

# TRIALOG 122

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Who wins  
and who loses?





# Editorial

To find answers to the question 'who wins and who loses?' in cases of dynamic urban transformation is not an easy task. The roles, interests, and constellations of actors within current transformation processes are changing continuously, depending on underpinning factors such as the aims of the intervention policies, the socio-economic contexts, and the involved actors. Therefore, the articles in this issue of TRIALOG attempt to address this issue from different perspectives: from emerging spaces and patterns, from socio-spatial transformations and their impact on urbanisation beyond megacities, and from the accumulation and management of knowledge obtained from these transformations. The editors open this issue of TRIALOG with an introduction that presents the narratives and concepts related to the posed framework, and also discusses the aims, main topics, and results of the XVI N-AERUS Conference in Dortmund. Following that, the first three papers focus on the changing patterns and emerging spaces of urbanisation in the Global South. **Hill and Woiwode** discuss the spatial dynamics of peri-urban Chennai, which have been exacerbated by the development of industrial parks. The authors analyse the extent of the transformation process with respect to social development and resilience. They argue that the fragmented land governance in the peri-urban area will pose challenges to sustainable development and social resilience, hence calling attention to institutional integration beyond the boundaries fragmenting planning and governance of land. Similarly, **Wang and Li** discuss the role of the chaining effect of industrial development, cheap land prices, and real estate development in the production of new spaces of urbanisation. Based on towns in the Tianjin region in China, the authors describe how the product chain and agglomeration effect contribute to linking traditional centres with growth poles, and how this induces spatial and social transformation in the rural villages. **Cardoso, Melo and Gomes** highlight the concept of synekism while explaining the growth and transformation of urban centres in eastern Amazon. Using the case of six cities, the authors discuss how commodity-based centres are linked to the global market system and how this linkage directly provokes the emergence of new spaces of urbanisation as well as the fragmentation of the natural environment. The contribution of **Elmouelhi, Alfiky, Born, Misselwitz and Salheen**, on the other hand, presents interim findings from a research project on the development priorities of informal settlements in Cairo. The authors analyse the planning and implementation of upgrading projects in Cairo's informal settlements, and put forth the problematics related to centralised governance and uncoordinated measures in the processes of upgrading informal settlements. **Huang and Akaateba** discuss the exploratory practises of post-rural urbanisation in China. Their paper focuses on the processes, actors, and performance of 'best practise' and exploratory practises in triggering urbanisation. They discuss how urbanisation incited by government policy falls short in comparison to the performance of developments supported by local initiatives. The authors argue that urbanisation initiated by policy interventions might not survive in the absence of the political support, despite having benefited from funding and the consequent upgrading of rural infrastructure. The subsequent two articles focus on best practises from opposing perspectives. **Ley, Fokdal and Herrle** question the universal applicability best practises, and highlight the role of transnational networks of urban poor in providing practical solutions beyond best practises. In contrast, **Pätsch** stresses the importance of best practises in the provision of planning innovation. Using the case of Rwanda, she discusses planning-diffusion processes and the evolvement of urban planning influenced by the contribution of global knowledge transfer. **Ruiz Pozo's** contribution, the last, focuses on the management of knowledge and citizens' space in public-policy design. The author discusses the importance of dialogue and consultation among citizens, decision makers, and planners in the development of housing and urban policies. The paper describes the process of building and consolidating social networks and establishing spaces for knowledge and learning.

Genet Alem, Paola Alfaro d'Alençon, Wolfgang Scholz

Wer gewinnt und wer verliert? Diese TRIALOG-Ausgabe untersucht Transformationen und die Akteure in den Städten des Südens. Angesichts der dynamischen Veränderung der Städte ist es nicht einfach, die Frage 'Wer gewinnt und wer verliert' zu beantworten, da sich bei den aktuellen Transformationsprozessen die Rolle, das Interesse und die Zusammensetzung der Akteure ständig verändern. Faktoren sind dabei zum Beispiel die Ziele politischer Interventionen und der sozio-ökonomischen Kontext. Die Artikel dieses TRIALOG-Hefts beleuchten die Frage daher aus verschiedenen Perspektiven: Es geht um neu entstehende Räume und Strukturen, sozial-räumliche Transformationen und ihre Auswirkungen auf Urbanisierungen jenseits der Megacities. Die Herausgeber dieser TRIALOG-Ausgabe stellen in ihrem Vorwort Narrative und Konzepte vor, die sich auf das Thema beziehen und gleichzeitig den konzeptionellen Rahmen für die XVI N-AERUS Konferenz 2015 in Dortmund darstellten. Die ersten drei Artikel behandeln instabile Strukturen und neu entstehende Räume bei städtebaulichen Entwicklungen im Globalen Süden. **Hill und Woiwode** diskutieren die räumliche Dynamik des peri-urbanen Chennai, die durch die Entwicklung von Industrieparks erschwert wird. Die Autoren untersuchen das Ausmaß des Transformationsprozesses in Bezug auf die soziale Entwicklung und Resilienz. Sie erklären, dass die uneinheitliche Verwaltung des Grund und Bodens in der peri-urbanen Zone eine Herausforderung für die nachhaltige Entwicklung und soziale Resilienz darstellt. Auf ähnliche Weise diskutieren **Wang und Li** die Rolle einer Verbindung von industrieller Entwicklung, niedrigen Grundstückspreisen und Grundstückerschließung bei der Erzeugung neuer Stadträume. Die Autoren beschreiben anhand der Städte in der Region Tianjin in China, wie Produktionsketten und Ballungseffekte dazu beitragen, traditionelle Zentren und Wachstumszentren zu verbinden und wie dies die räumliche und soziale Transformation der Dörfer auf dem Land einleitet. **Cardoso, Melo und Gomes** heben das Konzept des „Synekism“ hervor, um das Wachstum und die Transformation urbaner Zentren am östlichen Amazonas zu erklären. Am Beispiel von sechs Städten diskutieren die Autoren, wie Zentren, die auf Wirtschaftsgütern gründen, mit dem System des globalen Markts verbunden sind und wie diese Verbindung unmittelbar die Entstehung neuer urbaner Räume und die Fragmentierung der natürlichen Umwelt auslöst. Auf der anderen Seite stellt der Beitrag von **Elmouelhi, Alfiky, Born, Misselwitz und Salheen** Zwischenergebnisse eines Forschungsprojekts vor, das sich mit der Planung und Umsetzung von Projekten zur Aufwertung informeller Siedlungen in Kairo befasst. Sie problematisieren die Zentralisierung der Verwaltung und die mangelnde Koordination. **Huang und Akaateba** diskutieren die experimentellen Praktiken post-ruraler Städtebauentwicklungen in China. Ihr Artikel befasst sich mit den Prozessen, Akteuren und Ausführungen von 'best practice'-Vorhaben und mit experimentellen Vorhaben. Sie diskutieren, wie Stadtentwicklungen, die durch die Politik der Regierung ausgelöst werden, hinter den Projekten lokaler Initiativen zurückbleiben. Die beiden nächsten Artikel befassen sich aus verschiedenen Perspektiven mit 'best-practice'-Projekten. **Ley, Fokdal und Herrle** stellen die universelle Anwendbarkeit der sogenannten 'Best Practices' in Frage. Ihr Artikel beleuchtet die Rolle, die transnationale Netzwerke armer Menschen, die in Städten leben, bei der Bereitstellung praktischer Lösungen jenseits der 'best practice'-Projekte spielen. Im Gegensatz dazu hebt **Pätsch** die Rolle der 'Best Practices' bei der Erneuerung von Planungsroutinen hervor. Sie diskutiert am Beispiel der Rahmenbedingungen für die Planung in Ruanda den Prozess der „Diffusion“ von Planung sowie den Beitrag eines globalen Wissens-transfers. Schließlich befasst sich der Artikel von **Ruiz Pozo** mit Wissensmanagement und dem Raum für Bürger bei staatlich getragenen Planungen. Die Autorin diskutiert die Wichtigkeit des Dialogs und der Abstimmung von Bürgern, Entscheidungsträgern und Planern bei der Entwicklung von Wohnbauten und Städtebaupolitik. Der Artikel beschreibt den Prozess des Bauens, der Festigung sozialer Netzwerke und der Herstellung von Räumen des Wissens und Lernens.

Genet Alem, Paola Alfaro d'Alençon, Wolfgang Scholz

## Who wins and who loses?

Volume editors: Wolfgang Scholz, Paola Alfaro d'Alençon, Genet Alem

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# Who Wins and Who Loses?

## Exploring and Learning from Transformations and Actors in the Cities of the South

Wolfgang Scholz, Paola Alfaro d'Alençon, Genet Alem

### Background

This issue of TRIALOG is based on conference papers from the 16th N-AERUS (Network Association of European Researchers on Urbanisation in the South) Conference in Dortmund (Germany) in November 2015. The conference was jointly organised by N-AERUS, the Habitat Unit at the Technical University Berlin, and the Department of International Planning Studies at the Faculty of Spatial Planning, TU Dortmund University.

More than 140 scholars from over 30 countries participated. The focus of the conference was on exploring and learning from transformations and actors in the cities of the South by inviting scholars from all over the world to reflect on these processes; this issue of TRIALOG follows suit. Of the 24 presentations held, nine of them are presented herein as a representation of the variety of approaches.

All papers of the conference are available for download at [http://n-aerus.net/wp/?page\\_id=152](http://n-aerus.net/wp/?page_id=152).

With current developments around the world exhibiting increasing urban challenges – such as new urban forms and patterns of development – the expectations

and responsibilities of politicians, policy-makers, urban researchers, and the consultancy industry have arguably never been greater. The academic world appears inert while struggling to disentangle disciplinary epistemologies and attempting to overcome the exclusivity of established frameworks of knowledge production.

Similarly, policy-makers and politicians act within their own logic and schedules, and developers, donors, banks, NGOs, and consultants have their internal agendas, scopes, and working methods.

Obviously, all these sectors produce significant knowledge on urban development; however, their knowledge and actions are often disconnected from each other and, even worse, are often not transferable. The Conference addressed these questions by focusing on three topics:

### 1. Urbanisation beyond megacities: new urban patterns – new constellations of actors

Discourses related to urban development tend to focus on major strands of discussion and lenses of analyses. However, beyond the dominating discussions on megacities, new forms of urbanisation are emerging: e.g., revitalisation of the inner-cities, development corridors,



**Figure 1:** Audience at the 16th N-AERUS Conference plenary session in Dortmund, November 2015  
Photo: Genet Alem

secondary cities, urban-rural continuums, and trans-locational and multi-locational households to name only a few.

These new forms of urbanity come with a new set of actors beyond those institutionally and officially established. Not all of these new actors are involved in decision-making processes. While some actors benefit from the emerging urban patterns, others obviously lose, e.g., through displacement or even forced eviction and gentrification.

## 2. Learning from diverse experiences beyond "best practice"

A predominant lens of how we understand and narrate urban development tends to focus on case studies, mainly "best practices". The bases of these studies are analyses based on a single specific context with its individual connotations of conflicts and patterns of social spatial development. However, developing debates based on various experiences and understanding the complexity of comparison and the non-transferability of urban practices seems crucial in order to deepen the understanding of processes shaping urbanisation across the globe (Brenner 2012; Guarneros-Meza & Geddes 2011; Robinson 2011).

This has become key in the understanding of specific contexts, and plays an important role in the creation of knowledge in research and in the search for tangible solutions, as well as for monitoring and evaluating or improving living conditions.

*Topic 1: Urbanisation beyond megacities: new urban patterns – new constellations of actors*

Beyond the heavily debated megacities that have been a recent focus of studies, other contemporary urban changes have received less attention. One is the importance of (certain) small- and medium-sized towns figuring as regional employment centres and migration destinations. Another one concerns trans-locality or trans-nationality, and refers to social, economic, and political processes transcending urban (or even national) borders while heavily impacting local development opportunities. These developments have incited discussions on rural-urban linkages, development corridors, and functional regions, including calls for transcending territorialised urban policies and planning. All this is important, in our view, but needs to be carried further to not only operationalise academic discourses for urban policies and practice. The articles focus on:

- Methods, issues, and critical views related to the concepts, narratives, and discourses in the urbanisation processes beyond megacities.
- New shapes of urbanities beyond the mega- or primary cities, for example: development corridors, urban regions, and the current relatively higher growth in secondary cities in comparison to the primate city.
- Urban-rural linkages and related trans-local or multi-locational livelihoods between different urban areas, the city and the countryside.
- New forms of actors involved in shaping the urban fabric.



▲  
**Figure 2:** Carolin Pätsch speaking at N-AERUS Conference in November 2015  
Photo: Genet Alem

The discussion was structured on the inputs of two keynote speakers: Prof. Dr. Lochner Marais, of the University of the Free State, South Africa, and Prof. Dr. Wilbard J. Kombe, of Ardhi University, Tanzania. Marais highlighted the role of secondary cities in managing urbanisation. He discussed how secondary cities in South Africa managed to improve sanitation-related problems for about 50 percent of their residents in ten years. In addition, the development of employment opportunities in secondary cities is doing much better than in metropolitan regions. Yet, the presenter also noted the vulnerability of such cities. South African secondary cities are, for the most part, dependent on commodity and have a narrow economic base. Hence, in the long term this might be a risk to their future development.

Wilbard Kombe, in his part, discussed how African cities are coping with emerging spaces and how their reality contradicts the ideal image of cities. In his presentation, Kombe argued that African urbanisation is peculiar compared to other developing regions. For instance, urbanisation in Africa is taking place within a condition in which public and private poverty is widespread and the property market is dysfunctional. Using selective cases, he discussed the current reforms in land-development policies and urban land-use planning, and their shortcomings. In most cases, the reforms do not take into consideration the socio-economic, institutional, and cultural realities of African cities, and cut off the focus from the real problems.

**Figure 3:** Dr. Wolfgang Scholz opening a round-table at the conference.  
Photo: Genet Alem





**Figure 4:** Breaks are important moments for exchange at conferences. Photo: Genet Alem

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#### *Topic 2: Learning from diverse experiences beyond "best practices"*

The second theme proposed to explore the dimensions of how we understand, narrate, and theorise urban practices in relation to urban change. The considerable attention paid to "best practices" is indicative of conceiving development from a positivist perspective, but it remains unclear whose experiences and goals are actually being expressed through "best practices". We might question:

- Who determines the "best practices", and for whom are they "best practices"?
- Do the "best practices" enable us to examine who is losing and winning in these transformation processes?
- What ethical questions do we have to raise in relationship to built environments and urban production when shaping the city?
- How do we address the voice of the marginalised, who are often represented by others – such as, for example, professional representatives and networks – and understand the conditions on the ground? This necessitates understanding who is participating in urban development and how, and who is not.

- Therefore, questions regarding actor constellations and their interests, forms of urban governance, as well as the inclusionary or exclusionary spatial results of urban development must be raised in order to gain a deeper understanding of current urban practices.
- If we switch the focus from "best practices" to failures, can we learn about conflicts and alternative developments?
- How can we facilitate an exchange of different urban practices and learn from each other?
- We raise the issue of how we compare development. What are, in this context, criteria and axes of comparison?
- How can we incorporate citizens and users in the evaluations?

This topic was introduced by Prof. Dr. Alan Gilbert, of the University College London, UK, with his speech entitled "Cross-national Policy Transfer in Regional and Urban Policy".

Gilbert broached the problem attached to one method of knowledge transfer, and the change of this trend through innovative concepts from the South. Using the examples of the "Bus Rapid Transport" system in Colombia and Chilean housing policy, he discussed the changing pattern of knowledge transfer and the worldwide impact, albeit differences in the socio-cultural and economic contexts.

#### *Topic 3: The politics of knowledge in research and education*

It aims to foster a critical reflection on how we obtain, create, and teach knowledge (policies, social actors, and planning processes), both in the academia and among the so-called practitioners, e.g., in the consultancy world. In assessing this endeavour, the reflection on how knowledge is produced and disseminated is a challenge in itself. Obtaining and creating knowledge often means moving within complex or competing political settings where keeping a neutral voice and being overwhelmed by the complexity are very close to each other.

Inevitably, this also provokes questions in relation to urban theory and research practice and their relationship to learning and teaching about cities, even more so when raising the question of entering foreign cultural ground.

- How do knowledge networks and knowledge dissemination work?
- What kinds of channels are used?
- Are these rather inclusive or exclusive?
- Do they include different disciplines or actors, or do they remain in their own "body of knowledge" made up by a single professional domain?
- What methodological and epistemological issues evolve in addition – and from whose experience and practices?

We also raise the educational issue of exchange.

- Why is exchange important?
- What is its added educational value?
- How do we facilitate cultural exchange, learning from each other, and creating North-South, South-North and South-South dialogues?
- How do we reconcile individual professional (academic) aspirations with the needs of the interviewed and studied communities?

In addition, experiences from different countries suggest that there is a need for the academia to actively take part in urban processes and associate with civil society. While different models exist, from consultancy to advocacy, we must nevertheless ask:

- How do we engage with diverse actors, and what is the level of commitment?
- What pitfalls and challenges can emerge, and what are the common expectations on both sides?

The discussions on "the politics of knowledge in research and education" were guided by two keynote speeches by Prof. Dr. Margarita Greene (Pontificia Universidad Católica De Chile, School Of Architecture, Chile), Dr. Enrico Michelutti (Università Di Udine, Italy), and Prof. Dr. Harry Smith (Heriot Watt University, UK).

Greene highlighted the need to intervene and restructure professional training in higher education institutes. Based on the case of teaching in architecture and urban planning, she discussed key factors in developing methods of academic-knowledge accumulation and transfer for the ever-changing built environment and its dynamic socio-cultural and economic life. Similarly, Michelutti and Smith discussed how the research environment in the Global South is changing under the influence of factors such as



resource allocations for researches on the Global South, and socio-economic changes on the research object (i.e., the "South").

In addition, the presenters emphasised that the research on the Global South requires new interfaces of dialogues and methodological innovations to enhance the dynamics of South-South and North-South research cooperation and to fit changing socio-economic realities.

▲  
**Figure 5:** Plenary session at N-AERUS Conference in November 2015.  
Photo: Genet Alem

**Figure 6:** Panel at plenary session of the conference.  
Photo: Genet Alem  
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# Peri-Urban Dynamics and Sustainability in Chennai:

## The Case of Sriperumbudur<sup>1</sup>

Chloe Hill, Christoph Woiwode

### **Peri-urbane Dynamiken und Nachhaltigkeit in Chennai: eine Fallstudie zu Sriperumbudur**

Chennai ist mit knapp 9 Millionen Einwohnern Indiens viertgrößte Metropole. In den vergangenen 20 Jahren zeigte sich eine dynamische Entwicklung von Korridoren entlang der großen Ausfallstraßen, bedingt insbesondere durch eine aktive Industrieansiedlungspolitik. Dadurch gerät das Konzept der Peri-Urbanität ins Blickfeld, welches Regionen bezeichnet, die von rural-urbanen Elementen gekennzeichnet sind, wie im Falle von Sriperumbudur. Dabei handelt es sich unter anderem um Freihandelszonen, Gated Communities, landwirtschaftlich geprägte Dörfer, Gewässer und Großinfrastrukturen. Das vorgestellte Projekt ist Teil der Nationalen Mission zu Strategischem Wissen für Klimawandel der indischen Bundesregierung. Mittelfristig soll ein „Global Technology Watch for Sustainable Urban Habitat“ aufgebaut werden. Konkret steht im Vordergrund des Interesses, wie sich die Veränderungsdynamiken auf Bevölkerung, Wirtschaft, Nutzung von Ressourcen, Regierungsführung und räumliche Entwicklungsplanung auswirken und wie diese miteinander interagieren. Im Zuge dessen werden mit einer Reihe von Akteuren in der Region Workshops veranstaltet, um mögliche Zukunftsszenarien zu entwickeln, die langfristig eine nachhaltigere und klimaresiliente Entwicklung ermöglichen sollen.

### **Introduction**

The project described in this paper contributes to the Indian Government's National Mission on Strategic Knowledge on Climate Change under the National Action Plan on Climate Change (NAPCC 2008). Its broader goal is to develop a clearer understanding of current patterns of growth in peri-urban areas in South Asia, and to set up a "Global Technology Watch for Sustainable Urban Habitat" with the peri-urban being the focus of analysis. A set of three tasks form the core of the research design.

First, develop a preliminary set of heuristics for understanding peri-urban dynamics, using current conditions in Sriperumbudur to generate a conceptual map of sustainability challenges. Second, build a stakeholder-driven visioning process to identify a portfolio of risk-minimised technology (including infrastructure choice, water/energy/waste management options) and governance/institution choices for alternative developmental futures, and third build capacity and develop strategic knowledge. This paper investigates three interrelated dimensions of peri-urbanisation: the spatial dynamics of peri-urban growth, aspects of land governance, and how these play out in the arena of social resilience of selected employment groups.

### **Peri-Urbanisation**

Until quite recently, much of the research on climate change adaptation has focused either on cities and their adaptive capacity, or on rural areas identified as particularly vulnerable (e.g., drought or flood-prone regions). The peri-urban, which was previously treated as a transitional zone between the urban and rural in rapidly developing areas, is now being recognised as a separate socio-spatial configuration with distinct sustainability challenges (Adell 1999; Simon 2008). In South Asia, peri-urban areas are also regions where access to services (water, energy,

transport) and housing is becoming increasingly fragmented as result of the development of gated communities and Special Economic Zones (SEZs).

Rapid development, shifting patterns of production, and poor capacity for governing the areas beyond urban boundaries have resulted in significant pressure on land, resources, infrastructure, social structures, and the economy (Ravindra 2010). In India, these areas are typically the sites of fastest growth outside metros and the larger Tier-II cities (Vishwanath 2013). Hence, the key issues are the absence of an integrated planning framework in peri-urban regions resulting in largely uncoordinated land-use changes combined with uncontrolled use and extraction of natural resources, especially water.

### **Spatial dynamics of peri-urban growth in Chennai**

According to the 2011 census, Chennai city hosts a population of 4.65 million, while the Chennai urban agglomeration is the fourth-largest metropolis in India with 8.65 million inhabitants. As a result of continuous post-independence growth. The Cities boundaries were expanded in 2011, enlarging the Chennai Municipal Corporation area from 179 km<sup>2</sup> to 430 km<sup>2</sup>, increasing its population to more than 6 million. This alteration requires a shift in focus from the city to the urban agglomeration of Chennai and beyond.

The selected peri-urban study area is initially defined by administrative boundaries, constituting one of the ten taluks in the Kancheepuram district of Tamil Nadu, which covers 371.94 km<sup>2</sup> (of the 4,432 km<sup>2</sup> of the district) and contains a population of 316,918 persons as per the 2011 census (8% of the district). Since the peri-urban is characterised by the flux and absence of clear boundaries, the region as a spatial unit is flexibly applied to the context of

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### **1**

This article is a summary of two much more extensive papers, one with the same title and a larger authorship, and a second paper by Chloe Hill entitled "Social Resilience with Respect to Rapid Urbanisation: A Comparative Study of Employment Groups".



analysis and action. For instance, in relation to the water basin or the institutional setting and planning areas, there are multiple overlaps, interfaces, and levels which define peri-urban Sriperumbudur in various ways beyond the taluk boundaries.

A land-use change study from rural to urban was conducted for the years 1989, 2001, 2009, and 2014 (Murawski 2014). Figure 1 summarises the growth of the urban agglomeration during this period, showing the emerging sprawl into the region and a pattern of ribbon development along three highways designated as industrial development corridors:

1. The Old Mahabalipuram Road (OMR) is the IT corridor,
2. The Grand Southern Trunk Road (GST) is the logistics and industries corridor, and
3. The Sriperumbudur Road (NH 4) is the electronic hardware corridor or Industrial Corridor of Excellence.

The Chennai metropolitan region is reportedly the most important location of the Indian and foreign automobile industry. Since Ford Motor Co., Hyundai Motor Co., Nissan Motor Co., Renault SA, Daimler AG, and BMW AG are based in the Chennai region, some call it the "Detroit of India" (The Wall Street Journal 2012).

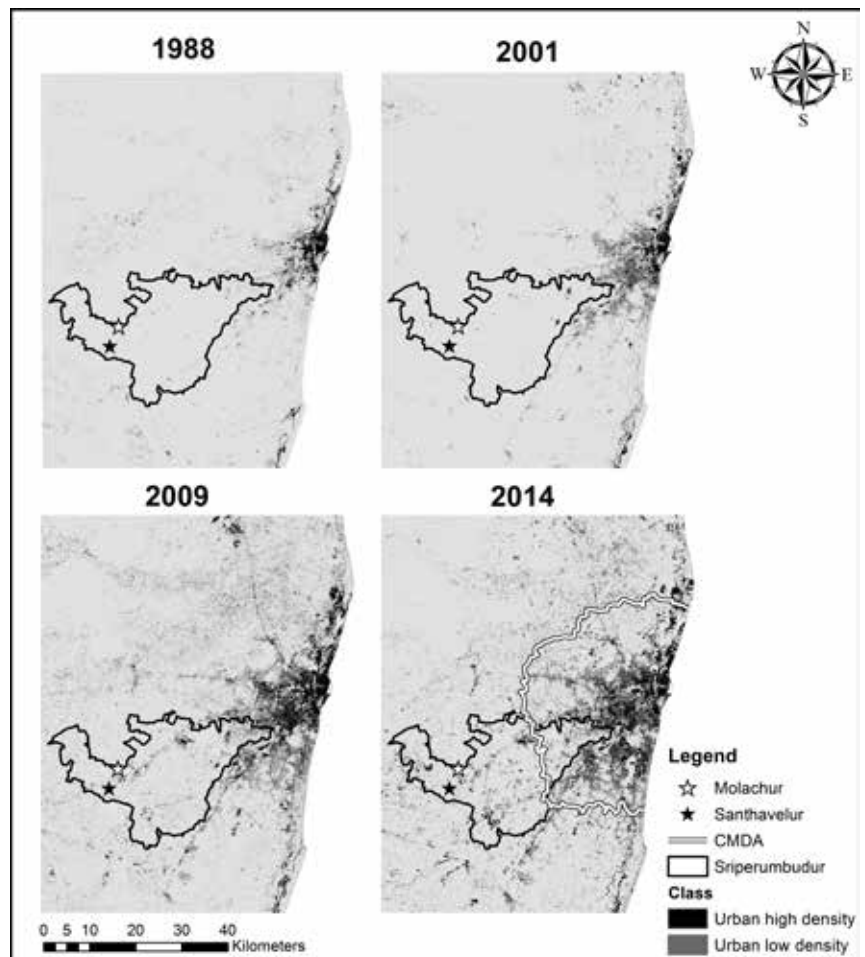
But because the industrialisation process in Chennai started relatively late, most of the industrial estates are located outside the city in the suburban/peri-urban region, which today may be seen as a positive situation (Figure 2). Compared to Kolkata, Delhi, or Mumbai, Chennai is not as overpopulated and affected by mixed land use (Wamser 2005).

By virtue of the above-outlined processes, Sriperumbudur's Town Panchayat has been transformed from a village into an industrial hub over the past 20 years (Figure 3 and 4). The State Industrial Promotion Corporation of Tamil Nadu Ltd (SIPCOT) has played a major role in this transformation by developing three industrial parks at Irungattukottai, Sriperumbudur, and Oragadam (Figure. 5). In contrast to this accelerated industrial growth, "Sriperumbudur [town] has demonstrated only a lukewarm profile in terms of quality of life and social development" (Mott McDonald 2012: 7).

### Peri-urban land governance and planning

Governance in Tamil Nadu can be broadly differentiated between a public administrative structure and a hierarchy of elected bodies. Both structures operate parallel and are linked to each other at different levels. The administrative hierarchy comprises of state agencies with their respective areas of jurisdiction.

These agencies consist of a central head office, located in Chennai, and decentralised sub-offices on several regional and local levels. Under the 73<sup>rd</sup> and 74<sup>th</sup> Constitutional Amendments, elected bodies are divided into Rural Local Bodies (RLBs) and Urban Local Bodies (ULBs). The Panchayati Raj system is a hierarchy of democratic institutions at three levels: the village panchayat, the panchayat union, and the district panchayat. Three types of ULBs



▲  
**Figure 1:** Urban growth of Chennai with delineated taluk boundaries of Sriperumbudur. Source: Murawski 2015

exist in Tamil Nadu, depending on the population size and income of the locality: municipal corporations, municipalities, and town panchayats. Sriperumbudur taluk comprises of 100 panchayat villages, two panchayat unions, and three town panchayats. Furthermore, a small part of Chennai Municipal Corporation falls under Sriperumbudur taluk.

Adding to this situation is the existence of a myriad of spatial planning institutions. Thus, the parastatal agency Chennai Metropolitan Development Authority (CMDA) is mandated for Chennai Municipal Corporation, including its adjacent urban agglomeration, which reaches partly

**Figure 2:** National Highway NH 4, along which most of the industrial and residential development takes shape. Source: Woiwode, 2015





**Figure 3:** The peri-urban landscape – rural setting with industrial backdrop.  
Source: Woiwode, 2015

2

In many cases, land owners were not only offered relatively high real-estate prices for their land but also positions within the industry which provided a stable and higher level of income than the land owner would have achieved through continued agricultural practices.

**Figure 4:** Plots ready for development to be residential dreams at affordable rates.  
Source: Woiwode, 2015



into eastern Sriperumbudur taluk, whereas SIPCOT has jurisdiction over the SEZs, and the Directorate of Town and Country Planning is in charge of preparing town and village development plans. This fragmentation of decision-making bodies, which interact in various ways with the above-outlined administrative structure, is further complicated by a number of utility-providing agencies.

