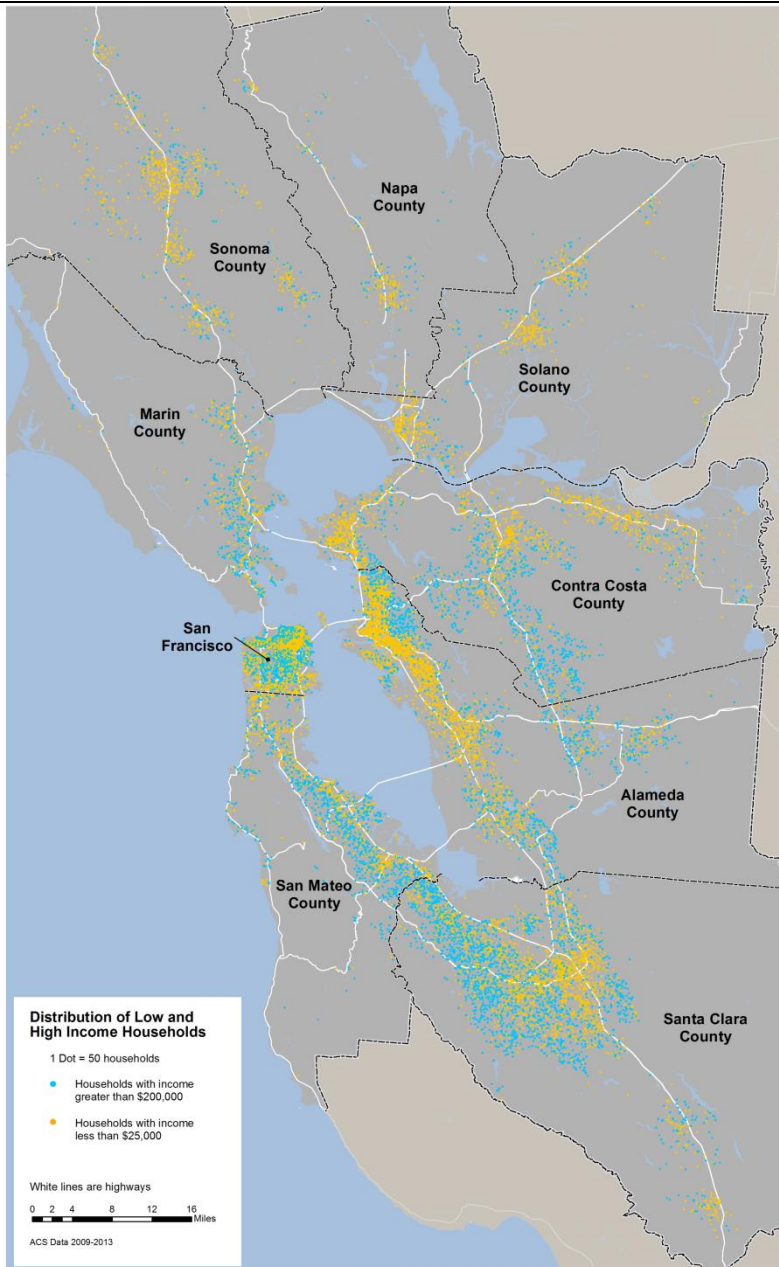

Socio-spatial inequalities in San Francisco

Figure: Distribution of high income households (incomes greater than $200,000) and low income households (incomes lower than $25,000) in San Francisco (one point = 50 households)

Source: Lehman-Frisch, 2015

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[68] Laurent GOBILLON, Harris SELOD et Yves ZENOU, « The Mechanisms of Spatial Mismatch », *Urban Studies*, 2007, vol. 44, nᵒ 12, p. 2401‑2427.
[69] OCDE, *Villes, compétitivité et mondialisation*, OCDE, 2007.

Distribution of Low and High Income Households

1 Dot = 50 households

● Households with income greater than $200,000

● Households with income less than $25,000

White lines are highways

0 2 4   8   12   16
                      Miles

ACS Data 2009-2013

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 the 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, which are quite common among United States citizens.

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 scrutinise the characteristics of these socio-spatial inequalities (see Figure).

This helps to address the confusion between the notion of inequality and injustice: in other words, although there are marked inequalities in San Francisco, that does not

necessarily make it an unjust city. In fact, the city and its various key players are committed to sustaining the vulnerable populations.

As such, only by closely understanding the social and spatial complexity of these inequalities and their fair or unjust dimensions is it possible to grasp the huge diversity of issues posed by inequality (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 levels[70].

In this respect, it is important to know whether it is also appropriate to continue establishing policies geared towards attractiveness and procedures that will promote a fairer urban development.

2. ROOM FOR MANOEUVRE TO IMAGINE ALTERNATIVE SOLUTIONS FOR A MORE UNITED CITY

This second subsection will primarily highlight the existence of 'room for manoeuvre' to deal with competitiveness and metropolization (2.1) before suggesting a few alternatives (2.2).

2.1. The existence of room for manoeuvre

Previous sections discussed the characteristics of economic integration at global level and the risks that it incurs, particularly in terms of widespread socio-spatial fragmentation/polarization.

In this respect, one might be resigned to accepting the narrative of 'exceptional cities' by believing that they are either unfortunate secondary effects, albeit necessary for the proper functioning of the metropolitan economic machine, or that there is no way of influencing such trends. However, this standpoint can be debated on at least two levels:

- At an economic level, i) the fact that medium-sized and small cities also benefit from the metropolization process and ii) the emergence of a new innovation model in which the consumer plays a greater role in the production of goods and services, thus demonstrating that productive systems are entities which still function in an integrated way despite an uneven distribution of wealth.
- At a political level, i) the role of the state and local governments in the structuring of metropolization and competitiveness and ii) the ability of populations to use their elected representatives to influence development decisions, suggests the existence of room for manoeuvre. Depending on the context, this may help 'correct' the exclusive approach adopted by modern-day territorial policies.

2.1.1. A reading of 'exceptional cities' partially put into question

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[70] Sonia LEHMAN-FRISCH, « San Francisco, métropole inégale », *La vie des idées*, 2015.

<u>The metropolization process also comes into play at intermediary levels</u>

Despite the overriding notion that cities disassociate themselves from their surrounding territories in order to join the exclusive club of global cities, the metropolization process comes into play at many intermediary levels. As such, it reshapes the very nature of relationships between the various components of a given urban system.

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 consumed[71]. In this regard, it is possible to identify three main mechanisms:

- <u>Transfers due to population mobility</u>: the change in population mobility increases the transfer of income earned in certain cities to more residentially-focused territories. The working population lives further and further away from their work place, some even juggling between several cities. 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 wealth[72].

- At the same time, the <u>growing tourism industry</u> ensures the transfer of income (domestic and foreign) from opulent to tourism-oriented regions. Further proof of this is the property boom in sales of temporary residence homes - sub-let for most of the year - and the growing number of international property exhibitions where Malay, Emirati and Turkish developers compete intensely against their western rivals on emerging markets.

- And lastly, <u>transfers related to public spending</u> (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 in Rennes, Nantes or Bordeaux prefer to live in the same area once retired, whereas those living in Paris or Metz prefer to move to other regions: south of France, or even abroad (e.g. Marrakesh, in Morocco)[73]. In any case, as demonstrated in this example, those working populations only tend to favour large cities as their choice of location.

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[71] Pierre Veltz et Sandra Moatti, « L'industrie est dans les métropoles ! », *L'Économie politique*, 2015, vol. 68, n° 4, p. 7‑19.
[72] T. Piketty, *Le capital au XXIe siècle, op. cit.*
[73] P. Veltz et S. Moatti, « L'industrie est dans les métropoles ! », *op. cit.*

These different types of transfers continue to weave strong connections between territories, primarily at national level, but also at a continental or global level thanks to tourist flows and second homes.

Dissemination mechanisms within a given urban system

Second of all, in addition to the impacts of public and private redistribution, dissemination mechanisms can be observed within any given urban system. The apparent divide between cities and non-metropolitan territories can, to a certain extent, be attributed to a time lag. This phenomenon is visible in countries of the Global North, but all the more so in emerging economies.

As such, 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, whose role as the country's main gateway to the rest of the world is important as 'growth engines', thereby supporting the entire national economy.[74]

India provides a genuine example of this; once investors have achieved a sufficient level of confidence, they 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 (*Tier-II* and *Tier-III cities*, as classified by global investment committees).

In countries of the Global North, particularly in Western Europe, the feeling of separation between cities and the rest of the urban system - described paradigmatically by Saskia Sassen in her book 'The Global City' - is quite apparent. With the changing global economy, the effects of disseminating economic development are benefiting some territories less than before - for example, the parts assembled in a factory in Ile-de-France, Bordeaux or Toulouse may be imported from anywhere in the world, and not necessarily nearby suppliers[75]. Despite this, by structurally adjusting to globalization, which all territories are doing, dissemination and improvement approaches can be brought up to date, thus reducing this feeling of separation.

As such, the economic progress of the city of London will no longer be disconnected from that of the south-east of England: secondary urban centres grow stronger, particularly in terms of businesses involving advanced services or research. Even in the Paris Basin, the suburban areas/outskirts of which are particularly exposed to ongoing industrial transformations, there are various channels of industry (cosmetics, health, cars) that closely connect the capital region with its surrounding territories[76].

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[74] D. SIMS, *Understanding Cairo*, *op. cit.*
[75] P. VELTZ et S. MOATTI, « L'industrie est dans les métropoles ! », *op. cit.*
[76] L. HALBERT, *L'avantage métropolitain*, *op. cit.*

In addition, significant differences may occur from one region of the world to another. For example, the urban system in Western Europe is characterized by a large number of medium-sized cities (excluding Paris and London) with high densities and basic, rather ubiquitous infrastructures, thus the legacy of an accumulation of physical and non-physical capital and a developed distribution system, which helps to maintain a relative disproportionate territorial equality with the rest of the world[77].

As a comparison, in the United States, the income rates among the various States show that although some States converged between 1880 and 1980, when the difference between the richest and poorest State fell from 4.5 to 1.76, they have diverged again since 1980. Thus, since 1978, 90% of economic growth in the United States has been generated by 254 large cities, 50% of which comes from 30 metropolitan areas[78].

Enhancing circulation at a macro-regional level

Ultimately, in addition to the effects of redistribution and dissemination between various levels of an urban system, the very nature of the territorial reorganizations associated with globalization contributes to enhancing the circulation of goods, capital and services at a macro-regional level. As such, despite the growing number of free trade agreements led by the World Trade Organization (WTO) and the strategies advocated by the World Bank and International Monetary Fund (IMF), the formation of continental alliances (European Union, Alena, Asean, Mercosur, etc.) contribute to the preferential integration of certain economies, which results in strengthened relationships between neighbouring countries.

This is further reinforced by the deployment of continent-wide fast transport infrastructures, which boost international circulation channels: for example, the Channel Tunnel and the Eurostar that connect London and Paris. Although this type of infrastructure may be lacking in other regions of the world, the inevitable increase in cost of mobility should, in any case, favour intra-continental or more local circulation. In the Mediterranean, North Africa and Turkey could take advantage of industrial relocation strategies. In the same way, the agribusiness ought to favour a return to shorter distribution channels.

In light of the metropolization process, these various elements suggest that it may be worth rethinking development policies, not in a selective way, as is exclusively the case with top-ranked cities, but as a cross-cutting dynamic that either directly or indirectly affects all territories.

A new innovation model, somewhat incompatible with the social polarization dynamics at play in cities

Furthermore, in certain contexts, territorial development procedures are changing:

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[77] P. VELTZ et S. MOATTI, « L'industrie est dans les métropoles ! », *op. cit.*
[78] M. STORPER, T. KEMENY, N. MAKAREM, T. OSMAN, S. MICHAEL, K. THOMAS, M. NAJI et O. TANER, *The Rise and Fall of Urban Economies, op. cit.*

Following the emergence of industries reliant on human capital, the model of open innovation is changing and designed for direct contact with markets. Thus, the consumer plays a bigger role in the production of goods and services.

This is reflected, for example, by the growing influence of different services within the economy; not only in certain booming sectors, such as those in which functions traditionally fulfilled in the domestic or collective domain are introduced to trade channels, but also by the integration of services associated with the use or maintenance of a (consumer) good.

Gradually, and more so than the race for technology novelties, 'non-technological' innovations are becoming primordial in terms of product differentiation. In this model, users themselves are the sources of inspiration as they demand new applications for their goods, and even more radically, they are beginning to invent solutions to their own problems (e.g. through new methods enable by the Internet: peer to peer, etc.). Innovation is achieved through a greater understanding of evolving social applications.

As such, whether it involves supporting the elderly, the post-carbon transition or supplying essential services to populations (access to water, electricity, etc.), technological innovations (new medicines, new water treatment or energy production facilities) are not enough if their applications are not considered first. It is, for example, by understanding why the elderly find it difficult to adapt to their daily surroundings and by keeping track of their demands and hesitations through practical observation, that support projects for the elderly will be more likely to spread through territories where research teams, service companies and the elderly population work closely together.

In other words, the future of cities does not lie solely in the hands of 'senior government' or 'strategic' posts, and the failure to provide forms of cohesion within metropolitan society constitute a major economic risk factor for the latter. The fragmented approach observed in "exceptional cities" prevents metropolitan regions from taking part in and anticipating new waves of innovation that carry a major social impact[79].

2.1.2. At a political level, local companies still have room for manoeuvre

Although 'growth coalitions' exist between the economic and political elite, local companies still have substantial room for manoeuvre. On the one hand, in many ways, the adoption of policies aimed at competitiveness and attractiveness is the result of choices made by public authorities.

On the other hand, citizen communities (residents, consumers, etc.) can also exert a certain amount of pressure.

The adoption of policies aimed at competitiveness and attractiveness is the result of choices made by public authorities

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[79] L. HALBERT, *L'avantage métropolitain, op. cit.*

Adopting a local authority approach that is mindful of local and national contexts and focused on the behaviour of key actors makes it possible to qualify the explanatory scope of approaches in which, given the changes brought about by globalization, the state would promote the emergence of policies geared towards competitiveness and attractiveness. In fact, the state's role remains central to the structuring of the context and rules that shape the responses to socio-economic changes proposed by urban governments.

Furthermore, it is apparent that, depending on the behaviour of local key actors (urban governments, private companies and economic interest groups), variations often appear in the form of local regulations. To this end, the case of the city of Lyon (France) is particularly interesting.

The political regulation of Lyon as a competitive city

The situation in Lyon is marked by a pooling of debates and practices between the Urban Community and companies in the region regarding the implementation of policies for competitiveness.

However, although the issue of competition and urban attractiveness may have entered the agenda due to strong activism from organised economic interest groups, the Chamber of Commerce and local business people, through lobbying activities among public authorities, very few responsibilities have actually been delegated among private stakeholders. At a strategic level, Greater Lyon (name given to the Urban Community) maintains strong control over most of the policies pursued by its institutional economic partners. More specifically, its political regulation remains strong and very stringent, for example in the city's 'branding' project called 'ONLY LYON'.

However, this does not mean that companies - particularly large agglomeration companies that benefit from increasingly personalized and exclusive connections - are not involved in the implementation of urban policies. In fact, connections are preferably made directly with local authorities, mainly in Greater Lyon and the surrounding region, and the political leadership by involving the Presidents of the Rhônes-Alpes region and the City of Lyon[80].

<u>The elected representatives retain a certain amount of recognition and populations can still influence development decisions</u>

Nowadays, movements such as those initiated by the Arab revolutions or the anti-austerity demonstrations in Spain are proof that demands for justice by the population do not go unnoticed, quite to the contrary. In addition, they have a definite ability to influence certain decisions, particularly those regarding large urban development projects. These decisions are therefore not solely controlled by economic interests.

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[80] Deborah GALIMBERTI, « Des variétés de régulation de la ville compétitive. », *EspacesTemps.net*, 2013.

However, there are many different connections involving power and practical implementation at play. This is what many people are referring to when they describe a 'second generation' of urban mega 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'. Conversely, these concessions are not present in other widespread urban restructuring contexts, like in Istanbul[81] or Karachi, which are home to large infrastructures that were widely challenged by the populations affected.

All in all, this suggests that it may be possible to implement urban policies that are less susceptible to spatial polarization and are more compatible with the principles of human rights and justice.

2.2. ...which should be taken advantage of in order to devise alternatives

By taking into account i) the characteristics of a metropolization process that indirectly or directly affects all territories, ii) the ongoing shift in the global economy towards a model of open-innovation (which requires a greater collective mobilization of metropolitan resources) as well as iii) the central role played by the state in the structuring of these changes, it is possible to envisage alternative urban policies. They will be more compatible with the needs of the population, the principle of 'spatial justice' and will not just be 'stopgaps' that deal with social disengagement and increased territorial inequalities only after the damage is done.
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.

2.2.1. Supporting metropolization from within an urban system

The idea that cities might disassociate themselves from their urban environment, which would bring about a seemingly inevitable drying-up of non-metropolitan territories (which would be the worst-affected by globalization), sparked a critical debate in the late 1980s. This led to certain decisions, for example the European Spatial Development Perspective (ESDP) adopted by the European Union in 1999, which promoted the concept of 'a polycentric system' as a solution to the over-polarization of the European territory.
However, an analysis of highly-developed metropolization and competitiveness suggests that at both continental level and within national and regional systems - between a metropolitan area and a collection of small and medium-sized surrounding towns - strong relations are taking form. This demonstrates the integrated nature of

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[81] Fernando Diaz Orueta et Susan S. Fainstein, « The New Mega-Projects: Genesis and Impacts », *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 2008, vol. 32, nº 4, p. 759-767.

urban systems, thus conflicting with the notion that cities would become disconnected from their surrounding territories.

Consequently, the idea that cities should carry less influence - despite their dominance over urban systems having existed for several centuries - in favour of smaller cities seems fortuitous, all the more so given that, as a result of dissemination, these cities support the growth of the country as a whole. Likewise, although the strength of a city depends on the variety of resources it can mobilize, it seems unrealistic to implement an economic specialization approach within an urban system, in other words, to want to establish 'multipolarity' or 'complementarity' between towns and cities, which does not exclude the possibility that either exists prior to planning policies: in this respect, in Brazil, São Paulo and Rio de Janeiro are based in very different production sectors (the former is far more focused on national industries than the latter)[82].

Thus, the formation of a fierce resistance to current major readjustments seems rather uncertain. To combat the temptation of scattering resources, it would be more appropriate to promote policies that will support metropolization in order to enhance the positive effects on the economy, as permitted by the critical mass and diversity of economic resources that can be mobilized. This can be done at a city's planning policy level.

2.2.2. The issue of mobility at city level

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 unique form of regional metropolitan organization; on the other hand, by improving distribution channels.

<u>Is there a 'good' form of regional metropolitan organization?</u>

Would it be better to have a metropolitan region that is compact (such as Cairo in Egypt[83]), widely spread (like south California), monocentric (like Paris) or multipolar (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. This would suggest that there is no universal model.

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

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[82] S. Sassen, « L'archipel des villes globales », *op. cit.*
[83] At least until the rapid progression of development through state action in desert areas since the early 2000s

In this regard, the city of Johannesburg in South Africa launched a densification policy to ensure the profitability of creating a Bus Rapid Transit[84], meanwhile reducing post-apartheid socio-spatial segregation: the goal was to go from 2 to 7,000 inhabitants per km^2 to approximately 33,000 (compared with around 70,000 inhabitants/km^2 in Manhattan, New York.

<u>Facilitate mobility that helps cross boundaries</u>

In terms of mobility, the issue is giving as many people as possible access to the economic resources disseminated both inside and outside the metropolitan area[85].
This can be achieved by means of infrastructures and facilities that ensure metropolitan connectivity at different levels (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 (e.g. making the city accessible to the largest number of users possible), 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 – triggered and channelled through metropolises demand specific policies to guarantee everyone fluid interconnectedness, maximizing the diverse resources available at the metropolitan scale.

2.2.3. Conceiving an 'open' and inclusive urbanism at the urban project scale

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).
It 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, sharing and individual resources.

<u>Helping sustain businesses and populations</u>

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[84] Bus Rapid Transit systems combine the use of a separate lane with a range of extra benefits (high frequency, high capacity, bus priority in traffic, disabled access, etc.).
[85] Issues regarding mobility will be discussed in more depth in the third section of this report, under the heading: "the city and its territories: the conditions of justice"

Two policy areas are extremely valuable in the pursuit of these goals: those aimed at the reduction of socio-economic negative externalities of planning and, in particular, urban renovation projects; and those that aim to limit the social consequences of competition over land and property.

Reducing the negative externalities of urban regeneration programmes

The objective here is twofold:

- Reduce the exclusion of the most vulnerable populations from project areas, which is often the direct consequence of mass mobilizations. There are a multitude of examples of this. One of which is in Cape Town, where mass mobilizations have incited the 'revision' of the aims of the 'N2 Gateway Project' by proposing mixed usage areas, open to all social groups[86]. It would therefore appear crucial to preserve open access to public spaces[87]. Likewise, in Cairo, the Aga Khan Trust for Culture's (AKTC) *al-Darb al-Ahmar Housing Rehabilitation Programme* aimed at rehabilitating the Egyptian city's dilapidated historic district has proven successful in terms of recovering the area, without generating a hike in property prices and therefore triggering gentrification[88].

- Reducing the 'brick by brick' vision of urbanism at the city or district scale. 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.[89] This does not exclude the fact that there is a serious urban infrastructure funding problem among local governments in which states reduce investments and/or the transfer of resources.

Reducing competition on the property market for a renewed spatial strategy to address housing production

Limiting the effects of competition on the property market enhances the mobility of citizens, especially those 'locked' in badly serviced settlements because of spatial mismatches. This cannot be achieved without the political will to promote land value capture and reinvestment in social/subsidized housing programmes in accessible areas. Several initiatives in this direction have been implemented:

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[86] S. DIDIER, E. PEYROUX et M. MORANGE, « The Spreading of the City Improvement District Model in Johannesburg and Cape Town », *op. cit.*

[87] Sonia LEHMAN-FRISCH, « La ségrégation : une injustice spatiale ? Questions de recherche », *Annales de géographie*, 2009, n° 665-666, n° 1, p. 94‑115.

[88] For more information on this project: Michele MORBIDONI et Giovanni ALLEGRETTI, *The al-Darb al-Ahmar Housing Rehabilitation Programme*, UCLG Committee on Social Inclusion, Participatory Democracy and Human Rights, 2010.

[89] D. LORRAIN, « La main discrète », *op. cit.*

- Following the failure of competitiveness policies to support cities in demographic and economic decay, the city of Cleveland put into practice a strategy of 'planned de-growth'. This included the <u>creation of a land-tenure bank</u> 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 mechanisms[90].

- In Rosario (Argentina), <u>municipal urban regulation</u> allows the municipality to retain the added value created by private property 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 centre, where 55,000 new houses were built in renovated former industrial areas, following a <u>revision of the planning master plan</u>[91].

- With an unusual intervention, Johannesburg (South Africa) has established a development bank together with a private actor, the Affordable Housing Company (AFHCO), rather than with other public authorities, for <u>projects of rental housing — through the reconversion of abandoned commercial facilities — aimed at marginalized low-income population</u> who could not access 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.

However, it is important to acknowledge the problems that populism causes through social housing redistribution. An emblematic example of this occurred in Burkina Faso, under President Thomas Sankara's government.

Factors favouring social diversity in Lima

As demonstrated by the analysis of socio-spatial divisions in Lima (Peru), in order that such divisions subside and 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 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 diversity and shared spaces do not guarantee integration between middle and working-class families. Thus, social divisions remain as they are.[92]

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[90] Alessandro COPPOLA, « A Cleveland model? », *Métropoles*, 2014, n° 15.
[91] This example will be discussed more thoroughly in section three of this report under heading 2.2 "ensuring the integrated development of the city".

<u>Providing an environment that encourages encounters</u>

Juxtaposing populations and/or heterogeneous economic standings to reduce the negative externalities of urban renovation programmes 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 housing working-class and white collar professionals together 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 individuals forming emerging networks - collaborative economy

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.

The collaborative economy and the city

Networks are crucial to the functioning of collaborative economies, which are now booming. They are based on the sharing of access to goods and services and help blur the lines between producer and consumer.

It encompasses various forms of sharing, such as: collaborative consumption (AMAP[93], 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 general[94].

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.

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[92] Emilie DORE, Domingo Tita SIHUAY MARAVI et 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, p. 101‑114.

[93] As well as sharing systems, such as: Incroyables comestibles, Ruches qui dit oui !, le supermarché collaboratif La Louve.

[94] Pierre NOBIS, « Comprendre l'économie collaborative », *Thot Cursus*, 2014.

By helping the population reclaim its living spaces, collaborative economies also enhance the development of short distribution channels, thus 'miniaturizing' the economy[95].

Supporting small and medium-sized enterprises

An example of this would be the policies implemented by Portuguese local authorities to help their enterprises expand globally, particularly their small and medium-sized enterprises (SMEs). Nevertheless, the scope of these policies depends on the budgets afforded by local authorities. Consequently, these initiatives are more frequently applied in larger cities[96].

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'[97], which is organized every year in Milan and serves as a visible forum for the 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 possible[98].

Setting up projects and organizing events

These networks and facilities can materialize within territorial projects that seek to collect and mobilize mass resources. Montreal provides a unique example of this. With its multinational show (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 an increasingly united development.

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[95] Céline BEAUFILS, « Comment l'économie collaborative va-t-elle transformer la ville ? », *UrbaNews*, 2015.
[96] Aurora Castro TEIXEIRA et Maria João BARROS, « Local municipalities' involvement in promoting the internationalisation of SMEs », *Local Economy*, 2014, vol. 29, nº 1-2, p. 141‑162.
[97] http://www.collaborativeweek.it
[98] Shobhan SAXENA, « Simply Sao Paulo: How a 'Communist' Mayor is Making a City Smart for its People », *The Wire*, 2015.

SECTION TWO - TOWARDS SUSTAINABLE CITIES: CURRENT MODELS AND ACTION PLANS

This section aims to provide answers to the question: how can we establish and ensure the sustainability of metropolitan environments? The challenge of ensuring economic, environmental and social sustainability brings cities under considerable stress, and this will be further explored within this section.

The term 'sustainability' first emerged in the 1990s and has since been rolled out as a guiding principle to combat the environmental crisis, especially across 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[99]'. Sustainability has now become a bind and an essential benchmark for urban policies in terms of construction, urban form and flows, but also citizen behaviour (eco-citizens). At the same time, many different issues are being raised. First of all, the concept itself is growing increasingly distant from its original meaning, particularly in terms of political ecology principles[100]. 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'. Additionally, this watchword is more of a model in the Global North, but has also scattered further south with contradictory effects[101]. 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 (2.1.), 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*' (2.2.) 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.

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[99] COMMISSION MONDIALE SUR L'ENVIRONNEMENT ET LE DEVELOPPEMENT DE L'ORGANISATION DES NATIONS UNIES, *Rapport Brundtland. Notre avenir à tous*, 1987.

[100] Political ecology emerged in the 1960s and has since been regarded as a common alternative, not only to industrial capitalism but also to authoritarian Communism: Vincent RENAULD, « Fabrication et usage des écoquartiers français. Eléments d'naalyse 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*, [Nouv. éd. augm. et remaniée, précédé de : Ecologie et liberté]., Paris, Seuil, 1974.

[101] Pierre-Arnaud BARTHEL, Valérie CLERC and Pascale PHILIFERT, « La "ville durable" précipitée dans le monde arabe : essai d'analyse généalogique et critique », *Environnement Urbain*, 2013, vol. 7, p. 16‑30.

1. MAINSTREAM MODELS OF METROPOLITAN SUSTAINABILITY: PROMISING INITIATIVES AND SERIOUS LIMITATIONS

Numerous action models 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 disposal 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. For example, it is no longer 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 authorities[102].

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. They are present in as many industries as can be found in cities which, as we will later reflect on, attracts criticism with regard to the often overly-sectoral approach of certain supposedly sustainable policies. 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... Those in charge of 'designing' the city regularly take over the division of the city into sectors in accordance with various urban components, which is a factor that cannot be ignored. For lack of ability or knowledge of how to 'encapsulate' this concept in an effort to transform their practices, professionals often tend to divide or subdivide it[103]. In addition to this phenomenon, certain principles for action such as density and resilience are becoming integral parts of this movement. Although they

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[102] On this matter, a series of French examples are discussed in: Maëlle GUILLOU and Justine PEULLEMEULLE, « Energies citoyennes dîtes-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 n°15, 2015, p. 129‑135.

[103] Silvère TRIBOUT, « Les concepteurs en agence d'architecture, d'urbanisme et de paysage à l'épreuve du développement durable » Thèse de doctorat, Université Paris-Ouest Nanterre-La Défense, 2015.

have undoubtedly led to remarkable advances in terms of metropolitan sustainability, upon closer inspection of projects carried out in their name, their almost inevitable invocation and the impact of their practical implementation also raises a series of questions. As such, the translation of these watchwords into metropolitan agendas has given rise to several interesting initiatives (which were discussed thoroughly during the Climate Change Conference (COP21) held in Paris in November 2015) and many processes that encourage the continuation of ongoing efforts. At the same time, there are certain limitations to consider, which we will come back to. All these projects should be recognized, disseminated and widely available to all elected representatives, local decision-makers and citizens. The C4 group databases, which gather information on the largest cities in the world, are a cornerstone of the building-up of knowledge that is rapidly leading towards ambitious policies[104].

1.1. Promising initiatives

Among the many promising sustainability-related initiatives, we will quickly refer back to the four central and thoroughly investigated themes: planning, the energy transition, circular economy and urban agriculture[105].

1.1.1. Planning

In terms of planning, some noteworthy measures are being taken to preserve local vulnerable ecosystems that have often been weakened by the effects of climate change. In this regard, the Integrated Territorial Climate Plan in Dakar has made it possible to detect a city's weaknesses in order to develop solutions adapted to each territory[106]. Elsewhere, the Green and Blue Plan of Phnom Penh is aimed at preserving a certain number of natural spaces that are crucial for sustainability. Forms of sustainable development have also focused on informal settlements, such as those in Cairo (project for adapting informal areas to climate change). Moreover,

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[104] The C40 network, established ten years ago, uses an online platform and various connections to encourage and showcase a number of initiatives aimed at combating climate change. In addition to the formulation of a series of case studies that could be used as inspirational reference points for devising innovative environmental action plans, C40 has developed a method for measuring greenhouse gas emissions and climatic impacts. One of the major tools designed is the 'Global Protocol for Community-Scale Greenhouse Gas Emission Inventories (GPC)', currently used by a large number of cities for their strategic planning. Each year, a report presents the readings taken. These measurement instruments can enable cities to adapt their strategies to deal with climate change and measure changes from year to year; they also make it possible to compare different cities around the world.

[105] It may also be worth touching on David Sattherthwaite's analyses:
- David SATTERTHWAITE, *Sustainable cities – and how cities can contribute to sustainable development*, United Cities and Local Governments, 2015. A paper that comprises and details other important initiatives.
- 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, p. 1762‑1783.
- David SATTERTHWAITE, « The political underpinnings of cities' accumulated resilience to climate change », *Environment and Urbanization*, 2013, vol. 25, nᵒ 2, p. 381‑391.

[106] Emilie BARRAU, Pierre-Arnaud BARTHEL, Valérie CLERC, Bénédicte HERMELIN, Eric HUYBRECHTS, Aurélie LANDON and Vincent VIGUIE, *Territoires urbains durables et adaptation aux changements climatiques. Revue Bibliographique*, GRET, 2014. ; Jacques QUENSIÈRE, A. RETIÈRE, A. KANE, A. GAYE, I. LY, S. SECK, C. ROYER, Camille GEROME and A. PERESSE, *Vulnérabilités de la région de Dakar au changement climatique : PCTI - Dakar*, Dakar, IRD, 2013.; Brigitte BARIOL-MATHAIS, *World Summit Climate and Territories Toward The COP21. Inspiring action for urban and regional planning.*, Lyon, FNAU, 2015.

there are many projects for combating climate risks, such as floods or storms, some of which pay special attention to the most vulnerable populations (like in Indore)[107].