### Social resilience with respect to rapid urbanisation in peri-urban Chennai

While this industrial expansion seems to have enhanced the region's short-term economic prosperity, little attention has been given to the impacts of rapid urbanisation on the social resilience of the surrounding villages and towns (Homm 2014). We observe two parallel narratives in this peri-urban context, a meta-narrative about industrialisation as well as a locally contextualised narrative of social change. While industrial expansion in peri-urban Chennai appears to have enhanced the region's short-term economic prosperity, little attention has been given to the impacts of rapid urbanisation on the social resilience of the surrounding villages and towns. To understand change and response to this change at the micro

level by local residents, a study was conducted applying the conceptual framework of social resilience.

Social resilience refers to the ability of a community to maintain their quality of life through environmental, social, and economic disturbance and change and subsequently influences the ability of a community to develop socially and economically (Keck & Sakdapolrak 2013, Resilience Alliance 2007, Adger 2000). This is a comparative study of two municipalities in peri-urban Chennai that assesses social resilience through coping, adaptive, and transformative capacities (Box 2) to identify the social resilience of three different employment groups within peri-urban Chennai: land owners, previous agricultural labourers, and small-business owners.

Examining the social resilience of peri-urban employment groups within the two selected locations, Molachur and Santhvelur, allowed the similarities and differences between the employment groups to be identified. Field research was conducted primarily involving qualitative semi-structured interviews with the three employment groups, key informant interviews, and ethnographic observation. The social resilience of both land and business owners living within the two peri-urban municipalities was shown to be relatively high. The financial capital and assets by business and land owners<sup>2</sup> provided them with greater flexibility and a subsequently better ability to cope with and adapt to potential disturbances, as demonstrated by the newly constructed houses within both Santhavelur and Molachur (Figure 6).

The cooperative land-management strategies utilised by smaller-scale farmers, as well as the frequent land- and business-owner meetings, were also thought to enhance the productivity of informal networks and reciprocity, thereby enabling greater coping capacity. Both business and land owners had access to financial, educational, and employment opportunities which enhanced their

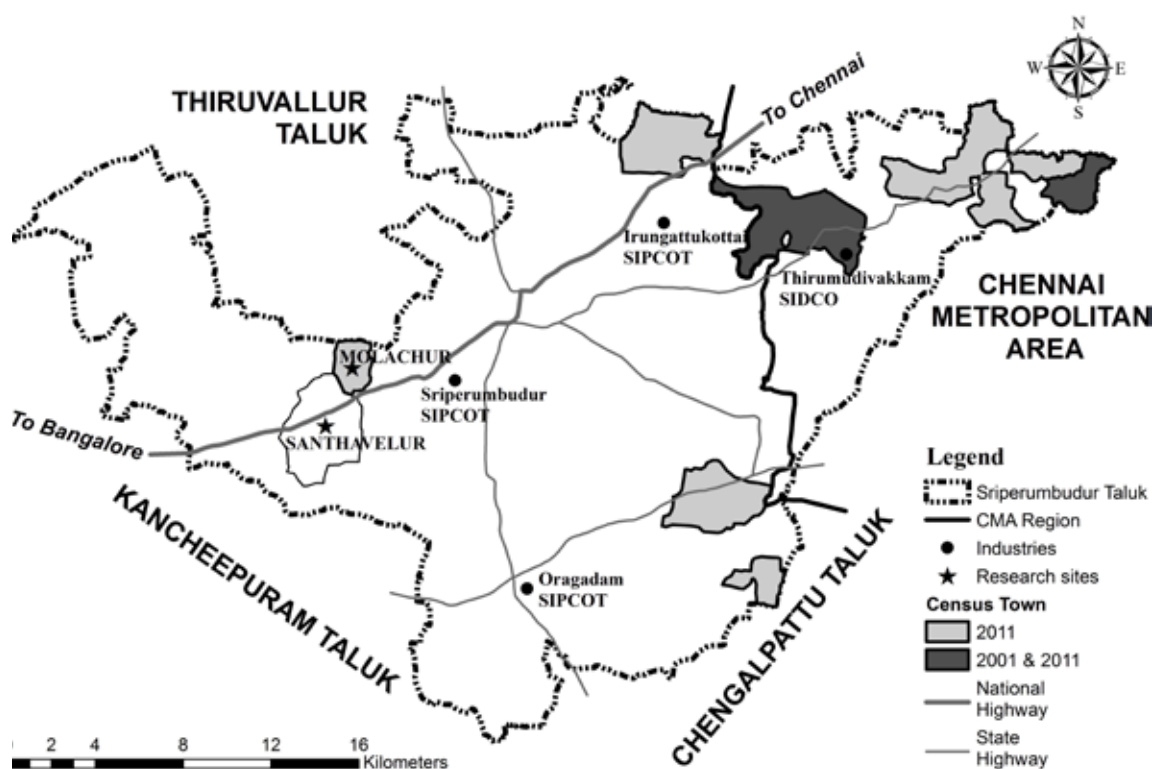
### Dimensions of Social Resilience

*Coping capacity* refers to the characteristics of communities to live with disturbance and overcome adversity (Keck & Sakdapolrak 2013, Putnam 1995, Sapirstein 2006). The primary aspects influencing coping capacity in respect to the social resilience framework that are analysed in this study include: informal networks, infrastructure accessibility, and food security.

*Adaptive capacity* refers to the ability of communities to learn from past experiences and take action in response to, or in anticipation of, future disturbances or threats (Homm 2014, Tompkins and Adger 2004). Adaptive capacity is therefore evaluated based on: the ability of a community to anticipate future disturbances, the capacity of the community to adapt, and the pre-emptive responsiveness of a community to react to perceived threats.

*Transformative capacity* aims to not only secure the well-being of a community, but also to enhance it through the incorporation of progressive change and development (Keck & Sakdapolrak 2013). The major components influencing transformative capacity include: the level of participation, level of social inequality, and level of communication.





**Figure 5:** Sriperumbudur taluk – towns, industries, road network.  
Source: Ramachandran, IGCS, 2015

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transformative capacities by increasing their ability to take advantage of the employment and educational opportunities presented by the rapid urbanisation of the region.

Labourers tended to have lower social resilience across all three capacities (coping, adaptive, and transformative) when compared with business and land owners. While the informal networks between labourers were found to be relatively strong, the lack of financial capital or assets resulted in lower coping, adaptive, and overall transformative capacity. The inability of labourers to participate in the decision-making processes and urban opportunities was believed to perpetuate the disparities in resilience and inequality between the employment groups (Table 1). This results in labourers primarily undertaking informal employment, such as flower chain-making (Figure 7).

## Conclusions

The industrial-spatial development of peri-urban Sriperumbudur fits well with the goals of the economic globalisation strategy promoted by Tamil Nadu's SEZ policies. It also resonates strongly with the current Government of India's bid for global investments to boost economic development. An entrepreneurial approach to growth is witnessed through foreign, investment-driven development with a single focus on socio-technical, high-tech solutions to environmental issues and sustainable development. For a region like Sriperumbudur to become more sustainable and resilient to future environmental, social, and economic disturbances, a number of factors are important.

The in-depth case presented throws light on some of these. It especially suggests that greater attention is required for a more inclusive (specifically for migrants and lower income groups) and subsequently economically sustainable development process that addresses social inclusion, inequality, the integration of existing urban areas, and a balanced approach to environmental

concerns. Eventually, it will be essential that the governance system is organised and adapted to the ongoing development process in such a way that integrated metropolitan regional development takes place.

This should take into account an overtly interdisciplinary approach, a sensitivity for local contexts (integration of traditional, existing built environment with contemporary urban interventions; use of assets such as existing water-management systems for example wells and ponds in cities and towns), and the integration of the city with the larger eco-region.



**Figure 6:** Recently constructed houses in Molachur are an obvious example of witnesses of increased affluence.  
Source: Hill, 2015

**Figure 7:** Labourer undertaking secondary informal employment.  
Source: Hill, 2015



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	Landowners	Business owners	Labourers
<b>Coping Capacity</b>	<p>Strong informal networks between land owners in Santhavelur</p> <p>+ Networks with business owner group enhanced due to greater livelihood overlap</p> <p>+ Improvements in access to education</p> <p>- Insufficient communication with labourers</p> <p>- Food security slightly lower due to less land</p>	<p>Informal networks within the business-owner group enhanced</p> <p>+ Increasing income opportunities</p> <p>+ negating inflated food prices and potential food insecurity</p> <p>+ Improvements in access to education</p> <p>- Insufficient healthcare facilities acknowledged</p> <p>- Insufficient communication with labourers</p>	<p>Strong informal networks within worker groups</p> <p>+ Weak informal networks</p> <p>- with business and land owners</p> <p>- Improvements in educational institutions but little improvement in access</p> <p>- Obtaining basic needs such as food was a higher priority than transport or drainage</p> <p>- Food insecurity increasing due to inflated prices and less subsistence agriculture</p>
<b>Adaptive Capacity</b>	<p>+ Willing to adapt as high financial benefits were anticipated</p> <p>+ High level of innovation and entrepreneurship</p> <p>□ Those willing and able to sell their land experienced minimal barriers to adaptation</p> <p>□ Primarily focused on direct disturbances (e.g., water availability)</p>	<p>+ Business owners in Molachur showed greater entrepreneurship</p> <p>+ Financial capital minimised risk aversion and reduced barriers for adaptation</p> <p>+ High levels of financial capital allowed greater levels of education and opportunity</p> <p>+ Showed some concern for social, cultural, and community issues</p>	<p>Willing to alter their current lifestyle but generally unable</p> <p>- to react pre-emptively due to unstable financial capital and job security</p> <p>- Government retailing of poramboke*land further reduced capital which acted as a barrier to adaptation</p> <p>- Only focused on disturbances with direct impacts (e.g., encroaching industries)</p>
<b>Transformative Capacity</b>	<p>Felt employment and livelihood opportunities had improved, particularly following the retailing of land</p> <p>+ Some felt the selling of land was within their control while others felt forced by interest groups</p> <p>□ Minimal ability to engage with decision-makers</p> <p>- Often insufficient communication with labourers</p>	<p>+ Able to engage with decision-makers due to employment group overlap</p> <p>+ Increased financial and investment opportunities</p> <p>+ Increased diversity of livelihood opportunities</p> <p>+ Relatively easy to change employment</p> <p>+ Felt urbanisation was already improving their children's education, employment, and livelihood opportunities</p> <p>- Inability to recognise and therefore address inequality in the region</p>	<p>Felt disillusioned with their ability to participate in decision-making</p> <p>- Often poor personal accountability</p> <p>- Wage generally increased but deemed insignificant due to rapid inflation</p> <p>- No financial or investment opportunities resulting in greater disparities between labourers and other</p> <p>□ However, some felt livelihood opportunities had improved</p>

## Key

- + Positive aspect
- Negative aspect
- Neutral aspect

\* Poramboke land is government owned land for common purposes.

**Table 1:** Synopsis of social resilience results (source: Hill 2015)

# New Spaces of Urbanisation in Rural Areas of Metropolis Tianjin (China) – Causes, Problems, and Strategies

Chun Wang, Xiao Li

## **Neue räumliche Muster der Verstädterung in ländlichen Gebieten um die Metropole Tianjin (China)**

*Zu Beginn dieses Artikel versuchen die Autoren, die Entstehung neuer Verstädterungsmuster in ländlichen Gebieten um Tianjin zu erklären. Sie unterscheiden dabei zwischen durch "spontanes Wachstum" geprägten Prozessen und "städtisch-funktionellen Implantaten". Anhand von vier spezifischen Fallstudien werden Entwicklungsursachen, Merkmale und Herausforderungen der Verstädterungsprozesse in ländlichen Gebieten aufgezeigt und wird eine vergleichende Analyse der dabei entstehenden Raumtypen vorgenommen. Der Artikel schließt mit Empfehlungen für die Politik. Die Autoren plädieren für die Förderung einer schrittweisen Entwicklung neuer urbaner Räume, um ihre Eigenart zu bewahren und sprechen sich gegen Verstädterungsmuster aus, die als „aufgezwungene Implantate“ entstanden sind. Kernpunkt städtebaulicher Entwicklungsmaßnahmen sollte eine Stärkung des Verkettungsprinzips sein mit einer Integration von Industrie, Verkehr und Informationsinfrastrukturen zwischen den neuen entstandenen urbanen Räumen und dem traditionellen städtischen Zentrum. Dabei sollte die aktive Rolle des Marktes und der Zivilgesellschaft im Vordergrund stehen.*

## **Introduction**

Dealing with the "city disease" of concentrated megacities has always been the focus of concern in the field of spatial planning (Mumford, 1961: 8). In this regard, many efforts – e.g., the "New Town Movement" and "Edge City Movement", etc. – originating in western, developed countries have tried to relieve the "great city disease" by cultivating new urban spaces. Such new urban spaces are potentially innovative, and can contribute to promoting urban competitiveness at a worldwide level (see Frederick, 1967: 174; Hall, 1972: 33).

Recently, in developing countries like China, cultivating new urban spaces is also becoming a strategic countermeasure for dealing with the population expansion, traffic congestion, and etc. of metropolises. There is a point at which the "new town" planning and development issues as well as the problems encountered in developing countries are, to some extent, the same as in the developed countries of the West (Afrakhteh, 2002: 5).

Especially within the rapid urbanisation process of China, rural areas located around metropolis centres have universally been encountering low employment and other resultant social problems (e.g., population outflow, "stay-at-home children and elderly", etc.). As a result, the rural areas are shrinking and the urban-rural gap is widening. Recently, however, new spatial patterns are emerging that excel in creating non-agricultural jobs in rural areas, counteracting the situation of the increasing urban-rural gap. In this regard, the Chinese metropolis Tianjin can be selected as a typical case.

## **Study area**

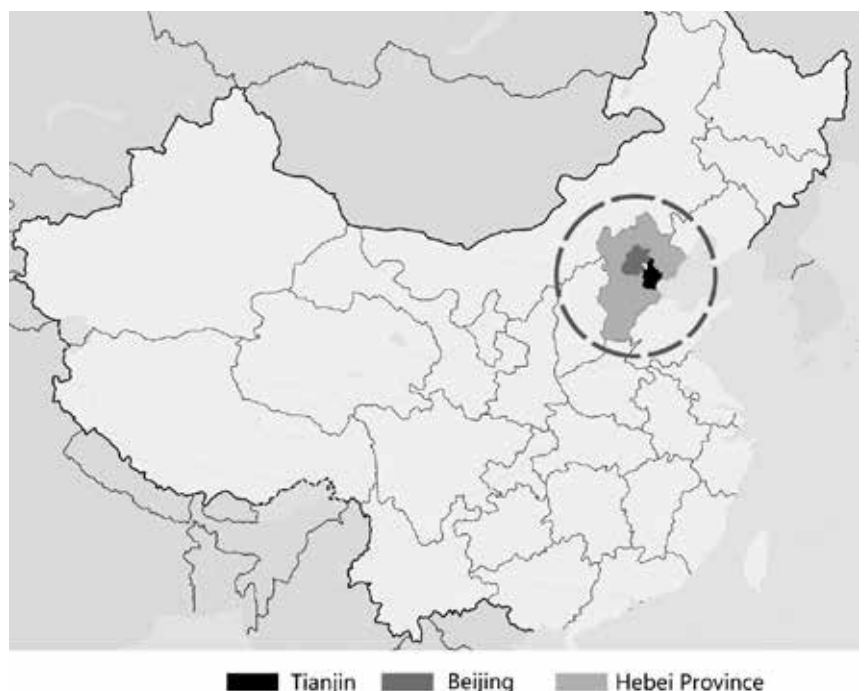
Tianjin, with a total area of 11,946 km<sup>2</sup> and a population of 15.16 million, is a metropolis in northern China bordering the capital Beijing and Hebei Province [Figure 1]. It is

becoming a hub city for international shipping, logistics and modern manufacturing and services, etc. A direct-controlled municipality of China, Tianjin comprises 16 administrative divisions – 5 peripheral rural counties composed of towns and 11 inner urban districts – all under the governance of the central municipal government of Tianjin<sup>1</sup>.

The five peripheral rural counties surrounding the urban central location are the study areas of this research [Figure 2]. Some basic data is shown below [Table 1]. By referencing an industrialisation theory, it can be identified from the urbanisation rate that the study areas in Tianjin are positioned in a medium-term stage of industrialisation, which means the promotion of manufacturing (light

**1**  
"direct-controlled municipality" is similar to the City State such as Berlin, Hamburg and Bremen, "peripheral county" is similar to "Stadtkreis", "town" is similar to "Gemeinden".

**Figure 1:** Metropolis Tianjin in China.  
Source: Urban Master Plan for Tianjin (2015-2030), 2015



**Figure 2:** Rural areas in Tianjin  
Source: Urban Master Plan for Tianjin (2015-2030), 2015



**2** Urban Master Plan is a formal planning tool at the local level in China, it is a comprehensive plan that is similar to the Local Land Use Plan in western spatial planning system.

**3** "Construction lands" is an umbrella term in the Chinese planning system that refers to buildable lands viable for potential man-made building activities in urban and rural areas, including residential, industrial, commercial, infrastructure, public utilities, and so on. The term excludes unbuildable lands (arable land, forestry land, water area, ecological conservative land, etc.).

industry) is supposed to be the focus (Chenery, Robinson & Syrquin, 1986: 97). The following content (analysis, strategies, and conclusion) were empirically derived from the participation process of preparing the latest spatial-planning tool, Urban Master Plan for Tianjin (2015—2030)<sup>2</sup>.

### Phenomenon of emerging new spaces of urbanisation

An understanding of this phenomenon is needed to review a recently observed tendency in Tianjin's rural areas: the continuous expansions of non-traditional industries.

Firstly, the construction lands<sup>3</sup> have been rapidly expanded in most of the rural towns. In addition, the populations have also dramatically risen in these areas along with the growth of construction lands. Of the fastest-growing towns listed below [Table 2], of special note is Daqiu Zhuang Town, where the population increased threefold from 2000 to 2010. The population in the rural towns in Tianjin not listed below all increased by more

than 20% over ten years. What's more, as also shown in Table 2, almost all the listed fastest-growing towns have been engaging in diverse, unconventional second or third industries.

This has largely contributed their expansion. Some of these unconventional industries have been stamped as "local, characteristic brands" and have resulted in "cluster effects" within Tianjin's city centre.

Due to the sudden expansion time (the last 15 years, previous week, or undeveloped), the extraordinary development speeds (the growth rates of both the construction lands and populations are much faster than in other normal towns), and the driving unconventional industries (different from the traditional low-end manufacturing industries of Chinese rural towns, such as handcrafts, clothing, textiles, family workshops, etc.) of these rural towns, this phenomenon has been identified as the emerging "new spaces of urbanisation in rural areas" in Tianjin.

### Causes, features, and problems

The new spaces mentioned above can be further classified into two types according to their development path: "spontaneous growth" and "urban functional implant".

#### Spontaneous growth

This type of new space received less attention and was not actively promoted by the central municipal government due to its "remote" locations (far from the traditional central urban area). The local civilian-run enterprises, however, as industrial extensions, ambitiously develop industrial chains highly connected with the traditional central urban area, and thus acquire development motivation. New spaces of this sort are therefore called "super industrial chaining zones".

The underlying causes can be largely attributed to the operation and promotion of native entrepreneurs taking advantage of the low costs. Daqiu Zhuang Town and Cuihuangkou Town are two such examples (see Figure 2 for their locations). Daqiu Zhuang Town's development speed (threefold population increase in 10 years; see Table 2) far exceeds the historically famous "Shock City" of Manchester, which experienced an industrial expansion doubling its population size in 20 years (see Nevell, 2011: 595).

This rapid growth largely benefits from the "chaining effect" of the iron & steel industry [Figure 3a]. Based on

**Table 1:** Basic data of rural areas (5 peripheral counties) in Tianjin  
Source: Investigated by X. Li, 2015

Statistical index	Year	Statistical value
Land area	2013	7,193 km <sup>2</sup>
Total population / urbanised population	2010	364.6/134.0 (10,000 people)
Urbanisation rate	2010	36.8%
Gross domestic product	2013	356.4 (100 million Euro)



County and town		Population in 2000 (persons)	Population in 2010 (persons)	Growth rate in 10 years	Characteristic industries
Jinghai County	Daqiuzhuang Town	17,697	72,194	307.9%	Seamed steel pipe
	Jinghai Town	81,730	154,325	88.8%	Administration, commercial services
	Yangchengzhuang Town	20,063	24,987	24.5%	Sports services, medical care
Baodi County	Chengguan Town	97,870	201,810	106.2%	Administration, commercial services
	Zhouliangzhuang Town	8,946	32,182	259.7%	Tourism, eco- residences, conferences
	Meichang Town	18,204	35,033	92.4%	Automobile parts
Wuqing County	Nancaicun Town	24,473	47,091	92.4%	Bicycle parts, agricultural facilities
	Cuihuangkou Town	34,658	51,541	48.7%	Logistics distribution of e-commerce
	Chagugang Town	33,913	44,843	32.2%	Agricultural tourism
Ninghe County	Lutai Town	49,214	136,379	177.1%	Administration, commercial services
Ji County	Shangcang Town	20,702	33,380	61.2%	Green food processing

cheap land prices, tenements, and labour forces in the countryside, Daqiuzhuang Town engaged in manufacturing seamed steel pipes, which was regarded as "low level and dirty" by the traditional central urban area. This supported Daqiuzhuang Town's becoming a big iron and steel production base. At the initial stage, an entrepreneur

(who grew up in Daqiuzhuang Town and once worked for Tianjin Iron & Steel Co. Ltd<sup>4</sup> in the central urban area) created steel factories and brought a wealth of knowledge regarding steel production as well as a professional staff for production and sales. In the subsequent development process, these local steel factories constantly interacted

		New space of "spontaneous growth"	New space of "urban functional implant"
Initial stage	Strength	Rich in low-cost land and labour force	Good traffic connections with the urban central place and natural landscape resources
	Weakness	Weak traffic connections with the urban central place	Weak development basis
Development process	Motivation	Industrial chaining zone with the urban central place	Counter-magnetic centre
	Path	Bottom-up (industrial growth logic)	Top-down (executive order)
	Key actor	Indigenous & capable enterprisers + surrounding rural residents	Top-down (executive order)
	Tool	Civil economy (market-oriented fundamental industries compensating for urban centre by self-entrepreneurship)	Colonised economy (high-end service industries by planning tool, policy support, and governmental investment)
Result	Actual status	Vibrant industry, high employment, strong market adaptability, compatible spatial texture with surroundings	Good appearance and environment, lack of popularity, contrasting spatial texture with surrounding
	Social effect	Integration with native atmosphere	Divergence from expected goal, segregation from native atmosphere
	Challenge	Shortage in public services, traffic, and infrastructures, environmental pollution	Unbalanced pre-investment and reward, low utilisation rate and low employment

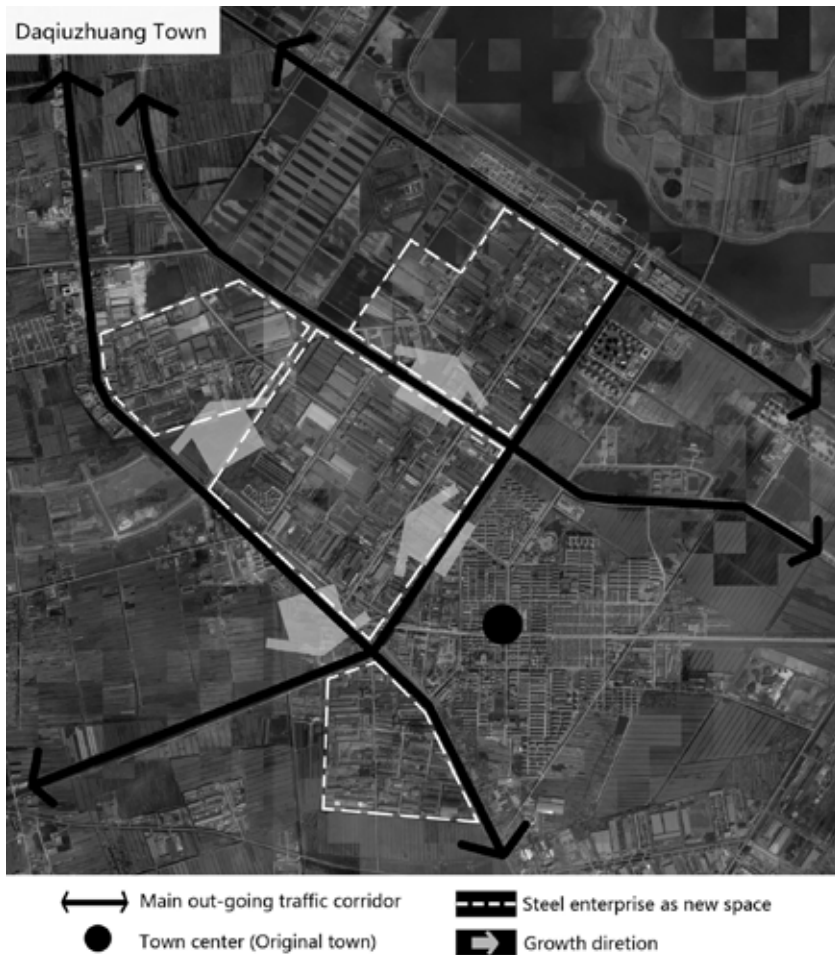
**Table 2:** Fastest-growing rural towns in terms of population and industries  
Source: The fifth (2000) and sixth (2010) nationwide census in China; Urban Master Plan for Tianjin (2015-2030), 2015. Collected by C. Wang, 2015

**4**  
Tianjin Iron & Steel Co. Ltd: an old, state-owned enterprise and brand founded in 1935, it is one of the top 500 enterprises in China.

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**Table 3:** Comparison of two types of new space  
Source: Constructed by C. Wang and X. Li, 2015



▲ ▼  
**Figure 3a&b:** "Spontaneous growth" of new space  
 Source: Analysed by X. Li, 2016. Based on the map of Google Earth

with Tianjin Iron & Steel Co. Ltd and became much stronger. By 2013, the employed population from the surrounding villages exceeded 50 thousand people and the value of Daqiu Zhuang Town's industrial output reached 10.5 billion euros. It can be said that, on the one hand, the development of steel enterprises within this new

space has helped the surrounding rural people rise above poverty. On the other hand, however, problems resulted from excessive population growth have also accordingly appeared, including environmental pollution triggered by iron and steel production, a shortage of public service facilities (especially education and medical treatment), and so on.

Another example, Cuihuangkou Town, had the tradition of business and trade in the early 19<sup>th</sup> century. In recent years, the electronic commerce industry has rapidly been developing in Tianjin and capital Beijing. Within this context, and by virtue of the locational convenience (Cuihuangkou Town is located between Tianjin and Beijing), rich labour force, cheap land prices, and efforts of entrepreneurs, this town has attracted a number of Chinese e-commerce enterprises (similar to Amazon) that have located their "downstream chains" of warehousing and distribution logistics here [Figure 3b].

Thus, a new industry pattern has formed in which the main city centres in Tianjin and Beijing are the e-commerce headquarters, while Cuihuangkou Town serves as the co-operational middle distribution centre.

Running and serving the logistics and distribution industry have largely facilitated local villagers from the surrounding rural areas to get involved in non-agricultural employment to increase their incomes (by, e.g., leasing private homesteads for factory use).

The current main problem of Cuihuangkou Town, however, is still the shortage of public service facilities and a municipal infrastructure system (water, electricity).

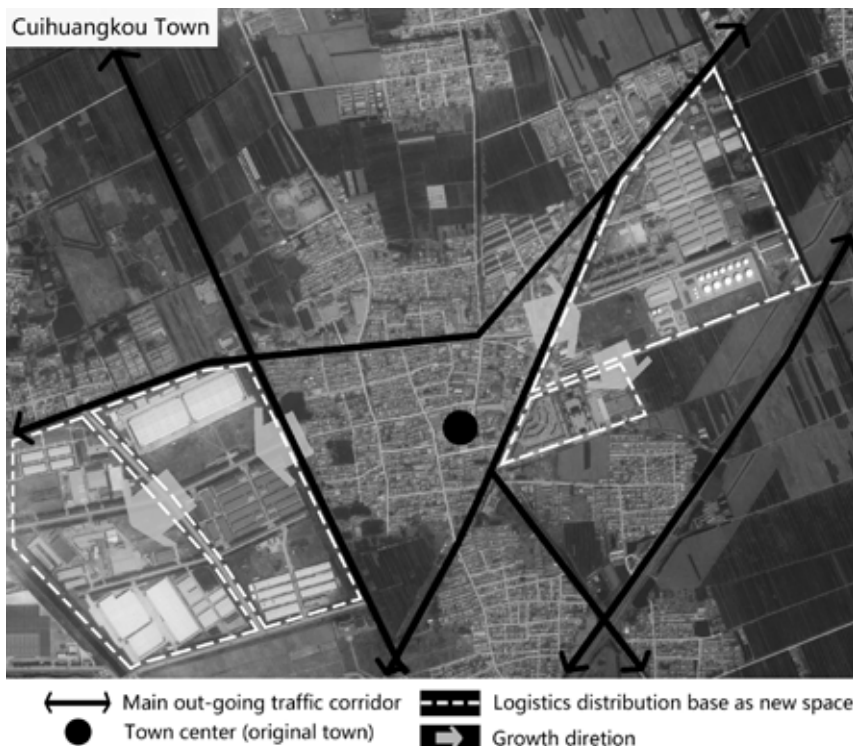
To sum up, this type of "spontaneous growth" new space develops via a "bottom-up" path dominated by the "civil economy" and abides by an "industrial growth logic" (small-scale, blocky growth patterns around the original town core and along traffic corridors, resulting in an agglomeration effect), the spatial texture of which is compatible with adjacent settlements (see Figure 3a & 3b).

At the initial stage, these areas might be regarded as "remote": weak in traffic connections with the traditional urban centre, they are therefore often given low development preference by the municipal government. From another perspective, however, they have advantages, including a richness in low-cost land and labour force.

Therefore, capable local enterprisers can, as key actors, keenly grasp actual market needs, develop industries "abandoned" by the traditional urban centres, and then continue to grow into "industrial chaining zones" conducive to fast development opportunities.

This development path also favours the strengthening of interactions with the surrounding villages (absorbing villagers as labour force) and the stabilising of the social structure of the countryside.

As a consequence, this kind of new space is characterised by vibrant industry, high employment, strong market adaptability, and innovativeness. Concurrently, however, stressful problems (such as in the lack of public services and infrastructure, and increased ecological pollution





resulting from the unexpected population and development speed) become increasingly serious.

#### Urban functional implant

This kind of new space is an area developed actively by the Tianjin municipal government due to its locational and environmental advantages (convenient traffic connection with the urban centre, proximity to natural landscape resources such as a big lake, river, etc.).

In line with the "Garden City" concept of Howard (1898) and the practices of "New Towns in Great London", the Tianjin government attempted to foster new spaces of this kind around the urban central space.

Acting as "counter-magnet poles", they can draw excessive population from the metropolis centre and also catalyse rural development (Ghosh, 1986: 287). The formal planning tool Urban Master Plan for Tianjin (2005-2020) identified an initial total of 11 planned new towns, nine of which were based in traditional countryside centres, and two of which were to be constructed in undeveloped areas.

The latter two areas are presented here as examples to explain this type of new space: Jingjin New Town and Tuanbo New Town (see Figure 2 for their locations). Jingjin New Town used to be farmland located in the territory of the existing Zhouliangzhuang Town.

As can be seen from its name, it is expected by the Tianjin municipal government to bear the regional responsibility for accommodating the redistribution of the population and urban functions of Beijing and Tianjin ("Jing"- "jin").

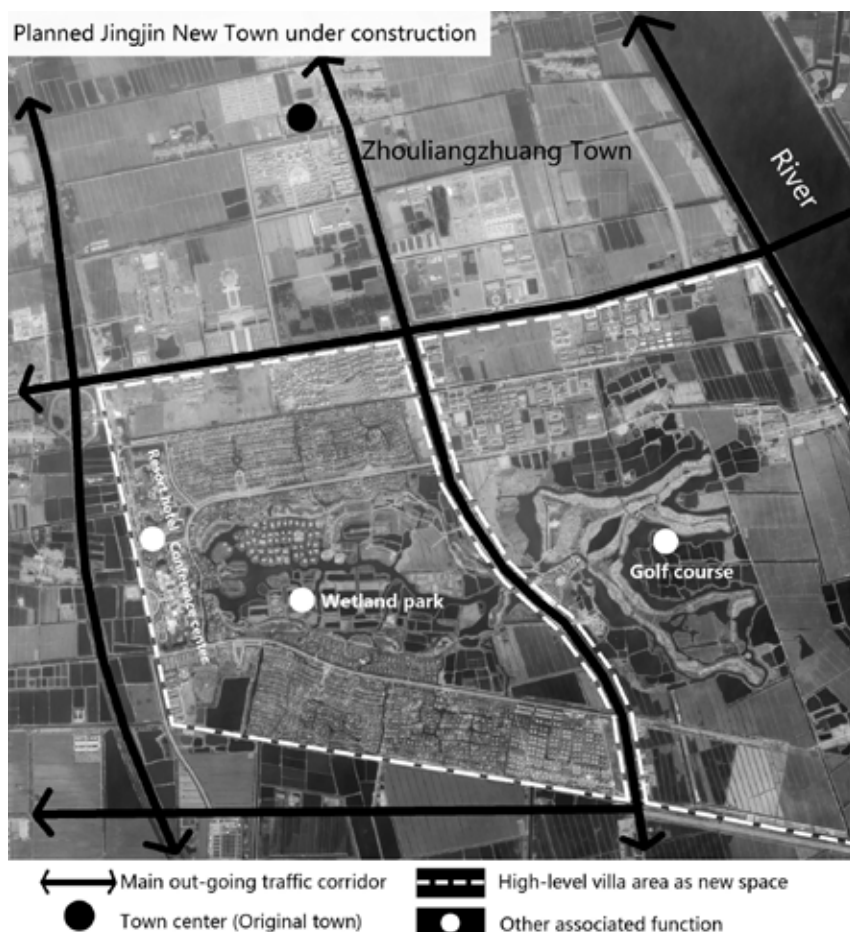
According to Urban Master Plan for Tianjin (2005-2020), Jingjin New Town is supposed to grow up to 53 square kilometres by 2020 and house modern tertiary industries (tourism and recreation, health services, conferences and exhibitions, etc.).

In reality, however, the focus of this new town has been on developing high-grade villas for commercial sales, due to the manipulation of the "cooperation of government and big real estate enterprise".

As a result of this development path, up until 2014 90% of the about 3000 built villas were vacant, and the rental rate of shops was below 50%. Jingjin New Town seems to have become a "ghost city" that lacks the growth of a living population and employment, although its lands and buildings are still "growing" [Figure 4a].

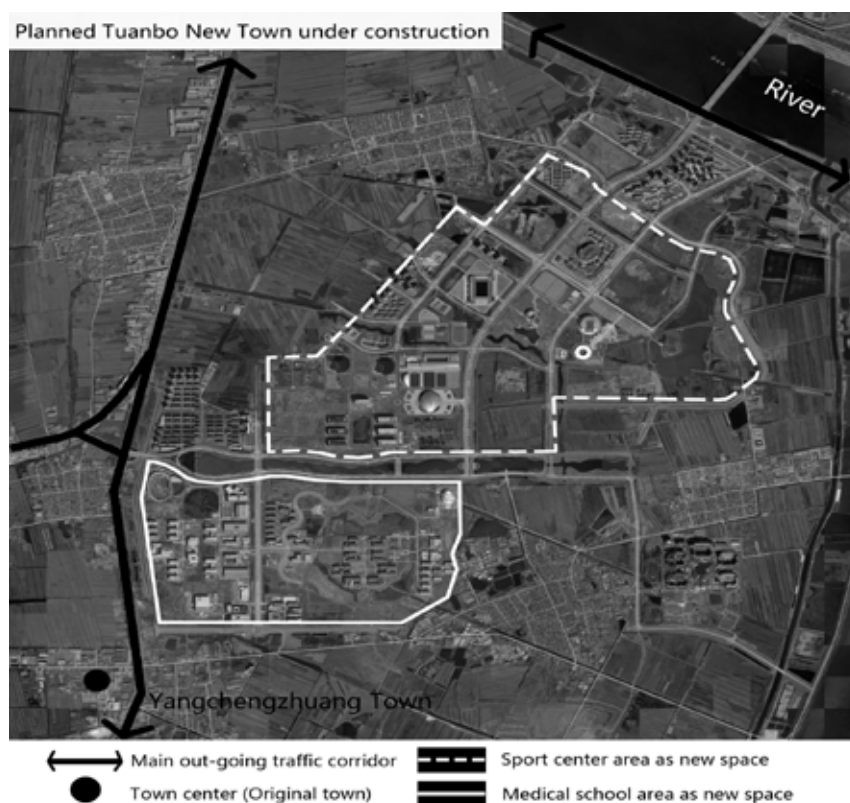
Another case of a planned place is Tuanbo New Town, the location of which straddles both the existing Yangchengzhuang Town and Tuanbo Town. The current status and problems of the area in Tuanbo Town are almost the same as those of Jingjin New Town: due to the "cooperation of government and big real estate enterprise", it is also comparable to a "ghost city".

In regard to the section in Yangchengzhuang Town, the Tianjin municipal government had previously hoped to implant a sports function as the main motivator to foster the "new" urban centre here.



As a result, the Tianjin Sports Centre was established here with 27 sports stadiums (shooting gallery, bicycle hall, etc.). In 2013, the Eastern Asian Games were hosted here, but since then it is facing problems similar to those of some other post-games sport centres (low utilisation rate, difficult recovery of investment funds, etc.) [Figure 4b].

▲ ▼  
Figure 4a&b: "Urban functional implant" of new spaces  
Source: Analysed by X. Li, 2016. Based on a Google Earth map.





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In all, this type of "urban functional implant" new space is developed via a "top-down" path dominated by "colonised economy" and is actively "endowed with" modern functions (housing for selling, commercial conferences & exhibitions, etc.) due to advance planning and policy making. Hence, the spatial textures of such new spaces are accompanied with obvious planning characteristics (large-scale, super-block pattern) that contrast strongly with the adjacent original settlements (see Figure 4a & 4b).

In the development process of such new spaces, the government and its "partners" (property developers), as key actors, normally spend a massive up-front investment and energy on the improvement of traffic and infrastructure conditions, the demolition of old cottages, and the relocation of native residents.

As a result, the government has an enormous financial risk regarding whether the pre-investments can be balanced. Furthermore, the practice of "demolition and resident relocation" also forces some indigenous villagers to move away because of land appreciation (the new housing might be unaffordable for them), which actually destroys the original countryside lifestyle. Thus, in reality there are big gaps between the actual status and the expected and planned goals of new spaces of this kind, which can result in them becoming "ghost cities" or "isolated islands" (segregated from local atmosphere).

### *Comparison of these two types of new space*

The two different types of new space mentioned above play a big role in the recent urbanisation process of Tianjin, which functions in carrying the urbanised population, with the provision of non-agricultural jobs, and in connecting rural areas with traditional urban areas. A comparison can be abstracted in terms of their characteristics [Table 3].

## Strategies for planning and policy making

The positive effects of new spaces in "urban functional implant" on urbanisation are weaker than the ones through the spaces created by "spontaneous growth". Moreover, the problems caused by the former are more difficult to solve. From a dialectic perspective, society emerges from a bottom-up process in which individuals convey their information to establish social relations (Fuchs & Hofkirchner, 2005: 47).

Thus, shaping new spaces of urbanisation should comply with this 'natural law'. This means, new spaces of urbanisation should evolve from the existing spaces but not as alien created on the top of mass demolition. Some strategies include:

- To identify the development stage (through data such as urbanisation rate, GDP) and resource conditions so as to ascertain the appropriate development path (to continue with industrialisation based on tertiary sector).
- To select complementary industries (possibly linked with industries in the traditional urban

centre) by encouraging civil economic development and further enhance the "industrial cluster effect".

- To build a large-capacity, rail transit connection with Tianjin's old city under the premise of reasonably evaluating the economic efficiency of infrastructure input. Especially the new spaces not so far away from Tianjin's old centre (such as Yangchuangzhuang Town and Daqiuzhuang Town, about 20 kilometres from the old city) should have priority when planning connecting railways.
- To identify potential coordinative conditions in transitional boundary areas. Take Yangchengzhuang Town (rural area) and the adjacent Xiqing District (urban area), where a river across serves as the boundary between "country" and "city", as an example. Here, integrating ecological preservation and landscape maintenance by taking advantage of the river corridor could possibly co-ordinate direction between these two areas.

## Conclusion

It can be concluded that in metropolises, the new spaces that have the potential to really promote urbanisation and create job opportunities are the "chaining zones" highly connected to the traditional urban centre.

As can be explained by a resource dependency theory, from the perspective of external control, horizontal integration could increase the organisation's power in exchange relationships and reduce uncertainty originating from competition (Pfeffer & Salancik, 1978: 114).

Hence, through horizontal connection such areas can accommodate the functions spilling over from the concentrated metropolis centre.

These functions share the culture of metropolis and promote themselves by taking advantage of the native labour force and low costs; likewise, they also support the traditional urban central place's "industrial upgrade" through external competitiveness.

Although government-oriented great construction activities characterised by "forced implant" can create "beautiful new towns" which resemble modern urban areas in a visual dimension, these new spaces normally lack an endogenous development motivation (from either an industrial basis or native culture) and are not able to interact with the surrounding atmosphere; this exacerbates existing dilemmas.

This paper, finally, argues that the key point of policy making is to strengthen the "chaining channel" (transportation, industries, and information infrastructures) between new spaces and traditional urban centres by highlighting the actor role of the market enterprise and civil society, so as to extend urban development objectives and minimise segregation.

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# Tracking Variants of Urbanisation in the Eastern Amazonian Region through the Spatial Transformation Patterns in Six Cities of Pará, Brazil

Ana Cláudia Duarte Cardoso, Ana Carolina Campos de Melo, Taynara do Vale Gomes

## **Identifikation von Verstädterungsvarianten anhand räumlicher Transformationsmuster in sechs Städten Ost-Amazoniens**

Vor dem Hintergrund starker Urbanisierungstendenzen im Amazonasgebiet beschäftigt sich dieser Artikel mit sechs Städten (Marabá, Parauapebas, Canaã dos Carajás, Santarém, Altamira und São Felix do Xingu) im Westen und Südosten des brasilianischen Bundesstaats Pará. Beide Gebiete wurden seit den 1970er Jahren durch die Trans-Amazonas-Autobahn, durch ländliche Siedlungsprojekte sowie Minen und landwirtschaftliche Produktionsstädten erheblich verändert. Der Stadtvergleich beschreibt die neu entstandenen sozio-räumlichen Muster, die von globalen Kapital-entwicklungen geprägt werden. Der Artikel identifiziert zum einen eine neue Stadtregion in Pará, bei der die einzelnen Städte zu „entfernten“ Peripherien der größeren Metropolen geworden sind und derzeit durch ein Mosaik aus modernen und formalen, traditionellen und informellen Siedlungsformen bestimmt werden. Innerhalb der Städte herrscht eine exogene städtisch-industrielle Logik oder eine traditionellere und endogene Rationalität vor, die den Grad der Bindung und Anpassung an die vorherrschenden Bedingungen ausdrückt. Zum anderen diskutiert der Artikel die Herausforderungen für die lokale Bevölkerung, die sich aus dem polyzentrischen Gesamtmuster ergeben, wie z.B. das starke Mobilitätsaufkommen und die Interdependenzen zwischen Städten und ländlichen Siedlungen sowie deren Anbindung an globale Aktivitäten.

## **From scattered urbanisation towards "Global Cities"**

Epistemological windows created by urban studies in the field of urban political economics have facilitated the understanding of new formats and socio-spatial processes like those now also observed in the Brazilian Amazon. These processes arose as side effects to a combination of global processes and Brazilian public policies in the region. The region expresses a phenomenon of extensive urbanisation defined by Monte-Mor (2004) as the ultimate capitalist socio-spatial form. This phenomenon, originated in cities (usually a metropolis), penetrates regional spaces and creates a global urban fabric, thus dialectically connecting dynamic areas and peripheries to centres and sub-centres of the capitalist system. It overcomes traditional dichotomies between the urban and rural, and connects previously isolated cities, villages, and communities to the given global urban fabric.

The post-1960s introduction of massive building works and industrial extractive activities in the Brazilian Eastern Amazon region has fostered high levels of migration, progressive urbanisation of inhabitants, and city sprawl. Currently, this production chain has attracted new fractions of capital (financial), of which the most profitable business is the production of the formal city by a real-estate sector also globally connected. Housing and infrastructure is produced by the private sector, with funding from the federal level of government, as part of an anti-cyclical economic policy, which was homogeneously devised for the whole country, which disregards the Amazon's patterns of small-settlement dispersion and the historical inequality observed between agents engaged in modern activities and inhabitants kept outside these new dynamics.

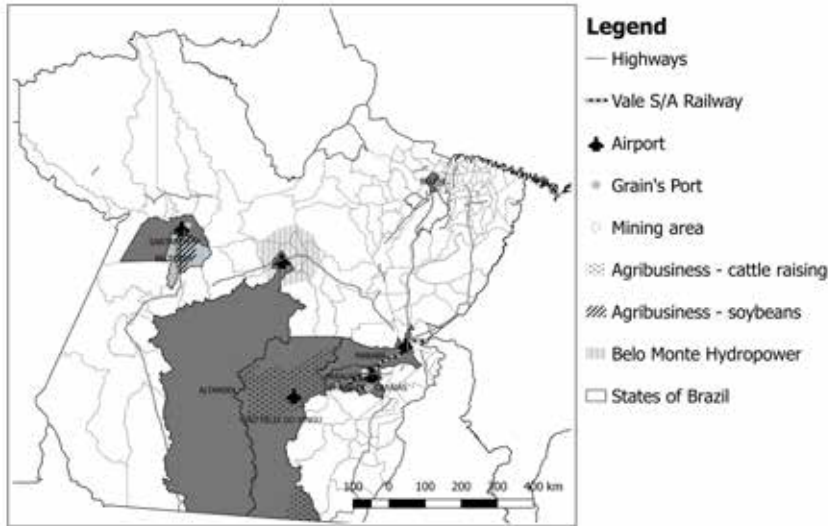
Previous investigation of these six cities showed that settlements were relabelled according to the new functions

they have assumed (Cardoso et al, 2016), reproducing a universal, world-city-typical organisation (Robinson, 2006). The settlements best served by infrastructure and able to support globally-led activities are turned into centres of the nearby periphery, compounded by smaller cities, villages, and communities. This has also generated new metropolitan regions not defined by continuous conurbation between the pole city and other settlements, but where the countryside has had progressive degrees of densification. These case studies are not cases of city-regions like those observed in the Global North (Soja, 2006), but of (colonial) cities that were strategically located as central places and that may have developed some degree of synekism – understood as the developmental impetus that derives from densely settled habitats and stimulates urban agglomeration (Soja, 2000:4). Likewise, these areas were strongly affected by recent



Figure 1: Map of Brazil and its states. Source: IBGE 2010

## LOGISTICS NETWORK IN SIX CITIES



**Figure 2:** Map of Pará State and its municipalities.  
Source: IBGE 2010

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capitalist metamorphosis (Fix, 2011) and by the assimilation of the Amazon as a frontier of natural-resource exploitation (Becker, 2005).

This article investigates how the urban fabric of inner cities has been fragmented into different typologies that express levels of detachment to nature and of exclusion and/or denial of traditional inhabitants and/or ways of lives. These typologies express a crossroad moment in which historical problems might either be aggravated through the imposition of a homogenising rationality, or true innovation might arise due to the addition of new work to old knowledge (as suggested by Jacobs [1975]). The latter could create, as a follow-up stage to the current urban industrial era, the utopia of the natural urban, which is able to acknowledge a balanced relationship with nature and the right of people, representative of different rationalities, to share the same territory (Monte-Mor, 2015).

## The legacy of two colonisation logics

Synekimism is an issue because some of the cities selected are centuries old and have faced several waves of growth and restructuring since colonial times thanks to cycles of products directed to exportation (always based on extractive practices). This is the case of Santarém, Altamira, São Félix do Xingu, and Marabá, all riverine cities that have thrived as ports and market places inserted in a proto-urban network, classified by Correa (1987) as "dentritic". In such proto-urban networks a chief city commands small settlements that are not connected among themselves, but are directly connected with that specific city.

The oldest Brazilian Amazonian cities were carefully placed to allow: the control of territory, massive exploitation of native products and their exportation to foreign markets, sovereignty over the Amazon, and the miscegenation of the native and European populations, so as to better manage and exploit the biome (Becker, 2013; Costa, 2012). Under such circumstances, the populations developed a strong knowledge about how to survive with a shortage of investments and technology, and using forest resources. Cities benefited from the natural features of the sites to better provide water, housing, and livelihoods to their inhabitants. They were places to exchange

extractive products, and places where a myriad of small communities (that had inherited the knowledge of the original people about how to live harmoniously with the tropical forest) could access some public services (Cardoso, Lima, 2006).

Since the 1950s, the industrialisation of Brazil and the decision of integrating the Amazon through roads have opened the Amazon region to a modern and industrial rationality. Officials and newcomers viewed it as a human desert, with plenty of land to be occupied by landless people from other regions where land was already scarce. This position, in fact, has prompted social-environmental conflicts, and the worsening of historic problems. Generations of integration plans were conceived in the federal capital following an underlying urban rationality, as reflected in the way land was parcelled, and funding and services were provided. These initiatives, which excluded the original inhabitants and non-qualified newcomers, evolved from the initial roads and agrarian reforms to the macro programmes devised – especially during the 1980s' international economic crises – to boost the private sector (funding for cattle farming, timber exploitation, monoculture) and Brazilian industrialisation (hydropower plans, mineral exploitation, ports).

Privatisation of federal companies, after the 1990s, fostered further changes. At that time, the importance of exports was reinforced from the country perspective and straight connections between natural-resource exploitation sites to the global market were established, by-passing national metropolises. The new networks of roads, railways, ports, airports, and telecommunication services made possible the subordination of small Amazonian cities to global metropolises, positioning them in a new social division of labour dependent on commodities pricing as practised in China or elsewhere. This variant of Soja's (2002, 2011) post-metropolitan transition is the backcloth to the extensive urbanisation observed in the Eastern Amazon region (see Figure 1 and 2). The cities' data explores how much of their inner urban fabric was produced according to either traditional or industrial modern rationalities – or, respectively: through the association of built typologies to mercantile activities (i.e., focus on traditional open markets and ports, vernacular occupation) and industrial production (e.g., logistics, official housing, real-estate developments, company towns). The modernisation has also brought up an informal side, such as informal settlements (e.g., irregular developments, land occupation), which sometimes look like a more precarious version of traditional settlements/areas.

In order to summarise the economic transition of Pará State over the last decades, Figure 3 presents a timeline with the studied cities' times of foundation as well as a history of relevant external facts and their local impact. The idea is to highlight similar waves of boom and restructuring across these cities, which were usually controlled externally by either public or private agents. The federal government and private sector share the same agenda for the region, but thanks to the strong old rationality established before modernisation, it is still possible to see signals of resistance. After a sixty-year period of change, old practices are associated with backwardness and related to the popular economy, less demanding in economic and natural resources. Most of the formal



economy is related to exports and aims for integration by consumption. However, there is a perpetual mismatch, since there are not enough formal (industrial-related) opportunities of work available, or people with the required training to occupy positions on new activities. This leads to the exclusion of old inhabitants of new dynamics.

## The cities mosaic

Santarém is the oldest city, and presents the wider diversity of dynamics within its inner space (see Figure 4), thanks to the power of traditional activities in its surroundings and the advancement of soybean fields. 25% of its inner fabric is related to the old regional market; only 8% of the city corresponds to real-estate sector developments, which are mostly located outside the city and involve contending with original inhabitants for the most beautiful landscapes, to exploit monopoly surplus beyond other gains obtained by conversion of the rural into islands of urban land.

From the traditional perspective, agroextravist settlements nearby the main city or within forests, villages, and traditional communities, were supported for decades by NGOs which, together with social movements, managed to properly adapt some public policies to their needs. Meanwhile, the introduction of soybean monoculture along the federal road BR 163 has favoured the ultimate adaptations to export (e.g., port extension), as well as increases in land prices followed by the city's peripherisation. Recent changes in Brazilian financing regulations have transformed the cities themselves into a product of capital, causing an increase of urban land prices all over the country (Fix, 2011). In Santarém, peri-urban areas are contested for by the original inhabitants and the real-estate sector, the latter commanded by local entrepreneurs aiming to modernise the city. Gated communities are pressing out old, traditional communities located close to the Tapajós River and its awesome landscapes, and soybean fields are pressing against villages and traditional settlements. Inside Santarém, former fishermen communities were displaced from the waterfront to make way for ports, and because of land prices, low-income housing

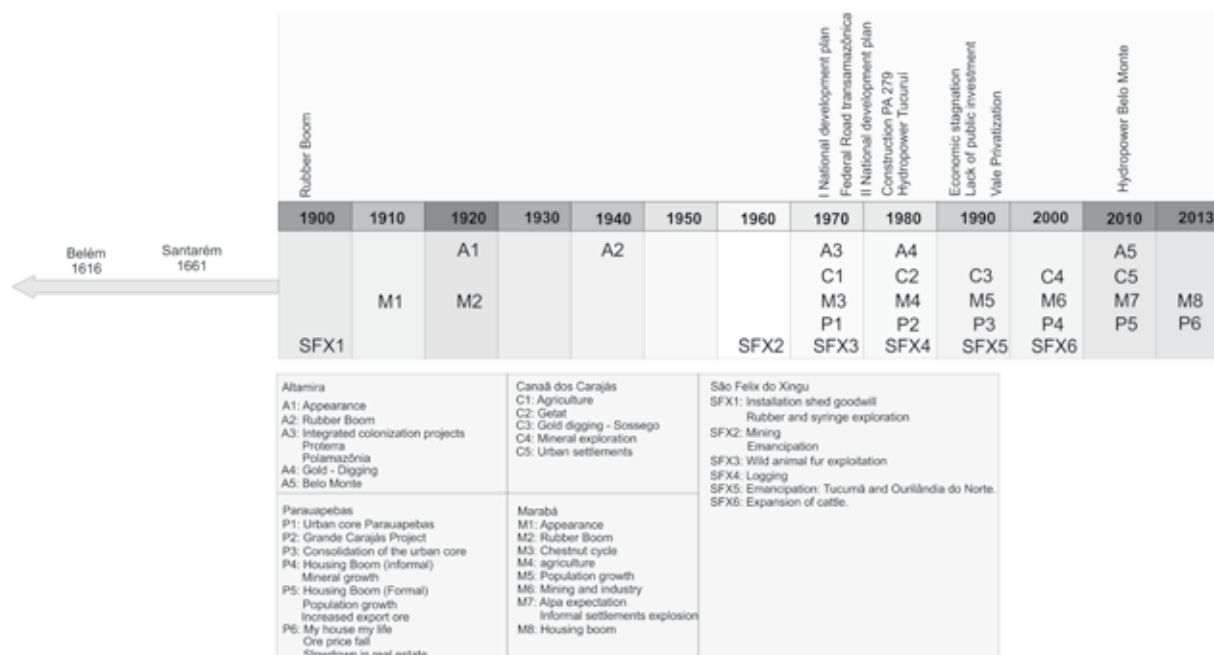
is migrating to smaller, distant cities 60 kilometres away on average (Belterra and Mojuí dos Campos). This new configuration has Santarém as the centre, with a wider periphery formed by a myriad of new and old settlements, villages, and cities (Cardoso et al, 2016).

A similar process is occurring in Altamira, a city built at the Xingu River margins. It is polarising the rural settlements of the Trans-Amazonian Highway and, recently, was highly affected by the works of a hydropower plant located in the neighbouring city of Vitória do Xingu. Altamira had an important role during the 1970s, when the Trans-Amazonian Highway was opened and agrarian-reform settlements were placed along it in accordance to a Christellerian proposal of rural urbanism (Camargo, 1973). Most of the investments were directed to cattle farming, which ended up causing a rural exodus and contributed to Altamira's peripherisation. After several growth phases that respected local site determinations, as of recent the sprawl is overcoming all natural obstacles, eliminating them, to provide land for speculative purposes (Negrão, 2016). In this sense, the strategy of the real-estate sector is different in Santarém: Figure 4 shows that less than 5% of the city is old city, but another 20% is informally produced and occupied by former rural inhabitants (including indigenous people and peasants) expelled from the countryside since the agrarian federal projects were undertaken. From that time, a first generation of real-estate developments was undertaken that was accompanied by official housing estates. There was a strong polarity between the rich and poor, and the Catholic Church was an important player in providing housing for the poor (signed as "Other" in the typologies key).

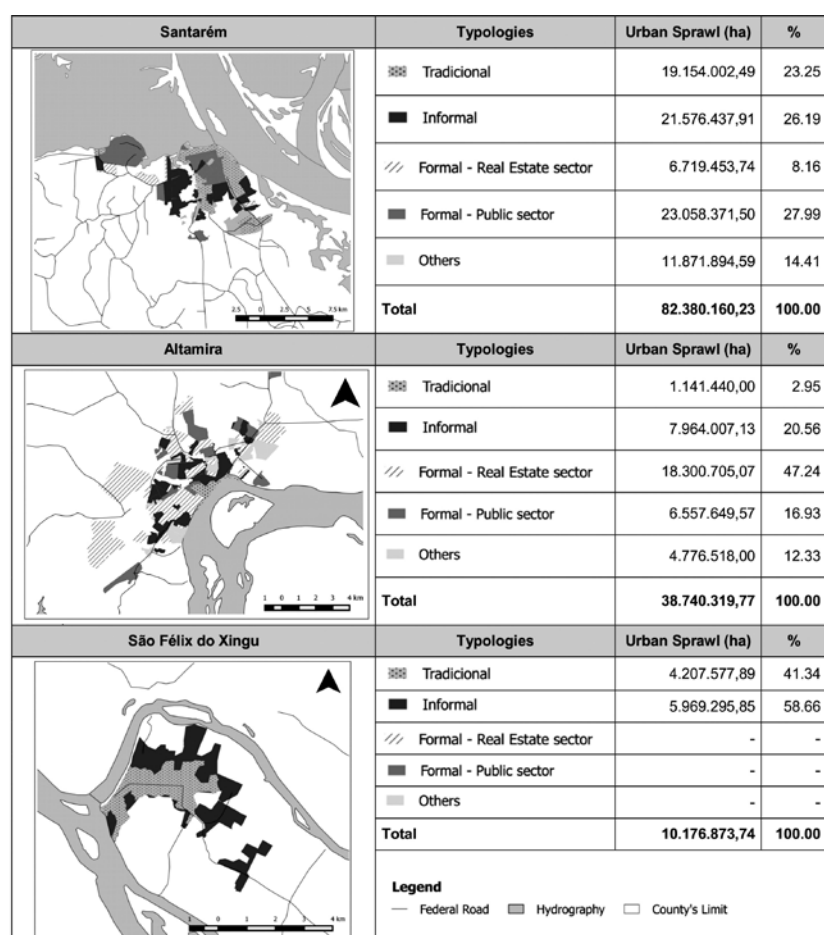
São Felix do Xingu was created by 'rubber soldiers' that left Altamira to find new places to explore. The city was affected by several cycles of natural-product exploitation directly connected to external markets (rubber, minerals, plants, cattle). Sadler (2015) shows that the export dynamics hardly affected the city, initially because the products were sold directly to external markets, and currently because the land where the city is, is sited amidst indigenous territory and belongs to the federal government, so

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**Figure 3:** Timeline of key waves of boom and restructuring for selected cities. Source: Authors, 2015



**Figure 4:** Patterns of the urban fabric in the cities of Santarém, Altamira, and Sao Felix do Xingú. Source: Cardoso, Melo, Gomes (2016: 25)

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it cannot be subjected to real-estate sector practices as it occurs elsewhere in the region.