1.1.2. Efficiency and the energy transition

The latest recommendations from the IPCC regarding global warming have set a target of reducing our CO_2 emissions by 50 per cent by 2030 if we hope to restrict global warming to 2°C by 2100. This transition starts with cities who are committed to investing in clean energy solutions[108]. It is therefore crucial to start planning the entire city in a way that deals with climate change. In terms of transition, the most encouraging studies and practices in this field tend to favour an approach that either reduces the consumption of energy or employs the use of renewable energy sources. The Agenda 21 plans have also produced interesting results with regard to the energy transition and understanding of sustainability within cities. Moreover, they have helped enhance the aptitudes and abilities of local actors who deal with these issues, like in Marrakesh and Agadir[109]. In several locations, promoting methods for reducing carbon footprints ('low carbon development') has proven effective. These methods favour approaches such as: the rationalization of energy in public buildings, the construction of 'low consumption' or positive energy buildings (like in Pune, San Francisco and Shanghai where the local authorities apply strict criteria in this sector; in Paris, the city is adhering to a thermal rehabilitation programme in schools and social housing, which aims to save 500 gigawatts/hour[110]) or improving the energy performance of existing buildings (as demonstrated by an established model in the city of Leeds[111]). Producing clean energy solutions by converting natural (water, wind, etc.) or manmade (waste[112]) components using different technical means (wind farms, geothermic technology, etc.) is central to these processes. However, the adverse effects of such processes cannot be ignored, especially with regard to the often excessive consumption of water. Indeed, '"electricity mixes that prioritize carbon capture and storage for coal plants, nuclear energy, or even water-cooled renewables such as some geothermal, biomass, or concentrating solar could worsen rather than lessen the sector's effects on water[113]".

Tokyo's metropolitan area has put in place a specific programme, the first of its kind in Asia, to reduce greenhouse gas emissions by dealing directly with its buildings and improving their energy performance. Known as the 'Tokyo Cap-and-Trade Program

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[107] E. BARRAU, P.-A. BARTHEL, V. CLERC, B. HERMELIN, E. HUYBRECHTS, A. LANDON and V. VIGUIÉ, *Territoires urbains durables et adaptation aux changements climatiques. Revue Bibliographique*, *op. cit.*

[108] According to the sortirdupetrole.com network, 2,000 billion dollars of investment into potential energy sources become redundant and contradict the goal of reducing global warming to +2°C. The network's initiatives for this transition in over 45 countries can be viewed at: transitionnetwork.org

[109] Françoise NAVEZ-BOUCHANINE, « Le développement urbain durable : « best practice » ou leurre méthodologique ? », *Espaces et sociétés*, 2008, vol. 131, n° 4, p. 101‑116.

[110] COP 21, « 21 Solutions to Protect Our Shared Planet ».

[111] 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 ».

[112] Refer to the example of the city of Durban: AFD, *Produire de l'énergie propre à partir de déchets*, http://carte.afd.fr/afd/fr/projet/produire-energie-propre-a-partir-de-dechets, consulté le 7 janvier 2016.

[113] Viviana VARIN and Julien WOESSNER (dir.), *Climat: Subir ou choisir la transition? [The Climate: Active Transition or Change Inflicted?]*, Passerelle n°15, 2015.

(TCTP)', it is one of the outcomes of the Tokyo Metropolitan Environmental Masterplan. 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 2011[114].

<u>Copenhagen: moving towards a carbon neutral city</u>

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[115] 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 bike[116].

Three-quarters of the reductions in emissions over the next few years must come from changing the way we produce heat and electricity, with a particular focus on the use of biomass, wind (for example, wind farms currently produce 30 per cent of all energy used in Denmark), geothermal and solar energy.

Policies must also focus on promoting sustainable mobility[117]. This can be done by improving public transport, encouraging citizens to use networks or alternative means

[114] C40, C40: Tokyo's Urban Cap-and-Trade Scheme Delivers Substantial Carbon Reductions, http://www.c40.org/case_studies/tokyo-s-urban-cap-and-trade-scheme-delivers-substantial-carbon-reductions, consulté le 24 février 2016.

[115] C40, *Copenhagen: CPH Climate Plan 2025*, http://www.c40.org/profiles/2013-copenhagen, consulté le 19 février 2016.

[116] Photograph sourced from: CARFREE, *Les autoroutes cyclables de Copenhague – carfree.fr*, http://carfree.fr/index.php/2012/09/24/les-autoroutes-cyclables-de-copenhague/, consulté le 19 février 2016.

[117] See, for example:

of transport, such as bikes[118] more frequently, and therefore drive their personal cars less frequently[119].

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 Bogota[120], for example, car-free days are organized to encourage people to make do without their cars.

This transition is also encouraged by the development of individual or shared sustainable transport systems (e.g. many Bus Rapid Transit (BRT)[121] systems have been set up in Amman, Curitiba, Bogota and Johannesburg[122]), such as the planned air transport system in Mexico[123] and the revival of tramway and segregated-lane transport systems in cities in the Global North[124]. 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 concessions[125].

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

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- 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*.
- INTERNATIONAL TRANSPORTATION FORUM, *Low-Carbon Mobility for Mega Cities. What Different Policies Mean for Urban Transport Emissions in China and India*, 2016.-

[118] John PARKIN, *Cycling and Sustainability*, Cambridge, Emerald Group Publishing, 2012.
[119] INTERNATIONAL TRANSPORTATION FORUM, *Low-Carbon Mobility for Mega Cities. What Different Policies Mean for Urban Transport Emissions in China and India*, *op. cit.*
[120] *A Bogotá, pendant une journée, seuls pieds et vélos sont autorisés !*, http://www.mobilite-durable.org/innover-pour-demain/politiques-publiques/a-bogota-pendant-une-journee-seuls-pieds-et-velos-sont-autorises.html, consulté le 8 janvier 2016.
[121] Amélie PINEL, « Lorsque le Sud innove en matière durable. Le projet de transport en commun d'Amman », *Environnement Urbain*, 2013, vol. 7, p. 31‑42.
[122] See, in particular:
- Taotao DENG and John D. NELSON, « Recent Developments in Bus Rapid Transit: A Review of the Literature », *Transport Reviews*, 2011, vol. 31, n° 1, p. 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, n° 2, p. 72‑84.-
- Luis Antonio LINDAU, Dario HIDALGO and Daniela FACCHINI, « Curitiba, the Cradle of Bus Rapid Transit », *Built Environment*, 2010, vol. 36, n° 3, p. 274‑282.-
[123] The solution is a kind of elevated monorail, with gondolas that run on a horizontal track above cars. Ana CAMPOY, « Mexico City Looks to Gondolas to Relieve Its Appalling Traffic Congestion »..
[124] 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, n° 1.
[125] COP 21, « 21 Solutions to Protect Our Shared Planet », *op. cit.*

strict standards in terms of energy consumption by buildings and by promoting an efficient public transport system that supports increased bike use[126].
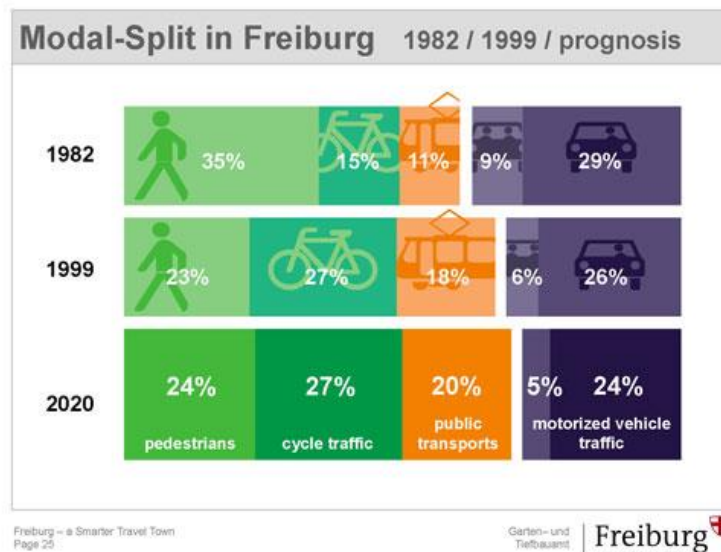
The transition may also be achieved through initiatives that encourage citizen participation. In Seoul for example, a campaign was set up to engage a million individual commitments from citizens who promised to adopt a more sustainable lifestyle and reduce their greenhouse gas emissions[127].

Technological innovations are also used to help cities become more sustainable, as demonstrated by the growing number of 'Smart Cities[128]'. As an example, 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 problem[129]. 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.

1.1.3. Circular economy

Initiatives aimed at promoting circular economy, 'do-it-yourself' methods and researching recycling-based production models equally convey a systemic vision of the fight against global warming. This type of economy, which many consider 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 cyclical character of nature. It places particularly emphasis on prolonging duration of use, using environmentally-responsible designs

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[126] THE ECOTIPPING POINTS PROJECT, *Germany - Freiburg - Green City*, http://www.ecotippingpoints.org/our-stories/indepth/germany-freiburg-sustainability-transportation-energy-green-economy.html, consulté le 17 février 2016.
[127] COP 21, « 21 Solutions to Protect Our Shared Planet », *op. cit.*
[128] AMERICAN PLANNING ASSOCIATION, *Smart Cities and Sustainability Initiative*, 2015.
[129] Olivier TRUC, « Copenhague, laboratoire de la future ville intelligente », *Le Monde*, 20/11/2015.

and recycling methods. However, experiments in this domain are up against politicians and actors operating in silos (lack or failure of various actors to work together on these issues) as well as the tendency for companies to respond to public contracts containing reuse clauses (technical innovations not controlled by companies). Basically, they 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 within the township can exchange their methods and resources has been developed[130].

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 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 sector[131].

1.1.4. 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 serious 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. The city also supported the marketing process. Nowadays, 2,500 families take part in the production and sales process and 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

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[130] http://www.economiecirculaire.org/
[131] *San Francisco's Fight to Counter Climate Change.*

properties; developing the production and sale of medicinal plants; signing a cooperation agreement with Guarulhos in Brazil[132].

Urban agriculture is particularly prominent within the "Transition Towns[133]" 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 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.

1.2. 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. Criticisms of approaches that claim to be sustainable have been grouped into five genres:

- criticisms regarding the predominance of economic development issues over social sustainability issues;
- criticisms regarding the overly technical approach to sustainable urbanism;
- criticisms regarding the support for individual practices carried out in the name of sustainable development;
- criticisms regarding the technical democracy associated with sustainable development (instrumental democracy);
- criticisms regarding the omnipresence of ecological justification, which can lead to depoliticization (greenwashing)[134].

As such, it is often the case that:

- sectoral approaches take precedence over those that are global or holistic;

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[132] See, in particular:
- Luc J. A. Mougeot, *Agropolis: "The Social, Political and Environmental Dimensions of Urban Agriculture"* (London: Routledge, 2010).
- H. DE ZEEUW, R. VAN VEENHUIZEN and M. DUBBELING, "The role of urban agriculture in building resilient cities in developing countries", *The Journal of Agricultural Science*, 2011, vol. 149, Supplement S1, p. 153‑163.
- Mark REDWOOD, *Agriculture in Urban Planning: Generating Livelihoods and Food Security*, London, Routledge, 2012.
[133] The network demonstrates the local and citizen-led initiatives and experiments aimed at inventing lifestyles that are less dependent on petroleum: Adrien KRAUZ, « Les villes en transition, l'ambition d'une alternative urbaine », *Métropolitiques*, 2014.,; "Six fundamental principles […] underlying the concept of transition. Initially, it discusses breaking away from the pessimism surrounding the awareness of depleting resources and creating an inspiring vision for the future instead. The second principle involves integrating the entire local community. Thirdly, it stresses the importance of raising awareness of declining fuel sources, of which people are often unaware. The fourth and central point is that transition initiatives must prepare to absorb the impact of such change by building up resilience. The fifth point outlines the fact that transition initiatives must consider the psychological dimension, and making people realize that cultural change is necessary for reducing energy consumption. And lastly, Hopkins' sixth and final point is that credible and relevant solutions must be implemented; For further reading on this subject, see: Antoine LAGNEAU, « La ville vue par... Quartiers en transition », *Mouvements*, 2013, vol. 74, nº 2, p. 91‑100.
[134] Jérôme BOISSONADE (dir.), *La ville durable controversée. Les dynamiques urbaines dans le mouvement critique*, Paris, Petra, 2015.

- 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;
- the development of human rights and the quest for dignity are not the leading principles behind projects;
- the needs of the working classes are taken into account to a greater extent than others because they are more vulnerable[135].

In addition, the vast majority of projects aimed 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 scales[136]. As such, actions undertaken are often referred to as 'weak sustainability[137]' 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 emissions[138], it is clear that towns and metropolitan areas rarely have the means to finance sustainability. In fact, many municipalities do not have access to certain financial resources, such as tax revenues (at least at local level), while national budget transfers remain limited, or are unable to receive private capital. This seems almost paradoxical since almost 80 per cent of GDP is generated by cities[139].

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.

Generally speaking, it has been observed that the notion of sustainable development, both declining[140] and strongly criticized, often leads to promoting methods of adapting to climate change[141], which does not lead to an overhaul of the measures

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[135] Jean-Baptiste COMBY, « À propos de la dépossession écologique des classes populaires », *Savoir/Agir*, 2015, vol. 33, nº 3, p. 23‑30.

[136] Julien VANHULST and Adrian E. BELING, « Buen vivir et développement durable : rupture ou continuité ? », *Ecologie & politique*, 2013, vol. 46, nº 1, p. 41‑54.

[137] Eduardo GUDYNAS, « Développement, droits de la Nature et Bien Vivre : l'expérience équatorienne », *Mouvements*, 2011, vol. 68, nº 4, p. 15‑37.

[138] COP 21, « 21 Solutions to Protect Our Shared Planet », *op. cit.*

[139] Jérémie DAUSSIN-CHARPANTIER, « Donnons les moyens financiers aux villes de répondre aux ODD ».

[140] Vincent BEAL, « Le déclin du développement durable. Changement climatique et transformation de la gouvernance environnementale dans les villes françaises et britanniques », *in* Isabelle HAJEK and Philippe HAMMAN (dir.), *Gouvernance de la ville durable*, Rennes, Presses Universitaires de Rennes, 2015, p. 85‑104.

[141] See, in particular:
- Jacques THEYS, « Le développement durable face à sa crise : un concept menacé, sous-exploité ou dépassé ? », *Développement durable et territoires. Économie, géographie, politique, droit, sociologie*, 2014, vol. 5, nº 1.-

taken. As promising as they are, initiatives no doubt have certain limitations which should be dealt with spatial justice in mind, not forgetting that sustainability policies are still being formulated. 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-neighbourhoods and eco-cities, and finally, policies for 'resilience' implemented in cities to prevent natural disasters.

1.2.1. Densification

Metropolization represents an unprecedented mass movement of people and businesses into large cities, and an endless spatially expanding spread of urbanization and networks. In Latin America, São Paulo alone gained over three million inhabitants every ten years between 1950 and 2000[142]; and the population of Lima has increased tenfold in forty years, between 1940 and 1993 (from 600,000 to over 6 million inhabitants)[143]. Extensive urban planning policies have been implemented and have favoured urbanization dependent or associated with the use of cars, with a preference for individual homes, promoting quality of life in less-concentrated spaces and suburban areas with small dwellings for the middle, upper classes, or even elite classes, in the most socially unequal global cities. Due 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 cities[144]). As an example, in Mexico, since the 1990s, giant housing estates have been built around the city outskirts, often containing more than 10,000 units[145].

Urban sprawl in Cairo

Between 1996 and 2006, the population has risen by 3 million inhabitants; during the 1990s, the area covered by buildings (including those under construction) in the built-up area of Greater Cairo doubled[146], spreading further into desert wasteland[147]. This

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- Philippe Genestier and Claudine Jacquenod-Desforges, « Le développement durable : thématique nouvelle, rhétorique conventionnelle. Le discours politique en quête de réaffirmation », *Territoire en mouvement*, 2006, nº 4, p. 7‑21.-

- Laurent Willemez, « De la cause de l'environnement à l'urgence écologique », *Savoir/Agir*, 2015, vol. 33, nº 3, p. 9‑12.-

[142] Sylvain Souchaud and Marie-France Prevot-Schapira, « Introduction : Transitions métropolitaines en Amérique latine : densification, verticalisation, étalement », *Problèmes d'Amérique latine*, 2013, N° 90, nº 3, p. 5‑16.

[143] Pablo Vega Centeno and Sara Lafosse, « La densification récente de Lima et ses défis en matière de logement et de transport », *Problèmes d'Amérique latine*, 2013, vol. 90, nº 3, p. 39‑56.

[144] Sylvy Jaglin, « Étalement urbain, faibles densités et « coûts » de développement », *Flux*, 2010, vol. 79-80, nº 1, p. 6‑15.

[145] S. Souchaud and M.-F. Prevot-Schapira, « Introduction », *op. cit.*

[146] Eric Denis, « Du village au Caire, au village comme au Caire », *Égypte/Monde arabe*, 2001, nº 4-5, p. 225‑253.

is now a situation of megapolization and of an overflowing 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 neighbourhoods, whereas planned neighbourhoods are steadily facilitating urban dispersion. The greatest aberration is that of new towns, which represent 2/3 of the total built area, yet serve a population of barely 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 areas[148].

The eight new towns in Greater Cairo
Source: David Sims, *Egypt's Desert Dreams, Development or Disaster*, 2015
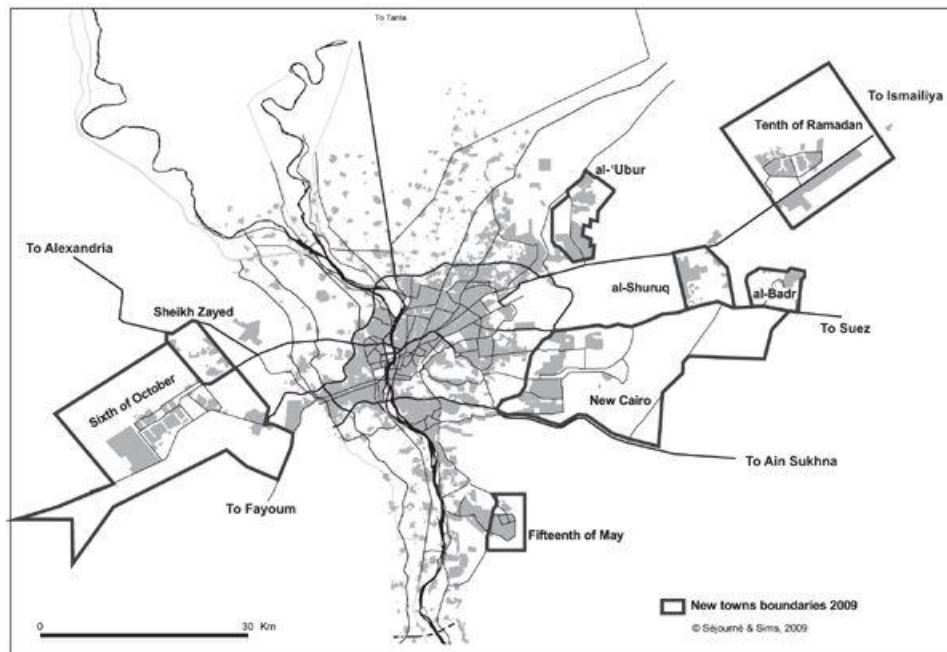
As for self-built settlements, it is not possible to universally consider the densities of built-up areas. In Cairo, they house an average of 600 inhabitants per hectare, reaching a maximum of 1,500. Whereas in Tunis, the whole built environment (both formal and informal) follows a horizontal settlement pattern, thus consuming a lot of space. In Ouagadougou[149], competition over housing or land has resulted in an

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[147] Timothy MITCHELL and David SIMS, *Egypt's Desert Dreams: Development or Disaster?*, The American University in Cairo Press, 2015.

[148] David SIMS, *Understanding Cairo: The Logic of a City Out of Control*, Le Caire, The American University in Cairo Press, 2012. ; Pierre-Arnaud BARTHEL, « Relire le Grand Caire au miroir de la densité », *Confluences Méditerranée*, 2010, vol. 75, nº 4, p. 121‑135.

[149] See work by Léandre Guigma, thesis in progress, University Paris 8, Lavue: also on this subject, the reports by L. Guigma and L. Pierre-Louis for WHO-Habitat, Agence Perspectives, for the Participatory Slum Upgrading Programme, 2012

average density of 40 inhabitants per hectare, and approximately 100 inhabitants per two hectares in 'unplanned' neighbourhoods.

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 gas[150] emissions and reliance on cars), while encouraging the use of public transportation, cycling, walking[151], as well as reducing socio-spatial segregation[152]. In cities of the Global South, densification is an increasingly pressing issue. Densification has been facilitated by a combination of declining internal migration and accelerated urban growth, along with a decline in saturation of the land and property markets. Many residents have started settling in the city centre, leading to the revitalization of central and peri-central neighbourhoods – a phenomenon which has been notably observed in Latin America and Japan. In São Paulo, for example, urban growth largely takes place in existing neighbourhoods (both informal and formal) through the densification of the built environment[153]. In Lima, old two-storey housing units, which were characteristic of the city centre 50 years ago are being replaced by 10, 15 or 20-storey buildings, in line with the long avenues they are located on[154].

However, the densification model is now under discussion. At the very least, a few critical points have been raised[155]. To this effect:

- It has been remarked that, generally speaking, those promoting densification largely focus on the environmental and economic dimensions, rather than the social dimension (for instance, due to increasing housing prices, particularly in poor neighbourhoods).

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[150] 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, p. 86‑92.

[151] Roberto CAMAGNI, Maria Cristina GIBELLI and Paolo RIGAMONTI, « Forme urbaine et mobilité : les coûts collectifs des différents types d'extension urbaine dans l'agglomération milanaise », *Revue d'Économie Régionale & Urbaine*, 2002, nº 1, p. 105‑139.

[152] For pro-densification arguments, see:
- OECD, *Compact City Policies: A Comparative Assessment*, OECD, 2012.
- United Nations Human Settlements PROGRAMME, *Leveraging Density: Urban Patterns for a Green Economy*, Nairobi, United Nations Human Settlements Programme, 2012."concentrating so many people in dense, interactive, shared spaces has historically provided distinct advantages, 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."
-Amélie DARLEY, Gwenaëlle ZUNINO and Jean-Pierre PALISSE, *Comment encourager l'intensification urbaine ?*, IAU-IDF, 2009.-

[153] S. SOUCHAUD and M.-F. PREVOT-SCHAPIRA, « Introduction », *op. cit.*

[154] P. V. CENTENO and S. LAFOSSE, « La densification récente de Lima et ses défis en matière de logement et de transport », *op. cit.*

[155] See: Carl GAIGNÉ, Stéphane RIOU and Jacques-François THISSE, « Are compact cities environmentally friendly? », *Journal of Urban Economics*, 2012, vol. 72, nº 2–3, p. 123‑136.

- Moreover, density can cause increasing congestion problems and a lower quality of life, etc.

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 lower classes (as in the case of the MIVIVIENDA SA fund in Peru), at the expense of the least privileged.

These problems are further exacerbated when densification primarily affects central and peri-central neighbourhoods: this pushes the poorer classes further away from the city, towards neighbourhoods with poor access to services. In such a case, densification goes hand in hand with the gentrification process, forcing away the most vulnerable groups.

This can be accompanied by significant identity issues, as is the case in Vanier, a predominantly French-speaking neighbourhood in Ottawa, a typically English-speaking city[156].

Consequently, these issues make it impossible to tackle problems regarding poor housing, poor sanitary conditions in neighbourhoods and lack of accessibility to services.

In general, in both the Global North and South, densificationpolicies can lead to land and property speculation, thus also marginalizing the most vulnerable groups[157].

The inadequacy of some densification policies by no means invalidates the need to counter urban sprawl, a trend which has led to an over-consumption of agricultural land and to social, economic and environmental costs that our planet can no longer afford.

Densification and rising property prices. The example of Los Angeles[158]

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 neighbourhoods 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" (p.157). The political factors at play in this process cannot be ignored: "the increasing density of housing is all the more difficult as the neighbourhoods are wealthy, comprised of many different owners, with residents inhabiting individual houses" (powerful property owner and lobbyist associations, cf. Hollywood). As the densification 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.

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[156] 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, p. 41‑68.

[157] Yvette VEYRET, *Le développement durable : approches plurielles*, Paris, Hatier, 2005.

[158] Main reference: Florence CHILAUD, « La densification résidentielle à Los Angeles » Mémoire de Master 2 Recherche, Université Paris-Ouest Nanterre-La Défense, Nanterre, 2015.

Although this situation does not call into question the effectiveness of such policies, particularly in terms of combating urban sprawl, it does stress the need for increased vigilance against the eviction of the least wealthy communities in certain neighbourhoods and the use of density as the watchword for reclassifying neighbourhoods to attract the middle and upper classes. Therefore, densification can actually work in contradiction to social diversity and affordable housing.

1.2.2. Sustainable neighbourhoods (eco-neighbourhoods) and new sustainable cities.

Eco-neighbourhoods 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 new urban forms that directly respond to the demands of sustainability, and more specifically, the reduction of greenhouse gas emissions. 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 life[159]. Designed to act as a window into sustainable development, the creation of these new sections of cities or entirely new cities undoubtedly represents a key to facilitating an ecological transition. However, 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-neighbourhoods 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 (see Section One) 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-neighbourhoods raise certain issues, which must be taken into account in order to achieve inclusive metropolitan sustainability[160].

- They particularly 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-neighbourhood in Berlin, green rooftops tend to suffer 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, namely regarding the disparity between the uses promoted by designers (usually with a top-down

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[159] *Grand Paris#Climat Démonstrations territoriales*, Urbanisme, Special Issue n°54, 2015.
[160] Main references: V. RENAULD, *Fabrication et usage des écoquartiers français. Eléments d'naalyse 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.

approach) and the ways (particularly non-governmental) citizens actually use them. The issues are twofold: the efficiency of an innovation's energy performance if its eventual uses differ from those intended and the supervision of its uses, and social control or even privatization of the private sphere. In the 'car-free' eco-neighbourhood of GWL-Terrein in Amsterdam, parking was reduced to one space for every five homes, creating problems of illegal parking and conflicts between neighbours as inhabitants started to park in surrounding neighbourhoods.

- 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.

As products of 'sustainable cities', eco-neighbourhoods are often hastily implanted in cities of the South[161], causing further issues. In the Arab world, research has shown that even though 'sustainable' urban management systems are deployed (open-air storm water management, housing settlement impact studies...), projects are branded as eco-neighbourhoods 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[162]' 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, which development began on 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.

1.2.3. Resilience to and risk of natural disasters

The vulnerability of urban spaces (which can be measured using a series of indicators[163]) 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[164] and risk and

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[161] 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.

[162] Greenwashing involves a marketing technique aimed at promoting the environmentally-friendly aspect of an organization's products, aims or policies.

[163] Rob SWART, Jaume FONS, Willemien GEERTSEMA, Bert VAN HOVE, Mirko GREGOR, Miroslav HAVRANEK, Cor JACOBS, Aleksandra KAZMIERCZAK, Kerstin KRELLENBERG, Christian KUHLICKE and Lasse PELTONEN, *Urban Vulnerability Indicators. A joint report of ETC-CCA and ETC-SIA*, European Topic Centre on Climate Change Impacts, Vulnerability and Adaptation, 2012.

[164] United Nations Human Settlements PROGRAMME, *Integrating Climate Change into City Development Strategies (CDS)*, 2015.

crisis management (currently a key concern within cities and a huge obstacle insofar as the risks tend to be 'recalcitrant') and avoid prevention policies[165].

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 bring back normal life[166], or according to a current dominant belief, restore the equilibrium and preserve the system's qualitative structure[167].

These risks are 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 risks[168].

Impact of sea levels rising by a metre 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. Poverty makes metropolitan areas even more vulnerable because poorer neighbourhoods are usually built up in

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[165] Valérie NOVEMBER, Marion PENELAS and Pascal VIOT, *Habiter les territoires à risques*, Lausanne, Presses polytechniques et universitaires romanes, 2011.

[166] Yvette VEYRET and Bernard CHOCAT, « Les mégapoles face aux risques et aux catastrophes naturelles | La Jaune et la Rouge », *La jaune et la rouge*, 2005, nº 606.

[167] Céline PIERDET, « La résilience comparée de Phnom Penh (Cambodge) et Bangkok (Thaïlande) face aux crises hydrauliques », *Climatologie*, 2012, numéro spécial, p. 83‑108.

[168] See the 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.

the most at-risk areas: risk is an indicator of social inequalities and socio-economic and spatial problems[169]. It is worth noting that although the risks affect both cities in the South and North and both central and informal neighbourhoods, the resilience of cities and their communities is clearly dependent on the social profile of the populations affected by the catastrophes and the city's ability to invest in sustainable solutions.

This is why resilience can only be developed collectively and systematically with citizens, seeking viable solutions even when financial and coordination capacities are lacking.

Many cities have undertaken initiatives to boost 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 a risk map in order to decide on future investments. An alert system between the city and its federal partners is currently being tested. Preserving marshlands is now a municipal priority since they form a natural defence against floods[170]. In this regard, the preservation of natural resources is becoming an important priority within the municipal policies of vulnerable cities.

In Melbourne, where temperatures are rapidly rising and torrential rains are increasingly severe, it is crucial for the city to preserve, restore and establish urban forests[171].

Many cities in Europe are just as vulnerable and are implementing measures that vary from one city to the next, albeit with some common initiatives[172]. For example, aligning protective measures (at an agglomeration scale) and managing them (creating and upgrading projects, protecting infrastructures) and redefining chains of responsibility; aligning information, communication and involvement measures among all actors (with an emphasis on awareness-raising initiatives); prior consideration of combined risks and their externalities, which is often achieved through the funding of research programmes to broaden our understanding in this area.

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.

While many effective initiatives have been successfully put in place, it is important to avoid imposing this notion at national level without local actors actually being able to adapt it to their own needs.

Moreover, failing to integrate the most vulnerable populations, who desperately need solutions, impairs their protection: they adopt dangerous behaviours, which can be

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

[170] COP 21, « 21 Solutions to Protect Our Shared Planet », *op. cit.*

[171] B. BARIOL-MATHAIS, *World Summit Climate and Territories Toward The COP21. Inspiring action for urban and regional planning.*, *op. cit.*

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

further exacerbated by inappropriate practices that prevent the city from tackling risks effectively. It is also worth noting that initiatives are often swayed by economic issues, as opposed to social ones.

We do not doubt the importance of anticipating the economic consequences of natural catastrophes (especially on infrastructures), but by focusing on the economy and conceiving initiatives solely based on economic criteria, cities run the risk of losing sight of what these initiatives should really be about: protecting citizens.

- Social vulnerability, settlements and risks

The social dimension of projects claiming to be sustainable still needs to be examined. Great attention must always be paid to makeshift neighbourhoods and the poorest populations. In Nigeria, for example, Ibadan city's historic neighbourhood is characterized by a low-quality, poorly maintained settlement, predominantly inhabited by resource-poor populations. As winds and storms increase in intensity, this situation of poverty and dilapidated settlements are primed for disaster if institutions fail to quickly deal with this problem[173].

Metropolitan areas in the face of risk: actions taken and prospects

Due to the changing climate, widespread deforestation and the erosion of coastlines[174], coastal cities are now having to deal with a heightened risk of flooding. Poorer communities, like those in Lagos, are particularly affected by this risk[175]. The Asian cities of Phnom Pen and Bangkok, which are fed by dammed rivers, are built on river floodplains. Thus, they are not excluded from this risk and are particularly vulnerable to floods[176]. The respective home countries of both these cities and their local governments have implemented plans for reducing such risks and strengthening the cities' resilience.

However, it would appear that actors tend to avoid using resilience as a frame of reference for promoting a systemic approach; this leads to the abandonment of notions promoting the diversity of actors and the interaction between actors and different levels within the system. Resilience therefore loses its meaning and is neither territorialized or integrated into post-catastrophe planning decisions, thus limiting the scope of initiatives undertaken in its name.

Climate change is severely increasing the vulnerability of metropolitan cities undergoing rapid growth. The biggest known paradox is that of sub-Saharan African cities who have been affected by catastrophic floods for over a decade due to the

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[173] Ibidun O. Adelekan, « Vulnerability to wind hazards in the traditional city of Ibadan, Nigeria », *Environment and Urbanization*, 2012, vol. 24, nᵒ 2, p. 597‑617.