However, the massive occurrence of minerals combined with the cattle-farming activities (the municipality has the biggest stock in the country) supports dozens of "rural" villages scattered across a precarious road system. Huge farms are commanded from São Paulo and Belo Horizonte, and are fully equipped with social and technical infrastructures. Curiously, environmental degradation is the rule in the rural and urban sites: inside the city, old sawmills make way for irregular developments which, in turn, dismantle hills and cut off river-margin vegetation. At present, to sell urban land – even that not properly titled – generates more profit than any other urban activity (field work, 2012). The city's master plan does not recognise old land uses as desirable, and states that all riverine occupation is expected to be removed to give place to a contemplative waterfront. The city of São Felix is located at the end of a state road and alongside a much less navigable river. Its urban fabric has less diversity; traditional and informal urban fabric prevail (see Figure 4), since the city settled upon indigenous land works as a break to the actions of either the government or private sector.

Marabá, Parauapebas, and Canaã represent the mineral frontier. Marabá, the oldest city, is crossed by two rivers: the Tocantins and Itacaiunas. It was a typical, traditional market city until transformed by federal projects. It is crossed by two federal roads and one railway, and has a regional airport. Since it received such logistics and federal strategic projects, it has given birth to sixteen new municipalities, including Parauapebas. Parauapebas was also subdivided into a few others, including Canaã dos

Carajás. Marabá is the pole for many formal and informal mining activities, and is the city that has most successfully brought together different functions.

As a strategic city, Marabá has received an ambitious new nucleus, partially funded by the federal government, to receive migrants and victims of regular floods. However, the traditional city was never abandoned, and while the official city was being built another nucleus was formed by private development and irregular occupation. Thanks to that, Marabá is now an amalgamation of several nuclei separated by natural obstacles (rivers and flood plains), and provides a clear picture of the integration potential between city and nature (Pontes, Cardoso, 2016). Despite this, over the last decade the city has received three new nuclei for the settlement of poor people who were removed from already well-located informal settlements, and the settlement of better-off people, following the expectations of the new federal and private investments and accounting for 18% of whole urban fabric. Recent production of the city is less conditioned by natural obstacles, and tends to modify all site characteristics that do not fit business interests. Figure 5 shows that the traditional urban fabric and informally produced areas form 45% of the spaces of resistance. Beyond the closest periphery, which is nine kilometres away, there is a proposal to institutionalise a metropolitan region having Marabá as its core and five other cities (located at an average distance of 60 km away) as its periphery. This set of cities is strongly connected to another proposed RM that has Parauapebas as core. All of them are connected by road.

Parauapebas is 25 years old and grew from an informal settlement created outside a conservation area (Carajás Forest) where a company town and a mining site are located. As a federal project, it imbricated conservation and economic interests. City consolidation was helped by the mining company, and dependency on this activity is very high. As the city that offers more formal jobs, its circumstances are the closest to an industrial rationality, and it has tripled in size within eight years thanks to the increased investments in logistics and new mining sites made feasible after the privatisation of the former federal mining company. Parauapebas polarises four other cities, all of which are dependent on mineral exploitation. Among these cities, one has been completely transformed over the last decade: Canaã dos Carajás. A former village created to support agriculture activities, Canaã dos Carajás was emancipated from Parauapebas 20 years ago and houses in its domains the richest iron site on the planet.

Parauapebas is the "child" of informal settlements, well-consolidated by federal government investments at the very beginning. It is only understandable when considering the high standards set by the company town, which was built inside the conservation area by the same federal mining company. Between the late 1980s and early 1990s, more informal settlements appeared and, finally, privatisation occurred. After that, things changed a lot. Highly speculative urban sprawl was started, and the real-estate sector became the main producer of the city, producing half of it (see Figure 5). A combined action of the official and real-estate sectors was undertaken to clear away informal settlements, and this was accompanied by the dismantling of hills, the filling of flood plains,

and the homogenisation of landscapes for areas of new developments. As Canaã had an informal origin, it did not receive the same level of support to consolidate its inner space as Parauapebas did; besides that, the city was built on federal land that was officially transferred to the city in 2011. Nowadays, 50% of the city is of informal origin, while 30% was developed by the real-estate industry within only two years, giving the extent of new players' the capacity to convert rural into urban land. Speculative conversion of land is occurring all over the municipality, reaching rural villages according to their proximity to mining sites.

Canaã has received a flow of 18 thousand male workers due to the implementation phase of the biggest iron mine in the world. The growth rates of the real-estate sector are impressive. And local authorities have reached the point of revoking regulations, because have considered them a political threat for the collective dream of making money fast. Villages provide low-income houses for those who cannot afford rents and property values. Investments in housing production with official support are still very low when compared to private sector production and market solutions. Canaã still has natural features valued by its pioneer inhabitants, but neglected by newcomers. New installations such as shopping centres are the most desired, while waterfalls, forest's tracks, archaeological sites, and other attractions are invisible to most people in this very wealthy but mono-functional city.

## Conclusion

This article concludes that after several phases of colonisation, there is now a transition underway in all six cities from the traditional spatial pattern to a new one associated with the productive processes of global capitalism. It encompasses the reduction of the traditional urban fabric (the post-colonial resistance) and the strengthening of real-estate sector action, and is supported by consumption-led urban products (malls, supermarkets, retail stores) and associated with the shift in accessibility (from river to roads) that has made it possible to incorporate old, nearby settlements into the cities' fragmented periphery. Traditional urban fabric is naturally more compact and associated to the human scale, and to places where forest products are traded (open markets), which tends to be dismantled with the expansion of modern practices. Currently, the real-estate sector is driving the cities' sprawl, while informal settlements are produced by excluded groups, not assisted or controlled by local government. Both actions generate environmental impacts that prevent traditional practices in a typical southern global city's vicious cycle of fragmentation, degradation, and exclusion.

Canaã dos Carajás and Parauapebas had their localisations determined by iron ore mines and tend to be mono-functional, while Marabá and Santarém are in regionally strategic places, at the banks of large rivers. Marabá, Santarém, and Altamira are cities in which the different spatial patterns are mixed up: they are cities with a greater diversity of typologies and where the distribution of these practices is more balanced. Strategic localisation, the greater influx of activities, and the waves of economic dynamism that favours diversity are evidence of a higher level of synekism, which overflows over into peri-urban and rural areas. The studied cities have become

Marabá	Typologies	Urban Sprawl (ha)	%
	Tradicional	8,192,830.49	12.53
	Informal	21,964,646.92	33.59
	Formal - Real Estate sector	11,942,998.72	18.26
	Formal - Public sector	15,429,284.01	23.59
	Others	7,867,511.66	12.03
	<b>Total</b>	<b>65,397,271.80</b>	<b>100.00</b>
Parauapebas	Typologies	Urban Sprawl (ha)	%
	Tradicional	-	-
	Informal	13.007.407,31	23.46
	Formal - Real Estate sector	27.589.136,04	49.75
	Formal - Public sector	11.797.363,18	21.27
	Others	3.059.191,23	5.52
	<b>Total</b>	<b>55.453.097,76</b>	<b>100.00</b>
Canaã dos Carajás	Typologies	Urban Sprawl (ha)	%
	Tradicional	-	-
	Informal	6.056.999,08	49.97
	Formal - Real Estate sector	3.739.813,90	30.86
	Formal - Public sector	374.882,95	3.09
	Others	1.948.496,13	16.08
	<b>Total</b>	<b>12.120.192,06</b>	<b>100.00</b>
<b>Legend</b> 			

connections between their peripheries and very distant centres (national and global metropolises). Official action has proven to be very important to the cities' consolidation (1970s and 1980s official production) and to the control of the cities' sprawl. Only the public sector has been able to confront the urban-industrial rationality, through the institution of conservation areas, indigenous lands, and extractivist areas in-between cities. But the public sector is not homogeneous; eventually some policies can support a greater dialogue with society, but the rule is that official support (local and national) is to be given to the expansion of exogenous, urban-industrial practices, following global urban references.

Another key issue for the survival of traditional strategies and the diversification of the urban fabric has been the local resistance of urban and rural social movements, confirming the relevance of post-colonial literature. At places where they are not active, the exogenous practices have been more successful at becoming hegemonic. Biased official action has favoured the expansion of exogenous processes without noticing the potential for innovation raised by local knowledge within the growing cities; doing so would be useful, not only to preserve the forest but also to improve in quality of life in cities located in other contexts. To understand the mosaic nature of these cities: a) reduces the invisibility of the nature and the original inhabitants; b) opens possibilities of conducting such unavoidable transition towards a more balanced relationship between the city and nature and also between social groups; c) is a step forward towards the production of adapted metrics to "read" not completely converted cities, usually poorly graded for urban services, when metrics tailored for the industrial rationality are applied. In this sense, traditional areas are precious parameters for socio-environmental sustainability.

▲  
**Figure 5:** Patterns of the urban fabric in the cities of Marabá, Parauapebas, and Canaã dos Carajás.  
 Source: Cardoso, Melo, Gomes (2016: 26)

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# Whose Best Practice?

## Learning from Transnational Networks of Urban Poor

Astrid Ley, Josefine Fokdal, Peter Herrle

### **Wessen 'Best Practice'? Lernen von transnationalen Netzwerken städtische Armer**

*Der Beitrag stellt den dringend notwendigen Perspektivwechsel in der Stadtplanung des globalen Südens vor. Ausgangspunkt ist die Anerkennung der Notwendigkeit, über die Generalisierung und universelle Anwendung von sog. 'Best Practice' Lösungen für Stadtentwicklung im Süden hinauszugehen. Trotz des Ausmaßes von städtischer Armut und deren räumlicher Ausprägung, wurde transnationalen Netzwerken, die auf verschiedenen Ebenen Lösungen zur Verbesserung der Lebensumstände der städtischen Armen in Asien und Afrika beitragen, wenig Aufmerksamkeit geschenkt. Ziel dieses Beitrags ist es, die Lücke zwischen einer internationalen Entwicklungsagenda und den durch diese Netzwerke präsentierten 'Best Practices' herauszustellen und zu reflektieren. Die untersuchten Netzwerke haben transnationales Lernen neu skaliert – entweder durch stärkere regionale und thematische Zusammenarbeit oder durch Netzwerke, deren Mitglieder einen ähnlichen sozio-ökonomischen Hintergrund oder Entwicklungsgrad teilen. Diese Neuskalierung soll den Erfahrungsaustausch strategisch stärken – nicht nur im Sinne von 'Best Practice', sondern auch im Sinne von schlechten Erfahrungen. Dies führt zu der Frage, um wessen 'Best Practice' es geht und wie sich von einem neuen Typ von Akteurskonstellation in der Stadtentwicklung lernen lässt.*

### **Agenda-setting in urban development and the role of international agencies**

In the global urban policy-making realm, some milestones have influenced the way of implementation. Habitat I in 1976 was about self-help and upgrading, the Earth Summit in Rio in 1992 was about bridging green and brown agendas and localising them at the level of communities, Habitat II in 1996 was about good governance and rights to habitat.

More recently the Sustainable Development Summit in New York in September, 2015, adopted the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs). Unique to these goals are, among other things, that they include a specific urban SDG with the objective of making "cities and urban settlements inclusive, safe, resilient and sustainable" (SDG no. 11).

The urban goal includes the following aspects: housing, transport, planning, heritage, vulnerability, environment, public space, urban-rural, policies, and capacity development. "The following important event was Habitat III in Quito in October 2016. This United Nations Conference on Housing and Sustainable Urban Development was seen as the touchstone how these diverse agendas materialise into a "New Urban Agenda".

An aspect of the global agenda-setting that has increasingly taken place since the 1990s are the ambitions to show positive, innovative examples on the ground that help make policy models travel between places. A driving force in this context was the first Earth Summit in Rio de Janeiro in 1992, with the call to create local Agenda 21 processes. In the search for a transformation towards sustainability, numerous best-practice examples of tangible solutions were provided. Likewise, in the 1990s the role of the government (and local government in particular) changed against the light of neoliberal reforms worldwide. These gave more weight to private

actors as well as citizens and civil society in the planning process under the framing of new public management, enablement, partnerships, participation and governance. Best practices, therefore, not only reflected on what to do on the ground, but also on the process of how to engage with actors not embedded in local governments.

Gonzalez (2011) asserts that cities use best practices to create positivist perspectives on urban development. But there is a further aspect beyond image-making: Mössner and Gomes de Matos (2015) caution that models are produced by expert knowledge in order to use symbolic best-practice examples to make policies travel.

This – often transnational – urban-policy transfer does not take place outside the field of power: on the contrary, there are powerful interests that make some policies be transferred and others not. Peek and Theodore (2001) also speak of "fast policy transfer", and of how even international organisations promote quick-fixes.

Agencies like UN-Habitat do not fall short of propagating policy mobility or "knowledge transfer" through showcasing best practices. However, decades of showcasing examples of particular approaches to urban development – such as Curitiba (sustainability), Porto Alegre (citizen budget) and Toronto (climate-change mitigation) – have not led to wide replication. Instead, best-practice examples have rather led to irritations at the receiving side due to a lack of adaptation to specific contexts. Policy transfers are linked to capacities to make them work somewhere else. McCann (2011), therefore, highlights that notwithstanding the efforts of international organisations, poverty-stricken local governments would rather be excluded from the learning process and circuits of policy mobility.

The results have had negative impacts on the ground and have led to a general questioning of the transferability

of "successful" solutions. This has particular relevance for countries in the global South. In these countries, attempts to create more-inclusive cities have largely failed to improve the situation for the urban poor despite serious efforts for decentralisation and the proclamation of increased participation in the field of housing and urban development.

It can therefore be argued that the urban agenda, in an era of policy mobility and best practices, is far from producing truly localised solutions.

Yet, instead of dismantling and rejecting best practices per se, it is worthwhile to note that previous attention has been limited to city-to-city learning exchange and local governments that often lack resources and capacities to actually translate these "paper tigers" into action on the ground.

In the meantime, new patterns of knowledge transfer that are based on civil society engagement have emerged in urban development. The practices of civil society and networks are often rooted locally and, at the same time, are part of transnational exchange processes – this constitutes a new type of actor in urban development organised in transnational networks.

Particularly little focus has been given to transnational networks of urban poor providing solutions at scales to improve their living conditions. Thus, the focus of this article is on transnational networks of urban poor in Asia and Africa, and their mechanisms of transferring knowledge from one country or continent to another in the field of urban development.

The existence of such networks and knowledge-transfer mechanisms draws the attention to the question of "whose best practice" or "whose knowledge count?" (Chambers 1997).

### "Learning politics" and the transnational networks of urban poor

Using McFarlane's concept of "learning politics" (2011), one can differentiate between groups defining the object of learning, such as legal knowledge to enable resistance or politicising technical knowledge (e.g., access to services). For the first form of "learning politics", the Right to the City Movement is a case in point.

The concept of the right to the city, as articulated by Henri Lefebvre (1968; 2007), calls for a radical modification of power relations in the production of urban space, away from a dominance of capital and the state (and the planner) and towards more civil society engagement through participation and appropriation.

This concept was strongly advocated by civil society groups in Latin America and Europe during the 1990s, and has since travelled to become a global call for recognition and protection of human rights in urban settings (UN Habitat 2010; Cirolia et al. 2015).

Cirolia et al. (2015) highlight that transnational concepts have the potential to mobilise citywide development concerns. However, they also raise concerns that

transnational concepts such as the right to the city have had limited impact due to a fragmented civil society and lack of institutionalisation in local government (e.g., in the case of South Africa).

The second form of "learning politics" is linked to what is conceived as valuable knowledge (beyond technical, legal, political knowledge or expert knowledge in general) around which social movements campaign. This is a rather collective approach based on a coalition or alliance across various groups with similar foci and understanding of forms of learning.

They refrain from confrontation based on claiming rights. Collective learning processes are supposed to help communities to recover from past experiences of eviction and marginalisation and to move towards creating a common voice in urban development (ACHR 2001; Mitlin 2015).

### *Transnational networks and transfer of knowledge across borders – their solutions at scale*

This paper builds on research on three prominent transnational networks of urban poor: Shack/Slum Dwellers International (SDI), the Asian Coalition for Housing Rights (ACHR), and the newly established Urban Poor Coalition Asia (UPCA)<sup>1</sup>.

Whereas the SDI is active worldwide – with member federations in more than 34 countries and a revolving fund at the global level for financing projects at the local level (i.e., the Urban Poor Fund International) – the ACHR/UPCA network mainly operates at a regional scale within Asia. Both transnational network constellations practise the aforementioned collective form of "learning politics".

Further, the networks share similar methods for mobilisation, co-production and dissemination of knowledge, and also provide solutions at scale. Local communities and federations build the foundation at the local level, supported by a local NGO, while global key players of the networks navigate and advocate at the global level.

Mobilisation of communities or federations is mainly done through savings, self-enumerations, and setting precedence for innovative approaches through showcasing projects – thereby manifesting knowhow and capacities (McFarlane 2011).

Local saving schemes are often the starting point to organise community members – a method strongly followed in the Indian federations, where savings are collected on a daily basis.

Other activities for mobilising community members are collecting data about households and the settlement itself (as in Kenya, where these self-enumeration activities helped railroad communities to negotiate with the state).

These practices are cornerstones for strengthening the local resource base and decision-making power, as well as for generating important data.

Crosscutting to these practices are mechanisms of knowledge-sharing between federations and community

<sup>1</sup> The Urban Poor Coalition Asia was established in 2012 by communities receiving ACCA funding and other urban poor communities.

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members. These methods are increasingly being applied with regards to external actors beyond the community or federation members, and are correspondingly being re-scaled (Ley et al. 2015).

## Re-scaling of the collective learning process

The transnational networks discussed here have reflected and adapted their approach to find the most suitable scale for their practices to be successful. For instance, there is a general drive to shift from community to city-wide engagement (Boonyabancha/Kerr 2015).

As these networks are rooted in local communities, initially practices and the collective learning process were also organised on community level to then travel abroad.

Soon it became apparent that many structural challenges, such as poverty and inequality, could only be addressed at scales beyond the narrow local community and project scale.

Against this context, the citywide scale has become prominent and collective learning processes are organised around, for instance, citywide data collection (Ley et al. 2015).

In terms of transnational collective learning, these networks initially followed a standardised transnational learning process. The strong and well-established federation and community networks in South Africa, India, and Thailand served as learning centres to present best practices regardless of culture, socio-economic backgrounds, or political systems being comparable to other contexts.

More recently, this has changed towards customised learning hubs. This polycentric approach creates more of an exchange on shared issues and common learning experiences than on a centralistic focus on best practice, which can lead to replications not suitable to the specific context (Ley et al. 2015).

### Learning in regional or issue-based hubs

The SDI network has increasingly built regional learning hubs to promote better understanding in terms of sharing the same language, culture and, often, political conditions. Each of the hubs facilitates learning activities relevant for the communities and federations in the specific region. In South East Asia, the Philippines represent such a learning hub.

On the African continent, several regional learning hubs have likewise been established. Regional learning hubs create a stronger cohesion among neighbouring countries, especially when external actors (such as politicians) are invited to take part in a collective learning process. Learning exchanges are also facilitated for federation groups around particular issues, such as the threat of eviction or upgrading after disaster events.

One example of a learning exchange within one region and focusing on a particular issue is the 5-cities network that brings together local federations and government representatives from South Africa, Malawi, Namibia, Zambia, and Kenya to share experiences around informal

settlements and upgrading. Expanding the shared learning and knowledge production towards external actors pushes the boundaries of what is perceived as valuable knowledge by local politicians, development agents, and experts (i.e., "learning politics").

### Similar socio-economic backgrounds and maturity of federations

In addition, there is a tendency to facilitate cross-regional exchanges according to socio-economic backgrounds to not fall into the trap to transporting seemingly solutions from, e.g., a middle-income country to a low-income country, where these solutions are difficult to replicate.

The same holds true for the "maturity" of federations, since the level of "maturity" of the federation also influences their capacities and thereby the possibilities of transferring "best practice" from one context to another.

Even if the above learning exchanges have been rescaled from a universalised global exchange to regional, issue-based, or socio-economic characteristics, it needs to be highlighted that the conditions on the ground vary significantly.

Therefore, for instance, the "Urban Poor Coalition Asia" (UPCA) network recognises the opportunities of cross-border exchange in regional proximity, but still highlights the different levels of maturity of local groups, the different political circumstances they are embedded in and, last but not least, the lack of a shared language to communicate.

Strategic re-scaling of exchange of experience is not only centred around best practices, but also in terms of "messy experiences". The strategic re-scaling initiatives indicate the adaptability and flexibility of the transnational networks investigated.

### Whose best practice?

The concepts of best practices and the transfer thereof differ between multi- or bilateral agencies and the transnational networks of urban poor discussed here:

First, international agencies tend to only focus on "best practices" and not on "bad" or "messy" experiences. Obviously, civil society arrangements are also dependent on donor funds and therefore tend to showcase successful projects to the donor community.

Nevertheless, the transnational networks facilitate learning exchanges and shared experiences to exhibit "best practices" as well as "messy experiences", as the SDI coordinator of the Philippine hub explains:

*"We have a lot of experience also, that savings is lost. [...] So, we highlight the 'goods' and the 'bads' on what the experience of the federation is." (Interview with Homeless Peoples' Federation Philippines, Inc. Quezon City, 09/11/12.)*

As the first lesson learnt, the Philippine alliance now gives communities six months probation to get themselves



organised and start saving before becoming full members of the network.

Second, "best practices" defined by international agencies often rely on expert knowledge whereas the "best practices" within the transnational networks rely on collective learning and knowledge. As the transnational networks increasingly up-scale their approach in the field of housing, the need for expert knowledge is increasing.

In the case of the ACHR and UPCA, they have a technical support network of architects, planners, and engineers: the Community Architects' Network (CAN). In a similar manner, other SDI alliances establish technical support at national scale, such as the Technical Assistance Movement for People and Environment, Inc. (TAMPEI) of the Philippine alliance. It introduces ambivalence between expert knowledge and collective knowledge, with the danger of falling into the same trap as international agencies.

Nevertheless, the roots of knowledge exchange in the networks described here lie with the direct encounter of people and their backgrounds (e.g., cultural, political, and social aspects), rather than the adoption of ready-made concepts that may have proven successful elsewhere. This "thick" mode of communication seems to be more effective and leads to more sustainable results.

Third, international agencies tend to have a strong focus on policy transfer and exchange of knowledge rather than on common learning and sharing experiences as practiced by the transnational civil society networks around savings, self-enumerations, and projects. Policy transfer as promulgated by international agencies tends to reinforce power relations and interests at a local as well as at a global scale.

This observation supports the argument that development aid as a business sector reinforces existing skewed power relations, which are often anchored in the past (Teschner 2015). Peer-to-peer exchanges are extremely effective in breaking down power relations and in facilitating learning processes. Being exposed to "best practices" or sharing experiences on a certain issue allow for a critical reflection of the best way to transfer the knowledge to other local contexts, rather than implementing a specific solution.

Fourth, "best practices" in the global agenda setting also include the mode of engagement between various actors, with a preference for participatory planning in the field of urban development. Participatory planning has been criticised for reinforcing power relations and for imposing a global agenda on the local context (Cooke/Kothari 2001).

The transnational networks investigated here tend to move beyond modes of participation and towards co-production and partnership with city governments (Mitlin 2008; Watson 2014) as a "best practice" for engagement with the state. A case in point is the increasing numbers of city-development funds (CDF) that are being set up across Asia. CDFs allow for leverage of funding on a citywide scale, and enable the urban poor to be critical, capable voices in urban development and accountable partners for co-production (Ley et al. 2015).

The best practices propagated by international agencies in the context of changing global urban agendas have largely failed to improve urban development and the situation for the urban poor in the cities of the Global South. Nevertheless, it seems that the "best practices" showcased by transnational networks of urban poor have demonstrated that these practices can be useful if customised to a specific context, and if there is a horizontal exchange of actors to reflect on the sometimes messy challenges accompanying the implementation.

## Conclusions

Transnational networks have developed models for a "flexible" facilitation of inclusive learning processes that deserve to be taken seriously. Not only are their practices capable of developing solutions at scale and improving living conditions for the urban poor in Asia and Africa, they also point towards a re-adjustment of the relationship between governments and the civil society.

This paper argues that "best practices" showcased by the networks presented differ sharply from the "best practices" operationalised by international agencies in ways of conceptualising knowledge and in questioning persisting power relations between involved actors at the local as well as global scale.

So, how to actually learn from new forms of actors such as transnational networks in urban development? A balance between needed expert knowledge and shared learning experiences through direct encounter of people and "thick communication" seems to be crucial. In addition, the strong focus on learning versus knowledge, as propagated by international agencies, calls for recognition of "learning politics" as a strategy reconfiguring what valuable knowledge is.

Thereby, the need to break down power relations in order to move beyond traditional means of best practices and "business as usual" can be fertilised by learning from the transnational networks.

Their recent rescaling initiatives show ambitions to create effective learning environments. In contrast to other best-practice transfers, these networks seem to have learned, from past difficulties of universalised transfer, of approaches to more fine-tuned and tailor-made knowledge-sharing environments.

Finally, the trend towards co-production reflects a further step towards new interactions between state, international agencies, and civil society. Maybe the time has come when the way transnational networks extend knowledge and understand their allies has the potential to become a "best practice" itself, albeit on a different level and practised by actors who carefully watch the line between the agencies of the development business and their own clientele.

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# Development Priorities in Cairo's Informal Areas – Planning, Realisation, and Local Perceptions

Hassan Elmouelhi, Mohammed Alfiky, Lukas Born, Philipp Misselwitz, Mohamed Salheen

## **Entwicklungsprioritäten in informellen Stadtgebieten von Kairo – Planung, Umsetzung und lokale Wahrnehmungen**

Dieser Artikel diskutiert die Zwischenergebnisse des laufenden Forschungsprojekts DEVEPER. Das Hauptziel des Projekts ist es, Planungsempfehlungen für zukünftige Stadtverbesserungsprojekte auszusprechen, insbesondere zur Verbesserung der Partnerschaft zwischen Entscheidungsträgern und Kommunalvertretern sowie zur Entwicklung effektiver Strategien für den Umgang mit informellen Siedlungen. Das Forschungsdesign kombiniert Literaturrecherche mit Feldforschungsmethodik. Die Literaturrecherche diente dazu, den Diskurs über die Entwicklungszusammenarbeit und die politischen Veränderungen in Ägypten zu analysieren. Dies ist entscheidend, um die mit Stadtteilverbesserungsprojekten verbundenen Konflikte, Bedürfnisse der Einwohner\*innen, Dynamiken und Entscheidungsprozesse zu verstehen. Die Feldforschung konzentrierte sich auf zwei Fallstudien in Kairo. Durch Beobachtung, Interviews und halbstrukturierte Leitfadenterviews wurden qualitative Daten erhoben. Die Ergebnisse dieser Analyse zeigten, dass lokal initiierte Projekte erfolgreicher waren als die Verbesserungsmaßnahmen durch Staat und NGOs, weil die lokal initiierten Projekte an die Bedürfnisse der Einwohner\*innen angepasst sind. Dagegen bringen Staatsprojekte den informellen Siedelnden ein Gefühl der Sicherheit. Die Untersuchung ergab, dass vor Ort viele lokale, nationale und internationale Akteure aktiv sind, um die Lage in informellen Siedlungen zu verbessern, jedoch die Kooperation zwischen diesen Akteuren sehr schwach ist. Außerdem schränkt das zentralisierte ägyptische Staatssystem die Kommunikation und den Kooperationsprozess zwischen Staat und lokalen Akteuren ein und vermindert damit die Effektivität der verschiedenen Maßnahmen. Die politische Unruhe seit 2011 trug auch dazu bei, dass laufende staatliche Projekte unterbrochen wurden und die Verbindung zu den Einwohner\*innen und verschiedenen lokalen Akteuren abrisst.

## **Introduction**

This paper discusses the findings of the interim phase of the ongoing research project DEVEPER. The trigger behind this research is the difficulty to define the development priorities in informal settlements due to the complexity of the problems. Our search has been designed to include literature review, which aims to cover the development cooperation discourse, and the changes in Egypt's urban policies on the national level.

This is crucial to be understood from international and national levels before the next step of analysing the local level through mapping and understanding conflicts and dynamics and decision-making processes in relation to the residents' needs within regeneration projects and interventions. This analysis takes place in two exemplary informal settlements in Cairo.

The research starts by exploring the available literature that focuses on the two areas. The fieldwork methods include observation, interviews, and semi-structured interviews for each of the areas. The results of this analysis, together with the following interventions analysis findings, will form the base for a suggested capacity-development training package for the local governmental administration and for local NGO workers who are involved in decision making along the process of informal settlements upgrading. This package covers several aspects that would assist in improving the chances of the upgrading projects' success.

## **International discourse: urban informality and development**

### *Informal settlements and residents' needs*

By reviewing the topic of urban development in the Global South in the context of urban informality, no common definition for informal settlements was found, whether institutional or expert-based. From the Global South discourse, informal settlement is the term used to describe a housing area that is established without legal status, land ownership and/or construction permission, and that has grown without formal planning from the government.

The physical conditions may vary between well-established, concrete multi-storey buildings and infrastructure (as in Cairo), and deteriorated shacks/ slums. However, the most common definition of slums states that they are:

*"... neglected parts of cities where housing and living conditions are appallingly poor. Slums range from high density, squalid central city tenements to spontaneous squatter settlements, without legal recognition or rights, sprawling at the edge of cities. Slums have various names, favelas, kampungs, bidonvilles, tugurios, yet share the same miserable living conditions" (UN-Habitat, 2003:10).*

A common feature is the economic status of informality that demonstrates how the given settlement often depends on strong social networks between residents (see

Elmouelhi, 2014: 22; Salheen, 2005). In the context of access to housing, informality is considered an economy of survival, as it helps the urban poor and migrants to survive under harsh conditions (Herrle, 1982). One of the crucial questions for urban planners is who will decide how basic life needs are to be satisfied: Is it government agencies, giant corporations, or the people themselves who decide and thereby set development priorities for those areas? For decades, this question has already been asked with a special urgency in the field of urban upgrading.

The state seeks solutions through massive housing, while the people set priorities in affordability, location in relation to jobs, good schools, or transportation (Harms, 1972: 73). By seeing these contradictions, it is clear that governments have various approaches that have gone through a series of changes in the context of international cooperations and informal settlements throughout time. This has implications for the countries that receive assistance, whether it is called aid, donations, technical support, or development cooperation.

There are different models of development cooperation (Easterly & Pfütze, 2008), including bilateral foreign aid, which is directly obtained from donor governments and channelled to the recipient governments (e.g., USAID of the USA, Denmark's DANIDA, and Germany's GIZ), as well as some development-oriented banks (e.g., KfW of Germany) and multilateral donor organisations that obtain funding from several donor governments and spend it on projects in various countries (e.g., WHO, World Bank, UNICEF, different UN organisations). To receive foreign aid and assistance in the development sector, the given state is required to implement the policies of the development agencies as a prerequisite. The state's role becomes limited to mediating between external and local interests. For instance, recipient countries have to respond to international donors associating community participation with housing-sector projects for sites and services and squatter upgrading as a condition of project assistance (Zetter & E. Hamza, 1998). Often, this form of policy – with many different interpretations of its meaning – fails to recognise the conceptual complexity of community participation when translated to local conditions.



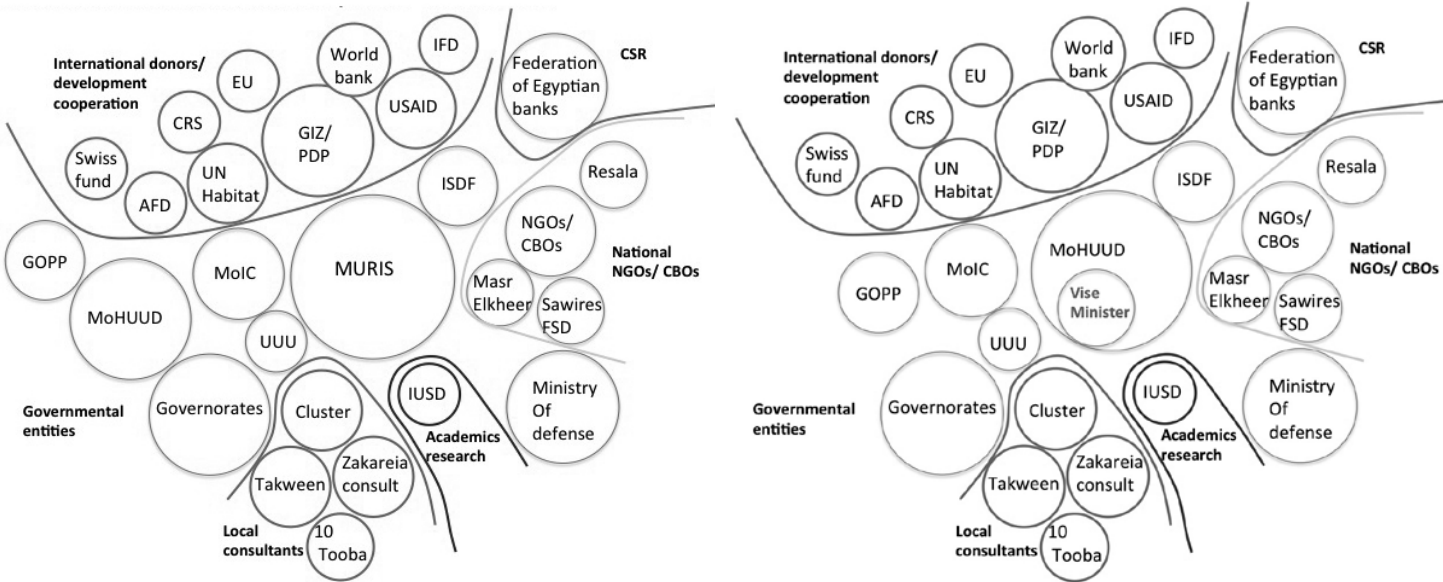
▲ **Figure 1:** The rockslide of Mokattam Hill – MN. Source: Al-dostour newspaper. 5.7.2014

In the political context, "community participation" is a form of grass-roots democracy (Desai, 1995). "Grass-roots development" and "development from below" could also be regarded as synonymous with community participation, according to Desai. Participation, as defined in the United Nation Report of 1979, is the "sharing by people in the benefits of development, active contribution by people to development, and involvement of people in decision-making at all levels of society" (UN, 1979: 255). Desai argues however, that there is no clear, uncontested definition of community participation, stating: "Participation can mean whatever one wants it to mean" (Desai, 1995:43).

Although many authors stress the positive sides of participation, there is also more and more scepticism: integrating "participatory approaches" into "national policy-making" has blurred the boundaries between "bottom-up, people-centred, process-oriented and 'alternative' approaches" and "top-down, technocratic, blueprint planning of state-led modernisation" (Hickey & Mohan, 2004: 4). The true beneficiaries seem to be big NGOs rather than local people (Davis, 2006: 76).

Those NGOs can hire actors of calibre with relatively high salaries, and they are capable of writing project proposals that fulfil the international donors' agendas and requirements, rather than the residents' needs. From a Middle Eastern perspective, Bayat deplores the hyperbole about

▼ **Figure 2:** The main stakeholders active in informal areas development during MURIS's existence and afterwards (2014-2015) Source: The authors





## Changes in Institutional Framework and Urban Policies



Figure 3: Timeline of historical and political events in the dealings with informal settlements in Egypt.

Source: The authors, 2015

NGOs, pointing out that "their potential for independent and democratic organisation has generally been overestimated" (Davis, 2006: 77).

### Ashwa'eyat: between national urban policies and development cooperation in Egypt

Ashwa'eyat, in Egypt, is defined within the public formal discourse as follows: "...the plural for ashwaiyya (literally meaning 'haphazard'), is the term used in public to refer to the informal communities in Egypt, some of which, 111, exist in the greater Cairo area. Official estimates put the total number of these settlements at about 1,034, accounting for about 12 million inhabitants, or 45 percent, of Egypt's urban population. Land invasion accounts for a very small proportion of these settlements..." (Bayat & Denis, 2000: 185).

Egypt has a major problem with *ashwa'eyat*, especially in the Greater Cairo Region (ISDF, 2010), as they are unplanned, unregistered, not served with infrastructure, and don't have sufficient social infrastructure for their inhabitants. The phenomenon started in the mid-1950s during the nation's quasi-permanent state of war (El-Batran &

Arandel, 1998), and as a result of the impact of Nasser's government policies (El Kafrawy, 2012).

These were not only housing policies, but also an expression of the government's orientation towards socialism and later privatisation, etc. that directly affected different aspects of people's lives, including the need for proper shelter. These policies were directly embodied in a host of issues, including inadequate housing provision for those who most needed it, centralisation of industries and job opportunities in Cairo, and no real investment in rural areas, leading to the rural population influx into cities. These policy flaws were further amplified as a result of informality always being discussed in isolation from a national housing policy. Constant power struggles between ministries with conflicting interests resulted in a failure to coordinate an often-contradictory system of urban planning (see Ibrahim and Sherif, 2008).

Additionally, Egypt's particular form of governance is still attributed to excessive centralisation, lack of transparency, and communication failures between the administrative apparatus and citizens (see Ben Nefissa, 2009). The gap between supply and demand of affordable housing in the formal market, the failure of housing policies, and the rural-urban migrations together with the natural increase of city inhabitants are considered the main reasons for the spread of the *ashwa'eyat* phenomena.

### Ashwa'eyat before the political change of 2011

The ministries involved in dealing with the built environment in Egypt are: the Ministry of Housing, Utilities and Urban Development (MoHUD), the General Organisation for Physical Planning (GOPP), and the governorates and local district administrations. The responsibility for urban development belonged to MoHUD, (Runkel, 2009: 44) until 1973, when the GOPP was established as a separate entity within it to take over this mandate.

The Informal Settlements Development Facility (ISDF) was formed by the Presidential Decree No. 305 in 2008 to deal with the informal areas scattered across Egypt. It started its work in 2009, after formulating its board and the establishment of certain guidelines (see Khalifa, 2011). The ISDF gets its main funding from the Ministry of Finance, after permission from the Ministry of Planning. The ISDF aims to make a "National Map of Slums" in Egypt (ISDF, 2012). Other important partner is the "Urban Upgrading Units" (UUU), which were established in 2007 and funded by GIZ till 2009 as a part of the decentralisation process. Developed as a model, the UUUs have been generalised in all governorates in 2010 but with no clear effective role.

Since the political unrest that started 2011, the situation has been static in regards to dealing with *ashwa'eyat*. In June, 2014, a new ministry was founded to be responsible for informal settlements: the Ministry of Urban Renewal and Informal Settlements (MURIS). However, it was dissolved again in September, 2015. Now, its responsibilities have been assigned to the Vice-Minister of Housing and Urban Utilities for Informal Settlements Upgrading.

Based on the fact that, within the Egyptian context, informal settlements are categorised as either 'unplanned' areas with acceptable physical conditions or as "unsafe"

(this refers to the physical structural conditions), the question remains of why the ISDF focuses on unsafe areas (slums) as a priority despite the fact that, according to the ISDF statistics, they only form about 5% of the total number of informal settlements (ISDF, 2010). Widening the scope to include unplanned areas does not meet the capacity of the ministry, as no data is available for the areas categorised as "unplanned" informal areas, according to Darwish (2014).

However, one can state that the approach has been changing slowly from physical interventions to a more socio-economic approach as announced by the minister in several interviews (2015). A few months after its establishment, MURIS, through the socio-economic department, had started giving a direct fund to 50 NGOs, as in accordance to a Prime Ministerial Decree (interview with Eskandar, 2014).

However, since MURIS was abolished, the situation in regards to dealing with the unplanned areas is no longer clear; the ministry, however, focuses on dealing with the unsafe areas, and a national project ("Egypt without slums" – meaning unsafe areas) was announced that is to continue until 2018.

Regarding democratic processes, elected entities in Egypt are mainly associated with the parliament. Since 2011, there have been some intervals without a parliament. Local popular councils, which are more concerned with local governance, were disbanded by a court rule in June 2011, and it is not clear when exactly it will be held again. It is not easy to define the role of each of these entities with regards to informal settlements, particularly in terms of identifying a means of communication between them.

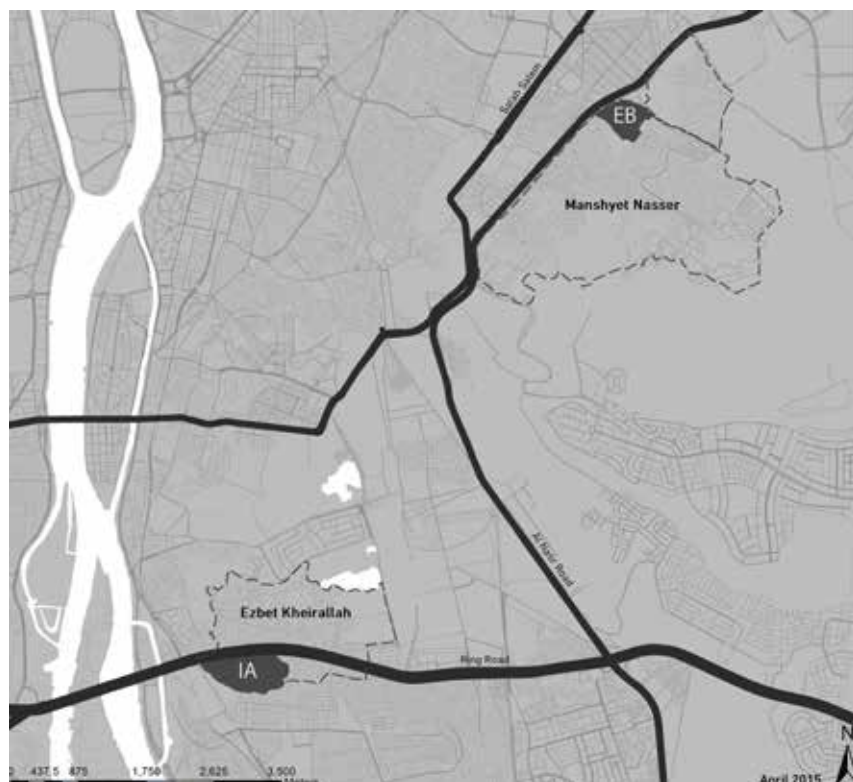
#### *Development cooperation and ashwa'eyat*

Some international organisations are actively involved in the process of *ashwa'eyat* development in Egypt, as direct donors or by co-funding other (international) organisations. It is confirmed that most international foreign assistance projects have made many efforts to introduce an integrated approach to Egypt (JICA, 2011).

International organisations, represented mainly by GIZ and UN-HABITAT, support the government's effort for slum upgrading alongside a community-participatory approach. For example, USAID provides financial assistance for the ISDF (JICA, 2011) and also works directly with local NGOs/CBOs. International NGOs, foundations, and private-sector entities (such as Aga Khan in Al-Darb Al-Ahmar, and the HSBC in the Dar Al-Salam area) have assisted in raising the general living standards in many *ashwa'eyat* areas (JICA, 2011).

GIZ, through the Participatory Development Programme in Urban Areas (PDP), has maintained a partnership with the Ministry of Planning (formerly the Ministry of Economic Development) since 2004 and has initiated many projects as one of the main actors in informal settlements development.

Contradicting with the Egyptian government's focus (including MURIS), GIZ does not support interventions where relocation is an option. At the end of 2014, the partnership



was directed towards MURIS, while in 2015 it was directed to the Ministry of Housing after the establishment of the position of Vice Minister of Housing for Informal Settlements, which was assigned to Dr. Ahmed Darwish, who had previously worked as an assistant to the minister of MURIS.

The timeline of Egyptian historical and political events relevant to *ashwa'eyat* shows important political events in the second half of the 20th century in Egypt in relation to the national urban policy, urban planning, and informal settlements, as well as to the establishment of new governmental agencies or to the involvement of some development cooperation organisations (see Fig. 3). Recently, upgrading *ashwa'eyat* has become a common interest for the government, development cooperation organisations, national NGOs, and private sector. Consultants, university research institutes, and activists share a common interest, and several recent events have involved unprecedented forms of collaboration as a basis for local discourse based on practices. Nevertheless, this has not yet been reflected on the ground as having improved the

▲ **Figure 4:** Location of the two case study areas (MN and IA).  
Source: The authors, 2015



▼ **Figure 5:** Manshiyet Nasser – view of Moqattam Hill, shot from Autostrad Street.  
Source: Elmouelhi, 2010





▲  
**Figure 6:** Areal view of the Istabl Antar area.  
Source: Karsch, 2012

lives of residents (see Fig. 2). Hence, a clear methodological vision or any steps defining the issues on a local area level and transforming this into intervention decisions are still lacking.

### Empirical study

#### *The two case-study areas*

Manshiet Nasser and Istabl Antar have been selected as case study areas (Fig. 4) because they are considered as similar cases with almost the same problems, but with time differences. They share similar conditions and characteristics (such as no secure tenure for the land and houses, and being built on state-owned desert land), and display various levels of development and previous/ongoing interventions. The aim of selecting similar case studies was to narrow down the comparative study to have a comprehensive outcome.

#### *Manshiet Nasser (MN)*

Manshiet Nasser is one of Cairo's largest informal areas, and the most-attractive area for interventions and researchers in the last decades. Since the 1970s, hundreds of development projects have been implemented in MN. After the government changed its plans of demolishing it in 1997, the German Federal Ministry for Cooperation and Economic Development (BMZ) decided to support the decision through a PDP-GTZ programme.

A study of the socio-economic conditions of the area was conducted in 1998 by the National Research Centre for Social Studies and Crime (Tageldeen, 2003). The announced reasons why MN was chosen to be the first application for the rehabilitation process was: it covers the largest area and has the highest density of all Cairo informal areas; its location is on one of the main arteries of Cairo (i.e., Autostrad), with a main part of it in the master plan of Medieval Fatimid Cairo; the low economic and low environmental conditions; its lack of infrastructure and social services; its lack of green areas; and its mixed use of housing, industrial, and commercial activities (as a negative characteristic). Local power entities are found on the ground, including residents' associations (Rabta) for

those who share the same origin (upper Egyptians: e.g., Sons of Banga, and sons of Asyut). Additionally, there is a huge network of NGOs in the area (Runckel, 2009). The sub-districts of Al-Doweka had a falling-rock incident that killed several people and destroyed houses in 2008, which had a huge impact on the national Egyptian policy and led to the establishment of the ISDF. The area is divided into nine planning zones (Shaaf, 2006).

According to residents, the physical conditions are currently better than prior to the beginning of the GTZ projects in 1998, due to the infrastructure provision and many other physical upgrading interventions. Nevertheless, despite the amount of interventions done by different development cooperations and governmental entities, the area is still considered, in the Egyptian context, as an informal area. It is the most-mentioned area in the news for having problems (Mobashir, 2015) and in the context of service provision. However, the good location in Cairo and the available infrastructure is attracting more middle-income residents.

#### *Istabl Antar (IA)*

Istabl Antar is a part of Ezbet Khairallah area. Not much literature and only a few researches are available on the area's problems or history (Elmouelhi, 2014). Parts of the findings are based on a comparison made between the situation before the 2011 revolution and the fieldwork conducted in 2015.

*"Ezbet Khairallah and Istabl Antar are unplanned communities built on a twenty-five-meter high natural platform that extends from the Mokattam Mountain [...]. Looking south, Ezbet Khairallah and Istabl Antar overlook the Nile at a distance. It is clear that their location has high potential and development value" (El-Faramawy, 2013).*

The area has been mentioned in newspapers in regards to the "unsafe" categorisation given by the ISDF, and the treatment and trimming of the rock foundation (Mobasher, 2015). Moreover, it is considered a complex case in Cairo: on the one hand, a part of it has been already evicted due to its categorisation as an "unsafe" area (first grade: life threatening) by the ISDF. Additionally, complex ownership issues and poor physical accessibility condition, due to the nature of location, make interventions difficult. However, on the other hand, the introduction of infrastructure (water supply and sewage network) in 2013 and the launching of development cooperation projects in the area show a willingness to improve the situation. As a result, Istabl Antar's physical conditions have improved in comparison to 2011.

#### *Comparative stakeholder analysis and timeline of projects*

The above discussion has led to the preliminary conclusions and recommendations. In both areas, external interventions vary depending on the type of responsible organisation (i.e., if it is local or international). The main difference between both areas is the time in which these external interventions were launched and implemented. It is clear that most of the development projects in IA were introduced recently, after the infrastructure had been provided by the government in 2013. In comparison to



IA, MN has a rather long history of external interventions. This could help to extract some of the lessons learnt to feed into the discourse, not only that of the national Egyptian urban policy, but also to that of urban development. Interventions after the revolution are much shorter, more numerous, and primarily initiated on the local level.

In IA, before 2011, almost all initiatives and interventions were based on self-help initiatives, either done by the residents themselves or NGOs. Since 2011, the area has become more attractive to international development organisations (see Fig. 7 & 8). Those projects, usually short-term in form, aimed mainly at improving the deteriorating economic conditions that resulted from the economic recession that occurred after the 2011 revolution.

In MN, coordination between different stakeholders, donors, and actors was minimal and so far there has been no continuation or follow up. The NGO leaders, trained by GTZ through different projects and capacity-building trainings for local leaders, could be seen as a positive outcome. At the same time, speculation of development business could be seen as a negative side effect. After GTZ concluded the project, they did not do any follow-up of the projects, nor any kind of impact assessment.

For IA, the local initiatives are clearly more successful in comparison to external interventions, as they directly touch the residents' needs and are cared after by the residents. On the other hand, as a consequence of infrastructure provision by the government, the residents' feeling of "security of tenure" increased and, consequently, buildings activities in certain parts of the settlement increased compared to the situation in 2011.

On the other hand, as a consequence of infrastructure provision, more interventions by international

organisations have taken place and, in return, the number of local initiatives by the residents has decreased. It is argued that this is also related to the belief that the government is not going to evict the whole area.

In order to set development priorities in neighbourhood upgrading, we generally recommend a setting in which the residents' needs can be clearly heard and considered in a compromise with the priorities of all other stakeholders, which apparently the government together with the international organisations failed to do.

As first recommendations, some capacity-development training should take place that focus on local and central administration levels, and also for NGO representatives involved in upgrading projects. In order to reach successful regeneration processes for unplanned informal areas, the training should include the following:

1. introduction of the need of certain preconditions (e.g., political trust, proper communication);
2. the conducting of an urban analysis to accomplish strategic planning goals, to implement urban regeneration projects (action plan), and to finance them;
3. communication with and informing residents (i.e., moderation skills, participation methods, PR tools);
4. organising urban regeneration projects institutionally (i.e., institutional models, legal framework);
5. addressing and handling the tenure questions; and
6. support of the local economic development of the local residents.

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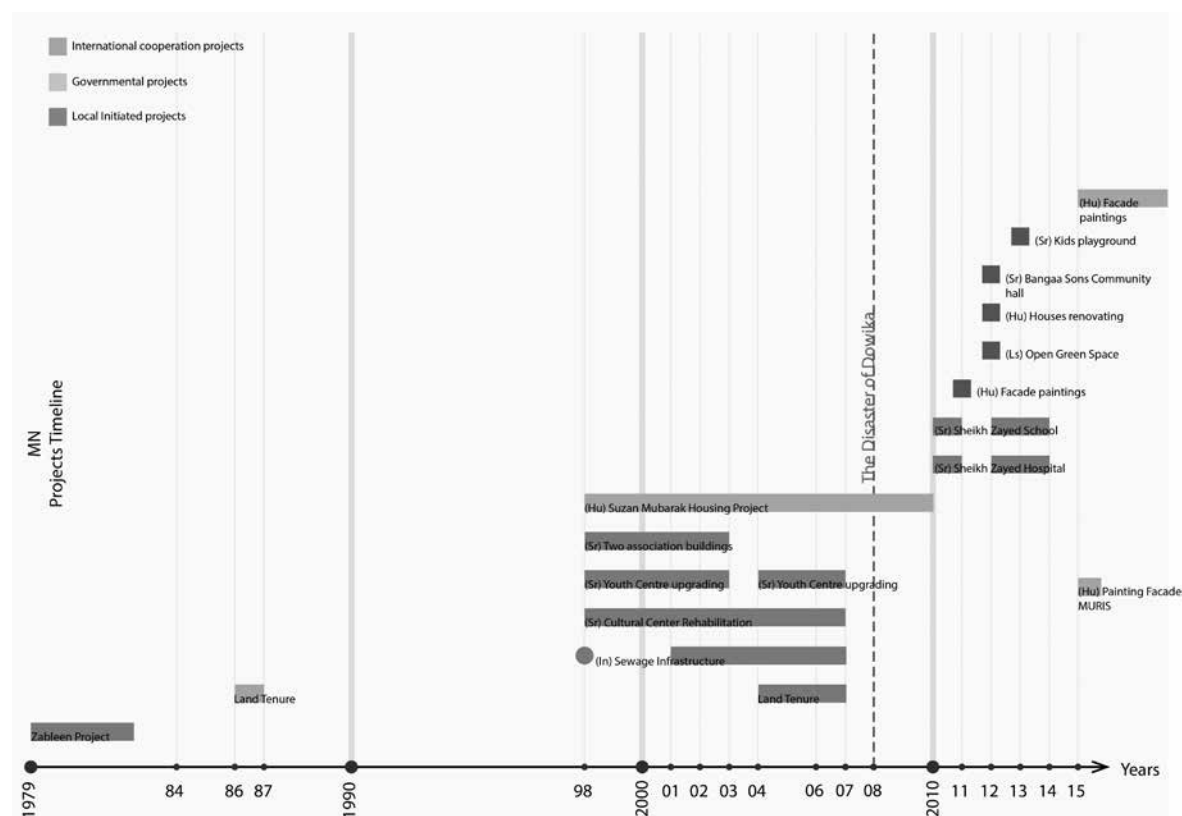
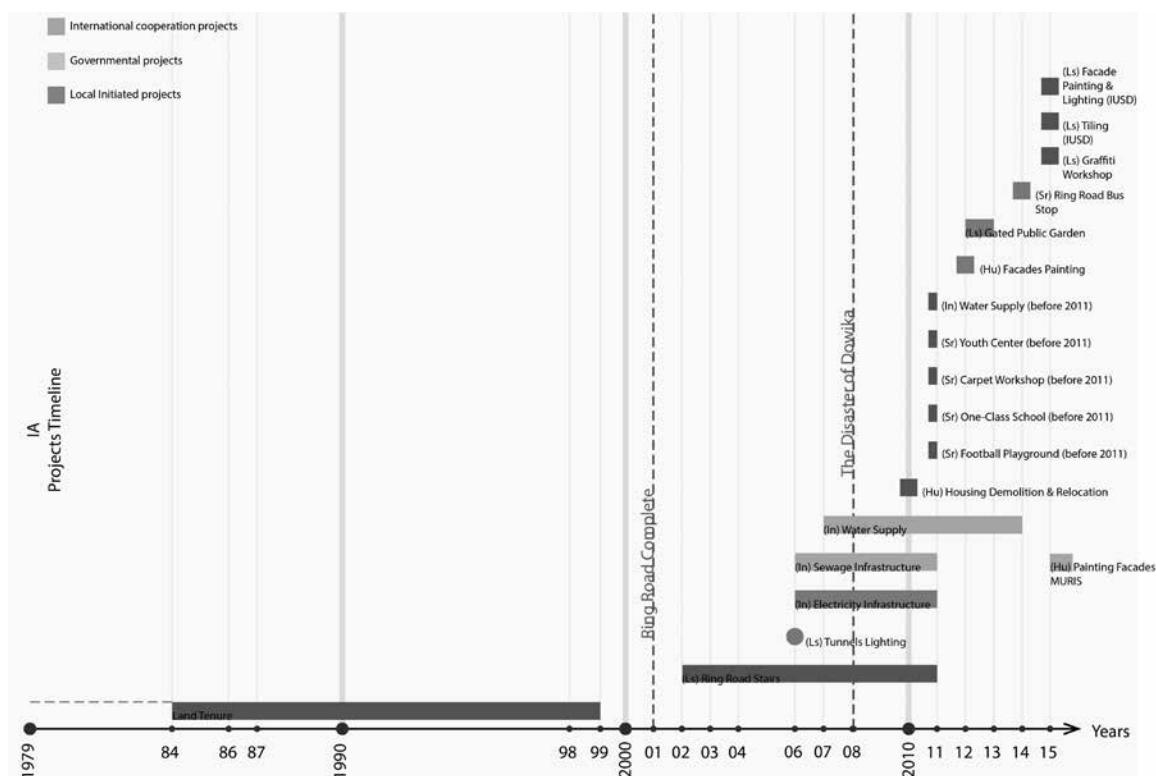


Figure 7: Timeline of projects and interventions in Manshiet Nasser. Source: The authors

**Figure 8:** Timeline of projects and interventions in Istabl Antar. Source: The authors



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# Exploratory Practices of Post-Rural Urbanisation in China – Processes, Actors, and Performance

Huang Huang, Millicent Awialie Akaateba

## **Fallstudien zur Urbanisierung im ländlichen Raum in China – Prozesse, Akteure und Ergebnisse**

Seit der "Reform und Öffnung" hat China die Marktwirtschaft als neue Entwicklungsagenda angenommen. Der ländliche Raum Chinas, einst entscheidender Wirtschaftsfaktor, wurde abgewertet zum einfachen Zulieferer von Produktionsmitteln innerhalb eines kapitalistischen Urbanisierungsprozesses. Die dualistische Stadt-Land-Politik, einst zum Schutz der leidenden Landbevölkerung formuliert, hat die Kluft zwischen Stadt und ländlichem Raum eher vertieft. Vor kurzem wurde erkannt, dass die durch kostengünstige Baumaterialien und intensive Kapitalinvestitionen ermöglichte Urbanisierung ländlicher Gebiete einige Probleme aufweist. Daher wurde im Jahr 2013 offiziell beschlossen, verschiedene Projekte im urban transformierten ländlichen Raum zu fördern. In diesem Zusammenhang wurden die Dörfer Xianqiao und Shatan für Fallstudien ausgewählt. Xianqiao veränderte erst durch eine Reihe von Pilotprojekten, während Shatan's Urbanisierung auf eine langfristige Zusammenarbeit zwischen den lokalen Behörden und der Tongji-Universität zurückgeht. Durch qualitative Fallstudien wurden die Unterschiede zwischen "Best-Practices" und Pilotprojekten herausgearbeitet, hierbei wurden insbesondere unterschiedliche Urbanisierungsdynamiken, die zur Entscheidungsfindung führenden Aushandlungsmechanismen sowie der erreichte sozialräumliche Wandel analysiert. Die Ergebnisse der Fallstudien zeigen, dass trotz der durch die Projekte bewirkten infrastrukturellen Verbesserungen die Nachhaltigkeit der Urbanisierungsprozesse eine Herausforderung bleibt. Der Hauptgrund dafür ist, dass die Pilotprojekte durch politisches Interesse entstanden sind und dass ihre Zukunft ohne weitere politische Unterstützung ungewiss bleibt. Es wird daher vorgeschlagen, lokale Entscheidungsmechanismen und Methoden der Bürgerbeteiligung kreativ neu zu gestalten, um eine nachhaltige Entwicklung sicherzustellen.