[174] Catherine Meur-Ferec and Valérie Morel, « L'érosion sur la frange côtière : un exemple de gestion des risques », *Natures Sciences Sociétés*, 2004, vol. 12, nᵒ 3, p. 263‑273.

[175] Ibidun O. Adelekan, « Vulnerability of poor urban coastal communities to flooding in Lagos, Nigeria », *Environment and Urbanization*, 2010, vol. 22, nᵒ 2, p. 433‑450.

[176] Céline C. Pierdet, « La résilience comparée de Phnom Penh (Cambodge) et Bangkok (Thaïlande) face aux crises hydrauliques », *op. cit.*

combined effects of sudden, severe rainstorms, the proliferation 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 (toilets out of use, flooded houses). Cases of malaria, respiratory illnesses and diarrhoea drastically increase a population's vulnerability and make it all the more necessary to find sustainable ways of strengthening built-up areas: strengthening, but also freeing up open spaces and preserving vulnerable natural areas[177]...

The city of Jakarta is also faced with flood risks. There, 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 much more efficient if they were based around the abilities of poor communities in informal makeshift neighbourhoods, who also represent the most vulnerable population groups[178]. However, participatory approaches should not be combined with disinvestment from institutions, who must continue to invest in supporting community initiatives rather than developing programmes 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 ability to acknowledge, value and consider the adaptive measures adopted by the poorest communities, particularly those living in self-built working-class neighbourhoods[179].

In these metropolitan areas, like many others, resilience-based policies can lead to the exclusion of vulnerable populations, particularly by relocating them to at-risk areas. For example, in Istanbul, town planners actually harnessed the risk of earthquakes to enable the eradication of working-class neighbourhoods[180].

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.

Naples: the issue of control over land

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[177] Oumar Cissé and Moustapha Sèye, « Flooding in the suburbs of Dakar: impacts on the assets and adaptation strategies of households or communities », *Environment and Urbanization*, 2015.

[178] 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, p. 551‑570.

[179] Afroza Parvin, Alam Ashraful and Rumana Asad, « Climate Change Impact and Adaptation in Urban Informal Settlements in Khulna: A Built Environmental Perspective ».

[180] See:

- Sylviane Tabarly, *Mégapoles et risques en milieu urbain. L'exemple d'Istanbul*, http://geoconfluences.ens-lyon.fr/doc/transv/Risque/RisqueDoc6.htm, consulté le 10 novembre 2015.

- Claire Laborey and Marc Evreux, *Mainmise sur les villes*, Arte France, Chamaerops Productions, 2015.

The Naples example is interesting because of the housing 'red zone', which was implemented due to the risk of Vesuvius erupting, and yet no one has taken enforcement measures against it. Only the authority protecting Vesuvius National Park, inside which these dwellings are completely or partially built[181], is able to enforce the ban on building. However, this has been undermined by 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 Camorra and Berlusconi's government have repeatedly used wild landfill areas for dumping waste (often toxic), 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 traffic.

The resilience of a metropolitan area and its ability to adapt to climate change are dependent on strong political commitment, as well as a range of institutional, strategic and social factors[182].

Furthermore, in order to slow down climate change, a complementarity must be established between urban planning measures and those concerning individual behaviours[183], not forgetting the influence of large companies in this transition. In light of the burden of economic and financial obstacles faced by cities, it would appear that control and public vigilance are crucial to the effective functioning of local resilience systems implemented by public authorities.

2. PRIORITIZING HUMAN DIGNITY IN METROPOLITAN AREAS

As we know, 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. Having been formed in the 1980s in the United

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[181] 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, consulté le 7 janvier 2016.

[182] See also on this subject:
- AFD, « Adaptation au changement climatique dans les villes: quelles conditions de succès? », *Question de développement*, 2014, nº 18.-
- A. TAYLOR, A. CARTWRIGHT and C. SUTHERLAND, « Institutional Pathways for Local Climate Adaptation: A Comparison of Three South African Municipalities », *Focales, AFD*, 2014, nº 18.-
- Claire LAUNAY and Emma O'RIORDAN, *Sistematizacion de experiencias sobre mitigacion y adaptacion al cabio climatico en once ciudades de Colombia. Analisis transversal*, Paris, Institut de recherche et de débat sur la gouvernance, 2013.
- David DODMAN, Katarina SOLTESOVA, David SATTERTHWAITE and Cecilia TACOLI, *Understanding the Assessment and Reduction of Vulnerability to Climate Change in African Cities. A Focus on Low-Income and Informal Settlements*, International Institute for Environment and Development, AFD, 2015.
-In the 'North', the case of England: Stéphanie BEUCHER, « La gestion des inondations en Angleterre : la mise en place d'un système efficace de gouvernance du risque ? », *L'Information géographique*, 2008, vol. 72, nº 4, p. 27‑43.

[183] See also on this subject: AFD, « Villes et atténuation du changement climatique », 2015, nº 21.

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 neighbourhoods[184].

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.

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"Buen vivir" [185]

'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 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'. As a result, markets and nations must be reworked and comply with regulations that are compatible with current social and ecological demands. '*Buen vivir*' is designed to provide "an opportunity to build a new society based on the diverse and harmonious co-existence of humans with nature[186], 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". In some countries, such as Ecuador and Bolivia, rights to well-being are actually constitutional rights.

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This principle has opened up pathways that reinforce the importance of an approach based on promoting human rights, preserving human dignity in metropolitan areas,

[184] Sophie MOREAU and Yvette VEYRET, « Comprendre et construire la justice environnementale », *Annales de géographie*, 2009, vol. 665-666, nº 1, p. 35‑60.
[185] 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, n° 63, nº 3, p. 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 Vivir-una Via Para El Desarrollo*, Quito, Abya-Yala, 2009.
- Ivonne FARAH and Luciano VASAPOLLO (dir.), *Vivir bien: ¿Paradigma no capitalista?*, La Paz, CIDES - UMSA, 2011.
[186] It therefore incorporates a Western or Judeo-Christian vision in which nature traditionally ought to be domesticated (unlike Eastern perspectives)

and acknowledging 'climatic justice', thus calling into question Western modernity[187]. This movement can also be likened to that of 'transition[188]', which has been applied in many urban contexts through the 'Transition Network'; a network that unites cities seeking to invent ways of life that are less dependent on petroleum[189]. Additionally, in Ecuador and Bolivia, the objectives and principles behind metropolitan town 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 in Quito (Ecuador) 2012-2022

The aim of the plan is to identify planning tools that will give 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, solidarity (redistributing resources, fighting against exclusion, meeting fundamental demands), environmental sustainability (preventing natural risks, conserving natural heritage and resources like water and soil, improving air quality, reducing the carbon footprint of metropolitan areas), participation (promoting forums for dialogue and community self-management and organization), diversity (recognized as a universal right; no pretence of assimilation, education or civilization among inhabitants). In this regard, the plan also prioritizes the promotion of public spaces as communal, peaceful and solidary areas, avoids land speculation and ensures sustainable and democratic use of the land.

The Charter of Medellín[190]

The Charter of Medellín includes a series of values and approaches that promote 'cities for life', 'urban fabrics that build, enrich and improve the lives of citizens'. It is based on principles of equity, interdependence, non-violence, innovation, participation, as well as transparency, integrity, plurality, sustainability, rights, restoration and continuity. The philosophy behind *buen vivir* is at the Charter's very core, as it proposes: a culture of solidary living; a reconsideration of limitless progress; safeguarding the constitutional state and the welfare state; consideration of public and private interests and the formation of more united and inclusive communities; and a broadened ecological consciousness. The Charter puts forward a governance based on notions of co-responsibility, justice, transparency and equality and proposes to make education a cornerstone of well-being ("cities must be places of education that inspire citizens to propose creative ways of life that are open

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[187] C. Aguiton and H. Cabioc'h, « Quand la justice climatique remet en cause la modernité occidentale », *op. cit.*

[188] Simon Cottin-Marx, Fabrice Flipo and Antoine Lagneau (dir.), « La transition, une utopie concrète ? »

[189] A. Krauz, « Les villes en transition, l'ambition d'une alternative urbaine », *op. cit.*

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

to new cultural exchanges"; "Education must be more than simply providing instructions that elicit feelings, reason and understanding; it must help convert knowledge into human heritage, thus encouraging life and the desire to learn. It should not be confined to science, technology, innovations and patents, but provide a source of serenity that stimulates the creation of new forms of community".) 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". This perspective also suggests that "the roles of the 'governor' and the 'governed' are mutually exclusive, that citizenship is only exercised by one's right to vote, that governing solely consists of appropriation and expropriation, that public spaces belong to no one and that the city is foreign, therefore I am not responsible for its well-being, and ultimately that the city is cement and the countryside is open nature". On the contrary, the city should be regarded as a 'communal home'. In order to promote this perspective, it will be necessary to inform, discuss (provide a forum for debate) and invent (continuously propose new suggestions). 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 also organized a restructuring of private sector's participation in the updating of the plan via high-value properties, 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 reach 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 areas", "defends the many values of nature, of which natural capital is only one form[191]" (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.

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 as a way of reintegrating the issue of social sustainability into metropolitan actions. This plan may also be considered from an angle some people may be more familiar with: if we reflect on the three cornerstones of the concept of 'sustainable development', the key goal is to avoid casting aside or forgetting the 'social' dimension in favour of 'environmental' or 'economic' dimensions in order to achieve a holistic approach that prioritizes humans.

Based on this approach, there are many human rights that need to be defended or promoted. These include: right to land, right to housing, right to basic services, right to mobility, right to public spaces, right to food[192], right to culture and right to heritage. It is becoming all the more important to consider the two latter dimensions, 'right to culture' and 'right to heritage' since, due to the effect of internal migrations, metropolitan areas are now often becoming hubs for social and cultural diversity within their host country.

As inequality issues between social groups in metropolitan areas are becoming increasingly urgent, particularly the segregation and stigmatization of the poorest groups due to their ethnic or religious background, it becomes all the more crucial to take into account the respect and development of multicultural citizenship, which are fundamental principles of *buen vivir*. The respect for the rights of cultural, ethnic and sexual minorities is one of the greatest challenges facing metropolitan democracy. In order to promote respect for individuals[193], incorporating cultural identity into metropolitan policies and projects now represents a crucial step along the path to spatial and social justice.

Citizens may lay claim to all these rights throughout the metropolitan area. However, it is important to remember that all these rights are not just applicable at city level, but at many others (levels at which NGOs, associations like UCLG and international organizations can play a role). All these rights may also fall under the umbrella of 'rights to citizenship', which prioritize human dignity, non-discrimination and respect

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[191] E. GUDYNAS, « Développement, droits de la Nature et Bien Vivre », *op. cit.*

[192] On this matter, it is also worth reflecting on the issues of urban agriculture and food security. See:
- Stefan REYBURN, « Les défis et les perspectives de l'agriculture urbaine », *Environnement Urbain*, 2012, vol. 6, p. III‑VI.-
- Eric DUCHEMIN (dir.), *Agriculture urbaine: aménager et nourrir la ville*, Montréal, VertigO, 2013.

[193] Catherine AUDARD, « L'idée de citoyenneté multiculturelle et la politique de la reconnaissance », *Rue Descartes*, 2002, vol. 37, n° 3, p. 19‑30.

for cultural diversity, in accordance with the original concept of '*buen vivir*'. These rights do not solely involve substantive law, they also have a political dimension, which ties in with urban citizenship and should not be disregarded.

The democratization of a section of the world's States and the increasing influence of resident communities in urban areas, simultaneously faced with opportunities within the city and growing inequalities, have generated a renewed sense of 'rights', to which we must pay the greatest attention. In this regard, 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 to 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 projects[194].

In terms of 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 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 centres', 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 neighbourhoods in Latin American cities[195]. When all the favelas joined together in a coordinated effort to boycott the World Cup, it became clear that investigating violations of human rights was not a priority for large international NGOs, such as Amnesty International.

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 done for the United Nations Habitat III Conference[196] in October 2016, which states the importance of a right rooted in the social uses of land and property.

2.1. Right to land

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[194] James HOLSTON, « Insurgent citizenship of global urban peripheries », *City and Society*, 2009, vol. 21, nᵒ 2, p. 245‑267.

[195] Kosta MATHEY, Silvia MATUK and Caroline MOSER (dir.), *Community-Based Urban Violence Prevention: Innovative Approaches in Africa, Latin America, Asia and the Arab Region*, Bielefeld, Transcript Verlag, 2015.

[196] 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).

The concept of right to land focuses attention on issues of social exclusion and discrimination (notably gender-related) and social inequalities, which are linked to land use. Here, we will discuss one of the founding principles of the right to be and live in the city; access 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 is further exacerbated by pressure on land (especially agricultural) caused by urbanization and large-scale investments from world States, agro-industrial groups and financial groups, which in Africa alone affected 56 million hectares in 2008[197].

This problem is the main cause of excessive housing costs, which penalize most citizens living in large metropolitan areas. It also prevents the production of affordable social 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 informal settlements alongside a process of liberalization and commodification of the land market (although this process started much earlier, like in Cairo where informal settlements began expanding in the 1960s).

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 only involved paying significant sums of money in exchange for kola nuts, as was the case in many African countries, 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

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[197] Alain DURAND-LASSERVE and Etienne LE ROY, *La situation foncière en afrique à l'horizon 2050*, AFD, 2012.

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 markets[198].

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 operators have also began commodifying the land market, even through the most popular channels, which explains the extremely rapid top-down phenomena aimed at reducing land costs and attracting clients who are eager to make (small or large) investments in housing[199]. There is no doubt that these radical changes in opportunities for access to affordable housing have a direct impact on tenant statuses and thus, types of security of tenure.

Right to land is one of the demands of many social movements and it affects citizens in rural and suburban areas in countries affected by expropriations, just as much as strictly speaking urban dwellers. However, in some ways, this demand blurs the increasingly arbitrary borders between urban and rural areas, thus highlighting a twofold social demand: right of access on the one hand, and right to stay in a certain place on the other. This twofold demand is based on the very recent issue of land policies being inconsistent for the poorest groups, and sometimes even aggressive or violent in the case of urban projects governed by elitist objectives.

Preventing discriminations 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 (no legal right to inheritance, high vulnerability in the event of divorce or widowhood, etc. Additionally, the illegality of slums means limited social safety nets and family

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[198] Alphonse YAPI-DIAHOU, Emile BROU-KOFFI and Adjoba-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, p. 385‑396.

[199] 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, p. 203‑226.

protection, particularly in the face of violence[200]. Indigenous populations are often the first to lose recognition of their right to land tenure security, or even the right to settle in the city and represent the largest proportion of homeless people in Latin American and Asian cities. 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 Benin[201], 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 demands[202]. The greatest number of land transactions used to take place in East Amman, which gave rise to a range of loosely recognized arrangements in which lavish subdivisions of land (forcing the majority of plots to remain undeveloped) prevented working-class populations from settling. In practice, 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 recognising property rights.

2.1.1. Recognition or legalization of land tenure?

In some metropolitan areas, the governing bodies in place have never successfully implemented the legislation they promised for projects led by international development lenders. In much the same way, tenure legalization programmes implemented with German cooperation in the shanty town of Manshiyet Naser in Cairo have failed and regularly face institutional blockage. Even when property tenure surpasses bureaucratic red tape and the obstacles related to competition from public institutions over the privatization of land (in Ouagadougou, Bamako and Mumbai, property mafia groups are supported by local authorities), the legalization of (individual) property tenure is still not able to account for the wide range of demands and claims made by populations who consider themselves to have pre-dated the State or local council. 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 leads to exclusion and marginalizes households that are not able to benefit from legalization[203] processes and thus remain in the 'grey' areas of property management. We must move away

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[200] 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.

[201] Philippe Lavigne DELVILLE, « La reforme fonciere rurale au Benin », *Revue française de science politique*, 2010, vol. 60, n° 3, p. 467‑491.

[202] Omar RAZZAZ, *Why and how property matters to planning, American University in Beirut*, 2014.

[203] 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 », Montréal, 2012.

from these post-colonial approaches, which often entail a "legal dualism between areas governed by written law and those that are not"[204].

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. Whereas in Brazil, in some cases, municipalities carried out rehabilitation projects in conjunction with recognition of land tenure. However, both policies are faced with backlogs: difficult access to cadastral registers in Peru and building-permit systems and weak management of vacant public land in Brazil[205].

Recognition of land tenure is often considered more efficient and fairer than legalization. As such, the complexity of the land tenure issue makes it essential to establish governing bodies that include all stakeholders and strategic thinking, so as not to single out certain elements of urban policies. In fact, the ripple effect of interventions regarding land tenure is clear to see, given that land is at the very core of urbanization. The systemic dimension of land must therefore be taken very seriously in order to avoid the effects of spatial and social segregation being exacerbated by reconstructed local markets, global market forces, State entities competing over land, (local or sometimes State) authorities themselves operating illegally, the conversion of farming land or thousands of hectares of state-owned forests or gated communities settling without land tenure permits[206]. While legalization can be difficult or exclusionary, it is better, in practice, to promote property rights recognition. In certain restructuring programmes, 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 neighbours, peers or fellow villagers of 'real tenure' and acceptable occupancy standards (in Amman contracts are based on oral agreements or *Hujja*[207]). This involves validating the existence of social groups, who use the city on a daily basis, and providing them with political representation.

-the call for justice and right to tenure

The call for justice emanates from all parties who have been misled by liberal land tenure policies, which very rarely provide the means for even partial municipal

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[204] 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.

[205] Edesio FERNANDES, *Regularization of informal settlements in latin america*, Cambridge, Lincoln Institute of Land Policy, 2011.

[206] Jean-François PÉROUSE, « Mülk Allahindir (this house is God's property's). Legitimizing land ownership in the suburbs of Istanbul », *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, p. 283-302.

[207] 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, p. 259‑283.; regarding the oral recognition of land tenure rights in a rural African context; see work by P. Laville-Delvigne.

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. Therefore, not only are poor populations and some of the middle classes unable to settle in dignified conditions, they are also forced to use increasingly risky and peripheral forms of land tenure. Moreover, they are forced to live in overcrowded housing or over-populated neighbourhoods due to unfair distribution of land tenure rights. In Mumbai, for example, more than half the population are 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 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 returning[208]. 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.

2.2. 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. Although countries such as France or South Africa have included this right in their legislation, its implementation has hardly ever been straightforward. In line with the right to land, the right to housing is an essential dimension of social sustainability, given the importance of the home and residential attachment for well-being. Although it may not be at the source of land tenure insecurity among citizens, the non-application of this right only serves to reinforce such insecurity[209].

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 renovation projects, as well as the loosely related gentrification processes taking place in working-class neighbourhoods. These remarks are one of many criticisms encountered by urban renewal programmes targeting social housing estates in North America and Europe. The huge cost of

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[208] This largely inspired the TV series *Treme*. (HBO, David Simon, 2010).
[209] Charlotte MATHIVET (dir.), *La terre est à nous! Pour la fonction sociale du logement et du foncier, résistances et alternatives*, Paris, RITMO - AITEC, 2014.

demolition work actually favours a spatial strategy, contrary to all the expectations of social, employment or educational policies. It drives forward the idea that changing urban forms, (building smaller buildings rather than tower estates) and removing the most 'problematic' populations from urban centres, will resolve some of the most sensitive problems caused by spatial segregation, or in some cases, discrimination. Although the architectural and urban outcomes of these huge programmes may be good, the social outcomes are somewhat lacking, especially if dismantling of public housing is carried out in aid of gentrification. However, 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 programmes[210].

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, (see 2.1.1). All metropolitan areas, especially highly globalized ones, are not immune to the temptation of eradication. In New Delhi, between 1990 and 2008, 221 precarious neighbourhoods were destroyed in order to clean up the city; a process sped up by the approaching Commonwealth Games[211].

In Casablanca, much like other Moroccan cities, in most cases the 'Cities without Slums' programme 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 poor[212]. Housing conditions have been drastically improved, but urban integration is still lacking and there exists a clear discrepancy between the promises that were made and the actual construction of facilities[213].

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 slum[214], especially since the vast majority of such settlements are actually made with bricks. In such cases, they also often refuse the destruction of their dwelling, into which they have invested time, money and emotion. Now, the quest for dignity is one of the main focuses among inhabitants in working-class neighbourhoods. Forced demolition, even of slums, remains the most detrimental solution in terms of rights, and ex-situ rehoming, which often takes place in the areas most poorly deprived of facilities and

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[210] 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, n° 3, p. 267‑287.

[211] Véronique D.n. DUPONT, « The Dream of Delhi as a Global City », *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 2011, vol. 35, n° 3, p. 533‑554.

[212] Observations made during field visits and an assessment carried out with Aitec in 2007.

[213] Olivier TOUTAIN and Virginie RACHMUHL, « Evaluation et impact du programme d'appui à la résorbtion de l'habitat insalubre et des bidonvilles au Maroc », *Ex-post, AFD*, 2014, n° 55.

[214] Alan GILBERT, « The Return of the Slum: Does Language Matter? », *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 2007, vol. 31, n° 4, p. 697‑713.

employment opportunities, is the worst solution of all, whether in Algiers, Marseilles or elsewhere. It leads to poor living conditions, diminishes communities, local neighbourliness and job opportunities, and never focuses on *buen vivir*. Its sole aim is to free up land in targeted areas.

Having an adequate proactive housing production policy

In this respect, it is important to stress the need for providing access to affordable housing (and simultaneously promoting a non-speculative housing market) and preserving tenants' 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; similarly, 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 documented[215]; preventing vacant housing and promoting fair and equitable access to housing as well as proximity to basic services.

In concrete terms, the right to housing means including citizens in governance bodies that plan and build social or non-market housing, as well as avoiding 'electoralization' or politicization in housing allocation.

Metropolitan areas that successfully manage their housing policy can be replicated at other levels of government (national, international), thus fostering integration and ensuring efficiency.

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

2.2.1. Co-production of low-cost housing

In many cases, 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

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[215] For an example on this topic, see: Frédéric CAZENAVE and Jérôme PORIER, « Propriétaires à tout prix », *Le Monde Argent et Placements*, 18/09/2015.; Also refer to the situation of 'grey areas' between access to property and right to housing, in which tenants of social housing structures in Buenos Aires have found themselves as a result of a failed 'access to property' policy: Emilia SCHIJMAN, « Usages, pactes et « passes du droit » », *Déviance et Société*, 2013, Vol. 37, nº 1, p. 51‑65.

subsidized. In some locations, such as Ouagadougou,Yaoundé and Nouakchott, social housing models need to be redesigned as they currently favour citizens with higher incomes[216]. Elsewhere, a trend in the opposite direction is taking place, especially in Europe[217], where the universalistic model has been modified to help more vulnerable populations, which also raises issues in terms of social justice. Although some social housing policies may help reduce makeshift housing, they also raise the issue of power relations, which they further intensify. On the one hand, the Minha Casa Minha Vida programme in Brazil may provide an alternative to favelas. However, on the other hand, it may also involve an underlying objective to standardize the management of populations that have been marginalized due to having lived in the favelas. It does not take into account the ways in which populations affected by this programme can become increasingly vulnerable and penalized by the distance they live from the city centre (when developments are built far from the city centre and services[218]).

In more general terms, ex-situ rehoming has negative social and economic impacts and contradicts all the principles of spatial justice, particularly in terms of ensuring rights to the city.

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, or even public traded companies (like in Mexico[219]) to develop affordable housing projects. However, in many cases, these are on the peripheries, thereby encouraging urban sprawl and hindering sustainable development. 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.

In addition to social housing policies, both collective and communal civil society initiatives feed into this objective. They represent organizational procedures that public authorities would be wise to support with a view to social sustainability. To this end, several cooperative housing initiatives have been set up (with very varied

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[216] Alexandra BIEHLER, Armelle CHOPLIN and Marie MORELLE, « Le logement social en Afrique : un modèle à (ré)inventer ? », *Métropolitiques*, 2015.

[217] Noémie HOUARD, « Le logement social en Europe : la fin d'une époque ? », *Métropolitiques*, 2012.

[218] Patrick Le Guirriec, « Habitat, inégalités et dignité. Aspects du programme "Minha casa, minha vida" à Natal (Brésil) », *Métropolitiques*, 2015, http://www.metropolitiques.eu/Habitat‑inegalites‑et‑dignite.html.

[219] 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, p. 33‑41.

outcomes, as portrayed by the terms used to describe them[220]). Some of them have been or are being institutionalized, as is the case in Quebec, France and Uruguay[221].

Community land trusts - New York and Brussels

Community land trusts are one form of initiative adopted by this type of organization. They are "tools for preventing gentrification and the relocation of resident populations". They also "help give power back to communities" and prioritize usage value over trade value[222]. In this regard, housing is treated as a human right rather than a commodity. These trusts are non-profit community corporations who 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 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 housing[223]. Therefore, community land trusts have been able to flourish in cities particularly hard hit by real-estate and land-market speculation.

In New York, for example[224], while affordable housing policies have proven ineffective in terms of providing the most vulnerable populations with access to decent housing, the formation of a community land trust provided a solution for maintaining economic accessibility to housing. Initially, it was formed using expertise gathered from an organization combating homelessness ('Picture the Homeless), academics (Columbia University), a community organization (New Economy Project) and inhabitants of East Harlem.

In Brussels[225], 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 based on the principle of community land trusts. As such, the 'Brussels Community Land Trust Platform' was created in 2009 and in 2012, the City of Brussels decided to develop a CLT. It is now financially supported and legally protected by public authorities

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[220] Claire CARRIOU, Olivier RATOUIS and Agnès SANDER, « Effervescences de l'habitat alternatif », *Métropolitiques*, 2012.

[221] 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, n° 313, p. 58‑70. ; Camille DEVAUX, « De l'expérimentation à l'institutionnalisation : l'habitat participatif à un tournant? », *Métropolitiques*, 2012.

[222] 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 XXie siècle*, Chairecoop, 2014, p. 30‑54.

[223] Jean-Philippe Attard, "Un logement foncièrement solidaire : le modèle des community land trusts," *Mouvements* 74, no. 2 (2013): 143–53.

[224] 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 XXie siècle*, Chairecoop, 2014, p. 80‑105.

[225] 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 XXie siècle*, Chairecoop, 2014, p. 133‑146.

(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.

2.2.2. Renewal of information housing

The targets for reducing slums within the framework of the Millennium Goals are very contradictory: the number of units may have been reduced by 100 million, but the issue of the inevitable social impacts is rarely raised. Although many diverse solutions for dealing with makeshift neighbourhoods have been put forward, eradication or eviction still remain the easiest and most commonly used approaches. These solutions are all the more appealing since the 830 million people living in such conditions (according to UN-Habitat) are now living in neighbourhoods where the value of land is undeniably high. In addition to demolition-eviction policies accompanied by ex-situ rehoming strategies, cities have started developing in-situ rehoming or resettlement strategies too[226].

- in-situ rehabilitation

Many countries have supported in-situ municipal and national slum upgrading programs, even if there is still strong resistance to the recognition of informal settlements. The term 'rehabilitation' tends to focus on improving basic services rather than the housing itself and is sometimes coupled with land redistribution (e.g. through 'developed plots') and urban standardization through a grid street plan to 'normalize' the urban frame[227]. 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 three clear examples of this: Recife, Lima and Mexico.

In Recife, favelas (slums) have been included in 'economic areas of special interest' (ZEIS), restructured and redistributed, and that includes a participatory dimension. In Rio de Janeiro, the in-situ rehabilitation policy was limited by security policies. Due to its proximity to the favelas, and with huge sporting events and the associated

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[226]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*, Londres, Routledge, 2015, p. 49‑78.; Pierre-Arnaud BARTHEL and Sylvy JAGLIN (dir.), « Quartiers informels d'un monde arabe en transition. Réflexions et perspectives pour l'action urbaine », *AFD - Conférences et séminaires*, 2013, n° 7.

[227] A. DEBOULET, « Secure land tenure ? Stakes and contradictions of land titling and upgrading policies in the global Middle east and Egypt », *op. cit.*

violence[228] in mind, the establishment of the Pacifying Police Unit was clearly set up to help abolish the systematic preservation of the slums. The risk of landslides and environmental hazards are now being used to justify the relocation of certain favelas.

In Lima, the current policies in place are less ambiguous. The 'Barrio Mío' programme 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 facilities[229]. In Medellín, the parks[230] department improved the linkages of self-built neighbourhoods with the rest of the urban fabric.

In Mexico, the neighbourhood improvement programme (PMB) used proposals from a local 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 neighbourhood committee chose to set up a community restaurant, followed by a plastic recycling workshop. This work on urban and social dimensions was further strengthened by a 're-familiarization' process in an abandoned area. Ultimately, the municipality's support, bolstered by that of around twenty partners with local (national and international) initiatives has borne much fruit[231].

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 populations 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, a policy aimed at spatial justice must be based on shared knowledge of an inhabited area, regardless of its nature.

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[228] Rafael Soares GONÇALVES, « Une discipline olympique ? Le retour des politiques d'éradication des favelas à Rio de Janeiro », *Mouvements*, 2013, vol. 74, nᵒ 2, p. 24‑32. ; Einar BRAATHEN, « Settlement stories II. Communities' responses », *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*, Londres, Routledge, 2015, p. 144‑163.

[229] 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*, Londres, Routledge, 2015, p. 56‑58.

[230] AFP, « Une décharge transformée en jardin: plus qu'un symbole à Medellin », *L'Express*, avril/2014.

[231] In 2011, Deutsche Bank awarded the Miravalle Communitarian Program its 'urban age' prize. This extract is taken from the article by Raphaële GOULET, « « Programme PMB », du logement informel à l'amélioration du quartier », *Urbanisme*, 2011, nᵒ 280, p. 27-29.

An integrated planning procedure for producing decent housing

There are an infinite number of solutions for producing housing adapted to the needs of a population, meanwhile ensuring its integration into the urban environment and access to basic services. The difference between a habitat and housing is qualitative. Producing decent, sustainable urban habitats requires training urban policy specialists who can get involved in community work. In Morocco, the National Initiative for Human Development (INDH), which advocated the implementation of participatory projects in slums, was faced with an almost complete lack of trained professionals in the field. Similarly lacking resettlement programmes in India are now covered by a social support process. However, the latter have remained the poor relation of these complex programmes, thus paving the way for nepotism, cheating and local disputes over land. In addition, policies affecting these neighbourhoods adopt a very localized method of intervention. They are so intrinsically focused on the neighbourhood itself that they completely forget to consider it within the bigger picture. Regulation, rehabilitation and restructuring policies centred around making the 'urban project' a tool for fair urbanization are fairly uncommon. Moreover, the production of housing is too often subordinate to urgent or financial needs, with no regard for the quality or adequacy of the habitat itself. Yet, throughout this section, we have seen how local initiatives can lead the way to territorial renewal and exploring new solutions.

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

The Baan Mankong/secure housing Programme in Thailand

Urban Community Development Office (UDCO); the Thai community organization programme was set up in 1992 to help poorer households reap the benefits of population growth that they had mostly been deprived of. The programme's activities are inclusive and include upgrading informal settlements, supporting new businesses and are also based on supporting local savings groups. These groups have been encouraged to unite and form a network whereby they allocate loans to communities and networks of community groups. Environmental improvement activities have also been undertaken, as well as community welfare funds aimed at fighting against poverty. In 2003, the Baan Mankong (secure housing) programme was set up to assist design processes led by 'grassroot groups'. These groups work with professionals and researchers, among other actors, which in turn, makes it possible

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SECTION TWO - TOWARDS SUSTAINABLE CITIES: CURRENT MODELS AND ACTION PLANS

This section aims to provide answers to the question: how can we establish and ensure the sustainability of metropolitan environments? The challenge of ensuring economic, environmental and social sustainability brings cities under considerable stress, and this will be further explored within this section.

The term 'sustainability' first emerged in the 1990s and has since been rolled out as a guiding principle to combat the environmental crisis, especially across 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'.[232] Sustainability has now become an essential benchmark for urban policies in terms of construction, urban form and flows, but also citizen behaviour (eco-citizens). At the same time, many different issues are being raised. First of all, the concept itself is growing increasingly distant from its original meaning, particularly in terms of political ecology principles.[233] Secondly, of its three main themes (social, environmental and economic), the social aspect is often neglected. Thirdly, the use of the term has become 'technologized'. Additionally, this watchword is more of a model in the Global North, but has also scattered further south with contradictory effects.[234] 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 (2.1.), 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, the action plan should shift toward the notion of '*buen vivir*' (2.2.) 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.