## **Introduction**

*"Economic growth and industrialisation have become self-legitimizing, extending their effects to entire territories, regions, nations, and continents. As a result, the traditional unit typical of peasant life, namely the village, has been transformed. Absorbed or obliterated by larger units, it has become an integral part of industrial production and consumption" (Lefebvre, 2003: 18).*

In China, the transformation of villages has accelerated greatly since the "reform and opening up" in 1978, an event of great importance in Chinese history. Since then, China has embraced market economics as its new development path. This, together with an extremely dichotomist urban-rural policy, has led to new transformation processes, both tangible and intangible.

The rural, as a pivotal territory for a typically agricultural country, has decreased as an essential supplier of productive factors under a capitalist urbanisation process. Its traditional, social, political, and cultural characteristics were ignored. "Urbanistic thinking" (Manuel, 1979: 1) was overwhelmingly embraced, and the social values it produced and the structures it formed were overlooked, as if they were a natural process. Within the past 35 years, the Chinese economic boom has greatly contributed to the basic industrialisation, sound infrastructure, wealth, and "creative destruction" (Harvey, 2007: 21; Brenner, Madden & Wachsmuth, 2012: 133) of the rural through a series of national policies on land, the economy, and household structures.

These policies were aimed at providing cheap rural land and labour to maintain expeditious economic growth and rapid urbanisation. Along with these changing policies, four turning points in the rural urbanisation trajectory in China (see Fig. 1) are obvious.

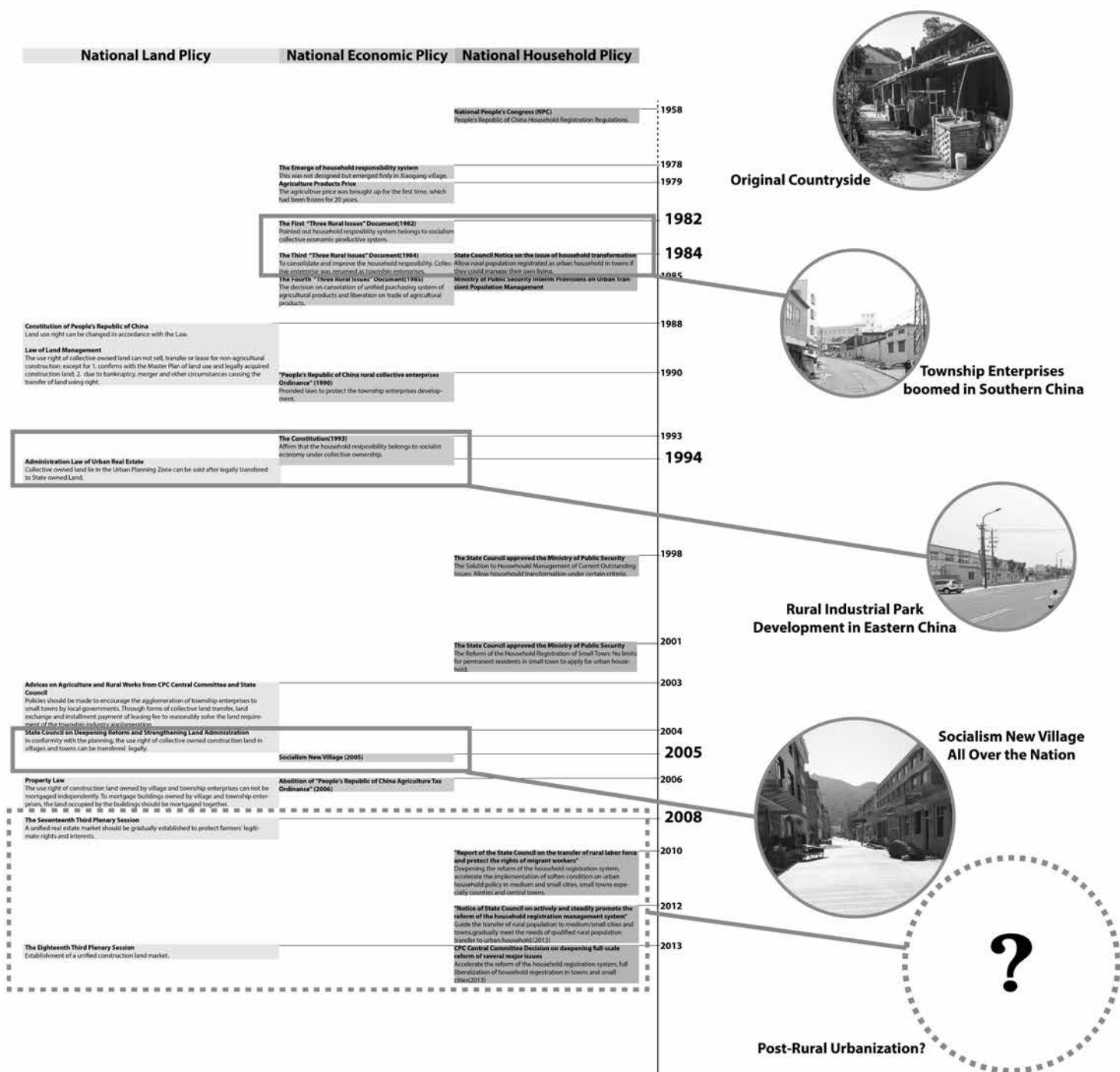
The first occurred around 1982 to 1984, with the promulgation of the "Three Rural Issues". This established household responsibility systems along socialist lines, a collective economic productive system, and a national household registration policy which opened a path for the rural population to transform into urban households.

For the first time since the establishment of the People's Republic of China (PRC), social and spatial modifications were initiated in rural areas on a large scale. The resulting boom of township and village enterprises in southern China was most obvious and dramatic.

The second, which started in 1994, did not change much. Rather, it enhanced the scale of development and regulated rural enterprises into an advanced urbanisation process through the transformation of collective lands into state-owned lands by the Land Law, and affirmed that household responsibility belongs to the socialist economy under collective ownership as stated in the 1993 Constitution.

Rural industrial parks rapidly developed in eastern China. Soon, the increased demand for land for construction attracted the attention of the central government, and a decision was made to limit the annual quota of such lands. The third turning point commenced in 2005 with a direct





**Figure 1:** Relevant policy changes since the "reform and opening up". Photo: Authors' construct. Source: <http://www.gov.cn/huanti/2014hjzdg/>; <http://map.baidu.com>

policy of constructing "New Socialist Countryside". In the name of providing public services and improving rural infrastructure, countless small villages were demolished and new villages built.

This seemed to narrow down the infrastructure gap between the urban and rural built environments, but what prompted the new development pattern was the need for more lands for construction as well as cheap rural labour for urbanisation processes.

For decades, these policies largely shaped the rural urbanisation process in China. The urbanisation rate, represented by the urban resident population, rapidly increased from 37.66% in 2001 to 53.73% in 2013 (International Eurasian Academy of Sciences). The annual growth rate still remains unabated. To tackle the problems of rural urbanisation, the Chinese government adopted a

strategy of enhancing rural urbanisation to stimulate domestic demand and, likewise, promoted urban household registration<sup>1</sup> so as to address labour shortages. The local government implemented large-scale demolition projects, merged numerous small villages, built villagers apartments (see Fig. 2), and transformed subsistence farming into large-scale agriculture to spare more lands for urbanisation construction, the last of which has been, since 2006, limited by the central government through an annually distributed "increasing construction land quota" to local governments so as to guarantee food and ecological safety.

Although these appear to be rational solutions to the problems of rural urbanisation, they implicitly supported capital circulation. As did these policies, the rural development model also contributed to the problems of rural urbanisation.



**Figure 2:** The transformation of rural areas in China.  
Source: [http://www.gd.xinhuanet.com/newscenter/2011-01/16/content\\_21875000.htm](http://www.gd.xinhuanet.com/newscenter/2011-01/16/content_21875000.htm); [http://cd.house.163.com/12/0518/14/81Q084CL0224013Q\\_19.html](http://cd.house.163.com/12/0518/14/81Q084CL0224013Q_19.html); <http://www.agri.com.cn/photo/44/68234.htm>; <http://www.santaihu.com/2014101103.html>

Often, an officially approved "best practice" that follows an urban development formula is used (see Fig. 3). A government-authorised planning document with instructions, planning strategies, and maps serves as a guideline. More disturbingly, these planning documents are compiled by specialists who are perfectly familiar with urban but not rural conditions, rendering these technical documents irrelevant for rural development.

There has been intense interest in academia on the challenges of rural urbanisation. Rural urbanisation supported through public funding and without a resulting economic development has been questioned (see Che, 2013: 252; Zhang, 2013a: 1). As a traditionally agricultural economy, China's urbanisation rate cannot reach the 80%-90% of countries such as the USA and Australia, hence agricultural and rural areas will remain a key part of China's future development (see Zhang, 2013b: 15).

Contrary to the release of urban households, which was widely criticised by scholars (see Gu & Chen, 1998: 49; Xu, 2003: 50), in many cities very few rural populations changed their household identity from rural to urban. Rather, the *nongminggong*, the floating rural population that temporarily live and work in cities but do not belong to them (as they do not have urban household registration or urban social security), contribute considerably to

the urbanisation rate: according to statistics provided by the Chinese Ministry of Human Resources and Social Security, their numbers have increased from 240 million in 2010 to 270 million in 2015.

This indicates that urban-rural amphibious population will be the normal state of future development, according to Life Course Perspective (see Shi, 2013: 29). In 2013, during the Urbanisation Conference, President Xi Jinping proposed a poetic purpose for the next era of urbanisation in China: "To expand forests, lakes and wetlands in urban areas, to make mountains and rivers visible in the cities, and to let people remember the old times" (<http://en.people.cn/90882/8500060.html>).

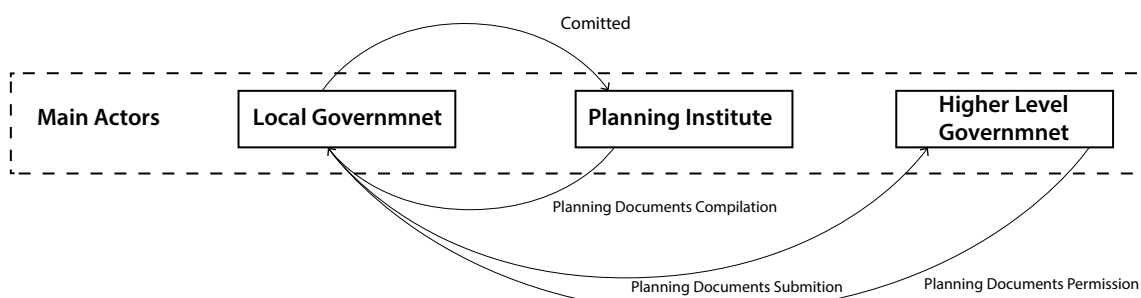
This strong political statement sets a crystal clear goal for future green urban landscape development and greatly enhanced beautiful countryside development, but without a unified route.

### Rural development under special environmental policy: Chongming Island, Shanghai

Xianqiao Village is situated in the middle of Chongming Island, which is the third-biggest island in China. It is about 140 hectares in size, with 1,683 registered villagers. A textile industry located near Xianqiao in since the 1980s was

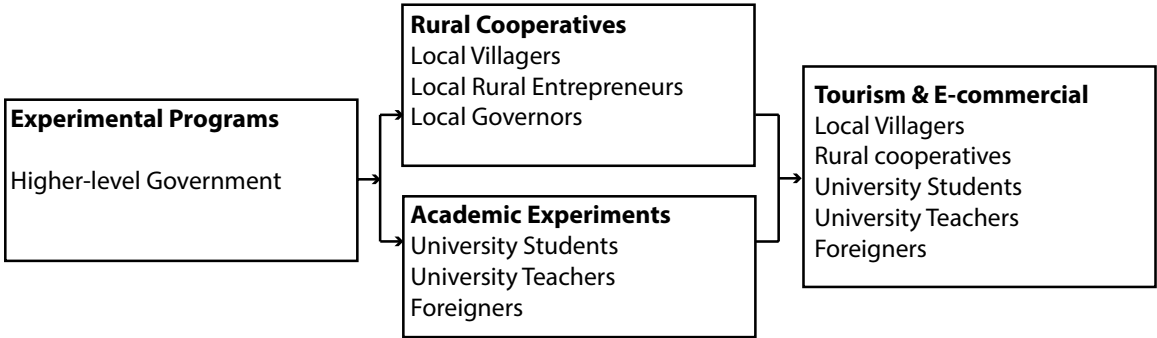
**1** Household Registration is the most important element in the dualistic urban-rural policy. Registration in different areas leads to differences in social welfare, social responsibility, and so forth. It is nearly impossible to transfer from the Urban Household Registration to the Rural Household Registration. The Land Law states that only the rural population can own farmland and land to build. The transfer to the Urban Household Registration happens naturally as the urbanisation process is initiated.

### "Regular Best Practice" of Planning Process



**Figure 3** Planning process of "regular best practice".  
Source: Authors' construct

**Figure 4:** Post rural-urbanisation process in Xianqiao.  
Source: Authors' construct



moved out in 2010 to allow for the official promulgation of the ecological island constructive outline for Chongming. Theoretically, the policy made ecological development the only route for future development in Chongming.

In 2008, Xianqiao was selected as one of two experimental villages by the Chongming government, and received funding to upgrade and improve the physical conditions of toilets and other infrastructure. This project permitted the active involvement of the locals in plan implementation, and the results were impressive: it enhanced the image of the built environment and increased potential opportunities for future development. In 2010, under a project dubbed "Peach Bloom Experiment", teachers and students from Tongji University rented two hectares of land in this village to develop eco-agriculture and experiment with new concepts of rural development.

In addition, six rural cooperatives were established to develop a new kind of eco-agriculture by local rural entrepreneurs. Whilst the villagers rented their land to the

cooperatives, the cooperatives in turn employed the villagers, which formed a win-win scenario.

Rural tourism and e-commerce stores were developed. At present, there are eleven rural hotels (eight operated by locals and three by the graduate students from Tongji University) and several e-commerce stores selling local bio-agriculture products.

Decisions on these projects – including project approval, rural land renting, local jobs opportunities, and project-implementation processes, among others – were discussed between the local government and representatives of the village teams (see Fig. 4), and consensus was reached among the actors before these exploratory programmes were implemented.

Among the resulting benefits: the original spatial structure of the village was well preserved, which provided a fairly strong regional identity; infrastructure and public services were improved (see Fig. 5); rural cooperatives were

**Figure 5:** Improved infra-structures: Bus station, solar street lights, and fitness trail.  
Source: Authors' photograph



**Figure 6:** Local rural cooperatives. Source: Authors' photograph



**Figure 7:** A local rural hotel named Tian Geng. Source: Authors' photograph





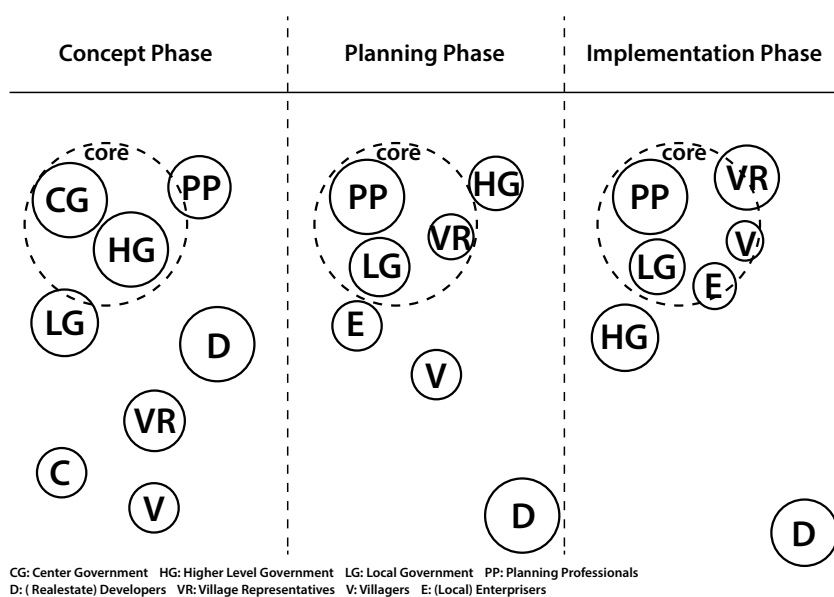
established (see Fig. 6); and tourism gradually developed (see Fig. 7).

Despite these benefits, some critical issues need to be raised following the seven years of the exploratory practice. First, although the exploratory programmes that were implemented were officially selected by the local government with the approval of village representatives and limited by the ecological development outline, there are still questions as to whether these programmes do actually meet the real and urgent needs of the villagers. Needs assessments were not based on the results of a survey or investigation of villager's local needs, but were instead based on a list of exploratory projects that the villagers could approve.

With limited options to choose from, villagers were inclined to accept what was on offer. Thus, they may have approved the projects and were happy to rent their lands out, but they did not get enough to support their families. They therefore still have to leave their families in search for other job opportunities (see Fig. 8).

Second, can we predict with certainty whether rural development will follow the eco-development route if official funding is lacking or government focus shifts to different directions? Sustainability of this exploratory practice is thus questionable.

Third, the annual income of 15,000 CYN (equivalent to 2,070 EUR) per year per hectare earned by villagers from land rental is too small to support their livelihoods. Most of the locals thus have to go out to work to supplement their incomes. "Even though some (about sixty) farmers were hired by the local rural cooperatives, many other



villagers had no jobs and had to go out in search of job opportunities. Leaving comfortable houses on the island and going to the centre of Shanghai to struggle for a living is thus against their will," a local governor reported.

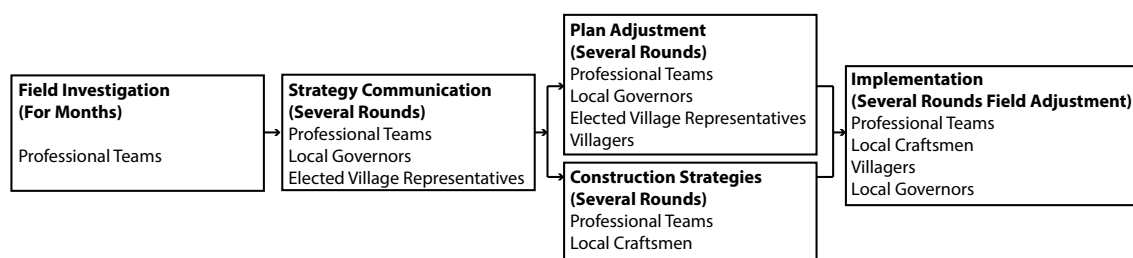
#### Rural development based on beautiful countryside construction: Shatan, Zhejiang Province

Shatan Village is geographically situated to the east of Zhejiang Province (see Fig. 9), within the Yangtze River Delta. "Nine mountains, half river, half farm", a well-known saying, perfectly describes the natural

▲ **Figure 8:** Actors of the project at different stages. Source: Authors' construct

▼ **Figure 9:** Location of Xianqiao and Shatan in Yangtze River Delta. Source: Authors

**Figure 10:** Rural planning process and actors in every crucial phase.  
Source: Authors' construct



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environment and human-land relationship in the village.

The registered population of Shatan is 1097, but 952 people actually lived there at the end of 2012. Shatan is 191.3 hectares in size, and its construction area is 27.25 ha, according to the Yutou Township Land Use Master Plan.

The spatial and social structure started to change in 1995, when the first village industry started, which brought in more jobs and environmental pollution. Affected by changing land policies, since 2005 many villagers have sold their land to the village collective for the new village construction, which has left them with no land to plant anymore. The new village is, actually, not a village anymore but village apartments similar to what is shown in Figure 2. Since 2013, however, new exploratory planning practices have been initiated based on a strategic protocol between the local government and Tongji University.

Unlike the regular planning process, this new exploratory practice did not follow the usual process of short-time field investigation to official planning document. It started with a large-scale field investigation by a team of masters' students from Tongji University led by an experienced professor.

They stayed in the village for over a month and the fieldwork was comprehensive, involving participant observations, questionnaire interviews, and group interviews. Through these, the planning team observed local needs and provided local perspectives, which aided in the later formulation of planning strategies (see Fig. 10). The professional team conducted in-depth discussions with local governors, including township governors and village governors elected by all the villagers.

Demolishment of old buildings did not suit the new concept of retaining historical buildings, but due to the situation of limited funding, a dilemma arose regarding how to meet the future needs of the village without demolishing old buildings due to the price of construction land and the role of an administrative village<sup>2</sup>.

First, the transformation of an old veterinary station was conducted as an experimental project (see Fig. 12). The basic façade and old construction structures were preserved, but the internal spaces were adjusted to suit multiple uses. The transformed old veterinary station was accepted by the locals and became a rural e-commerce store and a temporary planning exhibition room. It is important to note that the construction processes involved the skills of local craftsmen as well as a series of participatory decision-making processes (see Fig. 11).

Three effects of the exploratory rural practice are obvious in Shatan village: firstly, when the new functions were introduced, they vitalised local life and made the village competitive; secondly, traditional building styles and spatial structures were respected and preserved, which improved local-identity; and thirdly, the improved built environment in the village increased funding from the higher level government (through the distribution of annual rural development budgets).

Despite these benefits, after three years of the exploratory planning practice, some critical questions can be raised. First, is improving public services for future development a better choice compared to other concepts, such as improving current living conditions? During the interview, some villagers expressed their views. For instance: "There might be only at most 7%-10% of locals benefiting from the tourism development", or "The money could be used to improve our social insurance".

Second, a vital actor (property developers) was not included in the plan-development process. If property developers were to use their own money without government funding, would the projects still be developed in the same manner as had been done with government funding? This is a particularly important question, as developers are usually more interested in short-term benefits than in preserving village traditions. Third, the project was promoted and guided by an experienced university professor who was willing to spend time

## 2

Administrative village is the smallest unit of rural autonomy management in China. The administrative village is larger and renders integrated public services in its region.

**Figure 11:** Fieldwork Shatan Village. Source: Authors' photograph





**Figure 12:** Comparison of the transformed veterinary station. Source: Huangyan Practice, 2012, authors' photograph

and engage in in-depth participatory planning. Will this practice be easily replicated in another area without the engagement of such a personality?

## Conclusion

Decades of misunderstanding of urban-rural relationships, which consider urban areas as the fundamental arena of capitalist spatiality (Brenner, 2000) and rural areas as subsidiary factor resources, have led to the neglect of rural development and widened the gap between urban and rural China. To address this, exploratory planning practices have been initiated in rural China since 2008. Xian-qiao Village and Shatan Village are two typical examples of these exploratory practices. Although both case studies

chalked some successes, we argue that there are critical questions to be raised on the sustainability of these practices. Neither the long-term professional teams that participated nor the experimental programmes that were directly or indirectly supported through political funding can be considered as sustainable. Alternatively, the development of a more adaptable and local, internal development mechanism would be more preferable and sustainable.

Unlike planning practice in metropolitan areas, which produces "space products" for the market in which citizens have the right or ability to choose to buy or not, villagers do not have the ability to choose but have to accept living in rural China<sup>3</sup>.

**3**  
Only the "villagers' class" that legally own lands that were distributed to them. They have a special human-land relationship, which normally indicates that the villagers will not leave their land.

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# From Advice to Best Practices – Ranges of Planning Diffusion and their Transfer Outputs in Kigali, Rwanda

Carolyn Pätsch

## **Von Beratung zu „Best Practices“ – Planungsdiffusion und Ergebnisse dieses Transfers in Kigali, Ruanda**

„Planungsdiffusion“ ist die Übertragung von Ideen, Politiken oder Planungsinstrumenten zwischen Städten, Ländern und Kulturkreisen. Obwohl Planungsdiffusion fester Bestandteil von Stadtentwicklungsprozessen ist – bereits im römischen Reich wurden Planungsprinzipien zur Stadtentwicklung innerhalb des Reiches übertragen – veränderten sich die Typen von Planungsdiffusion. Aktuell verbreiten sich Planungsideen international in neuen Formen und Strömen, die sich im Spannungsfeld von globaler Politikübertragung und dem physischen Design zur Nationalstaatenbildung (Healey 2010) bewegen. Das Konzept der Planungsdiffusion umfasst wissenschaftliche Konzepte im Bereich des Lernens, des Politiktransfers und der „urban models“. Der folgende Artikel betrachtet die Ergebnisse solcher Prozesse am Beispiel von Kigali, Ruanda. In den letzten 100 Jahren wurde die Entwicklung Ruandas stark von Ideen, die von „Außen“ kamen und importiert wurden, geprägt. Aufgrund des dringenden Bedarfs an effektiven Steuerungsinstrumenten ist das ruandische Planungssystem aktuell besonders annahmefähig für Planungsdiffusion. Der Artikel stellt in einer zielorientierten Analyse einige Veränderungen im Planungssystem in Ruanda dar, die durch die Erstellung eines detaillierten Masterplans entstanden sind. Es werden verschiedene Ausprägungen von Planungsdiffusion in Kigali erläutert und die Ergebnisse im Planungshandeln dargestellt.

## **An approach to planning diffusion**

Once planning diffusion takes place, formerly unknown ideas, policies, or instruments are taken over from elsewhere. Planning diffusion indicates the "travelling" of ideas and instruments of urban design that "involve complex processes of translation, interpretation and adaptation" (Healey, 2010: 5). Hence, planning diffusion leads to an increase in the transformation of local urban standards and instruments.

Regarding its long history and wide field of objectives, planning diffusion has become part of the planning tradition of countries (Ward, 2002) and is an integral part of the daily urban planning practice of city administrations all over the world. Current phenomena of planning diffusion in urban fields range from urban modelling and best practice to consultancy and international workplace exchange.

In the process of planning diffusion, different agents operate as porters of ideas, e.g., politicians, researchers, policy consultants. Globally acting agents bring the best practice from their countries or bring a set of models of good policy (McCann & Ward, 2011: xxi). Thus, city development becomes part of international networks of policymakers (McCann & Ward, 2011: xiv), international development agencies, and business strategies of internationally operating planning firms and real estate developers (neo-colonial tendencies). Therefore, globalisation is the reason for expanding networks and communities throughout "circuits of knowledge" (Healey, 2010: 5) in academia and practice, which impacts planning diffusion in the 21<sup>st</sup> century.

Consequences of planning diffusion include homogenised planning approaches, which are an asset for

internationally operating firms and developers. Hence, the standardised approaches are targeted by cities to win the competition of investment and consumption (see Ward, 2002: 6), notwithstanding the fact that cities often still use outdated planning standards.

Even though planning diffusion is a subject in various fields of research, typologies of planning diffusion rarely are. The typologies from the historic research of Ward, which refer to context and milieu (see Ward, 1999: 53), form an exception. The endogenous key features of these typologies differentiate according to the initialisation of the diffusion and to the power relation between the exporting and importing parties (see Ward, 1999: 55-58). Ward distinguishes between imposition, borrowing, and synthetic innovation (see Ward, 1999). However, these categories are "not static descriptions" (Ward, 1999: 58); the classification changes very often within the process, and overlapping within the typologies is common.

The main driver of planning diffusion by imposition – Ward names authoritarian, contested, and negotiated imposition – is the exporting country that does not recognise "indigenous democratic or property rights" (Ward, 1999: 55). A typical context for planning diffusion by imposition is the colonial age: planning ideas were often transferred unmodified from the colonial motherland to most of the colonies. Examples of this diffusion are the urban planning of the French in the Maghreb, e.g., Casablanca (see Ward, 1999: 56), or the British Town Planning Act of 1947, which spread throughout the colonies (e.g., Singapore and Australia) in the 1950s.

The initiator of the process, the importing country, shapes the outputs in the borrowing typology. According to Ward, selective and undiluted borrowing exists. It is optional

whether the importing country is borrowing planning approaches from a single or multiple sources. The selective borrowing does not happen randomly. However, it is mainly based on common cultural or technical features (see Ward, 2002: 403). Examples of this diffusion are the spread of societal models, like the Garden City, or planning approaches of the 20th century, such as, e.g., rehabilitation by events or waterfront development.

The third of Ward's categories is synthetic innovation, which is not a clearly independent category because it is often the outcome of other borrowing processes. The imported ideas and practices are "synthesised with other ideas and practice to create what became, in effect, further innovation" (Ward, 2002: 402).

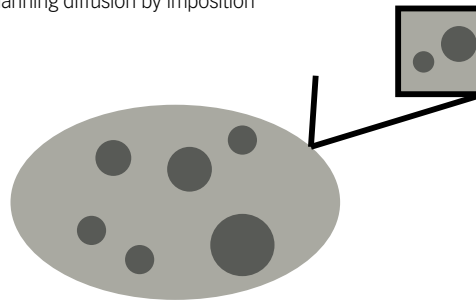
Best practice transfer is a special type of planning diffusion in a globalised society (Healey, 2010: 13). Even though the focus and scope of best practice reaches from policy to the design of urban spaces, best practice can be seen as the figurative appearance of the transfer of ideas. By definition, best practice is the "way in which measures are carried out based on state-of-the-art technology, scientific principles as well as practical experiences and official recommendations" (Evert, 2010: 68). Best practice has the capability of promoting policy transfer as well as learning (see Bulkeley, 2006: 1035), because the employment of best practice can help overcoming a lack of knowledge (see Bulkeley, 2006: 1035). However, best practice is not a universal remedy. As with planning diffusion, the application does not release decision makers from the necessity of confrontation with framework conditions in the planning environments. Bulkeley argues that the use of best practice stipulates the "interpretation of the policy problem" (Bulkeley, 2006: 1029), which has the same notion as the synthetic innovation of Ward. Thus, Ward and Bulkeley both agree that planning diffusion leads to something "new".

International development agencies promote planning diffusion because they impose conditions for financial and technical support to the cities of the South (see Ward, 1999: 54; see Stren & Halfani, 2001: 469). Urban policy subjects are forced onto the urban agendas, which impacts the respective planning practice of cities due to the mandatory fulfilment of specific indicators. Apart from objectives, international development aid agencies often promote the diffusion of ideas of best practice because their application seems to help cities in fulfilling the required indicators. Best practices are promoted by, e.g., the UN, which offers online databases of best practice models in human settlement and environment (UN-Habitat, 2016). This means, best practice policies become "preapproved" because they have been named a model (see McCann & Ward, 2011: xxi-xxii) for a specific development, which always contains a political notion.

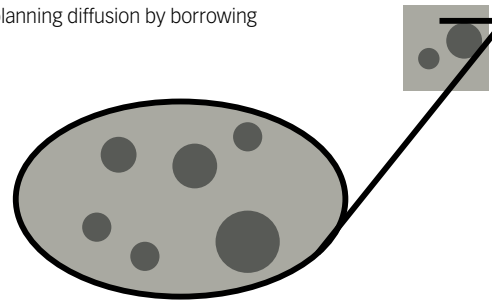
### Planning diffusion check

Why do we need to know about urban planning diffusion? Even though planning diffusion seems to be a more or less academic problem, cities should pay attention to the ambiguity of the transfer. Understanding the transnational flows of knowledge (see Robinson, 2011) is fundamental for dealing consciously with planning diffusion and avoiding the constraints of the transfer.

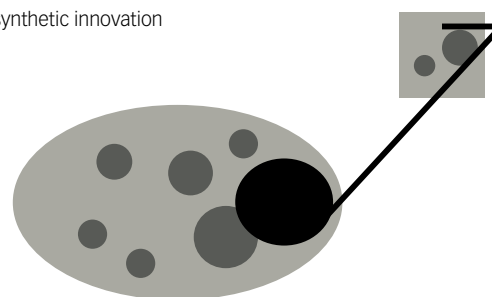
planning diffusion by imposition



planning diffusion by borrowing



synthetic innovation



The objective of the planning diffusion check is to match the definitions of instruments developed by consultants to the implementation activities on the ground. The planning diffusion check provides an analytical scheme for operationalised instruments, which arranges applied implementation mechanisms into types due to policy transfer and to types of unspecified (local) origin. Thus, it provides arguments to develop a critical attitude towards planning diffusion by urban consultancy.

The matching is carried out by the categories: implementation according to definition, interpretation of definition, and additional implementation mechanism. The first category arranges implementation activities that are implemented according to the definition in the plan. The second category, in contrast to the direct transfer of category one, roots in the plan but the definition of the plan is interpreted. Both the first and the second category are a result of planning diffusion. The latter category, "additional implementation mechanism", groups all activities that have no root in planning diffusion.

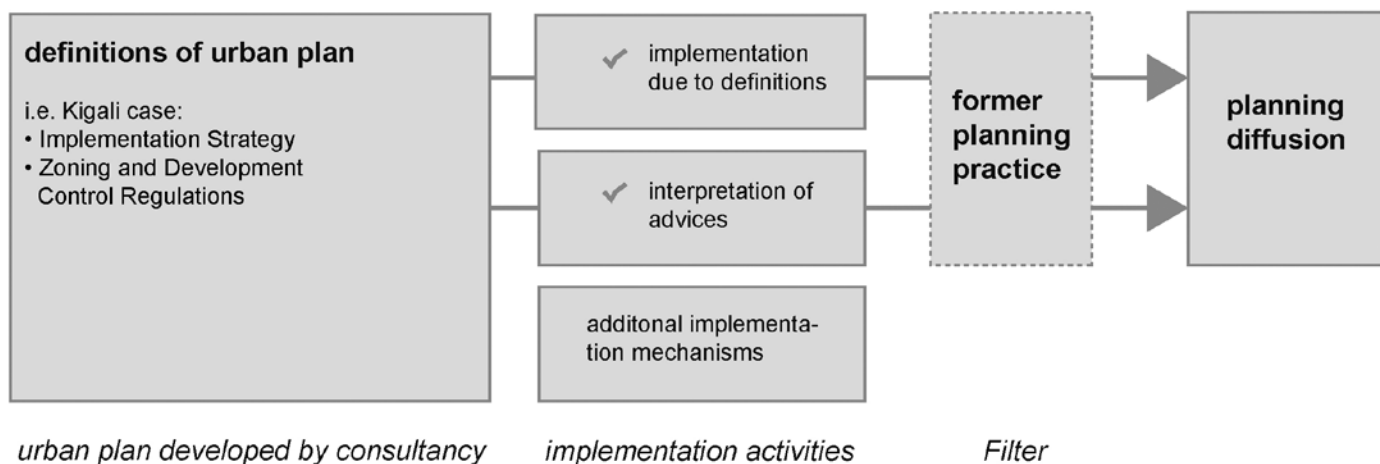
### The case of Kigali

The planning culture of Rwanda is historically shaped by imposition phenomena. Currently, the phenomenon of planning diffusion in Kigali is diverse. The impact of

**Figure 1:** The relation between the exporting and importing parties in a process of planning diffusion according to Ward (1999): imposition (left), borrowing (middle), and synthetic innovation (right). Source: Carolin Patsch

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▲ **Figure 2:** Procedure of planning diffusion check.  
Source: Carolin Pätzsch

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international aid agencies is obvious, because Rwanda currently receives monetary support (40% to 45% of the national budget is foreign aid [Faujas, 2012: 72]) in various issues. The country also obtains technical advice from various governments. This leads to different ranges of planning diffusion because the advice is not necessarily harmonised among the governments. The attraction of international capital from private investment, which is currently one of the major objectives of Kigali's politicians, also favours planning diffusion.

Urbanisation is a relatively recent process in Rwanda, which has a long tradition of dispersed settlements. The growth of Kigali accelerated in the 21st century due to population increases and post-genocide politics. Nearly all public functions and administrative entities were grouped and centralised in Kigali. In 2005, Kigali reached about half a million inhabitants and, in 2012, 1,135,428 people (Nyarugenge District, n.d.: 9) lived there. The population is estimated to double by 2022, due to demographic and economic conditions (City of Kigali, 2012: 6).

The Detailed Master Plan of Kigali stipulates diffusion because the plan was developed by Surbana International

Consultants Pte Ltd (hereinafter Surbana), from Singapore. On the one hand, the Detailed Master Plan has a potentially ideological notion because Kigali is attempting to completely change its image with the master plan (Watson, 2014: 3). On the other hand, the Detailed Master Plan offers precise instruments for urban steering practices in Kigali, which generate new urban definitions and performance instruments. After approval of the planning document in 2013, it became the main resource for urban planning activities in Kigali. The scale of definitions in the Detailed Master Plan and the diversity of changes in Kigali make it a good example when researching planning diffusion.

The Detailed Master Plan consists of the detailed district physical plans of all districts (Gasabo, Kicukuru, and Nyarugenge), zoning plans and regulations, a transportation master plan, urban design schemes for specific estates, and an implementation strategy and thus a new set of planning instruments for Kigali. The Detailed Master Plan "review[s] the planning directions and strategies" and provides precise definitions by means of zoning plans and development-control regulations (City of Kigali, 2013a: ix). All sub-plans of the Detailed Master Plan can be accessed



► **Figure 3:** The transforming city shape of Kigali. Source: Carolin Pätzsch





◀ **Figure 4:** The construction site of the convention centre in Kigali – a symbol of multi-cultural diffusion process in urban issues: designed by a German architect and constructed by Chinese contractors. Missing Rwandan norms of construction make the development process very challenging. Source: Carolin Pättsch

online, and the zoning is also available online (WEBGIS). Since its adoption, zoning has been the basis of development control in Kigali. Its definitions incorporate the type of use, the development intensity, and the settings as well as the height of buildings (City of Kigali, 2013d: 2). The methodology of the Detailed Master Plan as well as the ways of its communication create an international planning regime in Kigali and offer the design for the creation of "office, retail, industrial, residential as well as leisure real estate", which has a certain demand due to economic growth (Rothenberger, 2010: 79).

### Of planning diffusion in the implementation strategy

In contrast to former approaches of master planning in Kigali, which failed due to missing operationalisation and financial resources (Michelon, 2012: 122-124), the implementation strategy operationalises the Detailed Master Plan and makes it applicable for the Rwandan administration. The implementation strategy indicates planning diffusion of three types:

- Textbook principles
- Advice on, e.g., administrative structure
- Best practices.

The textbook principles, e.g., on land consolidation and on affordable housing, are universal. The article assumes that the character of the advice is helpful for the Kigali administration, because most of the urban planning staff lacks experience regarding the steering of urban development projects.

Advice for new departments is also given in the implementation strategy. The advice is specific to Kigali, because it refers to existing institutions of the administration. One example in this regard is the advice for an urban design unit (City of Kigali, 2013c: 38), the setup of which was planned in 2014. Best practice examples are presented in the appendix (see City of Kigali, 2013c: 59). Singapore's planning is referred to in the urban planning

implementation mechanisms and the housing implementation mechanisms. There are best practices from Japan (land pooling), India (land pooling, land swap, urban upgrading), and Latin America (integrated slum-upgrading strategies). The description of the best practices concludes with learning points of, e.g., organisation and finance. The openness of the best practices provides options for interpretation, which is in-line with Bulkeley (Bulkeley, 2004: 1). Although the process of choosing the best practice model is unknown, it is likely that the rationalities of the best practices are built upon Singapore's experiences and filtered through Rwanda's political objectives, which remain stable in the process (see Bulkeley, 2004: 1033). The degree of adoption of the best practices, however, is still unclear, and the openness of the best practices indicates interpretations of the best practice examples.

The examples show that the advice of the implementation strategy is not implemented according to definition; instead, most of the time they are interpreted, which leads to synthetic innovation in Kigali.

### Planning diffusion by regulation of development control

Currently, there are development-control regulations on the national (Rwanda) and city (Kigali) levels that frame the conditions of development control and complement each other. On the national level, the Rwandan Building Control Regulation aims to be the "standard reference for the regulation of building design and construction" in Rwanda, which is "based on British standards and specifications as laid out by the British Standards Institution" (Ministry of Infrastructure 2008, 2010). This superior document provides definitions of, e.g., general terms of construction, administrative procedures for planning approval, design requirements, and constructions.

On the city level, the Detailed Master Plan provides a refined development control through zoning plan reports for each district and a citywide zoning map (see WEBGIS). The zoning plan reports define the types of buildings, building coverage, and necessary building measures (City of Kigali,

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▲ **Figure 5:** Preparations for the implementation of the Detailed Master Plan in the inner city of Kigali.  
Source: Carolin Pättsch

2013d: 6-10). They incorporate the type of use, the development intensity, and the settings and height of buildings. Therefore, the zoning plan regulations are on the level of urban design regulations. Notwithstanding the citywide plan, the regulations make no difference between existing and planned land use. And they do not show existing buildings.

The diffusion check of the development-control regulations for the Detailed Master Plan reveals implementation due to definition. The development control regulations are implemented according to the definitions of the Detailed Master Plan, which differ from previous regulations in Kigali.

### **The Rwandan way – reflections on planning diffusion**

The described development is a snapshot in time and a glimpse of the current situation of planning diffusion in Kigali. Even though the article focuses on the Detailed Master Plan, Kigali still practises multi-polar learning. Considering the differentiation of Ward, the following categories of planning diffusion can be drafted for the Detailed Master Plan of Kigali: The advice of the implementation strategy lead to synthetic innovation. The advice on textbook level consists of propositions which leave much room for interpretation. The recently approved strategy of affordable housing, which was also advised by the Detailed Master Plan, shows that the advice of the master plan are

being interpreted and widened. The institutional advice also leaves room for interpretation, but it is very likely that Rwandan planners act according to the propositions. The best practice advice lies somewhere between textbook advice and specific advice, and offers space for discursive reflection.

The development-control regulations belong to the borrowing category because they are implemented in accordance to definition. However, the process of implementing the Detailed Master Plan is underway, and the findings of this article indicate the direction of transformation. The advice of the Detailed Master Plan and best practice are being transformed from the supra-territorial level down to the local territory.

Although planning diffusion has to deal with struggles throughout the diffusion process – e.g., extent and depth of learning, usage of ideas as well as the control of space qualities (see Healey, 2010: 16) – this paper favours planning diffusion and best practice transfer. It is the design of the diffusion process as well as the way of its application that is crucial. The policies of a country, due to planning diffusion or not, are "intensely and fundamentally local, grounded, and territorial" (McCann & Ward, 2011: xiv). Thus, planning diffusion is only the de-territorialising and [re-]territorialising of policy knowledge (see McCann & Ward, 2011: xxi). If the transfer is a conscious reflection and adaption process, planning diffusion can be an ace in urban development.

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► **Figure 6:** Are the Detailed Master Plan of Kigali and its development control leading to a new city shape?  
Source: Carolin Pättsch

# Citizens' Spaces in Public Policy Design as Places of Learning and Knowledge Management

Lucía Ruiz Pozo

## **Beteiligungsräume zur Politikgestaltung in Ecuador als Lernorte und Orte des Wissensmanagements**

*Dieser Artikel diskutiert wie der „Sozialvertrag zum Wohnungsbau“ (Contrato Social por la Vivienda – CSV) in Ecuador Raum für Dialoge um Wohnraum und Stadtpolitik zwischen Planern, Politikern, Beratern und Akteuren der Zivilgesellschaft eröffnet hat. Durch diesen Prozess ist es den Akteuren gemeinsam gelungen, ein soziales Netzwerk für kollektives Lernen und Wissensproduktion aufzubauen. Hinter seinen partizipativen Ideen und Praktiken steht ein lokaler Paradigmenwechsel, der sich als Abwendung vom Neoliberalismus und Hinwendung zum „Sumakkawsay“, dem Streben nach einem „guten Leben“, beschreiben lässt. Die mit Beteiligung eines breiten und aus verschiedenen Sektoren bestehenden Akteursnetzwerk entwickelten Foren und Think-Tanks waren entscheidend für die Schaffung eines neuen Wissenssystems, das sich zudem als gutes Instrument herausgestellt hat, um stärker auf politische Programme Einfluss nehmen zu können. Der Artikel dokumentiert und analysiert das Programm des „Sozialvertrags zum Wohnungsbau“ (CSV) und den Prozess des Aufbaus dieser Vernetzungsstrukturen für kollektives Lernen und Wissensproduktion anhand von Sitzungsprotokollen, Gesetzesentwürfen, Vorschlägen, Veröffentlichungen sowie Interviews mit den beteiligten Akteuren.*

## **Introduction**

At the beginning of the twenty-first century, Ecuador and Latin America experienced transcendental transformations never before seen – in particular: the coming into power of progressive parties and movements (for example, Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva and Dilma Rousseff in Brazil, Nestor Kirchner and Cristina Fernández de Kirchner in Argentina, Hugo Chávez and Nicolas Maduro in Venezuela, Evo Morales in Bolivia, and Rafael Correa in Ecuador). These changes, in a new direction opposed to the neoliberal ideas, were an important opportunity for the historical left movements and actors. The social organisations had a great opportunity to engage in the processes of constituent assemblies developed in many South American countries. In particular, the "rebellion of the outlaws" in Ecuador marked a breakpoint in the neoliberal trend that had prevailed until then. The Constituent Assembly in Ecuador in 2007 was one of the most important processes of citizen participation in the construction of an alternative order. The right to "good living" – *sumak kawsay* in the Quechua language – in the new constitution became the primary objective of the nation, and a fundamental condition for the coexistence of citizens in diversity and in harmony with nature.

Advocacy coalitions and networks are spaces for learning and knowledge management. The experience of the Social Contract for Housing (hereafter, the CSV), is presented in this article as an expression of citizen mobilisation, reinforced by a think tank. The collective worked in building and managing its own agenda in order to influence urban and housing policies.

The article starts by presenting the context of the social action involved, followed by the process of conformation of the CSV, the actors, and the determinants (2005-2006). The next point describes the process of the consolidation of the CSV and its aims, the building of the agenda of the

CSV collective (2007-2008), and an explanation of their major effects: the "Citizen Demand for the Right to Housing, Right to the City and to Habitat" statement, and the civil demonstration at the Constituent Assembly. Finally, this article presents the spaces of influence in the public policy agenda, an effort which was the result of the large capacity building of the CSV (2008-2010).

## **1. Taking collective action: The Social Contract for Housing, a network aimed at influencing public policy**

To analyse collective action, it is important to understand the context, the historical process, and the development models that set the definition and guidance of public policies. These factors determine the type of relationships established between the state and the civil society.

Actors, organisations, and institutions organised in coalitions (formal or informal) assume a critical discourse in relation to the institutional strategies of public policies. In a context where political parties have lost their ability to mediate and channel social demands, new and complex scenarios of citizen participation arise. Similarly, the articulation of public policy implies governance scenarios in which citizens require participation in defining public policies (Ibarra, 2003; Ibarra, Gomà and Martí, 2002).

Nowadays, the analysis of public policy is more complex. Theoretical approaches integrate factors of different nature: internal and external; structural and individual; material, cultural, and historical; local and global; national and international (Roth, 2014: 70)<sup>1</sup>.

The CSV acts as a critical network operating in a scenario of governance in which actors no longer operate in a subordinate manner. Instead, they act proactively, and contribute to joint, deliberative ways of resolving conflicts (Ibarra, Gomà and Martí 2002: 58). The process of the

**1**  
For further reference, see Sabatier's book *Theories of Public Policy Process* in which Silke Adam and Hanspeter Kriesi write about the approach of networks (in Sabatier, 2010: 139-168) and Paul Sabatier and Weible Christopher develop the advocacy coalitions framework (ACF) (in Sabatier, 2010: 203-240). Diane Stone writes about public policy analysis and think tanks in Chapter 11 of Fisher's (ed.) *Handbook of Public Policy Analysis Theory, Politics and Methods* (Fischer, 2007: 149-160),



**Figure 1:** The right to housing and the new right to the city in the 2008 Constitution of Ecuador. Source: 2008 Constitution of Republic of Ecuador (author's translation).

<p><b>Derecho al habitat, vivienda y servicios</b>  <b>Art. 30.-</b> las personas tienen derecho a un hábitat seguro y saludable, y a una vivienda adecuada y digna, con independencia de su situación social y económica.</p> <p><b>Derecho a la ciudad</b>  <b>Art. 31.-</b> Las personas tienen derecho al disfrute pleno de la ciudad y de sus espacios públicos, bajo los principios de sustentabilidad, justicia social, respeto a las diferentes culturas urbanas y equilibrio entre lo urbano y lo rural. El ejercicio del derecho a la ciudad se basa en la gestión democrática de ésta, en la función social y ambiental de la propiedad y de la ciudad, y en el ejercicio pleno de la ciudadanía.  <b>Constitución del Ecuador 2008</b></p>	<p><b>Right to Habitat, Housing and Services</b>  <b>Art. 30.</b> Every person has the right to a safe and healthy habitat and adequate and decent housing, regardless of their social and economic situation.</p> <p><b>Right to the City</b>  <b>Art. 31.</b> People are entitled to fully enjoy the city and its public spaces, according to the principle of sustainability, social justice, respect for different urban cultures, and equilibrium between urban and rural. The exercise of the right to the city is based on the democratic management of this, the social and environmental function of property and of the city, and the full exercise of rights of citizenship.  <b>New Constitution of Ecuador 2008</b></p>
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collective action of the CSV occurs within a context of rapid and complex changes. The CSV's activities started with the housing subsidy financial crisis. The CSV operates as a network to influence public policy. This collective is supported by a think tank and, seeking opportunities for communication and dissemination, aims at deliberative democracy and collective action focused on promoting social transformations.

Created in 2005, the CSV is a network of social organisations, NGOs, research centres, microfinance institutions, and private sector and social housing developers that are involved in promoting access to housing for the poor. The common goal is to influence the construction of a housing policy that promotes the right to the city. The CSV provides a space for participation, for critical action, and for the voluntary cohesion.

## 2. The beginning: conformation of the network (2005-2006)

The original group of the CSV was composed of the following actors: a) an urban research centre (CIUDAD)<sup>2</sup>, which in recent years has focused on housing microfinance and public policies, research, and actions; b) a social movement (Foro Urbano); c) a women's organisation (Women Fighting for Life Association – Asociación Mujeres Luchando por la Vida); d) one private enterprise involved in the construction of social housing (Eco & Arquitectos); and e) two international cooperation agencies (UN-Habitat, Ecuador, and Habitat for Humanity, Ecuador). These organisations worked together on the formulation of proposals, the design of intervention strategies, and the development of cooperation projects. The challenges were to allocate housing resources for low-income families, promote social organisation, and create opportunities for training and capacity building. The team also worked on establishing mechanisms to influence the programmatic agendas of the state.

In 2005, when the political and economic crisis affected the financial system of social housing, the core group decided to expand the network and collaborate with other actors engaged in social housing and habitat issues. The

task included gathering information to support advocacy work, communication in the media, and promoting social mobilisation. This critical moment (crisis subsidy policy) was the trigger for the confluence of others actors. As highlighted by Pedro Ibarra (2000: 9), "The existence of a collective action involves the pre-existence of a conflict, a tension that this collective action tries to solve – by giving it outreach and making it visible." Thus, from the dialectic of conflict emerges the vital force for the movement.

On September 11, 2005, the social actors released the statement, "Platform of the Social Organisations for Social Housing" (CSV, 2007a). In the statement, the collective advocated the expansion of subsidies for the poor, and also advocated greater opportunities for social participation in the definition of the housing policy. They were very critical about the government's actions (or inaction). They contacted the legislative actors of the National Congress and the Congressional Budget Commission, requesting the replenishment of this budget item. The actions of the CSV were concentrated on lobbying, communication, and awareness campaigns in the media. The advocacy coalition was interested in developing a series of information and training activities with community leaders and actors linked to the members of the group (Ruiz and Sanchez, 2011: 47). The campaigns in 2005 and 2006 were strong. After the re-establishment of the housing subsidy, the CSV expanded its actions in order to influence the formulation of a more-inclusive housing policy in the long term. In the context of the political change, the new authorities in the ministries were involved to resolve the financial problems. The CSV resumed the dialogue with each and explained to the new institutional actors the critical situation of social housing.

Throughout the entire time, the collective maintained a sustained internal debate analysing the impact of the crisis, the benefits and problems of the system of incentives, the taxes applied to social housing, and the pervasive conflict of land tenure. Depending on the issue, other organisations were involved in the collective. The CSV became stronger in order to promote changes in public policies. This diversity of actors made it possible for the CSV to foster wider debates raising critical issues and

2

CIUDAD, through the "Programa Paso a Paso: Alianzas estratégicas para una vivienda digna", was at the core of platform. This programme was financed and supported by the Generalitat Valenciana – ACSUD Las Segovias (a Spanish NGO), the European Union, the Inter-American Development Bank, and others.

designing proposals. Round tables and work meetings took place to discuss strategies and proposals. These proposals emerging from the civil society were systematised by the secretariat of the advocacy coalition (CIUDAD) in order to open the dialogue with the institutions and actors responsible for the public policy.

### 3. Consolidation of the network: building the agenda for the Constituent Assembly (2007-2008)

During the presidential election of 2006, the CSV invited the potential political representatives in order to discuss proposal for the new agenda on urban and housing policies. The dialogues took place with the delegates of two left candidates: the delegates of Leon Roldós, in June, and later, in October, with Rafael Correa's delegates. During these dialogues, relevant orientations to address the sectorial issues were highlighted.

In January, 2007, a two-day meeting took place: "Towards the Social Contract for Housing". It worked on three levels: a) to provide a diagnosis of the economic, social, and political context; b) to develop advocacy strategies in public policies; and finally c) to design the operational structure of the CSV.

This event, as most of the following forums, took into consideration the points of view of the authorities of the Ministry of Urban Development and Housing<sup>3</sup>. The forum provided a space for sharing the sectorial diagnosis, and for exchanging the experiences of institutions, social organisations, foundations, and the private sector. The importance of social organisation, the experiences in financing and accessing social housing, and alternative technologies for rural, urban, and peripheral areas were the principal topics.

The advocacy strategy for influencing the public sector was defined. The challenges were raised, mainly taking into account the situation of the change of government and the prospect facing the Constituent Assembly. The agenda of the CSV focused on three areas:

- Advocating for city and housing rights in the Constitution
- Local and sectorial public policy
- Housing and land laws

The National Constituent Assembly convening in 2007 represented a historic opportunity to update and strengthen individual, social, and collective rights, and to lay the foundations for a new type of state policies. In this context, the CSV prompted an intensive campaign to achieve a specific and responsive inclusion of the right to housing, the city, and habitat in the new Constitution. This process involved an intensive task of planning, discussion, feedback, and dissemination of the agreed-upon content. Two major international forums in Quito and Guayaquil, and two national forums in Santo Domingo and Cuenca, were held to discuss and gather the content that would make up the body of proposals to the Constituent Assembly. This process led to the development of the "Citizen Demand" ("Demanda Ciudadana, por el Derecho



la vivienda la ciudad y el hábitat"). The CSV developed a proposal calling for a specific right, the "right to housing, the city, and habitat", and called for fundamental changes, including reforms in the development model, land-use planning, and citizen participation.

The demands of the "Citizen Demand" to the Constituent Assembly were presented for the first time on November 8, 2007, in Quito during a public ceremony at the Latin American Faculty on Social Studies (FLACSO), Ecuador. The event gathered members of the CSV and political actors together, who agreed on the below statements:

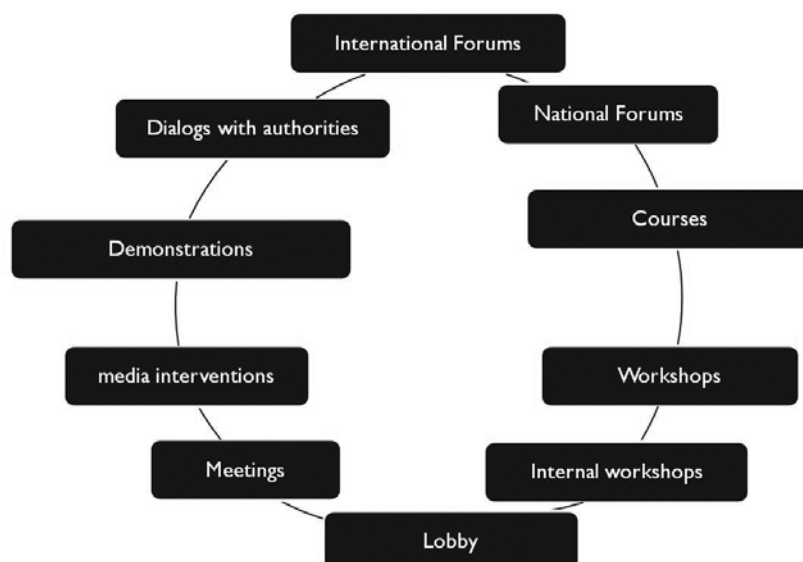
a) Right to an adequate housing and a safe, healthy, sustainable, and inclusive habitat. The State must ensure universal access to housing and building a sustainable habitat through participatory housing and human settlements policy formulation, enable mechanisms to democratise access to credit and land, institutionalise spaces for participation, and assume responsibility in the exercise of the right to ensure adequate housing and inclusive and intercultural cities (CSV, 2008);

b) Individual and collective citizen participation – ensuring its independence – and the participation of social organisations in the decision-making processes;

**Figure 2:** Advocating for the inclusion of the right to housing and the right to the city in the Constitution. Source: Ruiz and Sánchez, 2011

**3**  
The Housing Secretary at Ministry of Housing and Urban Development (MIDUVI), Ing. Walter Solís, who was subsequently appointed Minister of Housing and Urban Development (2009-2010), and Ec. Pedro Páez (Central Bank official, later Minister of the Ministry of Economic Policy [2007] and, since 2014, superintendent at Superintendence of Control of Market Power), were invited to attend the meeting and present the current sectorial policies.

**Figure 3:** Spaces of exchange, learning, and influence. Source: Own figure based on section 2 of Ruiz and Sanchez. 2011, p. 44-53



**Figure 4:** Civil society involved with the "citizen demand". Source: Cover of the CSV publication *Demanda Ciudadana, por el Derecho a la vivienda la ciudad y el Hábitat* (2008). Quito: CIUDAD



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**Figure 5:** Urban forum demonstration at the Constitutional Assembly. Source: Ruiz and Sánchez, 2011



On February 8 and 9, 2008, a delegation from the CSV was received by the Constituent Assembly at the work groups in Montecristi. The delegates advocated for the incorporation of each of the statements defined in the "Citizen Demand". Today, the right to housing and the right to the city are part of the Ecuadorian Constitution, as well the transparency and the social control mechanisms of the State.

The "Citizen Demand" was the result of an intense process of deliberation and the consensus of various social and institutional actors – this advocacy coalition emerged in a high and complex, socio-political, and economic environment. The agenda formulation was the result of internal debate and of the relationship with public actors. Social actors argue that the right approach has to involve state and social actors in a collaborative construction of the public agenda.

## 4. Further steps of the collective action. Influencing the public policy agenda (2008-2010)

Between 2008 and 2010, the CSV was involved in a collaborative process of interaction in the construction of the public agenda, insisting on the urgency of addressing the immediate problems and responding to the urgent claims of families, but also keeping in mind the conditions and quality of life in the medium and longer term.

In order to expand the thematic spaces for debate and learning, and to strengthen individual and collective capacities, the CSV worked at national and regional levels to develop public forums. The public authorities, social organisations, academics, and private sector were all involved to share their experiences. Some of the fields of learning, debate, and deliberation were: a) financing, b) rural housing, c) the role of municipal local governments, and d) land tenure.

One of the crucial issues of social housing is financing. Many discussions focused on the urgent need to develop a comprehensive system of housing finance, which involves looking for and obtaining the commitment of public and private financial agents, to enable equal access to housing finance for the different social sectors (with emphasis on the most disadvantaged sectors). It worked, in a sense, for proposals to be feasible and ensure the long-term channelling of funds. In this regard, the CSV developed an active campaign to support the construction of a new financial architecture that would democratise credit without losing sight of the efficient use of fiscal resources.