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[232] COMMISSION MONDIALE SUR L'ENVIRONNEMENT ET LE DEVELOPPEMENT DE L'ORGANISATION DES NATIONS UNIES, *Rapport Brundtland. Notre avenir à tous*, 1987.

[233] Political ecology emerged in the 1960s and has since been regarded as a common alternative, not only to industrial capitalism but also to authoritarian Communism: Vincent RENAULD, « Fabrication et usage des écoquartiers français. Eléments d'naalyse 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*, [Nouv. éd. augm. et remaniée, précédé de : Ecologie et liberté]., Paris, Seuil, 1974.

[234] Pierre-Arnaud BARTHEL, Valérie CLERC et Pascale PHILIFERT, « La "ville durable" précipitée dans le monde arabe : essai d'analyse généalogique et critique », *Environnement Urbain*, 2013, vol. 7, p. 16‑30.

3. MAINSTREAM MODELS OF METROPOLITAN SUSTAINABILITY: PROMISING INITIATIVES AND SERIOUS LIMITATIONS

Numerous action models have been developed in metropolitan areas in order to face environmental and climatic challenges and encourage sustainable development. The reason for this is that cities are responsible for two-thirds of global energy consumption and 70% 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. This, therefore, can also conjure a stronger sense of solidarity than ever before between rural and urban areas, as they realize being 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 disposal 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. For example, it is no longer 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 authorities.[235]

Generally, inherently technical models promoted by central and local governments fall into the so-called 'ecological urbanism' or 'green urbanism' categories, which are 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. They are present in as many industries as can be found in cities – a fact that, as we will later reflect on, attracts criticism with regard to the often overly-sectoral approach of certain supposedly sustainable policies. 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, etc. Those in charge of 'designing' the city regularly take over the division of the city into sectors in accordance with various urban components, which is a factor that cannot be ignored. Because of a lack of ability or knowledge about how to 'encapsulate' this concept in an effort to transform their practices, professionals often tend to divide or subdivide it.[236] In addition to this phenomenon, certain principles for action such as density and resilience are becoming integral parts of this movement. Although they have undoubtedly led to remarkable advances in terms of metropolitan sustainability, upon closer inspection of projects carried out in their name, their almost inevitable invocation and the impact of their practical implementation also raise a series of questions. As such, the translation of these watchwords into metropolitan agendas has given rise to several

[235] On this matter, a series of French examples are discussed in: Maëlle GUILLOU et Justine PEULLEMEULLE, « Energies citoyennes dîtes-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 et Julien WOESSNER (dir.), Climat: Subir ou choisir la transition? [The Climate: Active Transition or Change Inflicted?], Passerelle n°15, 2015, p. 129‑135.

[236] Silvère TRIBOUT, « Les concepteurs en agence d'architecture, d'urbanisme et de paysage à l'épreuve du développement durable » Thèse de doctorat, Université Paris-Ouest Nanterre-La Défense, 2015.

interesting initiatives (which were discussed thoroughly during the Climate Change Conference, the COP 21, held in Paris in November 2015) and many processes that encourage the continuation of ongoing efforts. At the same time, there are certain limitations to consider, which we will come back to. All these projects should be recognized, disseminated and widely available to all elected representatives, local decision-makers and citizens. The C40 group databases, which gather information on the largest cities in the world, are a cornerstone of the building-up of knowledge that is rapidly leading towards ambitious policies.[237]

3.1. Promising initiatives

Among the many promising sustainability-related initiatives, we will quickly refer back to four central and thoroughly investigated themes: planning, the energy transition, circular economy and urban agriculture.[238]

3.1.1. Planning

In terms of planning, some noteworthy measures are being taken to preserve local vulnerable ecosystems that have often been weakened by the effects of climate change. In this regard, the Integrated Territorial Climate Plan in Dakar has made it possible to detect the city's weaknesses in order to develop solutions adapted to each territory.[239] Similarly, the Green and Blue Plan of Phnom Penh is aimed at preserving a certain number of natural spaces that are crucial for sustainability. Forms of sustainable development have also focused on informal settlements, such as those in Cairo (project for adapting informal areas to climate change). Moreover, there are many projects for combating climate risks, such as floods or storms, some of which pay special attention to the most vulnerable populations (like in Indore).[240]

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[237] The C40 network, established ten years ago, uses an online platform and various connections to encourage and showcase a number of initiatives aimed at combating climate change. In addition to the formulation of a series of case studies that could be used as inspirational reference points for devising innovative environmental action plans, C40 has developed a method for measuring greenhouse gas emissions and climatic impacts. One of the major tools designed is the 'Global Protocol for Community-Scale Greenhouse Gas Emission Inventories (GPC)', currently used by a large number of cities for their strategic planning. Each year, a report presents the readings taken. These measurement instruments can enable cities to adapt their strategies to deal with climate change and measure changes from year to year; they also make it possible to compare different cities around the world.

[238] It may also be worth touching on David Sattherthwaite's analyses:
- David SATTERTHWAITE, *Sustainable cities – and how cities can contribute to sustainable development*, United Cities and Local Governments, 2015. A paper that comprises and details other important initiatives.
- 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, p. 1762‑1783.
- David SATTERTHWAITE, « The political underpinnings of cities' accumulated resilience to climate change », *Environment and Urbanization*, 2013, vol. 25, nᵒ 2, p. 381‑391.

[239] Emilie BARRAU, Pierre-Arnaud BARTHEL, Valérie CLERC, Bénédicte HERMELIN, Eric HUYBRECHTS, Aurélie LANDON et Vincent VIGUIE, *Territoires urbains durables et adaptation aux changements climatiques. Revue Bibliographique*, GRET, 2014. ; Jacques QUENSIÈRE, A. RETIÈRE, A. KANE, A. GAYE, I. LY, S. SECK, C. ROYER, Camille GEROME et A. PERESSE, *Vulnérabilités de la région de Dakar au changement climatique : PCTI - Dakar*, Dakar, IRD, 2013.; Brigitte BARIOL-MATHAIS, *World Summit Climate and Territories Toward The COP21. Inspiring action for urban and regional planning.*, Lyon, FNAU, 2015.

[240] E. BARRAU, P.-A. BARTHEL, V. CLERC, B. HERMELIN, E. HUYBRECHTS, A. LANDON et V. VIGUIE, *Territoires urbains durables et adaptation aux changements climatiques. Revue Bibliographique, op. cit.*

3.1.2. *Efficiency and energy transition*

The latest recommendations from the IPCC regarding global warming have set a target of reducing our CO_2 emissions by 50% by 2030 if we hope to restrict global warming to 2°C by 2100. This transition starts with cities who are committed to investing in clean energy solutions.[241] It is therefore crucial to start planning the entire city in a way that deals with climate change. In terms of transition, the most encouraging studies and practices in this field tend to favour an approach that either reduces the consumption of energy or employs the use of renewable energy sources.

The Agenda 21 plans have also produced interesting results with regard to the energy transition and understanding of sustainability within cities. Moreover, they have helped improve the attitude and capabilities of local actors who deal with these issues, like in Marrakesh and Agadir.[242] In several locations, promoting methods for reducing carbon footprints ('low carbon development') has proven effective. These methods favour approaches such as: the rationalization of energy in public buildings, the construction of 'low consumption' or positive energy buildings (like in Pune, San Francisco and Shanghai, where local authorities apply strict criteria in this sector; or in Paris, where the city is adhering to a thermal rehabilitation programme in schools and social housing, which aims to save 500 gigawatts/hour)[243] or improving the energy performance of existing buildings (as demonstrated by an established model in the city of Leeds).[244] Producing clean energy solutions by converting natural (water, wind, etc.) or man-made (waste)[245] components using different technical means (wind farms, geothermics, etc.) is central to these processes. However, the adverse effects of such processes cannot be ignored, especially with regard to the often excessive consumption of water. Indeed, 'electricity mixes that prioritize carbon capture and storage for coal plants, nuclear energy, or even water-cooled renewables such as some geothermal, biomass, or concentrating solar could worsen rather than lessen the sector's effects on water'.[246]

Tokyo's metropolitan area has put in place a specific programme, the first of its kind in Asia, to reduce greenhouse gas emissions by dealing directly with its buildings and improving their energy performance. Known as the 'Tokyo Cap-and-Trade Program (TCTP)', it is one of the outcomes of the Tokyo Metropolitan Environmental Masterplan. 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% reduction in emissions that same year, rising to a combined 22% in 2011.[247]

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[241] According to the sortirdupetrole.com network, 2,000 billion dollars of investment into potential energy sources become redundant and contradict the goal of reducing global warming to +2°C. The network's initiatives for this transition in over 45 countries can be viewed at: transitionnetwork.org

[242] Françoise NAVEZ-BOUCHANINE, « Le développement urbain durable : « best practice » ou leurre méthodologique ? », *Espaces et sociétés*, 2008, vol. 131, n° 4, p. 101‑116.

[243] COP 21, « 21 Solutions to Protect Our Shared Planet ».

[244] Andy GOULDSON, Sarah COLENBRANDER, Andrew SUDMANT, Nick GODFREY, Joel MILLWARD-HOPKINS, Wanli FANG et Xiao ZHAO, « Accelerating Low-Carbon Development in the World's Cities ».

[245] Refer to the example of the city of Durban: AFD, *Produire de l'énergie propre à partir de déchets*, http://carte.afd.fr/afd/fr/projet/produire-energie-propre-a-partir-de-dechets, consulté le 7 janvier 2016.

[246] Viviana VARIN et Julien WOESSNER (dir.), *Climat: Subir ou choisir la transition? [The Climate: Active Transition or Change Inflicted?]*, Passerelle n°15, 2015.

[247] C40, C40: Tokyo's Urban Cap-and-Trade Scheme Delivers Substantial Carbon Reductions, http://www.c40.org/case_studies/tokyo-s-urban-cap-and-trade-scheme-delivers-substantial-carbon-reductions, consulté le 24 février 2016.

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Copenhagen: 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[248] Climate Plan, the city has already seen a 21% 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 bike.[249]

Three-quarters of the reductions in emissions over the next few years must come from changing the way we produce heat and electricity, with a particular focus on the use of biomass, wind (for example, wind farms currently produce 30% of all energy used in Denmark), geothermal and solar energy.

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Policies must also focus on promoting sustainable mobility[250]. This can be done by improving public transport, encouraging citizens to use networks or alternative means of transport, such as bikes[251] more frequently, and therefore drive their personal cars less frequently[252].

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

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[248] C40, *Copenhagen: CPH Climate Plan 2025*, http://www.c40.org/profiles/2013-copenhagen, consulté le 19 février 2016.

[249] Photograph sourced from: CARFREE, *Les autoroutes cyclables de Copenhague – carfree.fr*, http://carfree.fr/index.php/2012/09/24/les-autoroutes-cyclables-de-copenhague/, consulté le 19 février 2016.

[250] See, 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*.

- INTERNATIONAL TRANSPORTATION FORUM, *Low-Carbon Mobility for Mega Cities. What Different Policies Mean for Urban Transport Emissions in China and India*, 2016.-

[251] John PARKIN, *Cycling and Sustainability*, Cambridge, Emerald Group Publishing, 2012.

[252] INTERNATIONAL TRANSPORTATION FORUM, *Low-Carbon Mobility for Mega Cities. What Different Policies Mean for Urban Transport Emissions in China and India, op. cit.*

transport. In Bogota[253], for example, car-free days are organized to encourage people to make do without their cars.

This transition is also encouraged by the development of individual or shared sustainable transport systems (e.g. many Bus Rapid Transit, or BRT,[254] systems have been set up in Amman, Curitiba, Bogota and Johannesburg),[255] such as the planned air transport system in Mexico[256] and the revival of tramway and segregated-lane transport systems in cities in the Global North.[257] 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 concessions[258].

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% 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 that supports increased bike use[259].

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[253] *A Bogotá, pendant une journée, seuls pieds et vélos sont autorisés!*, http://www.mobilite-durable.org/innover-pour-demain/politiques-publiques/a-bogota-pendant-une-journee-seuls-pieds-et-velos-sont-autorises.html, consulté le 8 janvier 2016.

[254] Amélie PINEL, « Lorsque le Sud innove en matière durable. Le projet de transport en commun d'Amman », *Environnement Urbain*, 2013, vol. 7, p. 31‑42.

[255] See, in particular:
- Taotao DENG et John D. NELSON, « Recent Developments in Bus Rapid Transit: A Review of the Literature », *Transport Reviews*, 2011, vol. 31, n° 1, p. 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, n° 2, p. 72‑84.-
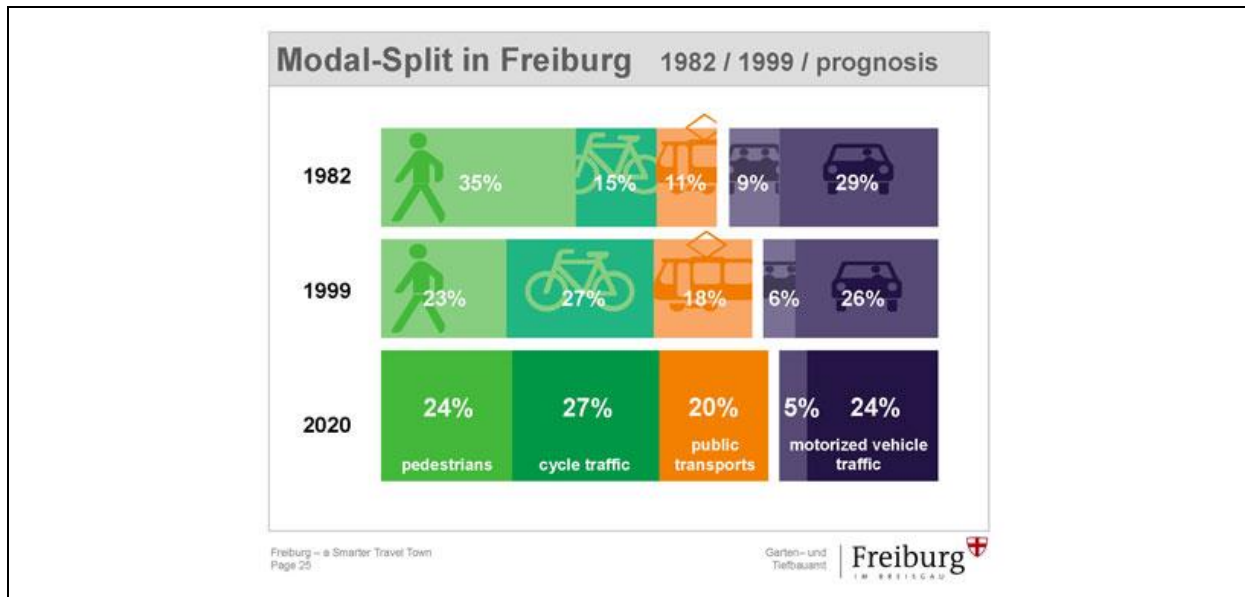- Luis Antonio LINDAU, Dario HIDALGO et Daniela FACCHINI, « Curitiba, the Cradle of Bus Rapid Transit », *Built Environment*, 2010, vol. 36, n° 3, p. 274‑282.-

[256] The solution is a kind of elevated monorail, with gondolas that run on a horizontal track above cars. Ana CAMPOY, « Mexico City Looks to Gondolas to Relieve Its Appalling Traffic Congestion »..

[257] 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, n° 1.

[258] COP 21, « 21 Solutions to Protect Our Shared Planet », *op. cit.*

[259] THE ECOTIPPING POINTS PROJECT, *Germany - Freiburg - Green City*, http://www.ecotippingpoints.org/our-stories/indepth/germany-freiburg-sustainability-transportation-energy-green-economy.html, consulté le 17 février 2016.

Modal-Split in Freiburg 1982 / 1999 / prognosis

	pedestrians	cycle traffic	public transports	motorized vehicle traffic	
1982	35%	15%	11%	9%	29%
1999	23%	27%	18%	6%	26%
2020	24%	27%	20%	5%	24%

Freiburg – a Smarter Travel Town
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Garten- und Tiefbauamt | Freiburg

The transition may also be achieved through initiatives that encourage citizen participation. In Seoul for example, a campaign was set up to engage a million individual commitments from citizens who promised to adopt a more sustainable lifestyle and reduce their greenhouse gas emissions[260].

Technological innovations are also used to help cities become more sustainable, as demonstrated by the growing number of 'Smart Cities'.[261] As an example, 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 problem[262]. 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.

3.1.3. Circular economy

Initiatives aimed at promoting circular economy, 'do-it-yourself' methods and researching recycling-based production models equally convey a systemic vision of the fight against global warming. This type of economy, which many consider 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 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 up against politicians and actors operating in silos (lack or failure of various actors to work together on these issues) as well as the tendency for companies to respond to public contracts containing reuse clauses (technical innovations not controlled by companies). Basically, they 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

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[260] Cop 21, « 21 Solutions to Protect Our Shared Planet », *op. cit.*

[261] AMERICAN PLANNING ASSOCIATION, *Smart Cities and Sustainability Initiative*, 2015.

[262] Olivier TRUC, « Copenhague, laboratoire de la future ville intelligente », *Le Monde*, 20/11/2015.

written into the Constitution of the canton, a collaborative platform on which businesses within the township can exchange their methods and resources has been developed[263].

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% 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 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 sector[264].

3.1.4. *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 serious 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. The city also supported the marketing process. Nowadays, 2,500 families take part in the production and sales process and 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 plants; signing a cooperation agreement with Guarulhos in Brazil[265].

Urban agriculture is particularly prominent within the "Transition Towns[266]" movement initiated by R. Hopkins in 2006 and has been emulated in over 40 countries. It promotes

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[263] http://www.economiecirculaire.org/

[264] *San Francisco's Fight to Counter Climate Change.*

[265] See, in particular:
- Luc J. A. Mougeot, *Agropolis: "The Social, Political and Environmental Dimensions of Urban Agriculture"* (London: Routledge, 2010).
- H. DE ZEEUW, R. VAN VEENHUIZEN and M. DUBBELING, "The role of urban agriculture in building resilient cities in developing countries", *The Journal of Agricultural Science*, 2011, vol. 149, Supplement S1, p. 153‑163.
- Mark REDWOOD, *Agriculture in Urban Planning: Generating Livelihoods and Food Security*, London, Routledge, 2012.

[266] The network demonstrates the local and citizen-led initiatives and experiments aimed at inventing lifestyles that are less dependent on petroleum: Adrien KRAUZ, « Les villes en transition, l'ambition d'une alternative urbaine », *Métropolitiques*, 2014.,; "Six fundamental principles […] underlying the concept of transition. Initially, it discusses breaking away from the pessimism surrounding the awareness of depleting resources and creating an inspiring vision for the future instead. The second principle involves integrating the entire local community. Thirdly, it stresses the importance of raising awareness of declining fuel sources, of which people are often unaware. The fourth and central

permaculture, as opposed to agriculture, thus following a principle of independence from 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.

3.2. 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. Criticisms of approaches that claim to be sustainable have been grouped into five genres:
- criticisms regarding the predominance of economic development issues over social sustainability issues;
- criticisms regarding the overly technical approach to sustainable urbanism;
- criticisms regarding the support for individual practices carried out in the name of sustainable development;
- criticisms regarding the technical democracy associated with sustainable development (instrumental democracy);
- criticisms regarding the omnipresence of ecological justification, which can lead to depoliticization (greenwashing)[267].

As such, it is often the case 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;
- the development of human rights and the quest for dignity are not the leading principles behind projects;
- the needs of the working classes are taken into account to a greater extent than others because they are more vulnerable[268].

In addition, the vast majority of projects aimed 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 scales[269]. As

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point is that transition initiatives must prepare to absorb the impact of such change by building up resilience. The fifth point outlines the fact that transition initiatives must consider the psychological dimension, and making people realize that cultural change is necessary for reducing energy consumption. And lastly, Hopkins' sixth and final point is that credible and relevant solutions must be implemented; For further reading on this subject, see: Antoine LAGNEAU, « La ville vue par... Quartiers en transition », *Mouvements*, 2013, vol. 74, nᵒ 2, p. 91‑100.

[267] Jérôme BOISSONADE (dir.), *La ville durable controversée. Les dynamiques urbaines dans le mouvement critique*, Paris, Petra, 2015.

[268] Jean-Baptiste COMBY, « À propos de la dépossession écologique des classes populaires », *Savoir/Agir*, 2015, vol. 33, nᵒ 3, p. 23‑30.

[269] Julien VANHULST et Adrian E. BELING, « Buen vivir et développement durable : rupture ou continuité ? », *Ecologie & politique*, 2013, vol. 46, nᵒ 1, p. 41‑54.

such, actions undertaken are often referred to as 'weak sustainability[270]' 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 emissions[271], it is clear that towns and metropolitan areas rarely have the means to finance sustainability. In fact, many municipalities do not have access to certain financial resources, such as tax revenues (at least at local level), while national budget transfers remain limited, or are unable to receive private capital. This seems almost paradoxical since almost 80% of GDP is generated by cities[272].

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.

Generally, it has been observed that the notion of sustainable development, both declining[273] and strongly criticized, often leads to promoting methods of adapting to climate change,[274] which does not lead to an overhaul of the measures taken. As promising as they are, initiatives no doubt have certain limitations which should be dealt with with spatial justice in mind, not forgetting that sustainability policies are still being formulated. 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-neighbourhoods and eco-cities, and finally, policies for 'resilience' implemented in cities to prevent natural disasters.

3.2.1. Densification

Metropolization represents an unprecedented mass movement of people and businesses into large cities, and an endless spatially expanding spread of urbanization and networks. In Latin America, São Paulo alone gained over three million inhabitants every ten years between 1950 and 2000[275]; and the population of Lima has increased tenfold in forty years, between 1940 and 1993 (from 600,000 to over 6 million inhabitants)[276]. Extensive urban

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[270] Eduardo GUDYNAS, « Développement, droits de la Nature et Bien Vivre : l'expérience équatorienne », *Mouvements*, 2011, vol. 68, nᵒ 4, p. 15‑37.

[271] COP 21, « 21 Solutions to Protect Our Shared Planet », *op. cit.*

[272] Jérémie DAUSSIN-CHARPANTIER, « Donnons les moyens financiers aux villes de répondre aux ODD ».

[273] Vincent BEAL, « Le déclin du développement durable. Changement climatique et transformation de la gouvernance environnementale dans les villes françaises et britanniques », *in* Isabelle HAJEK et Philippe HAMMAN (dir.), *Gouvernance de la ville durable*, Rennes, Presses Universitaires de Rennes, 2015, p. 85‑104.

[274] See, in particular:
- Jacques THEYS, « Le développement durable face à sa crise : un concept menacé, sous-exploité ou dépassé ? », *Développement durable et territoires. Économie, géographie, politique, droit, sociologie*, 2014, vol. 5, nᵒ 1.-
- Philippe GENESTIER et Claudine JACQUENOD-DESFORGES, « Le développement durable : thématique nouvelle, rhétorique conventionnelle. Le discours politique en quête de réaffirmation », *Territoire en mouvement*, 2006, nᵒ 4, p. 7‑21.-
- Laurent WILLEMEZ, « De la cause de l'environnement à l'urgence écologique », *Savoir/Agir*, 2015, vol. 33, nᵒ 3, p. 9‑12.-

[275] Sylvain SOUCHAUD et Marie-France PREVOT-SCHAPIRA, « Introduction : Transitions métropolitaines en Amérique latine : densification, verticalisation, étalement », *Problèmes d'Amérique latine*, 2013, N° 90, nᵒ 3, p. 5‑16.

[276] Pablo Vega CENTENO et Sara LAFOSSE, « La densification récente de Lima et ses défis en matière de logement et de transport », *Problèmes d'Amérique latine*, 2013, vol. 90, nᵒ 3, p. 39‑56.

planning policies have been implemented and have favoured urbanization dependent or associated with the use of cars, with a preference for individual homes, promoting quality of life in less-concentrated spaces and suburban areas with small dwellings for the middle, upper classes, or even elite classes, in the most socially unequal global cities. Due 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 cities[277]). As an example, in Mexico, since the 1990s, giant housing estates have been built around the city outskirts, often containing more than 10,000 units[278].

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 Ouagadougou[279], 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' neighbourhoods.

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.

Urban sprawl in Cairo

Between 1996 and 2006, the population has risen by 3 million inhabitants; during the 1990s, the area covered by buildings (including those under construction) in the built-up area of Greater Cairo doubled[280], spreading further into desert wasteland[281]. This is now a situation of megapolization and of an overflowing 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 neighbourhoods, whereas planned neighbourhoods are steadily facilitating urban dispersion. The greatest aberration is that of new towns, which represent 2/3 of the total built area, yet serve a population of barely 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 areas[282].

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[277] Sylvy Jaglin, « Étalement urbain, faibles densités et « coûts » de développement », *Flux*, 2010, vol. 79-80, nᵒ 1, p. 6‑15.

[278] S. Souchaud et M.-F. Prevot-Schapira, « Introduction », *op. cit.*

[279] See work by Léandre Guigma, thesis in progress, University Paris 8, Lavue: also on this subject, the reports by L. Guigma and L. Pierre-Louis for WHO-Habitat, Agence Perspectives, for the Participatory Slum Upgrading Programme, 2012

[280] Eric Denis, « Du village au Caire, au village comme au Caire », *Égypte/Monde arabe*, 2001, nᵒ 4-5, p. 225‑253.

[281] Timothy Mitchell et David Sims, *Egypt's Desert Dreams: Development or Disaster?*, The American University in Cairo Press, 2015.

[282] David Sims, *Understanding Cairo: The Logic of a City Out of Control*, Le Caire, The American University in Cairo Press, 2012. ; Pierre-Arnaud Barthel, « Relire le Grand Caire au miroir de la densité », *Confluences Méditerranée*, 2010, vol. 75, nᵒ 4, p. 121‑135.

The eight new towns in Greater Cairo

Source: David Sims, *Egypt's Desert Dreams, Development or Disaster*, 2015
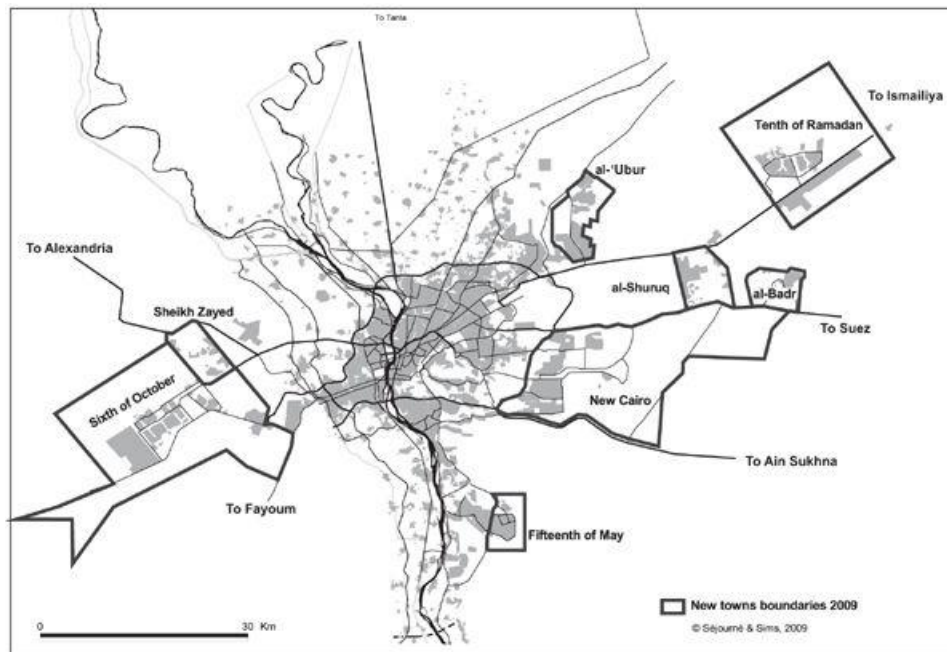
The urban density model can potentially solve some of these problems. The compact city and the 'Smart Growth' concept are often regarded as models of sustainability because of the way they reduce land consumption and transit demands (and thus reduce greenhouse gas[283] emissions and reliance on cars), while encouraging the use of public transportation, cycling, walking[284], as well as reducing socio-spatial segregation[285]. In cities of the Global South, densification is an increasingly pressing issue. Densification has been facilitated by a combination of declining internal migration and accelerated urban growth, along with a decline in saturation of the land and property markets. Many residents have started settling in the city centre, leading to the revitalization of central and peri-central neighbourhoods – a phenomenon which has been notably observed in Latin America and Japan. In São Paulo, for example, urban growth largely takes place in existing neighbourhoods (both informal and formal) through the densification of the built environment[286]. In Lima, old two-storey housing

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[283] Niovi KARATHODOROU, Daniel J. GRAHAM et Robert B. NOLAND, « Estimating the effect of urban density on fuel demand », *Energy Economics*, 2010, vol. 32, nº 1, p. 86‑92.

[284] Roberto CAMAGNI, Maria Cristina GIBELLI et Paolo RIGAMONTI, « Forme urbaine et mobilité : les coûts collectifs des différents types d'extension urbaine dans l'agglomération milanaise », *Revue d'Économie Régionale & Urbaine*, 2002, nº 1, p. 105‑139.

[285] For pro-densification arguments, see:
- OECD, *Compact City Policies: A Comparative Assessment*, OECD, 2012.
- United Nations Human Settlements PROGRAMME, *Leveraging Density: Urban Patterns for a Green Economy*, Nairobi, United Nations Human Settlements Programme, 2012."concentrating so many people in dense, interactive, shared spaces has historically provided distinct advantages, 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."
-Amélie DARLEY, Gwenaëlle ZUNINO et Jean-Pierre PALISSE, *Comment encourager l'intensification urbaine ?*, IAU-IDF, 2009.-

[286] S. SOUCHAUD et M.-F. PREVOT-SCHAPIRA, « Introduction », *op. cit.*

units, which were characteristic of the city centre 50 years ago are being replaced by 10, 15 or 20-storey buildings, in line with the long avenues they are located on[287].

However, the densification model is now under discussion. At the very least, a few critical points have been raised[288]. To this effect:

- It has been remarked that, generally speaking, those promoting densification largely focus on the environmental and economic dimensions, rather than the social dimension (for instance, due to increasing housing prices, particularly in poor neighbourhoods).
- Moreover, density can cause increasing congestion problems and a lower quality of life, etc.

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 lower classes (as in the case of the MIVIVIENDA SA fund in Peru), at the expense of the least privileged.

These problems are further exacerbated when densification primarily affects central and peri-central neighbourhoods: this pushes the poorer classes further away from the city, towards neighbourhoods with poor access to services. In such a case, densification goes hand in hand with the gentrification process, forcing away the most vulnerable groups.

This can be accompanied by significant identity issues, as is the case in Vanier, a predominantly French-speaking neighbourhood in Ottawa, a typically English-speaking city[289].

Consequently, these issues make it impossible to tackle problems regarding poor housing, poor sanitary conditions in neighbourhoods and lack of accessibility to services.

In general, in both the Global North and South, densificationpolicies can lead to land and property speculation, thus also marginalizing the most vulnerable groups[290].

The inadequacy of some densification policies by no means invalidates the need to counter urban sprawl, a trend which has led to an over-consumption of agricultural land and to social, economic and environmental costs that our planet can no longer afford.

Densification and rising property prices. The example of Los Angeles[291]

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 neighbourhoods 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" (p.157). The political factors at play in this process cannot be ignored: "the increasing density of housing is all the more difficult as the neighbourhoods are wealthy, comprised of many different owners, with residents inhabiting individual houses" (powerful property owner and

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[287] P. V. CENTENO et S. LAFOSSE, « La densification récente de Lima et ses défis en matière de logement et de transport », *op. cit.*

[288] See: Carl GAIGNE, Stéphane RIOU et Jacques-François THISSE, « Are compact cities environmentally friendly? », *Journal of Urban Economics*, 2012, vol. 72, n° 2–3, p. 123‑136.

[289] 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, n° 160, p. 41‑68.

[290] Yvette VEYRET, *Le développement durable : approches plurielles*, Paris, Hatier, 2005.

[291] Main reference: Florence CHILAUD, « La densification résidentielle à Los Angeles » Mémoire de Master 2 Recherche, Université Paris-Ouest Nanterre-La Défense, Nanterre, 2015.

lobbyist associations, cf. Hollywood). As the densification 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. Although this situation does not call into question the effectiveness of such policies, particularly in terms of combating urban sprawl, it does stress the need for increased vigilance against the eviction of the least wealthy communities in certain neighbourhoods and the use of density as the watchword for reclassifying neighbourhoods to attract the middle and upper classes. Therefore, densification can actually work in contradiction to social diversity and affordable housing.

3.2.2. Sustainable neighbourhoods (eco-neighbourhoods) and new sustainable cities.

Eco-neighbourhoods 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 new urban forms that directly respond to the demands of sustainability, and more specifically, the reduction of greenhouse gas emissions. 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 life[292]. Designed to act as a window into sustainable development, the creation of these new sections of cities or entirely new cities undoubtedly represents a key to facilitating an ecological transition. However, 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-neighbourhoods 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 (cf Section One) 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-neighbourhoods raise certain issues, which must be taken into account in order to achieve inclusive metropolitan sustainability[293].

- They particularly 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-neighbourhood in Berlin, green rooftops tend to suffer 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, namely regarding the disparity between the uses promoted by designers (usually with a top-down approach) and the ways (particularly non-governmental) citizens actually use them. The issues are twofold: the efficiency of an innovation's energy performance if its eventual uses differ from those intended and the supervision of its uses, and social control or even privatization of the private sphere. In the 'car-free' eco-neighbourhood of GWL-

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[292] *Grand Paris#Climat Démonstrations territoriales*, Urbanisme, Special Issue n°54, 2015.

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

Terrein in Amsterdam, parking was reduced to one space for every five homes, creating problems of illegal parking and conflicts between neighbours as inhabitants started to park in surrounding neighbourhoods.

- 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.

As products of 'sustainable cities', eco-neighbourhoods are often hastily implanted in cities of the South[294], causing further issues. In the Arab world, research has shown that even though 'sustainable' urban management systems are deployed (open-air storm water management, housing settlement impact studies...), projects are branded as eco-neighbourhoods 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[295]' 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, which development began on 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.

3.2.3. Resilience to and risk of natural disasters

The vulnerability of urban spaces (which can be measured using a series of indicators[296]) 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[297] and risk and crisis management (currently a key concern within cities and a huge obstacle insofar as the risks tend to be 'recalcitrant') and avoid prevention policies[298].

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

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[294] P.-A. BARTHEL, V. CLERC et 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.

[295] Greenwashing involves a marketing technique aimed at promoting the environmentally-friendly aspect of an organization's products, aims or policies.

[296] Rob SWART, Jaume FONS, Willemien GEERTSEMA, Bert VAN HOVE, Mirko GREGOR, Miroslav HAVRANEK, Cor JACOBS, Aleksandra KAZMIERCZAK, Kerstin KRELLENBERG, Christian KUHLICKE et Lasse PELTONEN, *Urban Vulnerability Indicators. A joint report of ETC-CCA and ETC-SIA*, European Topic Centre on Climate Change Impacts, Vulnerability and Adaptation, 2012.

[297] United Nations Human Settlements PROGRAMME, *Integrating Climate Change into City Development Strategies (CDS)*, 2015.

[298] Valérie NOVEMBER, Marion PENELAS et Pascal VIOT, *Habiter les territoires à risques*, Lausanne, Presses polytechniques et universitaires romanes, 2011.

and adapt to natural catastrophes in an attempt to bring back normal life[299], or according to a current dominant belief, restore the equilibrium and preserve the system's qualitative structure[300].

These risks are 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 risks[301].

Impact of sea levels rising by a metre across the city of Alexandria.

Source: flood.firetree.net
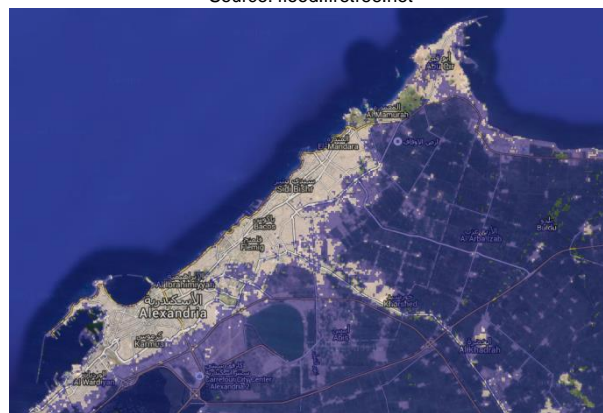
Risk prevention is extremely complex due to the many different (technical, socio-economic, psychological, political, etc.) factors at play. Poverty makes metropolitan areas even more vulnerable because poorer neighbourhoods are usually built up in the most at-risk areas: risk is an indicator of social inequalities and socio-economic and spatial problems[302]. It is worth noting that although the risks affect both cities in the South and North and both central and informal neighbourhoods, the resilience of cities and their communities is clearly dependent on the social profile of the populations affected by the catastrophes and the city's ability to invest in sustainable solutions.
This is why resilience can only be developed collectively and systematically with citizens, seeking viable solutions even when financial and coordination capacities are lacking.

Many cities have undertaken initiatives to boost 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 a risk map in order to decide on future investments. An

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[299] Yvette Veyret et Bernard Chocat, « Les mégapoles face aux risques et aux catastrophes naturelles | La Jaune et la Rouge », *La jaune et la rouge*, 2005, n° 606.

[300] Céline Pierdet, « La résilience comparée de Phnom Penh (Cambodge) et Bangkok (Thaïlande) face aux crises hydrauliques », *Climatologie*, 2012, numéro spécial, p. 83‑108.

[301] See the 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.

[302] Y. Veyret et B. Chocat, « Les mégapoles face aux risques et aux catastrophes naturelles | La Jaune et la Rouge », *op. cit.*

alert system between the city and its federal partners is currently being tested. Preserving marshlands is now a municipal priority since they form a natural defence against floods[303]. In this regard, the preservation of natural resources is becoming an important priority within the municipal policies of vulnerable cities.

In Melbourne, where temperatures are rapidly rising and torrential rains are increasingly severe, it is crucial for the city to preserve, restore and establish urban forests[304].

Many cities in Europe are just as vulnerable and are implementing measures that vary from one city to the next, albeit with some common initiatives[305]. For example, aligning protective measures (at an agglomeration scale) and managing them (creating and upgrading projects, protecting infrastructures) and redefining chains of responsibility; aligning information, communication and involvement measures among all actors (with an emphasis on awareness-raising initiatives); prior consideration of combined risks and their externalities, which is often achieved through the funding of research programmes to broaden our understanding in this area.

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.

While many effective initiatives have been successfully put in place, it is important to avoid imposing this notion at national level without local actors actually being able to adapt it to their own needs.

Moreover, failing to integrate the most vulnerable populations, who desperately need solutions, impairs their protection: they adopt dangerous behaviours, which can be further exacerbated by inappropriate practices that prevent the city from tackling risks effectively. It it also worth noting that initiatives are often swayed by economic issues, as opposed to social ones.

We do not doubt the importance of anticipating the economic consequences of natural catastrophes (especially on infrastructures), but by focusing on the economy and conceiving initiatives solely based on economic criteria, cities run the risk of losing sight of what these initiatives should really be about: protecting citizens.

Social vulnerability, settlements and risks

The social dimension of projects claiming to be sustainable still needs to be examined. Great attention must always be paid to makeshift neighbourhoods and the poorest populations. In Nigeria, for example, Ibadan city's historic neighbourhood is characterized by a low-quality, poorly maintained settlement, predominantly inhabited by resource-poor populations. As winds and storms increase in intensity, this situation of poverty and dilapidated settlements are primed for disaster if institutions fail to quickly deal with this problem[306].

Metropolitan areas in the face of risk: actions taken and prospects

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[303] Cop 21, « 21 Solutions to Protect Our Shared Planet », *op. cit.*

[304] B. Bariol-Mathais, *World Summit Climate and Territories Toward The COP21. Inspiring action for urban and regional planning.*, *op. cit.*

[305] Brigitte Maziere, « Penser et aménager les agglomérations urbaines : quelques exemples de métropoles européennes », *Annales des Mines - Responsabilité et environnement*, 2009, vol. 56, n° 4, p. 72‑79.

[306] Ibidun O. Adelekan, « Vulnerability to wind hazards in the traditional city of Ibadan, Nigeria », *Environment and Urbanization*, 2012, vol. 24, n° 2, p. 597‑617.

Due to the changing climate, widespread deforestation and the erosion of coastlines[307], coastal cities are now having to deal with a heightened risk of flooding. Poorer communities, like those in Lagos, are particularly affected by this risk[308]. The Asian cities of Phnom Pen and Bangkok, which are fed by dammed rivers, are built on river floodplains. Thus, they are not excluded from this risk and are particularly vulnerable to floods[309]. The respective home countries of both these cities and their local governments have implemented plans for reducing such risks and strengthening the cities' resilience.

However, it would appear that actors tend to avoid using resilience as a frame of reference for promoting a systemic approach; this leads to the abandonment of notions promoting the diversity of actors and the interaction between actors and different levels within the system. Resilience therefore loses its meaning and is neither territorialized or integrated into post-catastrophe planning decisions, thus limiting the scope of initiatives undertaken in its name.

Climate change is severely increasing the vulnerability of metropolitan cities undergoing rapid growth. The biggest known paradox is that of sub-Saharan African cities who have been affected by catastrophic floods for over a decade due to the combined effects of sudden, severe rainstorms, the proliferation 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% of the population often has no fixed income and are faced with a lack of resources, means of production or use of personal facilities (toilets out of use, flooded houses). Cases of malaria, respiratory illnesses and diarrhoea drastically increase a population's vulnerability and make it all the more necessary to find sustainable ways of strengthening built-up areas: strengthening, but also freeing up open spaces and preserving vulnerable natural areas[310]...

The city of Jakarta is also faced with flood risks. There, 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 much more efficient if they were based around the abilities of poor communities in informal makeshift neighbourhoods, who also represent the most vulnerable population groups[311]. However, participatory approaches should not be combined with disinvestment from institutions, who must continue to invest in supporting community initiatives rather than developing programmes 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 ability to acknowledge, value and consider the

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[307] Catherine MEUR-FEREC et Valérie MOREL, « L'érosion sur la frange côtière : un exemple de gestion des risques », *Natures Sciences Sociétés*, 2004, vol. 12, nᵒ 3, p. 263‑273.

[308] Ibidun O. ADELEKAN, « Vulnerability of poor urban coastal communities to flooding in Lagos, Nigeria », *Environment and Urbanization*, 2010, vol. 22, nᵒ 2, p. 433‑450.

[309] Céline C. PIERDET, « La résilience comparée de Phnom Penh (Cambodge) et Bangkok (Thaïlande) face aux crises hydrauliques », *op. cit.*

[310] Oumar CISSÉ et Moustapha SÈYE, « Flooding in the suburbs of Dakar: impacts on the assets and adaptation strategies of households or communities », *Environment and Urbanization*, 2015.

[311] Pauline TEXIER, Monique FORT et 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, p. 551‑570.

adaptive measures adopted by the poorest communities, particularly those living in self-built working-class neighbourhoods[312].

In these metropolitan areas, like many others, resilience-based policies can lead to the exclusion of vulnerable populations, particularly by relocating them to at-risk areas. For example, in Istanbul, town planners actually harnessed the risk of earthquakes to enable the eradication of working-class neighbourhoods[313].

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.

Naples: the issue of control over land

The Naples example is interesting because of the housing 'red zone', which was implemented due to the risk of Vesuvius erupting, and yet no one has taken enforcement measures against it. Only the authority protecting Vesuvius National Park, inside which these dwellings are completely or partially built[314], is able to enforce the ban on building. However, this has been undermined by 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 Camorra and Berlusconi's government have repeatedly used wild landfill areas for dumping waste (often toxic), 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 traffic.

The resilience of a metropolitan area and its ability to adapt to climate change are dependent on strong political commitment, as well as a range of institutional, strategic and social factors[315].

Furthermore, in order to slow down climate change, a complementarity must be established between urban planning measures and those concerning individual behaviours[316], not

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[312] Afroza PARVIN, Alam ASHRAFUL et Rumana ASAD, « Climate Change Impact and Adaptation in Urban Informal Settlements in Khulna: A Built Environmental Perspective ».

[313] See:
- Sylviane TABARLY, *Mégapoles et risques en milieu urbain. L'exemple d'Istanbul*, http://geoconfluences.ens-lyon.fr/doc/transv/Risque/RisqueDoc6.htm, consulté le 10 novembre 2015.
- Claire LABOREY et Marc EVREUX, *Mainmise sur les villes*, Arte France, Chamaerops Productions, 2015.

[314] Fabrizio MACCAGLIA et Sylviane TABARLY, *Gouvernance territoriale et gestion des déchets : l'exemple de la Campanie (Italie)*, http://geoconfluences.ens-lyon.fr/doc/transv/DevDur/DevdurDoc8.htm, consulté le 7 janvier 2016.

[315] See also on this subject:
- AFD, « Adaptation au changement climatique dans les villes: quelles conditions de succès? », *Question de développement*, 2014, n° 18.-
- A. TAYLOR, A. CARTWRIGHT et C. SUTHERLAND, « Institutional Pathways for Local Climate Adaptation: A Comparison of Three South African Municipalities », *Focales, AFD*, 2014, n° 18.-
- Claire LAUNAY et Emma O'RIORDAN, *Sistematizacion de experiencias sobre mitigacion y adaptacion al cabio climatico en once ciudades de Colombia. Analisis transversal*, Paris, Institut de recherche et de débat sur la gouvernance, 2013.
- David DODMAN, Katarina SOLTESOVA, David SATTERTHWAITE et Cecilia TACOLI, *Understanding the Assessment and Reduction of Vulnerability to Climate Change in African Cities. A Focus on Low-Income and Informal Settlements*, International Institute for Environment and Development, AFD, 2015.
- In the 'North', the case of England: Stéphanie BEUCHER, « La gestion des inondations en Angleterre : la mise en place d'un système efficace de gouvernance du risque ? », *L'Information géographique*, 2008, vol. 72, n° 4, p. 27-43.

forgetting the influence of large companies in this transition. In light of the burden of economic and financial obstacles faced by cities, it would appear that control and public vigilance are crucial to the effective functioning of local resilience systems implemented by public authorities.

4. PRIORITIZING HUMAN DIGNITY IN METROPOLITAN AREAS

As we know, 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. 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 neighbourhoods[317].

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.

"Buen vivir" [318]

'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 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'. As a result, markets and nations must be reworked and comply with regulations that are compatible with current social and ecological demands. '*Buen vivir*' is designed to provide "an opportunity to build a new society based on the diverse and harmonious co-existence of humans with nature[319], by recognizing different cultural values in each country and around the world". "It aims to satisfy people's needs,

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[316] See also on this subject: AFD, « Villes et atténuation du changement climatique », 2015, nº 21.

[317] Sophie MOREAU et Yvette VEYRET, « Comprendre et construire la justice environnementale », *Annales de géographie*, 2009, vol. 665-666, nº 1, p. 35‑60.

[318] Main references:
- J. VANHULST et A. E. BELING, « Buen vivir et développement durable », *op. cit.*
- Christophe AGUITON et Hélène CABIOC'H, « Quand la justice climatique remet en cause la modernité occidentale », *Mouvements*, 2010, n° 63, nº 3, p. 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 et Esperanza MARTINEZ (dir.), *El Buen Vivir-una Via Para El Desarrollo*, Quito, Abya-Yala, 2009.
- Ivonne FARAH et Luciano VASAPOLLO (dir.), *Vivir bien: ¿Paradigma no capitalista?*, La Paz, CIDES - UMSA, 2011.

[319] It therefore incorporates a Western or Judeo-Christian vision in which nature traditionally ought to be domesticated (unlike Eastern perspectives)

abolish forms of discrimination and exploitation, establish a harmonious way of life and achieve a balance between human beings and nature". In some countries, such as Ecuador and Bolivia, rights to well-being are actually constitutional rights.

This principle has opened up pathways that reinforce the importance of an approach based on promoting human rights, preserving human dignity in metropolitan areas, and acknowledging 'climatic justice', thus calling into question Western modernity[320]. This movement can also be likened to that of 'transition[321]', which has been applied in many urban contexts through the 'Transition Network'; a network that unites cities seeking to invent ways of life that are less dependent on petroleum[322]. Additionally, in Ecuador and Bolivia, the objectives and principles behind metropolitan town 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 in Quito (Ecuador) 2012-2022

The aim of the plan is to identify planning tools that will give 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, solidarity (redistributing resources, fighting against exclusion, meeting fundamental demands), environmental sustainability (preventing natural risks, conserving natural heritage and resources like water and soil, improving air quality, reducing the carbon footprint of metropolitan areas), participation (promoting forums for dialogue and community self-management and organization), diversity (recognized as a universal right; no pretence of assimilation, education or civilization among inhabitants). In this regard, the plan also prioritizes the promotion of public spaces as communal, peaceful and solidary areas, avoids land speculation and ensures sustainable and democratic use of the land.

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[320] C. AGUITON et H. CABIOC'H, « Quand la justice climatique remet en cause la modernité occidentale », *op. cit.*
[321] Simon COTTIN-MARX, Fabrice FLIPO et Antoine LAGNEAU (dir.), « La transition, une utopie concrète ? »
[322] A. KRAUZ, « Les villes en transition, l'ambition d'une alternative urbaine », *op. cit.*

The Charter of Medellín[323]

The Charter of Medellín includes a series of values and approaches that promote 'cities for life', 'urban fabrics that build, enrich and improve the lives of citizens'. It is based on principles of equity, interdependence, non-violence, innovation, participation, as well as transparency, integrity, plurality, sustainability, rights, restoration and continuity. The philosophy behind *buen vivir* is at the Charter's very core, as it proposes: a culture of solidary living; a reconsideration of limitless progress; safeguarding the constitutional state and the welfare state; consideration of public and private interests and the formation of more united and inclusive communities; and a broadened ecological consciousness. The Charter puts forward a governance based on notions of co-responsibility, justice, transparency and equality and proposes to make education a cornerstone of well-being ("cities must be places of education that inspire citizens to propose creative ways of life that are open to new cultural exchanges"; "Education must be more than simply providing instructions that elicit feelings, reason and understanding; it must help convert knowledge into human heritage, thus encouraging life and the desire to learn. It should not be confined to science, technology, innovations and patents, but provide a source of serenity that stimulates the creation of new forms of community".) 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". This perspective also suggests that "the roles of the 'governor' and the 'governed' are mutually exclusive, that citizenship is only exercised by one's right to vote, that governing solely consists of appropriation and expropriation, that public spaces belong to no one and that the city is foreign, therefore I am not responsible for its well-being, and ultimately that the city is cement and the countryside is open nature". On the contrary, the city should be regarded as a 'communal home'. In order to promote this perspective, it will be necessary to inform, discuss (provide a forum for debate) and invent (continuously propose new suggestions). 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.

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

> 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 also organized a restructuring of private sector's participation in the updating of the plan via high-value properties, 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 reach 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 areas", "defends the many values of nature, of which natural capital is only one form[324]" (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.

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 as a way of reintegrating the issue of social sustainability into metropolitan actions. This plan may also be considered from an angle some people may be more familiar with: if we reflect on the three cornerstones of the concept of 'sustainable development', the key goal is to avoid casting aside or forgetting the 'social' dimension in favour of 'environmental' or 'economic' dimensions in order to achieve a holistic approach that prioritizes humans.

Based on this approach, there are many human rights that need to be defended or promoted. These include: right to land, right to housing, right to basic services, right to mobility, right to public spaces, right to food[325], right to culture and right to heritage. It is becoming all the more important to consider the two latter dimensions, 'right to culture' and 'right to heritage' since, due to the effect of internal migrations, metropolitan areas are now often becoming hubs for social and cultural diversity within their host country.

As inequality issues between social groups in metropolitan areas are becoming increasingly urgent, particularly the segregation and stigmatization of the poorest groups due to their ethnic or religious background, it becomes all the more crucial to take into account the respect and development of multicultural citizenship, which are fundamental principles of *buen vivir*. The respect for the rights of cultural, ethnic and sexual minorities is one of the greatest challenges facing metropolitan democracy. In order to promote respect for individuals[326], incorporating cultural identity into metropolitan policies and projects now represents a crucial step along the path to spatial and social justice.

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[324] E. GUDYNAS, « Développement, droits de la Nature et Bien Vivre », *op. cit.*

[325] On this matter, it is also worth reflecting on the issues of urban agriculture and food security. See:
- Stefan REYBURN, « Les défis et les perspectives de l'agriculture urbaine », *Environnement Urbain*, 2012, vol. 6, p. III‑VI.-
- Eric DUCHEMIN (dir.), *Agriculture urbaine: aménager et nourrir la ville*, Montréal, VertigO, 2013.

[326] Catherine AUDARD, « L'idée de citoyenneté multiculturelle et la politique de la reconnaissance », *Rue Descartes*, 2002, vol. 37, n° 3, p. 19‑30.

Citizens may lay claim to all these rights throughout the metropolitan area. However, it is important to remember that all these rights are not just applicable at city level, but at many others (levels at which NGOs, associations like UCLG and international organizations can play a role). All these rights may also fall under the umbrella of 'rights to citizenship', which prioritize human dignity, non-discrimination and respect for cultural diversity, in accordance with the original concept of '*buen vivir*'. These rights do not solely involve substantive law, they also have a political dimension, which ties in with urban citizenship and should not be disregarded.

The democratization of a section of the world's States and the increasing influence of resident communities in urban areas, simultaneously faced with opportunities within the city and growing inequalities, have generated a renewed sense of 'rights', to which we must pay the greatest attention. In this regard, the success and dissemination of the concept of 'right to the city' within many social movements further emphasises 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 to 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 projects[327].

In terms of 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 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 centres', 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 neighbourhoods in Latin American cities[328]. When all the favelas joined together in a coordinated effort to boycott the World Cup, it became clear that investigating violations of human rights was not a priority for large international NGOs, such as Amnesty International.

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 done for the United Nations Habitat III Conference[329] in October 2016, which states the importance of a right rooted in the social uses of land and property.

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[327] James HOLSTON, « Insurgent citizenship of global urban peripheries », *City and Society*, 2009, vol. 21, n° 2, p. 245‑267.

[328] Kosta MATHEY, Silvia MATUK et Caroline MOSER (dir.), *Community-Based Urban Violence Prevention: Innovative Approaches in Africa, Latin America, Asia and the Arab Region*, Bielefeld, Transcript Verlag, 2015.

[329] Alexandre Apsan Frediani et Rafaella Sivas Lima, « Habitat III National Reporting processes : locating the right to the city and the rôle of civil society » (University College London, 2015).

4.1. Right to land

The concept of right to land focuses attention on issues of social exclusion and discrimination (notably gender-related) and social inequalities, which are linked to land use. Here, we will discuss one of the founding principles of the right to be and live in the city; access 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 is further exacerbated by pressure on land (especially agricultural) caused by urbanization and large-scale investments from world States, agro-industrial groups and financial groups, which in Africa alone affected 56 million hectares in 2008[330].

This problem is the main cause of excessive housing costs, which penalize most citizens living in large metropolitan areas. It also prevents the production of affordable social 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 informal settlements alongside a process of liberalization and commodification of the land market (although this process started much earlier, like in Cairo where informal settlements began expanding in the 1960s).

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 only involved paying significant sums of money in exchange for kola nuts, as was the case in many African countries, 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 markets[331].

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[330] Alain DURAND-LASSERVE et Etienne LE ROY, *La situation foncière en afrique à l'horizon 2050*, AFD, 2012.
[331] Alphonse YAPI-DIAHOU, Emile BROU-KOFFI et Adjoba-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, p. 385‑396.

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 operators have also began commodifying the land market, even through the most popular channels, which explains the extremely rapid top-down phenomena aimed at reducing land costs and attracting clients who are eager to make (small or large) investments in housing[332]. There is no doubt that these radical changes in opportunities for access to affordable housing have a direct impact on tenant statuses and thus, types of security of tenure.

Right to land is one of the demands of many social movements and it affects citizens in rural and suburban areas in countries affected by expropriations, just as much as strictly speaking urban dwellers. However, in some ways, this demand blurs the increasingly arbitrary borders between urban and rural areas, thus highlighting a twofold social demand: right of access on the one hand, and right to stay in a certain place on the other. This twofold demand is based on the very recent issue of land policies being inconsistent for the poorest groups, and sometimes even aggressive or violent in the case of urban projects governed by elitist objectives.

Preventing discriminations 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 (no legal right to inheritance, high vulnerability 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 violence[333]. Indigenous populations are often the first to lose recognition of their right to land tenure security, or even the right to settle in the city and represent the largest proportion of homeless people in Latin American and Asian cities.   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 Benin[334], 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 demands[335]. The greatest

[332] 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 et 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, p. 203‑226.

[333] Ayona DATTA, Peter HOPKINS et Dr Rachel PAIN, *The Illegal City: Space, Law and Gender in a Delhi Squatter Settlement*, New edition., Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2012.

[334] Philippe Lavigne DELVILLE, « La reforme fonciere rurale au Benin », *Revue française de science politique*, 2010, vol. 60, n° 3, p. 467‑491.

[335] Omar RAZZAZ, *Why and how property matters to planning, American University in Beirut*, 2014.

number of land transactions used to take place in East Amman, which gave rise to a range of loosely recognised arrangements in which lavish subdivisions of land (forcing the majority of plots to remain undeveloped) prevented working-class populations from settling. In practice, 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 recognising property rights.

4.1.1. Recognition or legalization of land tenure?

In some metropolitan areas, the governing bodies in place have never successfully implemented the legislation they promised for projects led by international development lenders. In much the same way, tenure legalization programmes implemented with German cooperation in the shanty town of Manshiyet Naser in Cairo have failed and regularly face institutional blockage. Even when property tenure surpasses bureaucratic red tape and the obstacles related to competition from public institutions over the privatization of land (in Ouagadougou, Bamako and Mumbai, property mafia groups are supported by local authorities), the legalization of (individual) property tenure is still not able to account for the wide range of demands and claims made by populations who consider themselves to have pre-dated the State or local council. 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 leads to exclusion and marginalizes households that are not able to benefit from legalization[336] 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 dualism between areas governed by written law and those that are not"[337].

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. Whereas in Brazil, in some cases, municipalities carried out rehabilitation projects in conjunction with recognition of land tenure. However, both policies are faced with backlogs: difficult access to cadastral registers in Peru and building-permit systems and weak management of vacant public land in Brazil[338].

Recognition of land tenure is often considered more efficient and fairer than legalization. As such, the complexity of the land tenure issue makes it essential to establish governing bodies that include all stakeholders and strategic thinking, so as not to single out certain elements of urban policies. In fact, the ripple effect of interventions regarding land tenure is clear to see, given that land is at the very core of urbanization. The systemic dimension of land must therefore be taken very seriously in order to avoid the effects of spatial and social

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[336] 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 », Montréal, 2012.

[337] Philippe Lavigne DELVILLE et 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.

[338] Edesio FERNANDES, *Regularization of informal settlements in latin america*, Cambridge, Lincoln Institute of Land Policy, 2011.

segregation being exacerbated by reconstructed local markets, global market forces, State entities competing over land, (local or sometimes State) authorities themselves operating illegally, the conversion of farming land or thousands of hectares of state-owned forests or gated communities settling without land tenure permits[339]. While legalization can be difficult or exclusionary, it is better, in practice, to promote property rights recognition. In certain restructuring programmes, 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 neighbours, peers or fellow villagers of 'real tenure' and acceptable occupancy standards (in Amman contracts are based on oral agreements or *Hujja*[340]). This involves validating the existence of social groups, who use the city on a daily basis, and providing them with political representation.

The call for justice and right to tenure

The call for justice emanates from all parties who 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. Therefore, not only are poor populations and some of the middle classes unable to settle in dignified conditions, they are also forced to use increasingly risky and peripheral forms of land tenure. Moreover, they are forced to live in overcrowded housing or over-populated neighbourhoods due to unfair distribution of land tenure rights. In Mumbai, for example, more than half the population are living in slums, occupying just 5% 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 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 returning[341]. 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.

4.2. 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

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[339] Jean-François PÉROUSE, « Mülk Allahindir (this house is God's property's). Legitimizing land ownership in the suburbs of Istanbul », *in* Myriam ABABSA, Baudouin DUPRET et 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, p. 283-302.

[340] Myriam ABABSA, « Public policies towards informal settlements in Jordan », *in* Myriam ABABSA, Baudouin DUPRET et 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, p. 259‑283.; regarding the oral recognition of land tenure rights in a rural African context; see work by P. Laville-Delvigne.

[341] This largely inspired the TV series *Treme.* (HBO, David Simon, 2010).

Settlements and was reiterated at the UN's Habitat II+5 Conference. Although countries such as France or South Africa have included this right in their legislation, its implementation has hardly ever been straightforward. In line with the right to land, the right to housing is an essential dimension of social sustainability, given the importance of the home and residential attachment for well-being. Although it may not be at the source of land tenure insecurity among citizens, the non-application of this right only serves to reinforce such insecurity[342].

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 renovation projects, as well as the loosely related gentrification processes taking place in working-class neighbourhoods. These remarks are one of many criticisms encountered by urban renewal programmes targeting social housing estates in North America and Europe. The huge cost of demolition work actually favours a spatial strategy, contrary to all the expectations of social, employment or educational policies. It drives forward the idea that changing urban forms, (building smaller buildings rather than tower estates) and removing the most 'problematic' populations from urban centres, will resolve some of the most sensitive problems caused by spatial segregation, or in some cases, discrimination. Although the architectural and urban outcomes of these huge programmes may be good, the social outcomes are somewhat lacking, especially if dismantling of public housing is carried out in aid of gentrification. However, 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 programmes[343].

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, (see 2.1.1). All metropolitan areas, especially highly globalized ones, are not immune to the temptation of eradication. In New Delhi, between 1990 and 2008, 221 precarious neighbourhoods were destroyed in order to clean up the city; a process sped up by the approaching Commonwealth Games[344].
In Casablanca, much like other Moroccan cities, in most cases the 'Cities without Slums' programme 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 poor[345]. Housing conditions have been drastically improved, but urban integration is still lacking and there exists a clear discrepancy between the promises that were made and the actual construction of facilities[346].

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[342] Charlotte MATHIVET (dir.), *La terre est à nous! Pour la fonction sociale du logement et du foncier, résistances et alternatives*, Paris, RITMO - AITEC, 2014.
[343] See: Agnès DEBOULET et 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, p. 267‑287.
[344] Véronique D.n. DUPONT, « The Dream of Delhi as a Global City », *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 2011, vol. 35, nº 3, p. 533‑554.
[345] Observations made during field visits and an assessment carried out with Aitec in 2007.
[346] Olivier TOUTAIN et Virginie RACHMUHL, « Evaluation et impact du programme d'appui à la résorbtion de l'habitat insalubre et des bidonvilles au Maroc », *Ex-post, AFD*, 2014, nº 55.

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 slum[347], especially since the vast majority of such settlements are actually made with bricks. In such cases, they also often refuse the destruction of their dwelling, into which they have invested time, money and emotion. Now, the quest for dignity is one of the main focuses among inhabitants in working-class neighbourhoods. Forced demolition, even of slums, remains the most detrimental solution in terms of rights, and ex-situ rehoming, which often takes place in the areas most poorly deprived of facilities and employment opportunities, is the worst solution of all, whether in Algiers, Marseilles or elsewhere. It leads to poor living conditions, diminishes communities, local neighbourliness and job opportunities, and never focuses on *buen vivir*. Its sole aim is to free up land in targeted areas.

Having an adequate proactive housing production policy

In this respect, it is important to stress the need for providing access to affordable housing (and simultaneously promoting a non-speculative housing market) and preserving tenants' 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; similarly, 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 documented[348]; preventing vacant housing and promoting fair and equitable access to housing as well as proximity to basic services.

In concrete terms, the right to housing means including citizens in governance bodies that plan and build social or non-market housing, as well as avoiding 'electoralization' or politicization in housing allocation. Metropolitan areas that successfully manage their housing policy can be replicated at other levels of government (national, international), thus fostering integration and ensuring efficiency.

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.

4.2.1. Co-production of low-cost housing

In many cases, 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

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[347] Alan GILBERT, « The Return of the Slum: Does Language Matter? », *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 2007, vol. 31, n° 4, p. 697‑713.

[348] For an example on this topic, see: Frédéric CAZENAVE et Jérôme PORIER, « Propriétaires à tout prix », *Le Monde Argent et Placements*, 18/09/2015.; Also refer to the situation of 'grey areas' between access to property and right to housing, in which tenants of social housing structures in Buenos Aires have found themselves as a result of a failed 'access to property' policy: Emilia SCHIJMAN, « Usages, pactes et « passes du droit » », *Déviance et Société*, 2013, Vol. 37, n° 1, p. 51‑65.

least 25% 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 favour citizens with higher incomes[349]. Elsewhere, a trend in the opposite direction is taking place, especially in Europe[350], where the universalistic model has been modified to help more vulnerable populations, which also raises issues in terms of social justice. Although some social housing policies may help reduce makeshift housing, they also raise the issue of power relations, which they further intensify. On the one hand, the Minha Casa Minha Vida programme in Brazil may provide an alternative to favelas. However, on the other hand, it may also involve an underlying objective to standardize the management of populations that have been marginalized due to having lived in the favelas. It does not take into account the ways in which populations affected by this programme can become increasingly vulnerable and penalized by the distance they live from the city centre (when developments are built far from the city centre and services[351]).

In more general terms, ex-situ rehoming has negative social and economic impacts and contradicts all the principles of spatial justice, particularly in terms of ensuring rights to the city.

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, or even public traded companies (like in Mexico[352]) to develop affordable housing projects. However, in many cases, these are on the peripheries, thereby encouraging urban sprawl and hindering sustainable development. 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.

In addition to social housing policies, both collective and communal civil society initiatives feed into this objective. They represent organizational procedures that public authorities would be wise to support with a view to social sustainability. To this end, several cooperative housing initiatives have been set up (with very varied outcomes, as portrayed by the terms used to describe them[353]). Some of them have been or are being institutionalized, as is the case in Quebec, France and Uruguay[354].

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[349] Alexandra BIEHLER, Armelle CHOPLIN et Marie MORELLE, « Le logement social en Afrique : un modèle à (ré)inventer ? », *Métropolitiques*, 2015.

[350] Noémie HOUARD, « Le logement social en Europe : la fin d'une époque ? », *Métropolitiques*, 2012.

[351] Patrick Le Guirriec, « Habitat, inégalités et dignité. Aspects du programme "Minha casa, minha vida" à Natal (Brésil) », *Métropolitiques*, 2015, http://www.metropolitiques.eu/Habitat‑inegalites‑et‑dignite.html.

[352] 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, p. 33‑41.

[353] Claire CARRIOU, Olivier RATOUIS et Agnès SANDER, « Effervescences de l'habitat alternatif », *Métropolitiques*, 2012.

[354] 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, p. 58‑70. ; Camille DEVAUX, « De l'expérimentation à l'institutionnalisation : l'habitat participatif à un tournant? », *Métropolitiques*, 2012.

Community land trusts - New York and Brussels

Community land trusts are one form of initiative adopted by this type of organization. They are "tools for preventing gentrification and the relocation of resident populations". They also "help give power back to communities" and prioritize usage value over trade value[355]. In this regard, housing is treated as a human right rather than a commodity. These trusts are non-profit community corporations who 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 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 housing[356]. Therefore, community land trusts have been able to flourish in cities particularly hard hit by real-estate and land-market speculation.

In New York, for example[357], while affordable housing policies have proven ineffective in terms of providing the most vulnerable populations with access to decent housing, the formation of a community land trust provided a solution for maintaining economic accessibility to housing. Initially, it was formed using expertise gathered from an organization combating homelessness ('Picture the Homeless), academics (Columbia University), a community organization (New Economy Project) and inhabitants of East Harlem.

In Brussels[358], 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 based on the principle of community land trusts. As such, the 'Brussels Community Land Trust Platform' was created in 2009 and 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.

4.2.2. Renewal of information housing

The targets for reducing slums within the framework of the Millennium Goals are very contradictory: the number of units may have been reduced by 100 million, but the issue of

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[355] 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 XXie siècle*, Chairecoop, 2014, p. 30‑54.

[356] Jean-Philippe Attard, "Un logement foncièrement solidaire : le modèle des community land trusts," *Mouvements* 74, no. 2 (2013): 143–53.

[357] 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 XXie siècle*, Chairecoop, 2014, p. 80‑105.

[358] Thomas DAWANCE et 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 XXie siècle*, Chairecoop, 2014, p. 133‑146.

the inevitable social impacts is rarely raised. Although many diverse solutions for dealing with makeshift neighbourhoods have been put forward, eradication or eviction still remain the easiest and most commonly used approaches. These solutions are all the more appealing since the 830 million people living in such conditions (according to UN-Habitat) are now living in neighbourhoods where the value of land is undeniably high. In addition to demolition-eviction policies accompanied by ex-situ rehoming strategies, cities have started developing in-situ rehoming or resettlement strategies too[359].

In-situ rehabilitation

Many countries have supported in-situ municipal and national slum upgrading programs, even if there is still strong resistance to the recognition of informal settlements. The term 'rehabilitation' tends to focus on improving basic services rather than the housing itself and is sometimes coupled with land redistribution (e.g. through 'developed plots') and urban standardization through a grid street plan to 'normalize' the urban frame[360]. 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 three clear examples of this: Recife, Lima and Mexico.

In Recife, favelas (slums) have been included in 'economic areas of special interest' (ZEIS), restructured and redistributed, and that includes a participatory dimension. In Rio de Janeiro, the in-situ rehabilitation policy was limited by security policies. Due to its proximity to the favelas, and with huge sporting events and the associated violence[361] in mind, the establishment of the Pacifying Police Unit was clearly set up to help abolish the systematic preservation of the slums. The risk of landslides and environmental hazards are now being used to justify the relocation of certain favelas.

In Lima, the current policies in place are less ambiguous. The 'Barrio Mío' programme provides subsidised 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 facilities[362]. In Medellín, the parks[363] department improved the linkages of self-built neighbourhoods with the rest of the urban fabric.

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

[360] A. DEBOULET, « Secure land tenure ? Stakes and contradictions of land titling and upgrading policies in the global Middle east and Egypt », *op. cit.*

[361]Rafael Soares GONÇALVES, « Une discipline olympique ? Le retour des politiques d'éradication des favelas à Rio de Janeiro », *Mouvements*, 2013, vol. 74, nᵒ 2, p. 24‑32. ; Einar BRAATHEN, « Settlement stories II. Communities' responses », *in* Véronique DUPONT, David JORDHUS-LIER, Catherine SUTHERLAND et Einar BRAATHEN (dir.), *The Politics of Slums in the Global South: Urban Informality in Brazil, India, South Africa and Peru*, Londres, Routledge, 2015, p. 144‑163.

[362] Carlos ESCALANTE ESTRADA, « Self-help settlement and land policies in peruvian cities », *in* Véronique DUPONT, David JORDHUS-LIER, Catherine SUTHERLAND et Einar BRAATHEN (dir.), *The Politics of Slums in the Global South: Urban Informality in Brazil, India, South Africa and Peru*, Londres, Routledge, 2015, p. 56‑58.

[363] AFP, « Une décharge transformée en jardin: plus qu'un symbole à Medellin », *L'Express*, avril/2014.

In Mexico, the neighbourhood improvement programme (PMB) used proposals from a local 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 neighbourhood committee chose to set up a community restaurant, followed by a plastic recycling workshop. This work on urban and social dimensions was further strengthened by a 're-familiarization' process in an abandoned area. Ultimately, the municipality's support, bolstered by that of around twenty partners with local (national and international) initiatives has borne much fruit[364].

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 populations 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, a policy aimed at spatial justice must be based on shared knowledge of an inhabited area, regardless of its nature.

An integrated planning procedure for producing decent housing

There are an infinite number of solutions for producing housing adapted to the needs of a population, meanwhile ensuring its integration into the urban environment and access to basic services. The difference between a habitat and housing is qualitative. Producing decent, sustainable urban habitats requires training urban policy specialists who can get involved in community work. In Morocco, the National Initiative for Human Development (INDH), which advocated the implementation of participatory projects in slums, was faced with an almost complete lack of trained professionals in the field. Similarly lacking resettlement programmes in India are now covered by a social support process. However, the latter have remained the poor relation of these complex programmes, thus paving the way for nepotism, cheating and local disputes over land. In addition, policies affecting these neighbourhoods adopt a very localized method of intervention. They are so intrinsically focused on the neighbourhood itself that they completely forget to consider it within the bigger picture. Regulation, rehabilitation and restructuring policies centred around making the 'urban project' a tool for fair urbanization are fairly uncommon. Moreover, the production of housing is too often subordinate to urgent or financial needs, with no regard for the quality or adequacy of the habitat itself. Yet, throughout this section, we have seen how local initiatives can lead the way to territorial renewal and exploring new solutions.

It only remains for us to shed light on a few significant participatory rehabilitation initiatives, particularly in Thailand, the Philippines, in India (see the mitigated success of 'slum resettlement' programmes in Mumbai) as well as in Nicaragua and other countries. The success of these programmes is largely due to the formation of alliances between organized citizenship and local government who, having failed to produce enough low-cost housing,

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[364] In 2011, Deutsche Bank awarded the Miravalle Communitarian Program its 'urban age' prize. This extract is taken from the article by Raphaële GOULET, « « Programme PMB », du logement informel à l'amélioration du quartier », *Urbanisme*, 2011, nº 280, p. 27-29.

delegated the responsibility and supervision of slum resettlement operations to citizen associations.

The Baan Mankong/secure housing Programme in Thailand

Urban Community Development Office (UDCO); the Thai community organization programme was set up in 1992 to help poorer households reap the benefits of population growth that they had mostly been deprived of. The programme's activities are inclusive and include upgrading informal settlements, supporting new businesses and are also based on supporting local savings groups. These groups have been encouraged to unite and form a network whereby they allocate loans to communities and networks of community groups. Environmental improvement activities have also been undertaken, as well as community welfare funds aimed at fighting against poverty. In 2003, the Baan Mankong (secure housing) programme was set up to assist design processes led by 'grassroot groups'. These groups work with professionals and researchers, among other actors, which in turn, makes it possible to transfer funds and finance infrastructures and housing loans (which reached 300,000 households by 2005).[365]

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[365] Soomsok Boonyabancha, "Going to scale with "slum" and squatter uprading in Thaïland", Environment and Urbanization, 2005, vol. 17, n°1, pp. 21-46

SECTION THREE - PROMOTING SPATIAL JUSTICE WITHIN METROPOLITAN GOVERNANCE SYSTEMS

The notion of <u>governance,</u> which can be defined as 'a process of coordinating actors, social groups and institutions to achieve collectively defined and discussed objectives', is emerging within a context of interpenetration between different levels of government and a growing number of both government and non-government actors taking action at urban and metropolitan levels. This complexity or institutional layering effect[366] challenges traditional views of authority and the management of public action, which falls under the notion of government, and is therefore considered in a negative light due to such complexity[367].

Two dominant trends are shaping this transformation of actors who are largely dependent on the socio-historic and cultural weight of the States themselves: (i) globalization and integration processes in certain regions around the world (Europe, Latin America, etc.) that are introducing supra-State actors, such as supra-national, institutional or associative organizations and globalized or internationally-oriented firms; (ii) 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 scene[368]. However, local governments are not evenly matched in their ability to 'govern', notably because some governments resist decentralization, particularly in metropolitan areas, which are often considered as competitors of the State.

In this context, which also includes the transformation of the global economy, it will become clear that the metropolitan scale is an excellent reference point when considering governance and public policies, particularly in terms of economic development, in large and very large cities around the world. However, this also raises questions regarding local democracy and the pursuit of a 'fairer' or at least more 'balanced' urban development.

1. OVERVIEW OF METROPOLITAN GOVERNANCE

This overview of metropolitan governance highlights the challenges arising, on the one hand, from the emergence of metropolitan governance within a context of State transformation (1.1). On the other hand, this transformation of regulatory tools has consequences on the implementation of public policies at metropolitan level (1.2).

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[366] Pierre VELTZ, « Pourra-t-on maîtriser le phénomène urbain ? », Sénat, 2010.
[367] Patrick GALES (LE), « Gouvernance », *in Dictionnaire des politiques publiques*, 3e édition actualisée et augmentée., Presses de Sciences Po, 2010, p. 299‑308.
[368] Christian LEFEVRE, « Les défis de la gouvernance », Paris, Mairie de Paris, 2012.

1.1. The metropolitan area: a new actor?

We will first present the debate on metropolitan governance before discussing the challenges it brings about.

1.1.1. The debate on metropolitan governance: emergence and justifications

The debate on metropolitan governance is justified by the fact that metropolises (particularly the largest ones) have become the primary sources of wealth production[369]. Such is the case in San Francisco and Los Angeles[370], and similarly, but to a different extent, in Bangalore and Bamako.

There are two key factors involved: (i) the globalization process, which boosts commercial and financial exchanges, as well as transport flows and the dissemination of technological innovations, thus making cities an 'anchorage point'; (ii) the demands of the new knowledge-based economy[371].

To enhance the attractiveness and competitiveness of metropolitan areas, the quality of urban governance[372] must first be enhanced, which is all the more important as 'administrative' territories are becoming increasingly fragmented. Due to urban growth, which is particularly rapid in cities of the Global South, the latter are no longer consistent with the 'functional' territories within metropolitan areas[373]. 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 improve the 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 municipalities within the same metropolitan area (particularly between city centres and suburban areas) or others across the State. This is certainly the case in cities such as São Paulo (Brazil), where a metropolitan region comprised of 39 communes (prefeituras) was established in 1973, theoretically giving the São Paulo government several responsibilities and further jurisdiction over the metropolitan area. However, following the Federal Constitution of 1988, the remits of metropolitan jurisdictions almost completely disappeared and authorities within communes gained more power, which posed problems regarding the management of certain public services: public

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[369] On this subject, we will refer back to the first section of this report, entitled: "Faced with the consequences of competing metropolitan areas, how can we devise fairer urban policies?", and more specifically, the point: "Why do metropolitan areas benefit from globalization? ".

[370] Michael STORPER, Thomas KEMENY, Naji MAKAREM, Taner OSMAN, Storper MICHAEL, Kemeny THOMAS, Makarem NAJI and Osman TANER, *The Rise and Fall of Urban Economies: Lessons from San Francisco and Los Angeles*, Stanford, California, Stanford University Press, 2015.

[371] C. CROUCH and P. GALES (LE), « Cities as national champions? », *op. cit.*

[372] P. VELTZ, « Pourra-t-on maîtriser le phénomène urbain ? », *op. cit.*

[373] ORGANISATION DE COOPERATION ET DE DEVELOPPEMENT ECONOMIQUES, *Mieux vivre dans la ville : le rôle de la gouvernance métropolitaine*, Éditions OCDE, 2002.

transport, social housing, protecting the environment, waste disposal management, etc.[374]. A new legislation, which came into effect in 2015, could somewhat alter the situation by forcing large Brazilian cities to rearrange themselves around a supra-municipal government.

At the same time, in many other contexts, particularly but not exclusively in the case of authoritarian regimes (i.e. Costa Rica), communities have very little independence (especially in terms of financial resources). Although decentralization programmes have been implemented, they can sometimes weaken the role of the central State, which relies on local authorities to ensure the provision of certain services, regardless of whether or not the latter have the financial means. However, in many cases, these programmes have tended to spread the State's control across territories and therefore more closely resemble an 'administrative devolution' process[375].

This discourse raises several crucial issues regarding metropolitan governance, which we will refer to as 'tensions'.[376]

1.1.2. The 'tensions' raised by this debate

Each of these three points challenges the position of one or several actors or types of actor within metropolitan governance systems. In turn, we will discuss the issue of (i) metropolitan democracy and the metropolitan area's legitimacy for the people who live there; (ii) the role of private economic actors and especially that of large firms; (iii) disputes regarding metropolitan leadership between central municipalities and the State.

Metropolitan governance and democracy:

In their capacity as political institutions, metropolitan governments have difficulty being democratic spaces, despite many of them (including the Metropolitan Region of Porto Alegre) clearly declaring their intention to place local democracy among their core strategies. Generally speaking, democratic forums within a metropolitan area are found at the infra-metropolitan level, rather than at the metropolitan scale. As a result, metropolitan governance can lead to potential offshoots of the nation states, particularly risks of authoritarianism and technicism, without any real legitimacy[377].

These local democracy issues at a metropolitan scale are currently a key talking point within the French debate regarding 'Greater Paris', much like the case of Toronto in Canada.

At the same time, the issue of a 'sense of belonging' and creating a shared identity within metropolitan areas is being dealt with by public authorities more frequently, especially in cases where new immigrants find it hard to navigate the city and

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[374] Helena MENNA-BARRETO SILVA, « São Paulo : la difficile gestion d'une inégalité croissante », _in Métropoles en mouvement. Une comparaison internationale_, Paris, IRD Orstom, 2000, p. 401‑405.

[375] Mona HARB and Sami ATALLAH, _Local Governments and Public Goods: Assessing Decentralization in the Arab World_, Beyrouth, The Lebanese Center for Policy Studies, 2015.

[376] C. LEFEVRE, « Les défis de la gouvernance », _op. cit._

[377] Jihad FARAH and Jacques TELLER, « De la territorialisation des controverses : métropolisation, déterritorialisation et (re)territorialisation à Beyrouth », _Métropoles_, 2015, n° 16.

establish an identity for themselves. Citizenship or sense of citizen belonging is a real issue for new citizens, 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)[378][379], Casablanca (Morocco) or Tunis (Tunisia).

Urban citizenship issues[380], which are understood to be forms of political identity (even for those without the right to vote), rapidly escalate alongside metropolization. Discussions regarding urban citizenship are also of interest to researchers analysing the social conflicts arising from the discriminatory presence and/or treatment of international migrants. For instance, in Tel Aviv the recent influx of African immigrants has compromised an already very fragmented sense of citizenship and now reflects the ethnic and territorial inequalities within the metropolitan area[381].

The most typical case 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 protection[382]. This fragile situation of immigrants living in urban zones is directly related to the household registration system. The *Hukou* 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. Since 1953, when the Communist government implemented a strict segregation between urban and rural zones, there have been two types of *hukou*: rural and urban. The type of *hukou* a citizen receives is decided at birth and is extremely difficult to change. 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 citizens. In China, strict regulation over social benefits can tie citizens to a certain area for a long time[383].

Toronto, balancing the need for local democracy and economic efficiency

The amalgamation of Canada's economic capital, Toronto, with its neighbouring 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 economic efficiency.

This amalgamation, carried out by the conservative provincial government with the support of the business community, was proposed as a measure to save costs by

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[378] Philippe GERVAIS-LAMBONY, *De Lomé à Harare: le fait citadin : images et pratiques des villes africaines*, KARTHALA Editions, 1994.

[379] Elisabeth DORIER-APPRILL and Philippe GERVAIS-LAMBONY, *Vies citadines*, Paris, Belin, 2007.

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

[381] Nir COHEN and Talia MARGALIT, « 'There are Really Two Cities Here': Fragmented Urban Citizenship In Tel Aviv », *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 2015, vol. 39, n° 4, p. 666‑686.

[382] Kam Wing CHAN, « China, Internal Migration », *in The Encyclopedia of Global Migration*, Blackwell Publishing, 2013, .

[383] Alice EKMAN, « La pauvreté dans les villes chinoises : le cas des migrants ».

sharing services and workforces and adapt the city to the economic pressures of globalization. It aimed to do so by offering investors a wider, better governed (streamlined) territory, and creating a package that was more favourable 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, some of the expected outcomes of the amalgamation were fulfilled, while others did not have the anticipated results. As such, the city failed to make savings, 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 councillors 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 neighbouring towns that were not part of the amalgamation) is yet to be properly devised[384].

Metropolitan governance and economic 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 policies[385] or development strategies with longer-term prospects (generally 15-30 years)[386]. Some 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 unions[387].

This is coupled with the private sector's unprecedented involvement in the implementation of urban projects[388], which could be regarded as a systematic bleeding of the city. There are some cases where cooperation between the State and the private sector (non-profit) has been successful, such as the Al-Azhar Park project

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[384] 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, n° 5, p. 509.

[385] C. LEFEVRE, « Les défis de la gouvernance », *op. cit.*

[386] For another example of this, refer to subsection: "The repercussions in terms of urban policies" in Section One of this report.

[387] G. VAN HAMME and M. VAN CRIEKINGEN, « Compétitivité économique et question sociale », *op. cit.*

[388] This phenomenon was discusses in Section One of this report, specifically under sub-section: "Financing cities"

in Cairo, which was primarily funded by the Aga Khan Trust for Culture (AKTC) and the Egyptian government's Social Fund for Development (SDF)[389].

View of Al-Azhar Park
Source: www.akdn.org

The possibility of such an alliance forming between economic and political spheres, amidst the international competition faced by metropolitan areas, raises the issue of the social impacts and availability of resources for managing metropolitan areas in an inclusive way that does not harm the weakest population groups. An example of this has been demonstrated in Mumbai, the driving force behind India's economy.

Challenging Mumbai's strategic vision

The debate regarding the governance of cities and, in this case, the role of private actors, does not solely affect the cities of the Global North, but also those of the South.

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 Statistics[390] 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

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[389] AGA KHAN TRUST FOR CULTURE, *Al-Azhar Park, Cairo and the Revitalization of Darb Al-Ahmar*, 2005.
[390] It is one of the main Indian conglomerates.

Maharashtra government (federal state comprising Mumbai), which was governed by the Congress party at the time.

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 implemented[391]. One of the demands of the many social movements was to preserve the *slum* settlement in the city centre, as well as the industrial economic businesses, by preventing their dilution and expulsion to peripheral areas[392]. It also involves establishing large public spaces that do not conform to the aim of privatising part of the city centre 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 even hinders the application of municipal master plans (developed by cities belonging to the metropolitan region)[393].

Metropolitan governance and territorial leadership:

In cities located within democratic countries, the process of transforming governance systems at the metropolitan scale encounters two crucial, unresolved difficulties: (i) the city centre's position and its political role at the metropolitan scale: indeed, the city centre is not necessarily suitable to assume the role of territorial leader; (ii) the role played by the State, which is often ambiguous. This transformation can often be restricted by the rising influence of cities, which are either seen to be competing for the same power (particularly in the case of national capital cities), or at least as potential obstacles to the implementation of its policies.

At the same time, the State plays a crucial part in the political future of its metropolitan areas, since it is ultimately responsible for the nation's the political, human and financial resources[394]. Apart from in city-states like Singapore, the State also has control over issues of a macro-economic nature. This is the case, for example, with issues regarding employment or monetary policies. Even if some of these policies are entrusted to local governments, they must be applied at national level in order for their policies to have a significant effect[395].

The example of France and the metropolitan area of Paris demonstrate the process of legitimizing actors and (non)-institutionalizing the leadership of a given territory.

The State and the metropolitan region of Paris

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[391] Marie-Hélène ZERAH, « Mumbai ou les enjeux de construction d'un acteur collectif », *in Métropoles XXL en pays émergents*, Presses de Sciences Po, 2011, p. 139‑214.

[392] Shekhar KRISHNAN, « Les espaces de Mumbai à l'ère post-industrielle », *Mouvements*, 2005, vol. 3, nº 39-40, p. 31‑39.

[393] Luiz Cesar de QUEIROZ RIBEIRO and Ana Lúcia 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, .

[394] C. LEFEVRE, « Les défis de la gouvernance », *op. cit.*

[395] See papers by Richard Stren.

The State has had historic control over planning within the metropolitan region of Paris and until 1977, its status as political capital justified its lack of elected mayor and the growing authority of intercommunal associations, such as 'Plaine Commune' and 'Paris Ouest La Défense'. By virtue of decentralization laws and strengthened communes, departments and regions, the State has progressively become more politically, financially and administratively disengaged from governing the metropolitan area. However, the State remains a crucial actor at both local and metropolitan levels.

For example, although the drafting of the Ile-de-France master plan (SDRIF) was entrusted to the regional authorities, only the State has the power to endorse the document.

In addition to this is the leading financial role it plays via State-Region Planning Contracts (CPERs).

Moreover, the State also plays a key role with regard to land through its control over urban transport operators (RAPT, SNCF) who are also landowners, and its direct access and use of public land. This can lead to initiatives that are sometimes contradictory in nature. For instance, the Roissy airport area is located in the middle of an OIN (project of national importance). Although it may be in the public's interest to have a well-functioning airport, since the partial privatization of Aéroports de Paris (ADP), this interest has been largely based on ADP's profits, of which the State is now a shareholder. This, in turn, nullifies local urbanism plans (PLU) for building shopping centres that would generate more profit for ADP.

Ultimately, the State remains in charge of sectoral policies (housing, universities, police) and involved in large strategic infrastructure projects for both the city and country, such as the Paris-Saclay research cluster, research centres and universities, etc.

The State's partial disengagement within the region goes some way to explaining why no other actor (regional, departmental or communal) has tried to assume the now-vacant metropolitan leadership role[396]. The creation of the Greater Paris metropolitan area on the 1st January 2016 could somewhat change the situation.

1.2. The city and its territories: the conditions of justice

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. This is particularly the case with regard to social policies and access to public services, which we will further discuss.

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[396] Frédéric GILLI and Jean-Marc OFFNER, « Chapitre 3. Qui gouverne quoi ? », *in Paris, métropole hors les murs*, Presses de Sciences Po, 2009, p. 83‑114.

1.2.1. The paradox of public services

Nowadays, as we enter the 'Age of Access[397]', the issue of accessibility is posing several social challenges[398]. <u>Accessibility</u> refers to the degree of ease with which an individual can access one or several resources within a city (including public or basic services). There is a clear link between the level of accessibility to a city's resources (basic service) and the risk of social exclusion. Accessibility is not the same as provision; the latter term does not take into account the aspect regarding an individual's ability to access a service. Here, we will discuss urban infrastructures and their role as major urban amenities, as well as access to housing, particularly in terms of rental policy.

As such, in Cape Town for example (and more generally in large South African cities), the issue of accessibility is further compounded by the apartheid's historic segregational effects on the urban landscape[399]. As the city reunifies and the metropolitan area expands further, socio-economic differences are overlapped by other criteria: "Although the public water supply system works on the whole, it is in no way fair: efficient in old white municipalities, yet antiquated in black and *coloured* townships, and insufficient in recent extensions of informal settlements[400]. The long-lasting effects of apartheid within the same city have also been accentuated by the provision of another public service: waste collection[401].
Generally speaking, cities are faced with a huge paradox: on the one hand, they provide spaces that can potentially provide access to a large array of opportunities (employment, connections, experiences, etc.), but on the other hand, can be "places where competition for accessing goods is at its fiercest". Thus, "an individual's identity, value and employability is not solely defined by the material and financial resources they have at their disposal, but by their ability to 'access' information, innovation, certain networks and certain positively regarded practices[402]".
As such, in order to enhance spatial justice, it is important to advocate the reduction of socio-spatial inequalities by improving a service's accessibility rather than simply ensuring its provision. In this way, it becomes possible to focus on the opportunities available to individuals, as well as the actual behaviours they adopt[403]. Evidently,

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[397] Jeremy RIFKIN, *L'âge de l'accès: la nouvelle culture du capitalisme*, Paris, la Découverte, 2005.
[398] This notion is often raised with regard to mobility issues, but is also relevant when analysing a provision of public services on a broader scale.
[399] Alain DUBRESSON and Sylvy JAGLIN (dir.), *Le Cap après l'apartheid: Gouvernance métropolitaine et changement urbain*, Paris, Karthala, 2008.
[400] Sylvy JAGLIN, « Service d'eau et construction métropolitaine au Cap (Afrique du Sud) : les difficultés de l'intégration urbaine », *Revue française d'administration publique*, 2003, vol. 107, n° 3, p. 433‑445.
[401] 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, n° 4, p. 874‑892. ; Scott A. BOLLENS, « Ethnic Stability and Urban Reconstruction Policy Dilemmas in Polarized Cities », *Comparative Political Studies*, 1998, vol. 31, n° 6, p. 683‑713.
[402] Daniel PINSON and Max ROUSSEAU, « Les systèmes métropolitains intégrés - état des lieux et problématiques », *Territoires 2040*, 2012, p. 28‑58.
[403] Sylvie FOL and Caroline GALLEZ, « Mobilité, accessibilité et équité : pour un renouvellement de l'analyse des inégalités sociales d'accès à la ville », Marne-la-Vallée, 2013.

there must also be a focus on providing services to the poorest populations[404], meanwhile minimizing or eradicating the disparities in accessibility between different neighbourhoods and social groups around the city; this process is much more effective when founded upon the principle of spatial justice[405].

In broad terms, the aim is to improve access to urban services (which are regarded as common goods[406]) by combining objectives regarding economic development, social integration and transparent management while simultaneously devising a balanced planning policy for the territory. This can obviously prove very complicated, as demonstrated by the situation in Mumbai[407].

These various points must work towards fostering a sense of citizenship and belonging to the city among individuals and social groups. They require better political representation for 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.

<u>Management of public services: the risks of privatization and public-private partnerships</u>

The dissemination of new public management principles in the 1980s and the deriving principles that ensued[408] have emphasized the need for partnerships between public and private entities in the management of public services. Whilst public authorities are gradually adopting new public management approaches, this need was and continues to be justified by performance and cost-saving criteria. Nevertheless, in terms of spatial justice, the limitations or even excesses associated with privatizing services or developing public-private partnerships at a metropolitan scale have often been accentuated[409]. Thus, a governance of public services aimed

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[404] Nick DEVAS, « Metropolitan governance and urban poverty », *Public Administration and Development*, 2005, vol. 25, n° 4, p. 351‑361.

[405] David Caubel, « Politique de transports et accès à la ville pour tous : une méthode d'évaluation appliquée à l'agglomération lyonnaise » (Thèse de doctorat, Lyon 2, 2006)

[406] Pierre DARDOT and Christian LAVAL, *Commun*, Paris, La Découverte, 2014.

[407] Marie-Hélène ZERAH, « Gouvernance métropolitaine et pilotage de réseaux techniques : le cas de la région métropolitaine de Mumbai (Bombay) », *Revue française d'administration publique*, 2003, vol. no107, n° 3, p. 395‑407.

[408] This dissemination occurred in countries of the Global South, primarily under the influence of international institutions and other external influences, which always have a degree of involvement in the definition of national policies. It is worth remembering that the Washington Consensus advocated the privatization of state enterprises and State disengagement.

[409] See:
- Dominique LORRAIN and Gerry STOKER (dir.), *La privatisation des services urbains en Europe*, Paris, La Découverte, 1995.
- Chiara CARROZZA, « Gruppi di interesse e politiche dei servizi pubblici locali. Alcune note preliminari », *Rivista Italiana di Politiche Pubbliche*, 2011, n° 2.
- Christoph HERMANN and Jörg FLECKER (dir.), *Privatization of Public Services: Impacts for Employment, Working Conditions, and Service Quality in Europe*, New York, Routledge, 2012.

at promoting the common good and justice for all would do well to learn lessons from such partnerships and focus on the intended benefits of a public service.

In this regard, the production of local biomass energy plants seemed to provide a much-needed solution for rapidly reducing fossil fuel consumption. This reduction would require controlling energy production among the population, as observed in Bristol, where a low-carbon council company has been established[410].

Access to water and public-private partnerships (PPP)

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[411], 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 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' neighbourhoods, 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.

It has been noticed that informal distributors are buying water at fire hydrants and reselling it at prices based on distance and volume: this has a deeply detrimental effect on the territorial equality of access to water.

Measures have been taken to improve equality, such as the subsidization of connections to private entities. However, such subsidies are transferred to small local private operators contracted by the National Office for Water and Sanitation; the institution entrusted with managing the distribution networks. This leads to the formation of PPPs, the impacts of which on spatial justice are still difficult to assess.

Whether it involves the administration of a public-private partnership that will adopt territorial equality as a guiding principle or the establishment of a public authority that will guarantee even distribution across the entire metropolitan area, public influence

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[410] Philippe BERNARD, « A Bristol, le maire prépare l'après-pétrole », *Le Monde*, 20/11/2015.
[411] The current situation is analysed in: Catherine BARON and Élisabeth PEYROUX, « Services urbains et néolibéralisme. Approches théoriques et enjeux de développement », *Cahiers d'études africaines*, 2011, vol. 202-203, nº 2, p. 369‑393.

has an essential role to play. Access issues can deteriorate across a territory in much the same way as the production of housing.

<u>A widespread issue in access to housing: privatization and challenged housing policy reforms</u>

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 for 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 prospects in terms of profit. Meanwhile, "the most fragile households are confronted with a gradual drying-up of the 'de facto social' rental housing, but also the increasing scarcity of 'very low-cost social housing'[412].

In addition, in most countries and cities, policies on access to housing mainly focus on supporting access to ownership. Examples of this can be found in Latin America (Argentina and Chile) and in some countries in southern Europe.

Property ownership and rental: a relation that needs changing

There have also been many policies aimed at helping social housing residents purchase property, like in Hong Kong[413] and many European cities (Berlin[414], London etc.). Parallels can also be drawn with a movement involving the neo-liberalization of social housing, which massively affected Socialist countries in transition, but also 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' rents[415].

This privatization approach is supported by housing authorities who are keen to recapitalize 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 in favour of houses built by private landlords

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[412] D. PINSON and M. ROUSSEAU, « Les systèmes métropolitains intégrés - état des lieux et problématiques », *op. cit.*
[413] Sam Wai Kam YU, « The Hong Kong Government's Strategy for Promoting Home Ownership — An Approach to Reducing the Decommodifying Effects of Public Housing Services », *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 1997, vol. 21, n° 4, p. 537‑553.
[414] A. KEMP, H. LEBUHN and G. RATTNER, « Between Neoliberal Governance and the Right to the City », *op. cit.*
[415] 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, n° 9, p. 265‑282.

known for building social housing (*registered social landlords*), such as *housing associations*[416].

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 years[417].

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. To the contrary, regulations that promote or protect a tenant's status are growing scarce, thus making tenancy agreements more vulnerable to contractual changes.

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

In the cities with the highest prices, there have been recent tentative attempts to re-establish frequent spot-checks on increasing rent prices and caps on price hikes (1 per cent per year in New York). 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.

Ultimately, the municipal authorities (those responsible for producing housing) find themselves faced with the issue of producing affordable housing, yet they are dispossessed of the resources to fund such projects (relevant material or workforce support).

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 individuals: distancing from services and employment facilities (which makes moving around increasingly difficult) and an unhealthy environment (noise, pollution) completely contradict *buen vivir* or sustainable development, as demonstrated by the Minha Casa, Minha Vida national building programme[418] in Brazil.

Poor consideration of local contexts is due to public-private partnerships allowing the development of private property to spiral out of control without any municipal or citizen supervision.

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[416] Paul WATT, « Housing stock transfers, régénération and state led gentrification in London », *Urban Policy and research*, 2009, p. 229‑242.

[417] 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, n° 3, p. 343‑359.

[418] 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.

In some metropolitan areas, like in China, access to housing is made difficult by measures that favour established residents: as such, migrants from rural areas have considerable trouble finding accommodation, no matter how long they have lived in the city they currently reside in[419]. The above-mentioned issues therefore contradict the 'right to the city' claims made by certain social protest movements and global-scale resident federation networks[420].

However, although 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 inhabitants, 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 shortages[421].

And since the majority of citizens around the world are rental tenants, it is imperative to ensure that urban studies factor in this population, which urbanization often leaves behind. 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 eviction[422], examples of which are clear to see in Cape Town and Beirut.

Combining mobility and accessibility

Mobility represents a key challenge with regard to the coordination of metropolitan policies. In fact, enabling everybody to move around an entire metropolitan area portrays a shift towards equal access to urban resources. However, at the present time, there is a notable difference between individuals' access to mobility, thus accentuating or creating gaps between certain individuals and social groups[423]. 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, by using all or some existing means of transport"[424]. As the metropolization process continues to increase spatial distances

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[419] John R. LOGAN, Yiping FANG and Zhanxin ZHANG, « Access to Housing in Urban China », *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 2009, vol. 33, nº 4, p. 914‑935.

[420] A. APSAN FREDIANI and R. SIVAS LIMA, *Habitat III National Reporting processes : locating the right to the city and the rôle of civil society*, op. cit.

[421] FONDATION ABBE PIERRE, *L'état du mal-logement en France. 20e rapport annuel*, 2015.

[422] See also on this subject: Marie HUCHZERMEYER 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.

[423] Marie-Hélène BACQUÉ and Sylvie FOL, « L'inégalité face à la mobilité : du constat à l'injonction », *Revue suisse de sociologie*, 2007, vol. 33, nº 1, p. 89‑104.

[424] S. FOL and C. GALLEZ, « Mobilité, accessibilité et équité : pour un renouvellement de l'analyse des inégalités sociales d'accès à la ville », *op. cit.*

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 centre, some metropolitan areas have implemented significant initiatives for resolving suburban traffic issues. In this regard, in the metropolitan area of Madrid, the Metro line 12 (Metro SUR), opened in 2003, now covers a 133km loop (29 stations linking town centres, hospitals, universities and neighbourhoods) around five towns in the south suburb (Alcorcon, Mostoles, Fuenlabrada, Getafe, Leganes). The project was implemented on the initiative of the communities concerned. It is therefore not a Madrid-based line that reaches the suburbs, but a suburb-based line, even though 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, thus enabling a major urban centre to form in the southern metropolitan area of Madrid. In another respect, certain local governments have pursued cost-reducing policies. For example, in Bogota, financial assistance for the most deprived citizens has helped halve their transport costs.

However, these policies are not necessarily aimed at spatial justice: in certain cases, they more closely resemble *workfare* policies and try to improve 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' is a key element, but 'human capital' and (social, racial) discrimination are equally influential factors. Territorially localised policies carried out with a view to 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 neighbourhoods and their inhabitants, and this further reinforces the designation of a middle-class lifestyle as a standard model[425]. This dynamic certainly does not favour the recognition of different social groups within the metropolitan area.

Nowadays, although it cannot be denied that mobility is a factor of inequality, ensuring better mobility is not the sole solution[426] to the appearance, deployment or long-term effects of inequalities within metropolitan areas. 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. It is important not to disregard strategic thinking and actions related to mechanisms causing an increasingly capitalist economy, poverty, inequalities and exclusion. In certain metropolitan areas, reformative policies

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[425] M.-H. BACQUÉ and S. FOL, « L'inégalité face à la mobilité : du constat à l'injonction », *op. cit.*
[426] *Ibid.*

are able to reduce these inequalities, but 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 infrastructures in cities undergoing rapid urban growth in the Global South, in which the organization of public transport systems is still in its early stages[427] 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 Shanghai[428]. Furthermore, they must also take into account the many existing means of getting around and ignore 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 Casablanca, Cairo and Istanbul[429] Another example would be the Peruvian moto-taxis in Villa El Salvador, on the outskirts of Lima, which came about in the 1980s crisis, largely to assist with mobility issues. Work must also be done to ensure the complementarity between different forms of transport. In order to do so, it is important not to focus investments on urban motorways, ring roads, or distinctive roads.

Moreover, although there has been a particular focus on reducing the use of cars in cities of the Global North, policies in this area are markedly more reserved in those of the South. This can be explained by:
- Low car usage and disorganized public transport systems, as well as the fact that <u>walking is still one of the most popular means of getting around.</u> In mega-cities like Cairo, walking is still very popular and represents around a third of journeys made; in Casablanca, this proportion increased from 51 per cent of journeys in 1979 to 54 per cent in 2004[430].
- <u>Transport systems being fundamentally focused around individual mobility by car or motorbike, which has become very evident in many metropolitan areas</u> (in Vietnam, for example, motorbikes are the dominant form of transport in Ho Chi Minh City, much like bicycles in Hanoi). Cars and motorbikes currently offer users the best accessibility in many cities, despite the contradictory effect this has on 'sustainable' development projects, especially with regard to motorbikes.
- <u>Middle-class citizens having a persistently strong desire to own cars</u> in certain contexts, which can hinder the uptake of public transport even when the latter proves to be very effective (in many places, ownership of a car is a crucial marker of social standing[431]).

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[427] Xavier GODARD, « L'évolution des systèmes de transport des villes méditerranéennes face à la métropolisation », *REM. Revue de l'économie méridionale*, 2005, vol. 53, n⁰ 209-10, p. 99‑114.

[428] Qing SHEN, « Urban transportation in Shanghai, China: problems and planning implications », *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 1997, vol. 21, n⁰ 4, p. 589‑606.

[429] X. GODARD, « L'évolution des systèmes de transport des villes méditerranéennes face à la métropolisation », *op. cit.*

[430] Atika HAIMOUD, « Quel transport en commun pour Casablanca ? », consulté le 14 janvier 2016, http://www.yabiladi.com/article-societe-1034.html.

[431] X. GODARD, « L'évolution des systèmes de transport des villes méditerranéennes face à la métropolisation », *op. cit.*

- <u>Physical and cognitive obstacles which</u>, in cities of both the Global North and South, limit the usage of public transport by certain population groups[432] (disorientation, fear of getting lost, fear of being unsafe, etc.).

For all these policies to work, it would appear necessary to lay focus on better understanding local democracy in order to be able to visualize, represent and ultimately take into account all the challenges presenting themselves across metropolitan areas.

1.2.2. Social impacts of urban policies and follow-up proceedings

It is all the more important to assess public policies if we are to make them more effective, reduce their unintended impacts and understand their consequences on society and economic activities. Let us assume that public (urban) policies are rarely designed for and with citizens, and even then, 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 place considerable pressure on feelings of justice or injustice. As such, this often makes it difficult:
- to <u>maintain habitats in a decent condition</u>, 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, e.g. Rabat-Salé and Rio de Janeiro;
- to <u>relocate to the location of one's choice</u> due to land occupation opportunities;
- to <u>maintain the social fabrics and economic connections</u> needed for inner-city material survival and moral well-being[433].

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 said, there is a total lack of environmental or social impact studies being carried out in metropolitan areas that favour 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 favour the recapturing of land, much to the detriment of vulnerable or

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[432] See:
- Lily HIRSCH and Kirikky THOMPSON, « I can sit but I'd rather stand: commuter's experience of crowdedness and fellow passenger behaviour in carriages on Australian metropolitan trains », Adelaide, 2011.-
- Özlem ŞIMŞEKOĞLU, Trond NORDFJÆRN and Torbjørn RUNDMO, « The role of attitudes, transport priorities, and car use habit for travel mode use and intentions to use public transportation in an urban Norwegian public », *Transport Policy*, 2015, vol. 42, p. 113‑120.
- Laura FERRARI, Michele BERLINGERIO, Francesco CALABRESE and Jon READES, « Improving the accessibility of urban transportation networks for people with disabilities », *Transportation Research Part C: Emerging Technologies*, 2014, vol. 45, p. 27‑40.
[433] Françoise NAVEZ-BOUCHANINE, *Effets sociaux des politiques urbaines. L'entre-deux des politiques institutionnelles et des dynamiques sociales*, Rabat; Paris; Tours, Karthala, 2012.

minority social groups, situations of which have been documented in many cities, such as Beirut, Tehran and Karachi[434].

However, generally speaking, in countries where social support policies regarding transport or rehoming are put in place, such policies do not reverse the damage done by the loss of reference points in cities and uprooting of citizens, as demonstrated by urban renewal policies in major European and American cities. It is therefore important to design policies that enable people to stay where they are.

2. PROPOSALS / TOOLS

In this section, we will discuss metropolitan governance tools and ways of improving them for the purposes of spatial justice. These tools are categorized according to their objectives: on the one hand, strengthening local democracy (2.1); on the other hand, developing metropolitan territories in an integrated manner (2.2).

2.1. Enhancing local democracy

Although the connection between democracy and development is not an obvious one (as demonstrated by the examples of Singapore or South Korea), it is often by giving the 'losers' a voice on the issue of competitiveness that it becomes possible to modify policies and enable a shift towards greater spatial justice. This requires a more democratic metropolitan governance, whether this pertains to the responsibilities attributed to local actors (a point we will initially examine) or those attributed to citizens (a point we will subsequently examine).

Although the feasibility of implementing a process that democratizes governance strongly depends on local contexts and the nature of the governing regime in place, it is also necessary to listen to the city's many different actors (elected representatives, professionals, citizens) through forms of representative democracy and participatory democracy, in order to achieve spatial justice at the metropolitan scale.

2.1.1. Using metropolitan bodies to shift towards poly-centrality and infra-metropolitan decentralization

At the metropolitan scale, one of the current major issues is enhancing the legitimacy of metropolitan bodies, which in addition to being accused of technocracy, are often accused of preventing all the interests of various constituent local entities from being satisfactorily represented As such, it is important to ensure that institutions are sufficiently democratic and representative and include all local entities in decision-making processes. Ultimately, the challenge is to ensure that metropolitan institutions

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[434] In Beirut: Agnès DEBOULET and Mona FAWAZ, « Contesting the legitimacy of urban restructuring and highway's in Beirut's irregular settlements », *in* Anne RAFFIN and DAVIS (dir.), Bloomington, Indiana University Press, 2011, p. 117‑151.; in Tehran: Mina SAÏDI-SHAROUZ, *Le Téhéran des quartiers populaires: transformation urbaine et société civile en République islamique*, Paris, Karthala, 2013.

do not dispossess local territories, their representatives and residents of their voices within decision-making processes regarding their metropolitan area.

A way of ensuring this would be to promote shared coordination regulations rather than those of another territorial institution, which is the currently favoured approach: "It is a case of incorporating the political dimension of metropolization and its unity into the rules behind its complex functioning (*software*), rather than into an all-encompassing mythical territorial institution (*hardware*[435]). " At the very least, there should be a body with the role of designing and carrying forward genuinely communal metropolitan projects, in other words, projects where each territory has authority over both co-construction and co-decision-making. This would make it possible to view the city "from the suburban areas, the outskirts and the smaller towns and territories" and not just from the centre and instances of authority, thus promoting a "cooperative and solidary metropolitan area[436]". At the same time, it is important to remember than in many metropolitan areas, there are more inhabitants living in suburban towns than in the city centre.

In metropolitan areas that reflect the 'ideal' governance model, there are often two opposing philosophies: that of an 'integrated' or 'federated' city, comprised on the one hand, of a single dedicated establishment that maintains all decision-making powers, and on the other hand, a polycentric city founded on a confederated or federated government (with a metropolitan body aligned with infra-metropolitan bodies that both share attributions based on a principle of subsidiarity).

The integrated metropole model has revealed many limitations in terms of increasing costs, technical impracticability and lack of democracy[437]. Consequently, many local elected representatives, particularly those in 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 envelops 'suburban' communes.

In the Ile-de-France region, a suburban intercommunal association, Plaine Commune, has favoured 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 remodelled around a network of several hubs; the idea is also to ensure that the various component parts of a city are not competing but cooperating[438]. On this point, it is worth remembering the AMASUR (Association of Municipalities of the Southern Area of Lima) experiment, which grouped together all the towns in Lima's metropolitan area (Pachacamac, San Juan de Miraflores, Villa El Salvador, Villa Maria del Triunfo) in an effort to create a shared future), but also that of the Ciudad Sur municipalities.

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[435] Martin VANIER, « La métropolisation ou la fin annoncée des territoires ? - Métropolitiques », 2013.
[436] Sylvie RITMANIC, « A la recherche de la métropole solidaire. Contribution pour Habitat III ».
[437] This is particularly evident in the Toronto example presented at the very beginning of this section (under subsection "the metropolitan area: a new actor? ")
[438] Gérard PERREAU-BEZOUILLE, « Le développement durable dans les stratégies de coopération des collectivités locales », *TIP*, 2014, Numéro spécial, p. 66‑69.

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The Ciudad Sur municipal association

The Ciudad Sur municipal association encompasses six heavily-populated towns to the south of Santiago du Chili'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 inhabitants and are undergoing significant population growth (there were less than 200,000 inhabitants in 1950).

The aim of the structure is to promote the productive, social, environmental and economic development of the metropolitan region's southern 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 combine the "core populations of each area[439]".

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In the new system, which regulates the political institution that shapes Barcelona's metropolitan area, significant consideration is given to the balance of power between suburban towns: if the mayor of Barcelona is appointed as chairman of such a body, an executive chairman is also nominated by the metropolitan assembly formed of municipal councils. It is worth noting that certain inter-municipal cooperative institutions, such as Greater Porto Alegre, are founded under the initiative of suburban towns (in this case, Canoas). Another example worth mentioning is that of Rosario council and its corresponding metropolitan scale (la Metropolitana) formed of 21 smaller communes, each with their own voice. However, in the absence of technical capabilities in suburban councils, the town council provides free support for training staff, especially on the issue of planning permission[440]. Until the mid 2000s, "innovation within municipal management was becoming a way of addressing the growing demand among citizens for independence from the capital and enhancing municipal status"[441] because municipal government still depended on the province, despite gradual decentralization efforts. The metropolitan turning point of the last century is no longer the object of national institutionalization (no legislation) but has taken root in participatory bodies, thus ensuring its legitimacy.

Positively regarded, it is a matter of defending an organization whose system is based around "a territory's right to not be dependent on technical and financial arbitrations decided on by others in the interests of third-parties" and the recognition

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[439] Sadi Melo Moya, Mayor of El Bosque, speech from the 3rd FALP Congress (Canoas, June 2013)
[440] Interview with the mayor of Rosario, December 2015
[441] Silvia ROBIN and Sébastien VELUT, « Entre Barcelone et Porto Alegre : la gestion municipale à Montevideo et Rosario », *Géocarrefour*, 2005, vol. 80, n° 3, p. 207‑214.

of the "a territory's right to defend itself so that its problems may be considered at metropolitan scale as central rather than peripheral problems[442]". This type of model also helps make it possible to "establish a balance between central and suburban areas, both through the definition of urban policies and institutional balances of power. " In terms of spatial justice, experiments involving scalar recalibration have also served as sources of inspiration[443].

Metropolitan fusions as a solution? Montreal and Toronto

Some cities, such as Toronto and Montreal, have chosen to merge central municipalities with those of suburban towns. The degree of infra-municipal decentralization (intense, medium or poor; assessed based on the equal existence of infra-municipal entities, political power, budgetary independence and financial decentralization) is therefore an essential factor in evaluating the margin for manoeuvre of these entities in terms of metropolitan production, and therefore the city's democratic vitality[444]. The effects are more mitigated in Toronto where infra-municipal entities have poor budgetary independence and are undergoing slow financial decentralization[445]. The fusion has somewhat shifted the issue of non-cooperation, since the rivalries between municipalities supposedly targeted by said fusion have shifted towards the Greater Toronto Area (entity without administrative authority[446]).

Conversely, in Montreal, the fusion approach has opened up interesting prospects: the city has undergone significant decentralization and the independence 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. Whereas the city 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. And 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.

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[442] Damaly CHUM, Maël GENDRON and Sophie LEGUILLON, « Grand Paris : pour une métropole vraiment métropolitaine - Métropolitiques », 2013.

[443] 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.

[444] Jean-Philippe MELOCHE, « Gouvernance urbaine et décentralisation inframunicipale dans les grandes villes d'Amérique », *Cahiers de géographie du Québec*, 2014, vol. 58, nº 164, p. 173‑192.

[445] *Ibid.*

[446] Guillaume POIRET, « Fusion métropolitaine à Toronto : un bilan contrasté », *Métropolitiques*, 2013.

2.1.2. Giving citizens (back) their status and power: potentialities, limitations and methods

As a response to current problems of democracy and in line with international demands, we are now seeing a profusion of initiatives and systems being put in place to encourage citizens to participate in the development and implementation of public decisions. At city level, it has been remarked that some of these initiatives and systems, which have long since excluded citizens from decision-making processes, are now encouraging the latter to express their views (within the Parisian metropolitan area, opportunities for this include the Grand Paris Express consultations and Paris Métropole public meetings).

These initiatives, pushed forward by public authorities, should be considered as tools for addressing the significant challenges faced by a city, such as enhancing feelings of citizen belonging and the emergence of a shared and widely adopted metropolitan identity[447]. They are all the more important to discuss in order to imperatively and effectively deal with the problems experienced and expressed by citizens, but also to avoid the technocratic[448] by-products of forms of metropolitan governance. However, these systems are often faced with much criticism and are accused of acting as artefacts, thus preventing all citizen opinions from being taken into consideration, and much less ensuring the delegation or distribution of power among citizens.

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. These initiatives, which are sometimes (but still too rarely) supported by public authorities, make it possible to conceive ways of democratically organizing and managing cities in this day and age, and more broadly speaking, "democratizing democracy". 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 favouring a circular economy, for example. Some of these initiatives come from local authorities partly acting 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, 'popular committees' were formed in Cairo in the wake of the revolution. Some such committees 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 drainage. This paving was designed specifically to be easy to remove and replace without causing undue damage, in contrast to the usual un-planned development work implemented by local authorities, who completely dismantle roadways and

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[447] 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, p. 7‑19.
[448] *Ibid.*

pavements in order to put in place underground networks, much to the exasperation of nearby residents[449].

Another notable aspect of these initiatives is the manifestation of social protest movements, which are increasingly poignant and either related or not to resident networks or broader rights advocacy movements: Habitat International Coalition, Asian Coalition for Housing Rights, Slum Dwellers Association… This is the case in Caracas, Rio or Madrid through coordinated invasions of dwellings or empty tower blocks in the city centre, which are turned into very viable accommodation, giving a voice to homeless people, but also, in the case of Madrid, to those forced away by the mortgage crisis. In this regard, over the last decade, members of the New York-based Right to the City national alliance have formulated a Charter signed by its members in 2009 comprised of grassroots demands for preserving poor or working-class urban 'communities' in six areas: Community Decision-Making power, low-cost housing, environmental justice and public health, employment and workforce, town planning and public spaces. Two proposals particularly stand out: the right to benefit from federal stimulus funds and ensuring that these funds reach African-American communities; the campaign for reconverting old apartments into low-cost housing[450].

A local democracy that is properly rooted within its territory and is able to address huge contemporary challenges must go beyond the concept of participation as something initiated by a higher institution, but rather use it as a form of management that adapts to, passes on and attempts to strengthen citizen initiatives focused on the common good. Such is the case with environmental issues, with regard to which some cities are joining forces with 'pro-city transition' citizen committees or encouraging groups of residents to be involved in decisions that directly affect their living environment, which entails accepting the existence of 'citizen knowledge'. These different forms of knowledge, which involve neither knowledge through usage nor expert knowledge, are making it easier for people to express themselves and take action, which can truly renew methods for supporting common goods within large cities[451]. These should be recognized and highly valued.

Here, we will discuss a few 'participatory' metropolitan governance initiatives (which incorporate citizens), their contribution to building and developing social justice, as well as their limitations.

It is also worth remembering that the outcomes of these systems and initiatives depend on their national contexts, and particularly the governmental regime in place. In much the same way, this also dictates the feasibility of their large-scale dissemination. Nevertheless, it is worth highlighting the fact that places of

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[449] TADAMUN, « Paving the Streets of Mīt `Uqba », *Tadamun*, 2013.
[450] D. DODGE, « Right To The City-NYC's Policy Platform and condo conversion campaign : grassroots visioning and policies for the future of New York City », *op. cit.*
[451] Agnès DEBOULET and Héloïse NEZ, *Savoirs citoyens et démocratie urbaine*, Rennes, Presses universitaires de Rennes, 2013.

'democracy' or citizen expression are able to find a way of existing within 'hybrid' or 'authoritarian[452]' regimes. In some cases, they are formed upon the initiative of the established government and therefore become a tool that citizens can use to get their voices heard, as demonstrated by the example of resident committees in Beijing[453]. It is also worth remembering that emerging or institutionalized forms of e-governance, which are fundamental to the development of 'smart cities[454]' can make it possible to restructure relationships between citizens and governments[455] (further transparency and accountability for better effectiveness[456]) and provide support or alternatives to representative democracy[457]. However, this requires decent cooperation between the different levels of government (infra-metropolitan, metropolitan, federal, national, etc.) and ways of training actors within public government to adopt a new culture, as illustrated by the example of Canada[458]. Thus, in São Paolo, the implementation of town planning projects is preceded by online participative mechanisms: in addition to public consultations, which are organized to debate each project, the latter is presented and explained online and citizens are invited to make suggestions directly through the website.

To this day, there are still three main obstacles to establishing forms of democratic governance that combine efficiency with legitimacy and spatial justice: poor integration of the participatory dimension within cities, the lack of general consensus (whether among citizens and users of the city or the elite) required by direct democracy in governance, and the fact that the scope and influence of participative innovations are somewhat limited[459].

Institutionalized systems: participatory democracy

Participatory democracy refers to all procedures, tools and systems that favour the direct involvement of citizens in the governance of public affairs[460]. It falls in line with the concept of renewing representative democracy. It involves the public authorities allowing citizens (broadly speaking) to participate, despite not having the necessary status or mandate normally required to take part in decision-making processes. The

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[452] These are the classifications used by *The Economist Intelligence Unit* to calculate the Democracy Index.

[453] Judith AUDIN, « La prise en charge des « vulnérables » dans et par les quartiers en Chine urbaine. Le cas des comités de résidents à Pékin », *Annales de la Recherche Urbaine*, 2015, nº 110.

[454] Krassimira Antonova PASKALEVA, « Enabling the smart city: the progress of city e-governance in Europe », *International Journal of Innovation and Regional Development*, 2009, vol. 1, nº 4, p. 405‑422.

[455] Pan Suk KIM, « Introduction », *Revue Internationale des Sciences Administratives*, 2005, vol. 71, nº 1, p. 105‑115.

[456] Adegboyega OJO, Mohamed SHAREEF, Tomasz JANOWSKI and Séverine Bardon 106366, « La gouvernance électronique en Asie : bilan, impact et réduction de la fracture interne », *Hermès, La Revue*, 2009, vol. 55, nº 3, p. 159‑167.

[457] Ewa KRZATALA-JAWORSKA, « Internet : complément ou alternative à la démocratie représentative ? », *Participations*, 2012, vol. 1, nº 2, p. 181‑191. Ewa KRZĄTAŁA-JAWORSKA, "Interne

[458] Barbara Ann ALLEN, Luc JUILLET, Gilles PAQUET and Jeffrey ROY, « E-Governance & government on-line in Canada: Partnerships, people & prospects », *Government Information Quarterly*, 2001, vol. 18, nº 2, p. 93‑104.

[459] Archon FUNG, « Putting the Public Back into Governance: The Challenges of Citizen Participation and Its Future », *Public Administration Review*, 2015, vol. 75, nº 4, p. 513‑522.

[460] 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, .

proliferation of participatory democracy-type systems in certain countries has been largely explained by the widespread belief in a 'virtuous circle', which is formed by renewed and profound interaction between citizens and institutions[461]. Although the original idea held by the proponents of this democracy was to enable 'ordinary' citizens to influence decisions, participants have begun criticising these systems and have become increasingly disenchanted with them. Furthermore, there is now a growing awareness of this issue among local authorities and citizens.

First of all, we are seeing an extremely varied adoption of systems and procedures that fall under the same heading[462]. In this regard, they can be considered both as tools for managing social conflicts, as well as tools for democratizing decision-making processes[463]. In addition, they often prevent the participation of those who are uncomfortable with public speaking, thus becoming exclusively a tool for those who are not (who are then criticized for their elitism). As such, as is the case in Mumbai[464], the middle and upper classes are the ones to benefit from participatory democracy, rather than the lower classes. Over time, it has been noted that participation[465] in many countries becomes gentrified; without taking into account cases of clientelism. Moreover, such procedures are still far from affording participants any real influence over the management of local affairs. Spatial justice cannot exist without effective local democracy, and this broadly applies to environmental issues which, in order to reach a crucial turning point, must ensure that criticisms regarding 'non-sustainable' production and consumption methods are clearly expressed.

Systems require both the participation of individuals on behalf of individuals and 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: how is it possible to know whether the individuals or groups participating in negotiations or in consultation forums are representative of the rest of the population? And in this regard, can they be justified in giving their opinions or making decisions on behalf of all citizens?

However, these same questions are being asked with regard to representative democracy, to the extent where the legitimacy of elected representatives is being called into question. In addition, certain participatory democracy initiatives are now making it possible enhance democracy within cities. 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

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[461] Marie-Hélène Bacque, Henri Rey and Yves Sintomer, *Gestion de proximité et démocratie participative: une perspective comparative*, Paris, La Découverte, 2005. Marie-Hélène Bacque, H enri Rey and Yves Sintomer,

[462] Marie-Hélène Bacque and Yves Sintomer (dir.), *La démocratie participative inachevée: genèse, adaptations et diffusions*, Gap, Yves Michel, 2010.

[463] Loïc Blondiaux, « La délibération, norme de l'action publique contemporaine ? », *Projet*, 2001b, vol. 4, nᵒ 268, p. 81‑90.

[464] Marie-Hélène Zérah, « Participatory Governance in Urban Management and the Shifting Geometry of Power in Mumbai », *Development and Change*, 2009, vol. 40, nᵒ 5, p. 853‑877.

[465] D. Asher Ghertner, « Gentrifying the State, Gentrifying Participation: Elite Governance Programs in Delhi », *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 2011, vol. 35, nᵒ 3, p. 504‑532.

well as recognising the benefits of such a dynamic in achieving greater spatial justice. Otherwise, participatory approaches can serve to strengthen the authority of the powers that be and lose their reformist character[466]. They may be embedded within neo-liberal dynamics without having any influence over socio-spatial inequalities[467]. 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 empowerment[468]. In Cape Town, the use of the 'empowerment' rhetoric led to the authorities justifying the use of vulnerable and underpaid workers from poor black neighbourhoods for waste collection services[469]. Moreover, the issue of gender is usually swept aside as it is a sensitive issue. On the other hand, 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 issues[470].

In any case, 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.

What are the challenges involved regarding neighbourhood associations participating in metropolitan governance? The example of Indian cities[471]

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 lack of democracy (co-optation, consensus) and may be elitist (represent the "excessively politically-resourced elite"), they do fulfil and 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 classes' to take action, because they rarely go to the polls (contrary to what is observed in many other contexts, the poorer populations vote the most often).

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[466] Elena PIFFERO, *What Happened to Participation? Urban Development and Authoritarian Upgrading in Cairo's Informal Neighbourhoods*, Libri di emil, 2009.
[467] This is demonstrated, for example, in cases involving the commodification of services. See: Sylvy JAGLIN, « La participation au service du néolibéralisme ? Les usagers dans les services d'eau en Afrique subsaharienne », *in* Marie-Hélène BACQUE, Henri REY and Yves SINTOMER (dir.), *Gestion de proximité et démocratie participative: une perspective comparative*, Paris, La Découverte, 2005, p. 271‑291.
[468] Georgina BLAKELEY, « Governing Ourselves: Citizen Participation and Governance in Barcelona and Manchester », *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 2010, vol. 34, nº 1, p. 130‑145.
[469] F. MIRAFTAB, « Neoliberalism and casualization of public sector services », *op. cit.*
[470] 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, p. 139‑165.
[471] Stéphanie Tawa LAMA-REWAL, « La démocratie locale dans les métropoles indiennes », *Transcontinentales. Sociétés, idéologies, système mondial*, 2007, nº 4, p. 131‑144.

However, the adverse effects of such processes must not be underestimated: "to a certain extent, the effectiveness of letting resident associations 'speak out' favours 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 within a metropolis, in order to ensure the consideration of everybody's interests.

Participatory budgeting

More often than not, participatory budgeting is described as a participatory system that revolutionizes the possibility of properly involving citizens in the governance of a city, particularly by including them in certain budgetary decisions, which would normally be exclusively presided over by elected representatives.

This type of system, which allows non-elected citizens to be included in the allocation of public finance, is now a widespread phenomenon 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 proved its worth, but has also revealed its limitations. This initiative, amongst others in Latin America, has therefore become a global reference model in terms of development, and more particularly, local development[472].

It has also been observed that, in many instances, participatory budgeting (BP) has been a significant lever for redistributing public resources to sectors that need them most (construction of schools, sewage systems, asphalted roads, etc.) and that it ensured the completion of projects that governments had not necessarily treated as priorities. As such, the most disadvantaged areas received more investments.

Furthermore, once fundamental remedial urban infrastructure targets have been achieved, the city's demands tend to progress to more social issues, such as access to education or health[473].

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 struggles of different social classes", many are now blighted by clientelistic practices: "Even though self-management originally helped strengthen public influence, particularly for the marginalized classes, it now weakens it by succumbing to political manipulation[474]".

As such, both in this context and others, it has been noted that those involved in participatory budgeting systems are predominantly already active citizens with experience in participation and deliberation, and usually belong to the middle classes.

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[472] Yves Cabannes, « Les budgets participatifs en Amérique latine », *Mouvements*, 2006, vol. 5, nᵒ 47-48, p. 128‑138.

[473] Héloïse Nez, « Le budget participatif : un outil de justice sociale ? », *Millenaire 3, Modes d'action*, 2014.

[474] Simon Langellier, « Que reste-t-il de l'expérience pionnière de Porto Alegre ? », *Le Monde diplomatique*, 10/2011 p.

Moreover, it is also true that, depending on the country, this type of system largely focuses on administrative modernization rather than spatial justice.

It is therefore possible to stipulate several conditions necessary for this type of system to truly contribute towards enhancing democracy in metropolises. It must be aimed at social justice:

- "be matched with discussions that explicitly address financial issues;
- be organized in public debate forums so that society can play an active part in the process[475]";
- be sustainable and repeatable;
- have decision-making power (and the authorities should publish a report on how citizens' decisions were taken into account);
- (and crucially in terms of spatial justice) encourage participation from all social classes and more specifically, be open to the poorest and most socially excluded population groups[476].
- despite the community demands that sometimes emerge[477], favour participation from citizens who are not members of organizations and trigger decisions that would not have otherwise materialized.

One of the most realistic possibilities would be to increase the total proportion of public budgets governed by participatory budgeting (an increase from 5 per cent to 30 per cent seems realistic) in order to properly counterbalance the temptation of ignoring inhabitants in the governance process.

Civil society initiatives

Alongside these systems, there are other particularly appealing methods of democratising 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.

Some people refer to it as 'informal governance', but more broadly speaking, in terms of negotiating access to facilities and tacit authorization to refuse rehoming, certain forms of unrecognized social working-class organizations have proved very effective,

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[475] Yves SINTOMER, *Les budgets participatifs, toute une histoire*, http://www.lagazettedescommunes.com/279758/les-budgets-participatifs-toute-une-histoire/, consulté le 19 novembre 2015.

[476] Y. CABANNES, « Les budgets participatifs en Amérique latine », *op. cit.*
See also: Pierre STOEBER, *Une révolution douce, les budgets participatifs*, 2015.

[477] Ernesto GANUZA, Héloïse NEZ and Ernesto MORALES, « The Struggle for a Voice: Tensions between Associations and Citizens in Participatory Budgeting », *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 2014, vol. 38, n° 6, p. 2274‑2291.

as is the case in the slum settlement in Morocco. Informal committees or elders councils help bridge the gap between populations and elected representatives or experts.

In general, their status is under-recognized and under-valued within local development programmes, much like in the large or medium-sized Moroccan cities affected by the Villes Sans Bidonvilles (Cities Without Slums) programme[478]. However, they are playing an increasingly important role and are helping knowledge through action to evolve 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 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.

These initiatives are often subject to re-institutionalization, and sometimes even forms of recovery that, instead of helping them develop, can stifle them. This was the case with Sparc, an innovative movement in terms of self-documentation and population censuses (maps, statistics) for slums in Mumbai, which had the privilege of managing the relocation of the slum-dwellers affected by rehoming plans under the biggest Asian transport infrastructure works programme (MUTP - Mumbai Urban Transport Project). Suspicions of poor management in contexts of heavy conflict and poor shared resources (small housing size, $21m^2$ for extended families) have to some degree tarnished the reputation of this association. In Caracas, cooperative architect firms rely on 'barrio' (neighbourhood) committees and the endogenous development programme 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 programmes and better equip citizens living in working-class neighbourhoods. However, such participation does not always materialize and is often perceived as a stopgap to the blatant inequalities between barrios and wealthy neighbourhoods. Yet in some neighbourhoods it has successfully given way to genuine socio-technical partnerships and even in-depth area studies prior to regulatory processes[479]. In the city of Milan, the Non-Profit Sector Forum (Forum del Terzo Settore), a political representation structure for the non-profit sector

[478] 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, p. 167‑190.

[479] Training reports and essays written for the NGO Appoyo urbano by Bérangère Deluc, Delphine Hennegrave (2013). See also: *Populaire, Précaire ? – Regards croisés sur un habitat majoritaire - citésterritoiresgouvernance*, http://www.citego.info/?-Populaire-Precaire-Regards-croises-#tabs-2, consulté le 7 janvier 2016.

(associations, cooperatives), provides an interesting example of approaches based on discussions, negotiations and advocacy with public authorities[480]. In Johannesburg, the Josi@work initiative is a great example of the co-production of services between municipalities and communities[481].

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 capacities is more sustainable and able to bring about real changes to someone's quality of life than the ad-hoc creation of participation forums.

Neighbourhood round tables in Montreal: a community initiative for democratic governance at metropolitan scale[482]

"For more than 50 years, communities of various neighbourhoods 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 neighbourhood 'social development round tables' to improve conditions and the living environments of local populations. "

These Neighbourhood Round Tables have been introduced to improve social justice and help citizens take control of the future of their neighbourhood. Their role is to bring together the different actors within a neighbourhood to develop adapted solutions. In Montreal, the 'Coalition montréalaise des tables de quartier' (Montreal Neighbourhood Round Tables Coalition) comprises 30 tables. These tables are financially recognized and supported by the City of Montreal, the Centraide of Greater Montreal foundation[483] and the public health department of Montreal's health agency and social services. They are designed as intersectoral and multi-network forums. Its intersectoral nature attracts participants from all fields of action involved in local social development, whereas the multi-network aspect encourages the mobilization of all community, associative and institutional players, as well as all citizens interested in being involved in a collaborative approach.

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 neighbourhood, defending socio-economic rights and the independence of community groups. As such, Neighbourhood Round Tables are often responsible for

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[480] 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, riassestamenti, prospettive*, Milan, FrancoAngeli, 2011, p. 139‑158.

[481] http://www.joziatwork.org.za/about/

[482] References:
- Marie-Hélène BACQUE and Mohamed MECHMACHE, *Pour une réforme radicale de la politique de la ville*, Paris, La documentation française, 2013.
- INITIATIVE MONTREALAISE DE SOUTIEN AU DEVELOPPEMENT SOCIAL LOCAL, *Initiative montréalaise de soutien au développement social local. Des quartiers où il fait bon vivre! Cadre de référence*, Montréal, 2015.
- COALITION MONTREALAISE DES TABLES DE QUARTIER, *Mémoire déposé à la commission sur le schéma d'aménagement et de développement de Montréal*, Montréal, 2014.

[483] The aim of this foundation is to collect funding (mainly from the labour and business market) in order to redistribute it and support local initiatives.

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.

Moreover, the Coalition has intervened on several occasions to ensure that Montreal's master plan is used as a proper social development tool, the action principles of which are: participation from individuals and local communities in the decisions and actions that affect them; empowerment; partnership and intersectoral action; reducing social inequalities; aligning and promoting public policies aimed at improving living conditions and well-being. The common denominator between all these projects is that they are all based on the needs of the community as a result of consultations with citizens.

The neighbourhood round table movement, much like other actions, pertains to the formation of an initiative or public appeal-based democracy that makes it possible to devise different ways of embracing a more democratized democracy, particularly at a metropolitan scale. It is a matter of basing a representative democracy around citizen initiatives that contribute to public debates on local or national issues. The basic idea behind this type of democracy at the metropolitan scale is to give citizens the means (particularly financial) to structure themselves so that they may be involved in the formation of the city. In this way, they can organize, as recently proposed by the conclusions of a consensus conference in France on this issue[484], any form of mobilization regarding projects or policies carried forward by public authorities or economic actors; local or national initiatives aimed at bringing up relevant topics and launching projects that do not feature on the agendas of public policies and debates; initiatives, resources and tools for enhancing citizen initiative-based democracy, the sharing of information and the dissemination of experiences, training and configuration, as well as access to media and knowledge.

In Marseilles, over the last fifteen years, the 'Un Centre-Ville Pour Tous' (A City Centre For All) has become the most sought-after resource hub because its communication policy involves making available all municipal documents, research, studies or press articles pertaining to the vast area included within the Euro-Mediterranean Project of National Significance, as opposed to municipal retention of documents.

In Cairo, the *Tadamun* organization provides the public with a knowledge platform regarding the city and Greater Cairo, which comes in stark contrast to the lack of facilities for producing and disseminating information about the metropolis. The association also communicates all empowerment initiatives through community[485] planning and population mapping workshops in working-class neighbourhoods (this can also be replicated in large European or North-American cities). Very recently, the

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[484] COLLECTIF, *Opinion delivered by the 4th and 5th September 2015 consensus conferences « Faut -il financer la démocratie participative initiée par les citoyens ? Comment ? Pour quel projet ? » organisée par la coordination Pas sans nous*, Paris, 2015.

[485] For further reading on community or public planing, see: Rachel BRAHINSKY, Miriam CHION and Lisa FELDSTEIN, « Réflexions sur le Community Planning à San Francisco | jssj.org », *Justice Spatiale - Spatial Justice*, 2013, nᵒ 5.; Tom ANGOTTI, *New York for Sale: Community Planning Confronts Global Real Estate*, Cambridge, The MIT Press, 2008.

organization launched a new initiative that focuses on the issue of spatial justice in built-up areas, particularly through carrying out a detailed mapping of spatial inequalities and imbalances in the distribution of state resources[486]. These initiatives appear to be a recognized method of transforming practices and re-establishing equality in the production of expertise, access to services and ability to influence decision-making processes. They concur with the Slum Dwellers Association, which works in Asia (particularly the Philippines) and Africa (Kenya) on mapping populations in working-class neighbourhoods that the public authorities have failed to document[487].

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 is 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 citizen realities; they encourage citizen recognition at the metropolitan scale and the adoption of a metropolitan identity. They are therefore involved in ensuring the metropolis is sustainably developed as a political forum, which is an essential condition of its legitimacy[488].

Moreover, they also make it possible to ensure that the governance of increasingly 'cosmopolitan' metropolises pays close attention to the issue of cultural diversity. For this very reason, an advisory board of foreign citizens in the 20th district of Paris is trying to mitigate the fact that foreigners are not permitted to vote in local elections. This last point is regularly brought up in public debates can appear as an appropriate response to the legitimate demand for urban citizenship among residents without citizenship in most global cities. Evidently, extreme situations of segregation and deprivation of free-movement rights should be considered separately. Examples of this have been witnessed in Dubai, Jeddah, as well as Beirut with regard to male and female workers from South Asia or Africa.

Empowerment processes and resident networks

Resulting from multiple influences[489], 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 resident associations in the improvement of living and habitat conditions and defence of the right to the city is becoming increasingly obvious in

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[486] TADAMUN, « Investigating Spatial Inequality in Cairo », *op. cit.*
[487] http://sdinet.org/search/?keyword=mapping
[488] P. METRO, « Avant-propos. Paris 2013. Manifeste rétroactif pour la construction métropolitaine », *op. cit.*
[489] Marie-Hélène BACQUE and Carole BIEWENER, *L'empowerment, une pratique émancipatrice*, Paris, La Découverte, 2013.

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, particularly the 'Fédération Sénégalaise des Habitants' (Senegalese Resident Federation), which sprung up in response to the threat of repeated flooding of 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 of the project was to achieve participatory planning and establish a cadastral plan to reduce the risk of flooding and incorporate this into the goal of using inhabitants' skills to facilitate local independence. 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. Nowadays, the project for developing the area and built environment is now 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 received support from the NGO Slum Dwellers International[490].

These empowerment processes are formed of local groups, with or without help from NGOs, the scope of action and persuasiveness of which are strengthened by national coordination. They heavily rely on community leaders with resolutely non-clientelistic ideas and approaches to community action. One of the most famous examples is that of the National Slum Dwellers Federation (NSDF), which was founded in the 1970s in India and led to the creation of the international Slum Dwellers International (SDI) network in 1996 (now present in 33 countries). This federation, whose leader grew up in a slum in Mumbai, Jockin Arputham, has developed a strategic relationship with a national women's organization that is very active in terms of micro-credits (Mahila Milan) and the NGO Sparc - collectively known as the Alliance. Pavement dwellers and women's groups have therefore been directly and crucially involved in the governance of the Alliance. As a result, increasing numbers of initiatives, eviction resistance movements and savings groups have emerged, as well as groups involved in building new housing units and self-

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[490] Romain LECLERCQ, « Vers un « urbanisme critique » ? » Rapport de stage au sein de la Fédération Sénégalaise des Habitants, Institut Français d'Urbanisme, Marne-la-Vallée, 2015.See also the summary of the discussion evening organized by Centre Sud: "Risques et catastrophes: quelles réponses des habitants? Case study from Senegal to Chile", 6 January 2016, École Nationale Supérieure d'Architecture de Paris-la-Villette.

organization in cases of negotiated displacements (e.g. slums located along railway lines). The Alliance has spread savings networks across 65 Indian cities[491].

2.1.3. Training elected representatives, experts and citizens

In all these areas, training elected representatives appears to be a crucial tool for further democratising public policies. UCLG has therefore organized training cycles. 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 some cities and for more specific issues (environment, health, disabilities, etc.) training is provided by civil society associations. In many cities, experts and particularly engineers, also participate in training in order to teach users how to overcome technical logistics and better integrate their usage expertise; these training courses provided by national organizations are also aimed at technical teams and project managers in order to help them shift away from technical jargon, explain complex topics in an interactive way and facilitate more collaborative/cooperative relational dimensions and skills.

Training competent municipal staff is all the more important as urban contexts are rapidly changing. There are many matters that need to be addressed. Building 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 as it can help save resources and improve quality of life. One of the most significant obstacles is corruption and should be dealt with by reformative programmes and specific training. Public participation is futile in cases of clientelistic connections and corruption, which therefore significantly hinder the production 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. Citizens in metropolises treat access to information as a priority, as such, it should be made accessible to all. All too often, inhabitants learn of plans for urban projects to displace them or affect them by chance, and this is true of cities in both the Global South and North.

2.2. Ensuring an integrated urban development of the metropolis

Here, we will discuss three tools that help achieve equality within the urban development of cities: first of all, we will assess the potential and limitations of strategic planning, followed by tax equalization, and finally, metropolitan partnerships with market players.

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[491] David SATTERTHWAITE and Diana MITLIN, *Reducing Urban Poverty in the Global South*, 1 edition., Londres, Routledge, 2014.

2.2.1. Strategic planning, democracy and spatial justice

In the past, strategic planning was formerly referred to as 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 all[492]. 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) in terms of expanding the city, from which a 'brick-by-brick' form of urbanism emerged[493].

We will demonstrate, on the one hand, that in both the North and South, public authorities have transformed planning tools in order to address concerns regarding competitiveness, but also to encourage participation from affected populations. On the other hand, we will discuss how these tools are able to take into account non-regulatory or informal urbanization.

Better designed planning tools to boost attractiveness and participation among populations

First and foremost, the planning of cities and metropolises has changed significantly since the 1980s. It is more 'flexible' and affords more importance to 'strategic' tools, which integrate urban policies (habitat, transport, environment, climate, health, education, etc.), as well as development and planning strategies (master plans, strategic plans, visions, etc.). These tools complement those of a more operational nature, such as urban regulation.

One example of this would be the Regional Development Strategy for Northern Ireland 2025, the aim of which is to provide a conceptual guide based on which planning projects can be developed, all the while ensuring the promotion of an integrated development[494].

Moreover, the function of planning, as assigned by public authorities, is changing. In fact, it is often divided between two trends.

Introducing cities and metropolitan regions to global competition

On the one hand, with a view to economic development, 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. Such investments can have significantly divisive effects: the rising cost of housing populations, vulnerable populations in central areas being excluded from

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[492] Jean RIVELOIS, « La planification urbaine à l'épreuve de la culture politique. Une ville en développement : Guadalajara (Mexique) », *Tiers-Monde*, 1995, vol. 36, n° 141, p. 67‑85.

[493] For further details on this evolution, refer back to the first section of this report, particularly the subsection: "How does competitiveness affect cities? "

[494] Patsy HEALEY, « The Treatment of Space and Place in the New Strategic Spatial Planning in Europe », *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 2004, vol. 28, n° 1, p. 45‑67.

the market, gentrification of historic centres, development of privatized community spaces, but it also encourages the construction of large speculative property programmes, which then remain uninhabited.

As previously mentioned, these investments can be worth substantial amounts of money, both in cities of developed countries (London, Dubai) and those in emerging countries in the South (new cities in Cairo or in Beijing), reaching over one trillion US dollars in 2014[495]. This reveals a trend in which the city becomes a financial commodity, much to the detriment of its resident population. Strict regulation of these investments by the State and cities is therefore crucial to reintroducing citizens into core urban production objectives.

In the case of London, the *Greater London Authority's* (GLA) spatial development plan is showcased by the *London Plan*, which involves identifying *opportunity areas.* This document represents both a spearhead proposal and the basis for discussion with partners from the public and private sector, associations, communities and Londoners. Nevertheless, it has not combated the tendency to invest in certain geographical areas, an example of which would be the redevelopment of the Greenwich peninsula in London, which is further exacerbating territorial inequalities at both national and local scales[496].

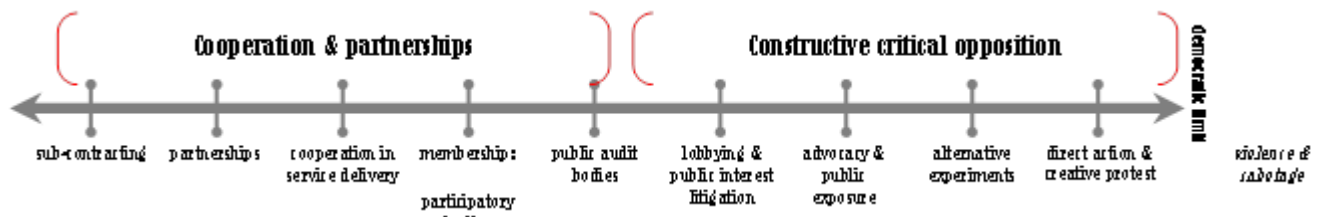### *A more participatory form of planning*

The central role played by planning strategies (aimed at developing a common 'vision') are coupled with the <u>participation of a greater number of institutional and economic actors, as well as local populations</u>, which can differ considerably from one context to the next. As such, citizen participation in the development, management and monitoring of strategies and operations is usually limited to <u>consultation</u> procedures (public inquiries, workshops, forums, surveys). Decision-making processes normally remain confined to the political and governmental sphere, especially given the rapidly growing economic world, which is frequently entrusted with public service missions in the context of weakening government. As we have observed, citizen representation within the political sphere seems to be in crisis throughout the world. In this regard, it would appear critical to renew a balance of civil society participation in decision-making processes both in the development of management and the control of development and urban planning in order to provide an adapted and fair response to each population's demands. Ultimately, public authorities have an important role to play in holding face-to-face consultations with private actors or civil society. A whole spectrum of cooperation between civil society and public authorities can be drawn up:

Spectrum of civil society actions in relation to public authorities[497]

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[495] Saskia SASSEN, « Who owns our cities – and why this urban takeover should concern us all », *The Guardian*, 24/11/2015.

[496] Charles AMBROSINO and Stéphane SADOUX, « Concilier privatisme et retour de la planification stratégique. L'exemple du projet de requalification de la péninsule de Greenwich, Londres », *Géocarrefour*, 2006, vol. 81, nᵒ 2, p. 143‑150.

[497] Edgar PIETERSE, « Urban Governance and Legislation », *in World Cities Report*, United Nations Human Settlements Programme, 2015, p. 34.

Cooperation & partnerships ・ Constructive critical opposition

sub-contracting ・ partnerships ・ cooperation in service delivery ・ membership: participatory ・ public audit bodies ・ lobbying & public interest litigation ・ advocacy & public exposure ・ alternative experiments ・ direct action & creative protest ・ violence & sabotage

In emerging countries, these two planning tendencies (economic development and participation) are accentuated by democratization and decentralization processes, thus attributing a high degree of accountability to cities. This is certainly the case in Brazilian cities like São Paolo in the wake of its dictatorship, and South African cities like Durban, which are working hard to get rid of the damaging legacies of apartheid.

Strategic development plans in Durban

The example of town planning plans for the eThekwini municipality (name given to the municipal structure set up to manage the city of Durban - an industrial city of 3.5 million inhabitants located on the east coast of South Africa) illustrates the nature of emerging forms of local democracy in this country.

At the end of the 1990s, processes directed by municipal consultants and public servants produced strategies aimed at predominantly technocratic growth, such as the *Long Term Development Strategy* for economic growth. However, shortly after the municipality was founded in 2000, politicians tried to take back control, resulting in the adoption of the *Long Term Development Framework* in November 2002, spanning twenty years. It presented a shift away from the main growth objective that had guided previous initiatives and instead focused on producing a pleasant, people-centred city. This master plan employed participatory methods to put its ideas to the test. As a way of developing a more detailed five-year plan, the subsequent process for Integrated Development Planning (IDP) also resorted to participatory methods.

However, participants from different neighbourhoods did not directly contribute to the strategic document, which was ultimately written up by municipal public servants and based on sectoral plans. Moreover, the contents of the IDP remained very vague and had no real impact on the budgetary decisions made by the city. In actual fact, previous initiatives aimed at growth and the business world that had been approved by the previous municipality prevailed, thus preventing the incumbent municipality from dedicating a large portion of its budget to large tourist projects, despite receiving much criticism from local representatives elected post-2000. Ultimately, the ruling party, at both provincial and national level, was able to boost its influence on urban governance and all adopted metropolitan strategies.[498]

Considering non-regulatory urbanization as a legitimate production method for the city

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[498] Richard BALLARD, Debby BONIN, Jenny ROBINSON and Thokozani XABA, « Planification stratégique et formes émergentes de démocratie à Ethekwini, Durban », *Revue Tiers Monde*, 2008, vol. 4, nº 196, p. 837‑850.

Here, it is worth mentioning the rapid growth of working-class production ('informal' or 'non-regulatory') neighbourhoods in the Global South. Due to the instability of their land ownership situation and risk of eviction, it is preferable to call them 'at-risk neighbourhoods'[499]. It therefore falls upon the government to consider these neighbourhoods as legitimate forms of settlements, particularly due to the lack of public alternative, and the poor availability of affordable land and housing for working-class populations. In this regard, eradication efforts are less common than in the past, but the idea that these neighbourhoods should be integrated into the city and, much like other neighbourhoods, be provided with infrastructures and urban services, is becoming more widely accepted.

In terms of planning, the idea behind this is to anticipate growth within these neighbourhoods, which WHO-Habitat estimates will double by 2050 in developing countries, or the equivalent of a billion more inhabitants. The challenge is ensuring that these neighbourhoods function within the city by supporting basic services (widespread networks for the public domain, access to basic services for all, etc.) through consultations with local residents.

However, the development and implementation of such an initiative requires huge government capabilities, which are often lacking in municipalities such as Niamey in Niger, where planning remains a somewhat unachievable prospect[500]. However, it still remains (within a fairly flexible budget) a global method of governing the development of cities; a method that should be adopted by the least technically equipped municipalities without becoming dependent on international consultancy firms.

Local democracy and planning in Brazil and São Paulo

Across Brazil's 1,600 municipalities (home to more than 20,000 inhabitants), the implementation of the '*Estatuto da Cidade*' (City Status) in 2001 influenced the allocation of federal subsidies for funding major urban projects and developing local urbanism plans founded upon the principles of public participation, as well as the social function of cities and right to housing. In 2009, 87 per cent of urbanism plans were completed, the majority of which incorporated the guiding principles and tools behind City Status. This is an example of an unprecedented overhaul of planning, made possible by strong support from central government.[501]

In São Paulo, regarded as a pioneer city in terms of urban policies within Brazil, a strategic master plan (Plano Director 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.

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[499] Refer to the 2015 symposium organized by Lavue and Afd with Centre Sud, http://repenserlesquartiersprecaires.org/
[500] Benjamin MICHELON, « Le grand retour de la planification urbaine? », *Villes en développement*, 2015, n° 100, 2015 p.
[501] Raquel ROLNIK, « Democracy on the Edge: Limits and Possibilities in the Implementation of an Urban Reform Agenda in Brazil », *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 2011, vol. 35, n° 2, p. 239‑255.

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, 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.[502]

2.2.2. Local finance, tax equalization and justice

In terms of local finance, it is important to first distinguish between: (i) a local community's financial capacity, which is calculated according to its total budget, comprised of local taxes and transfers from the State; (ii) the amount of public spending made by these same communities, which can vary on several levels: from one neighbourhood to the next within the same municipality, between different municipalities within the same metropolitan region (e.g. between the city centre and suburbs) and between metropolises, medium-sized and small cities.

We will start by illustrating the existence of inequalities in terms of a municipality's ability to levy taxes. Then, we will discuss the mechanisms that can correct this such inequality, particularly equalization, and ways of implementing them.

The existence of inequalities in terms of local finances within municipalities

It is important to first clarify that a State's level of fiscal decentralization and financial capacity are determining factors for the fiscal independence of local communities. As such, in a very centralized State like Egypt, local governments have very limited financial capacities and depend on financial transfers and central government policies, including at governorate (executive body) level. To the contrary, in the United States, municipalities have huge fiscal independence.

That said, generally speaking, metropolitan regions have a greater capacity for levying taxes than small cities. Moreover, within the same metropolitan region,

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[502] Teresa CALDEIRA and James HOLSTON, « Participatory urban planning in Brazil », *Urban Studies*, 2014.

central municipalities are usually wealthier. This is the case in Toronto, for example, where the average household income is 50 per cent higher in the central municipality area than in the suburbs. There are several explanations for this:

- Metropolises with the capacity to levy <u>land or property tax</u> have higher revenues due to increased population density, inflated housing costs and a greater concentration of industries and businesses.
- Metropolises that are able to levy <u>taxes on sales</u> and goods and services have higher revenues due to higher levels of consumption. Within metropolitan regions, this is particularly true of central municipalities, whereby residents from neighbouring municipalities visit more central municipalities to consume and use the services available.
- And finally, metropolises often have <u>better opportunities for levying taxes (e.g. vehicle registration tax) or a much greater level of transfers from the State</u>, which goes some way to explaining the large remits of metropolitan regions or central municipalities, as some of the services they control are generally provided by the government (transport, housing, childcare, etc.).[503]

If there were fewer State transfers in cities of the Global North and the financial demands of many cities of the South were less substantial (phenomenon exacerbated by metropolization and financialization)[504], metropolitan regions and central municipalities would be in an even better position to levy taxes. They therefore have an advantage over other municipalities, particularly those with the poorest provisions of public services, for example.

<u>...so it is necessary to consider means of fiscal equalization</u>
Reducing inequalities in fiscal capacities and is intricately linked to reducing those in governance. From a financial perspective, better metropolitan governance should enable:

- large-scale savings through joint initiatives;
- the sharing out of investment expenditure on infrastructures and public services;
- the reduction of inequalities in a community's own financial resources (produced by the collection of local taxes)[505].

In contexts of strong institutional independence, one way of reducing the unequal effects of this phenomenon at the metropolitan scale is to implement <u>mechanisms for redistributing</u> local tax revenues.
Such is the case, for example, in American metropolises characterized by (i) strong political and financial independence: e.g. each city has its own sales tax rate, which creates competition between cities in terms of attracting new businesses; (ii) poor

[503] Enid SLACK, *Financing Large Cities and Metropolitan Areas*, Institute on Municipal Finance and Governance, University of Toronto, 2011.

[504] For more information, refer back to section one of this report, particularly under sub-heading 'Financing cities".

[505] Mats ANDERSSON, « Metropolitan Governance and Finance », *in* Catherine FARVACQUE-VITKOVIC and Mihaly KOPANYI (dir.), *Municipal finances : a handbook for local governments*, The World Bank, 2014, p. 41‑92.

inter-community coordination; (iii) central municipalities in relative decline (contrary to the global trend of reinvesting in finance and heritage, etc.) compared with residential suburban areas.

Consequently, one of the fundamental techniques central municipalities can employ in order to continue investing in the provision of services and infrastructures despite dwindling fiscal resources (caused by the impoverishment of their surrounding neighbourhoods) is to increase their sales tax rates, which is paid into by anybody who makes purchases in the city centre, including residents from neighbouring cities. However, this measure can have a negative economic impact as it makes the city less attractive.

Another, more effective technique is to encourage towns within the metropolitan area to commit to <u>city-wide fiscal equalization mechanisms</u>, by highlighting the fact that: (i) economically, culturally and socially sound city centre can but support growth within suburban areas; (ii) sales tax rates help reduce competition over economic development between towns in the same metropolitan area[506]

However, it is difficult to implement such measures in contexts of poor local political and financial independence. In addition, as a general rule in these contexts, equalization mechanisms are implemented by the government through the allocation of additional transfers to the less well-funded municipalities[507].

In this regard, Urban Solidarity and Social Cohesion Grants have been introduced, which are calculated based on the average financial potential per inhabitant, social housing costs, the proportion of people receiving housing benefits and the average income per citizen.

Moreover, there are other mechanisms that can be put in place to correct socio-spatial inequalities within a metropolitan area, as has been demonstrated in Johannesburg.

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 the very structuring of the local tax system insofar as the poorest populations are exempt from paying land tax. This is also supported by a local development policy that takes into account increases in income so that, by paying land tax, citizens can be involved in local development as soon as they are able to do so.

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[506] Samuel NUNN and Mark S. ROSENTRAUB, « Metropolitan Fiscal Equalization: Distilling Lessons from Four U.S. Programs », *State & Local Government Review*, 1996, vol. 28, n° 2, p. 90‑102.

[507] Michael PACIONE, « Geography and public finance: planning for fiscal equity in a metropolitan region », *Progress in Planning*, 2001, vol. 56, n° 1, p. 1‑59.

This is the case, for example, in the 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. [508]

2.2.3. Metropolitan partnerships between local governments and market forces

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'[509] 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 Capital Region* in India (see box below). 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.

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[508] 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.
[509] This term was used by the English geographer David Harvey to explain the urgency among municipalities to promote economic development during the post-Fordism crisis.

Territorial development strategies and protest movements in Greater New Delhi

Since the mid 1990s, the state of Haryana has carried out multiple initiatives in order to position itself within New Delhi's expanding metropolitan region and foresee opportunities for partnerships with the private sector.

In the early 2000s, as the city of Gurgaon began experiencing rapid population growth, the Haryana government decided to acquire extra land in order to build a residential and commercial hub called 'New Gurgaon', which it refers to as a public purpose project. In accordance with the Land Acquisition Act (1984), the financial compensation allocated to existing property owners was calculated based on the last transactions made within the vicinity for land of equivalent quality. However, the transaction amounts upon sale were invariably lower than their real value due to informal arrangements made between buyers and sellers to avoid elevated stamp duties, which is a common practice in India.

In 2005, it was announced that the Indian government had approved the decision to erect the New Gurgaon project in a free zone to make the most of the new law on Special Economic Zones (SEZ). A year later, a joint-venture was formed between the government of Haryana and Reliance Industries; India's biggest private conglomerate, to whom the land was sold back, having been acquired at a low price.

In 2007, in response to the tenant uprisings threatened by the arrival of the urbanization opposition (organized under the banner of the *Kisan Mazdoor Sangharsh Samiti* (KMSS), the Farmers Struggle Committee) the government proposed a series of measures. It granted (i) a better compensation rate than defined by law in the event of pre-emption or forced acquisition and, (ii) a 33-year annuity with yearly increments, calculated according to the size of the plot sold, for property owners whose land has been requisitioned for industrial projects or urban infrastructures.

This policy is clearly aimed at pacifying property owners and meeting the demands of landowners through compensation and annuities as a way of better distributing the fruits of government-supported growth.

However, the successful outcome of these protests is largely due to Haryana's political system, which landowners of the Jat caste depend upon. The Jat people, a traditionally agricultural community, have since diversified their activities, particularly in the property sector, as urbanization intensifies and the demand for industrial land around New Delhi increases. However, this people's ability to make their voices heard can scarcely be compared with that of other populations living off the land, including lower castes from within the state and many migrants. This model is therefore only partially equal and restricted to dominant social groups[510].

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[510] Bérénice Bon, Loraine Kennedy and Aurélie Varrel, « Les grands projets dans la stratégie de ville compétitive en Inde. La mobilisation des informations et des savoirs dans la production des espaces urbains », *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, p. 171‑188.

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