In regard to the rural sector, two key issues emerged: access to land and appropriate technologies. The problem was addressed through the exchange of national and international experiences with the collaboration of CSV member organisations: COVIPROV (Empresa Provincial de Vivienda), FUNHABIT (Fundación Ecuatoriana del Hábitat), ECOSUR (Red para el hábitat económico y ecológico), Fundación Ecosur Ecuador, FEPP (Fondo Ecuatoriano Populorum Progressio), and exhibitions of San Simon University (Bolivia), Tu Techo Mexicano-Guadalajara (Mexico), and ECOSUR (Nicaragua).

In November, 2008, a forum entitled "Housing Policies in the New Constitutional Context of Ecuador: National and International Experiences of Municipal Management in





Figure 6: Urban forum demonstration at the Constitutional Assembly. Source: Ruiz and Sánchez, 2011

the Field of Housing the City and Habitat" was held, with the collaboration of national and local planning authorities as well as foreign experts. It provided a space for the exchange and capitalisation of knowledge on concrete actions related to the redistribution of surplus value, elimination of duties and taxes for social housing, territorial planning, and participatory systems. A specific debate on land issues further took place at FLACSO in July, 2009.

## 5. Acting on the public policy formulation (2008-2010)

In addition to these learning and exchange forums, in the course of 2008-2010 spaces for dialogue were opened and round tables and specific workshops organised with institutional actors from MIDUVI to deal with topics such as: financing social housing, settlement upgrading, and incentive systems to housing.

In 2009, the CSV was invited to join the assemblies convened by The National Secretary of Planning and Development (SENPLADES) in order to help formulate the Development National Plan 2009-2013.

In 2010, the CSV participated in the forum and was requested to provide comments on the policy designed by MIDUVI. Finally, in 2011, the CSV became part of the Citizen Sectoral Council on Habitat, Human Settlements and Housing, which, under Article 52 of the Organic Law of Citizen Participation, is the space for dialogue, deliberation, and monitoring of national and sectorial public policies. As part of the Sectorial Council, the CSV participated in the elaboration of the guidelines for the so-called "Urban Revolution".

In order to systematise information and prepare for making proposals, internal preliminary meetings of the CSV preceded all of the processes of collective interaction with public actors.

## Conclusion

This narrative identifies the participatory spaces that were established in the pre- and post-constitutional process of Ecuador, starting in 2007. The process was a virtuous circle of joint work, one which opened spaces for dialogue and advocacy, and positively informed the formulation of public policies.

The success of the CSV is based on the degree of recognition achieved, the level of participation generated, and the diversity of actors who convened and participated in the creation or strengthening of spaces for dialogue and advocacy with the government; that is, in a process of democratic governance and enforceability of the right to the city.

The level of participation generated is related to the CSV's capacity to make propositions and the degree of visibility acquired by the group, as well as its capacity to build a collective identity and draw on the diversity of interests to positively and successfully interact with the public authorities.

Year	Learning, sharing and acting context	Impact and results
2005	Crisis of subsidies	Replenishment of housing subsidies
2007	Constituent Assembly	Articles on housing right, right to the city, participatory planning, territorial organisation
2009	National Development Plan	Objectives, strategies, and guidelines for housing, territorial, and urban planning
2010 2011	Housing and Urban Policy	Participation in the new agenda of public policy and part of the Citizen Sectorial Council
2012	Political Platform for "The Urban Revolution"	Participation in the "Urban Revolution" agenda analysis

The collective construction and monitoring of a well-defined agenda (acting at both the constitutional and policy levels) are key elements of the CSV's permanence, legitimacy, and capacity to influence the agenda.

Permanence and strength of the articulated network is based on the convergence of basic principles, internal confidence, and respecting the autonomy of the actors that came together to achieve visibility and impact public policy. The sustainability of the collective is further based on:

- The diversity, complementarity, and articulation of actors, with particular approaches, strategies, and resources towards a common goal;
- The ability to develop different strategies for mobilisation, dissemination, proposition, empowerment, and direct lobbying with public actors (political and technical);
- The capacity and ability to respond to short-term challenges;
- The ability to build bridges with other national and international networks; and
- The ability to mobilise resources.

The development of forums also constituted a substantial element of the coalition and its consolidation, as it allowed for the involvement of a plurality of actors and generated a system of knowledge production, livelihood proposals, and expanded learning networks in a particular field (which is by nature extremely complex).

Table 1: Learning, sharing and acting context & impacts and results on collective action. Source: Own elaboration based on Ruiz and Sánchez, 2011

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## Book Reviews / Neue Bücher

### Architektur

**McGuirk, J.; Radical Cities – across Latin America in Search of a New Architecture. Verso. London-New York. 2015.**

**ISBN 978-1781688687, 304 S.**

Warum Lateinamerika? Weil es dort einige bemerkenswerte Experimente des modernen Urbanismus und des Kampfes um das Recht auf Stadt gibt. Lange bevor China oder Afrika ihr heutiges massives Wachstums erlebten, haben viele der lateinamerikanischen Länder schon einen 80%igen Urbanisierungsgrad erreicht. Oscar Niemeyer und andere Architekten sind schon früh bekannt geworden für ihre führende professionelle Rolle. Frühe Beispiele von massenhaftem sozialem Wohnungsbau entstanden in Mexiko und Peru, um dem Problem der Favelas, Barriadas oder Villas Miserias entgegenzuwirken. Lima gab John F.C. Turner die Ideen zur Theorie des Selbsthilfe-Wohnungsbaus. Der internationale Wettbewerb für PREVI in Lima hat einige der weltbekannten Architekten zusammengebracht, in einem heute weitgehend vergessenen Wettbewerb, dessen Ergebnisse modelhaft gebaut wurden. Am Anfang des neuen Millenium, so der Autor, hat Architektur eine volle Abkehr von sozialen Inhalten erreicht, und eine Rückkehr zur "reinen" Architektur. Opportunismus a lá Rem Koolhaas herrscht: 'Form ohne Utopie'. Das Buch argumentiert, dass die sozial-reformerischen Ideen des 20. Jahrhunderts weitgehend zu ihrem Ende gekommen sind, und dass aber nun in den Zeiten nach der Wirtschaftskrise von 2008 neue urbane Experimente entstehen. Das Buch präsentiert sich als optimistische Sichtweise dieser neuen Trends. Chile und die Arbeit von Alejandro Aravena im Norden Chiles wird besonders hervorgehoben; es handelt sich um sozialen Wohnungsbau mit geringsten Mitteln, der den Bewohnern anbietet, in Selbstbauweise ihre Wohnungen zu vervollständigen. Ein prämiertes bahnbrechendes Projekt des "wachsenden Hauses" im öffentlich geförderten Wohnungsbau. In Venezuela bietet die Arbeit des Urban Think Tank das wichtige Beispiel einer Initiative der sozialen Infrastruktur, vertikale Gyms, und die Propagierung der Kabelbahn für die am Hang gebauten informellen Siedlungen. In Rio de Janeiro's Favelas ist es das Favela Bairro Program, welches von der Regierung und internationalen Entwicklungsbanken co-finanziert wird. Favela Bairro gilt als nachhaltig und sehr einflussreich, da es neue Allianzen mit den sozialen Organisationen der Favela Bewohner ermöglichte. In Kolumbien, stehen die Beispiele Bogota und Medellin im Vordergrund. Bogota hat es erreicht mit edukativen Methoden, eine neue Kultur im Stadtverkehr einzuführen, auf die nachfolgende Bürgermeister aufbauen konnten, beim Bau eines der grössten Bus Rapid Transit Systems der Region, dem Transmilenio. In Medellin hat die Arbeit in den informellen Siedlungen eine wichtige Rolle angenommen zur sozialen Identitätsfindung und

Integration der marginalisierten Bevölkerung. Die Erfahrung von Medellin ist die einer Art progressiver 'Top-Down'-Mobilisierung. In Tijuana, an der Grenze zu den USA, hat Teddy Cruz informellen Siedlungsbau der Migranten angeregt, zur Illustration der sozialen Verhältnisse der Migranten. Die Liste der Beispiele von 'bottom-up' Initiativen lässt sich erweitern. Das Buch ist gefüllt von Beispielen professioneller Frontlinien, zum Beispiel in Porto Alegre oder in Caracas, wo Wohnungslose ein leerstehendes 45-geschossiges Bürohochhaus besetzt halten. Dem Autor nach gibt es viel von den transformierenden Reformprojekten, vom Aktivismus seiner Protagonisten in Lateinamerika zu lernen, mehr als von anderen Regionen. Ob dies richtig ist, soll hier dahingestellt bleiben. Eine neue Generation von Aktivisten und Architekten ist im Begriff sich zu entwickeln. Viele der zu ihrer Zeit radikalen oder innovativen Praktiken sind heute schon zu anerkannten Mainstream geworden, von UN-Habitat auf internationalen Veranstaltungen gelobt, und mit wichtiger Signalwirkung in die Praxis unserer Städte. "Radical Cities" kann denen empfohlen werden, die sich in Lateinamerika noch nicht auskennen, und es erläutert wichtige historische Zusammenhänge, ohne allerdings weiter zu erklären, was mit der "Radical" City gemeint ist.

*Florian Steinberg*

**Frederick R. Steinber, George F. Thomson, and Armando Carbonell (Hrsg.): Nature and Cities – The Ecological Imperative in Urban Design and Planning. The Lincoln Institute of Land Policy, Cambridge, Massachusetts. 2016. 465 S.**

Dieses neue Buch wird bekannt werden als ein Meilenstein der Integration von Landschaftsarchitektur, Architektur, und Stadtplanung. Zu einem Zeitpunkt, an dem die professionelle Welt sich die Aufgabe gestellt hat, die Städte nachhaltiger, grün und widerstandsfähig gegenüber den Herausforderungen des Klimawandels zu machen, ist dieses Buch von grosser Bedeutung. Dieser reichhaltig illustrierte Band behandelt die Perspektiven der 'nature-based green infrastructure' in der Stadtentwicklung. Die Herausgeber haben eine grosse Zahl von Autoren aus der Praxis und Wissenschaft zusammengebracht, die hier ihre Sichtweise zur Verbindung von Landschaftsplanung und 'nature-based green infrastructure' in der Stadtentwicklung darstellen. Viele Essays behandeln ökologische Methoden der Wasserreinigung, der Verhinderung von Überflutungen in der Stadt und in Küstengebieten. Landschaftsplanerische Konzepte werden mit dem (konventionellen) Ingenieurwesen verbunden, um daraus eine neue ökologische und nachhaltigere Entwicklung des Wassers in der Stadt zu erreichen. Es handelt sich vor allem um nichtkonventionelle Formen der Trinkwassergewinnung, der Trinkwasserreinigung, der Behandlung von Abwässern und der Verhinderung von Überschwemmungen. Alle

‘nature-based green infrastructure’ Konzepte sind eher Ökologie- als Technik-orientiert. Dies macht die Faszination dieses neuen Ansatzes aus: Im Zusammenhang des wektweisen Trends zu einer neuen Stadtökologie, werden neue Wege eingeschlagen, die versuchen, traditionelle Techniken des Wassermanagements zu aktualisieren und mit neuen Anwendungsformen zu verbinden. Das Ergebnis sind neue Produkte der Stadtästhetik und –funktionalität. Es ist zur gleichen Zeit auch ein Appell an das Bewusstsein der Planer, dass alles Leben mit der Natur beginnt, und dass die Natur eine Quelle des Lebens und ihres Fortbestandes ist. Sehr zu empfehlen!

*Florian Steinberg*

**Kongela, Sophia Marcian: Framework and Value Drivers for Real Estate Development in Sub-Saharan Africa. Assessment of the Tanzanian Real Estate Sector in the Context of the Competitiveness Model, with 35 figures, 40 tables and 3 boxes, Band 65 der Reihe “Schriften zur Immobilienökonomie”, Immobilien Manager Verlag, Köln 2013, ISBN 978-3-89984-332-3, 390 S..**

Please allow an explanatory remark: unlike the title of this publication may suggest, this book is not about on how to earn big money in short time with “mushrooming of modern buildings” (see p. 271) in the United Republic of Tanzania, particularly Dar es Salaam. Instead, in her dissertation, which is presented here, Sophia Marcian Kongela combines land development infancy and lacking “maturity” – these terminologies doubtlessly indicate that we are now entering the real estate world – with economic and legal models of competitiveness. Her work aims at the possibilities to foster land and property development in Tanzania as an instrument to strengthen the economic basis of the inhabitants as well as the developer’s bank accounts. A win-win-situation? Kongela’s study deals with competitive indicators for real estate developers based on Porter’s and Poorvu’s model(s) of competitiveness: factor conditions, demand, firm strategy, rivalry, and supporting industries (see chapter 2). To transform these macro, micro and meso-attributes into the assessment of the land-related real estate industry is anything else than an easy. Land is limited in supply and cannot be destroyed. Hence, I fully agree with the author: The concept of competitiveness still appears rather ill-defined (see p. 29) and remains often understood (see p. 31). Competitiveness comprises not only fiscal and monetary policies and a trusted legal context; wealth and poverty reduction as – from my point of view – core elements of conflict sensitive competitiveness are created by numerous factors that go far beyond the property development process and the maximization of profits (e.g., “high demand for modern properties and high returns”; see p. 275). In recent times, governments such the Tanzanian and development partners aim to integrate real estate development in sound land policies – sometimes embedded in “White Papers on Land” – natural resource management and spatial

planning instruments, and even science-based learning (see chapter 3). What many countries of the formerly called “forgotten African continent” have in common could be described as an investment stigma, a black box. Kongela managed to open this box to some extent; she enriches the theoretical messages with 47 interviews with local property development officers and financing specialists (see pp. 286-294). The author points out that in the past, the real estate market in Tanzania failed to unveil the necessary maturity as a fair, reliable, accountable and flexible basis for foreign investments. But one size never fits all for land policy. Spatial planning on national and decentralized levels (see p. 238), the legal framework, land policy guidelines, taxation and valuation differ from Sub-Saharan country to country which sometimes did not attain the progress of other emerging economies. Guidelines for investments, specifically through land leasing and derivative rights, are being drafted by the Tanzanian Ministry of Home Affairs as well as the Ministry of Energy and Minerals for commodities. However, this comes at a cost. Low income residents and small-scale farmers could be affected by property transactions – from communal to private property – and changing land classifications based on the Village Land Act No. 5 of 1999. For me, the most interesting factor of the broad concept of competitiveness is the question of re-conceiving the variety of tenure land rights in the new millennium and the establishment of an adapted comprehensive land policy framework for property development, not only in Tanzania. The possibilities for developing the “virgin” (sic!) land market for the investor’s yields and for the government’s interests, e.g., property taxes – are manifold (see chapter 4 and 5). Doubtlessly, the Tanzanian real estate market needs substantial framework arrangements which are supported by its national professional land management bodies, not necessarily by development cooperation agencies or foreign legal consulting companies. Kongela concludes that reliable institutions for the estate industry – professional, educational, scientific – have to be built up to achieve competitiveness (see chapter 6). But are such recommendations scientifically sufficient? Comparable to other low-income countries, the poverty of appropriate real estate policy regimes is a fundamental cause of why many of the African inhabitants who own real estate “on paper”, but are still hopelessly poor. Transparency, capacity building for finance institutions, land valuation, and property taxation, combined with planning tools such as the Global Land Tool Network or participatory and inclusive land readjustments to prevent land grabbing tendencies are indispensable and might serve as a helpful way of bridging the different worlds of real estate and corporate planning. However, the link between land policies, comprehensive spatial planning and estate development is broadly missing in this monograph. Without these said preconditions, especially pro-poor real estate policies will loose public trust due to severe deficiencies.

*Fabian Thiel*

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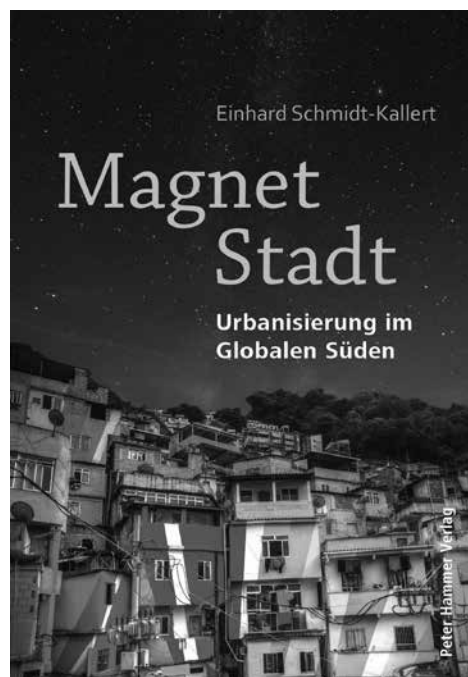
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**Einhard Schmidt-Kallert: Magnet Stadt. Urbanisierung im Globalen Süden, Peter Hammer Verlag Wuppertal 2016, ISBN 978-3779505600, 176 S.**

In Städten des globalen Südens ist in den letzten Jahrzehnten ein rapides Wachstum zu verzeichnen. Städte müssen also eine magnetische Wirkung haben. Magnet Stadt ist daher der Titel des neuen Buches von Einhard Schmidt-Kallert, das soeben im Peter Hammer Verlag erschienen ist. Es werden die vielen unterschiedlichen Aspekte des weltweiten Phänomens Stadtwachstum beschrieben. Dabei wird gleich am Anfang des Buches festgehalten, dass man Urbanisierungsprozesse nicht auf ein oder zwei Aspekte reduzieren kann, und auch nicht alle Länder, die heute unter dem Sammelbegriff "globaler Süden" zusammengefasst werden, gleich behandeln darf. Zu unterschiedlich sind das kulturelle Selbstverständnis, Klima und Landschaft, die Ökonomie, Geschichte und nicht zuletzt die Planungskultur der einzelnen Regionen. In den verschiedenen Kapiteln des Buches erklärt Schmidt-Kallert einige der facettenreichen Problemfelder, indem er in kurzen Passagen die Veränderung der Planungskultur persönlichen Erfahrungen gegenüberstellt, Planungsstrategien der einzelnen Länder auf ihre Tauglichkeit überprüft, indem er diese durch Interviews mit Betroffenen verifiziert. Einleitend werden Überlegungen zur Urbanisierung beschrieben. Immerhin wird seit Langem in der Fachwelt über eine "Wende in der Menschheitsgeschichte" gesprochen, da seit Kurzem die Mehrheit der Menschheit in Städten lebt, und hier eine starke Zunahme der Megastädte zu beobachten ist. Zu diesem Phänomen gibt es jede Menge Erklärungs- und Definitionsversuche. Doch Schmidt-Kallert zeigt auf, dass sich der Fokus für diese Erklärungen, was überhaupt Megastadt und welche Städte dazu gezählt werden, selbst

in den letzten Jahrzehnten geändert hat. Auch die Begrifflichkeit des Terms "Globaler Süden" hat sich in der Fachwelt stark gewandelt und immer wieder neue Definitionen in Umlauf gebracht. Dementsprechend haben sich auch die Fragestellungen und der Fokus der Habitat I im Jahr 1976, der Habitat II 1996, und Habitat III 2016 geändert, die ja städtische Veränderungen und Problemlagen zur Diskussion stellen. Ebenso haben sich die Planungsmodelle für Länder des globalen Südens seit dem ausgehenden 19. Jahrhundert stetig geändert. So war anfangs noch eine koloniale Planungskultur gebräuchlich, und es wurden westliche Planungsmodelle in den Ländern des globalen Südens angewendet. Heute versucht man städtische Phänomene anders zu beschreiben, wie etwa Doug Saunders diese als "Arrival Cities" beschreibt oder Mike Davies vom "Planet of Slums" spricht. Doch auch diese Erklärungen führen zu keinem allgemeingültigen Planungsansatz, der weltweit zum Einsatz kommen kann. Städtisches Wachstum hat damit zu tun, dass viele aus den Dörfern in die Städte abwandern. Die persönlichen Gründe der Migranten sind dabei sehr unterschiedlich, was Schmidt-Kallert anhand einiger Interviews und persönlicher Beobachtungen belegt. Dabei werden die Verbindungen zu den Familien im Dorf nie aufgegeben, ganz im Gegenteil: Geld, das in der Stadt verdient wird, wird zu einem großen Teil in die Dörfer geschickt, von dort kommen nach der Ernte Naturalien in die Großstadt, wodurch Migranten in der Stadt unterstützt werden. So entsteht eine "win-win" Situation, die von der Stadtplanung registriert werden sollte.

Wenn Migranten in der Stadt ankommen, sind sie mit einer Vielzahl an Problemen konfrontiert. Einerseits ist da das Wohnungsproblem, denn Ankommende finden normalerweise zuerst (und oft auch für das ganze Leben) Unterkunft in informellen Siedlungen. Um dieses Phänomen zu beschreiben, sind in den letzten Jahrzehnten viele verschiedene Begriffe aufgekommen, wie Slum, Squatter, Armenviertel, Elendsquartiere und in letzter Zeit der Begriff der informellen Siedlung. Dass solche Stadtgebiete immer wieder von Räumungen betroffen sind, und die Bewohner teilweise mit brutaler Gewalt vertrieben werden, ist den ankommenden Migranten oft nicht bewusst. In vielen Slums gibt es Gewalt zwischen den Bewohnern, Misshandlungen von Kindern und Frauen, die Unsicherheit im öffentlichen Raum allgemein, der ja der Hauptaufenthaltsraum der Bewohner ist, wird nicht nur von Migranten unterschätzt. Stadtplaner in diesen Ländern sehen oft eine Lösung darin, die Slums abzureißen, oft auch mit polizeilicher Gewalt, und die Bewohner in Wohnanlagen am Stadtrand umzusiedeln, wo die neu errichteten Wohnblocks oft in sehr schlechter Qualität errichtet wurden. Dass damit nicht viel erreicht wird, ist offensichtlich, da die Menschen, die sich zuvor in Selbsthilfe der Nachbarschaften unterstützen, aus ihren Sozietäten herausgerissen werden und von den Arbeitsstätten weiter entfernt sind, als zuvor.

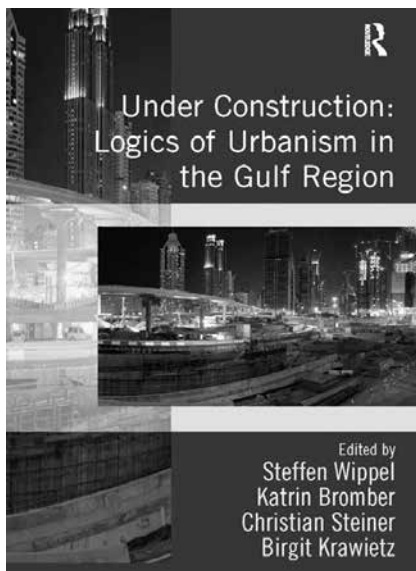
Das Überleben als Migrant ist oft prekär, doch

finden die meisten doch irgendeine Art von Arbeit, meistens im sogenannten "informellen Sektor". Dieser ist in den meisten Städten des globalen Südens nicht mehr wegzudenken, denn viele wichtige Dienstleistungen werden von den "formalen Siedlern" in Anspruch genommen, und ohne diese würde die Wirtschaft einer Stadt zusammenbrechen. Das Phänomen wurde wiederum von der Planung aufgegriffen, und so kam es zu den äußerst wirksamen Mikrokrediten, deren Vergabe als eine der Erfolgsgeschichten geworden ist. So bleibt zum Schluss die Frage: Gibt es eine einzige Strategie für die Stadtplanung im globalen Süden? Schmidt-Kallert antwortet darauf mit einem klaren Nein. Fragen nach der Funktion des öffentlichen Raums, der Durchlässigkeit von Stadtquartieren, der Exklusivität von Nutzungen einzelner Gruppierungen, wie Religionsgemeinschaften, Ethnien und dergleichen, Aktivitäten der Privatwirtschaft, Partizipationsmöglichkeiten der Bewohner, Hierarchisierung und Ebenen der Instanzen der Stadtplanung, das alles kann nicht global beantwortet werden, sondern im Einzelfall durch genaues Hinsehen erforscht werden. Schmidt-Kallert legt hier ein Essay vor, in dem er die verschiedenen städtischen Phänomene in Ländern des globalen Südens beschreibt. Die einzelnen Themen werden immer wieder mit persönlichen Eindrücken ergänzt, sowie Interviews mit beteiligten Planern und Betroffenen, die Schmidt-Kallert im Laufe seiner langen Beschäftigung in Lateinamerika, Asien und Afrika gesammelt hat. Braucht man nun ein weiteres Buch über Städte im Globalen Süden, bedenkt man die Fülle an Material, die es zum Thema schon gibt? Schmidt-Kallert antwortet mit einem klaren Ja, denn dieses Buch ist ein persönlicher Einblick in seine Erfahrungen und sein subjektiver Blick auf das Thema.

*Renate Bornberg*

**Under Construction: Logics of Urbanism in the Gulf Region. Von Steffen Wippel, Katrin Bromber, Christian Steiner, Birgit Krawietz. Ashgate 2014, ISBN 978-1472412881, 291 S.**

Der Sammelband „Under construction: Logics of Urbanism in the Gulf Region“ setzt sich kritisch mit den städtebaulichen aber auch gesellschaftlich-kulturellen Entwicklungen in den Städten der Golfregion auseinander. In 21 Kapiteln auf fast 300 Seiten analysieren Architekten, Stadtplaner, Geographen, Historiker, Islamwissenschaftler aber auch Linguisten und Künstler verschiedene Facetten des rapiden Wandels. Das Buch ist das Ergebnis einer sechsjährigen Forschungszusammenarbeit der vier Herausgeber am Zentrum Moderner Orient, Berlin und hebt sich wohl-tuend von anderen Sammelbänden ab, da hier ein klarer Zusammenhang und die argumentative Logik der Einzelbeiträge sichtbar werden. Die Golfregion kann als Labor gesehen werden, wo sich Hyperurbanisierung, Streben nach Weltgeltung und langfristige Strategien für die Zeit nach dem Ölboom materialisieren. Das Buch versucht neben der Reflektion der aktuellen Projekte vor



allein die innere Logik dieser Entwicklung zu erfassen. Es wird deutlich, dass es sich nicht um spontane kurzfristige Projekte handelt, sondern um eine langfristig angelegte Strategie, die angesichts der glitzernden Fassaden und der marktschreierischen Projekte oft verkannt wird und mit technischen Infrastrukturprojekten auch eher klassisch daherkommt. Die Golfstaaten verfolgen dabei spezifische, unterschiedliche Strategien, die darauf abzielen, neue Identitäten und nationale Marken zu bilden. Ziel eines jeden Golfstaates ist es, die Aufmerksamkeit des weltweiten Waren- und Kapitalverkehrs auf sich zu ziehen, um damit seinen eigenen Bürgern und dem Herrscherhaus eine Zukunft zu bieten. Diese Erregung von Aufmerksamkeit wird durch teils befremdliche städtebauliche und architektonische Projekte verfolgt, die ein neues semantisches urbanes Konstrukt repräsentieren. Der erste von den vier Teilen des Sammelbandes widmet sich der politischen und ökonomischen Dimension der großen Architektur- und Infrastrukturprojekte. Christian Steiner untersucht die Symbolik der ikonischen Projekte und deren politische und ökonomische Rahmenbedingungen. Martin Hvidt fragt nach dem Hintergrund der „lavish construction schemes“, die singuläre Projekte als architektonisches Marketing auf dem Weltinvestorenmarkt nutzen. Als ein solches Beispiel kann Masdar City gelten, das Boris Brorman Jensen als Beispiel autoritären Städtebaus sieht. Oman geht einen anderen Weg und fokussiert auf Luxustourismus in Integrated Tourism Complexes. Sonja Nebel hinterfragt kritisch deren Nachhaltigkeit sowie Umwelt- und Sozialverträglichkeit. Ein weiterer „Spätentwickler“ ist Katar, das sich durch die Fußballweltmeisterschaft in die erste Reihe spielen möchte, was Nadine Scharfenort kritisch diskutiert. Der zweite Teil des Bandes behandelt Images and Iconic Brands. Hier reflektiert Felix Somerlad „Promise and Reality in Dubai's Architectural Design“ und Stefan Wippel widmet sich dem zurückhaltenden Entwicklungsweg, den Oman einschlägt. Das Thema Sport und Branding behandelt Katrin Bromber und zeigt die unterschiedlichen

Strategien der Golfstaaten Katar, Dubai, Abu Dhabi und Oman auf. Ein bislang wenig untersuchtes Thema greift Birgit Krawietz mit der Falkerei auf, die gerne in PR-Filmen zu Branding-Zwecken genutzt wird. Wie die neuen Touristikwelten Dubais in den Reiseführern beschrieben werden, analysieren Nicola Scherle und Mikael Jonasson. Sie belegen wie die Reiseführer das PR-Narrativ Dubais unterstützen und zu einer näheren Auseinandersetzung mit den Einwohnern und deren Kultur nicht beitragen können.

Der dritte Teil widmet sich dem Nexus Kunst, Ausstellungen und Stadtentwicklung, was den Sammelband von anderen unterscheidet. George Katodrytis untersucht am Beispiel Dubais die prägenden Elemente der Stadtentwicklung: Fantasy, Phantasmagoria, speculative urbanism und die differenzierte Kontrolle der Stadtentwicklung durch Beteiligung staatseigener Firmen bei den Projekten. Sein Beitrag wird ergänzt durch eine leider unkommentierte Fotoserie zur Model Toy City. Der Saadiyat Cultural District, über den Brigitte Dumortier schreibt, soll Abu Dhabi im Wettbewerb mit den anderen Emiraten durch Kooperationen mit internationalen Museen und durch Bauten renommierter Architekten voran bringen. Ein ikonisches Teilprojekt, den Louvre in Abu Dhabi, untersucht Bruno Maquart – ein Projekt, das als post-nationales, post-koloniales, globales Museum noch viele Fragen aufwirft.

Das Museum of Islamic Art in Doha geht einen anderen Weg: Joachim Gierlich beschreibt seine lange Entstehungsgeschichte, die Eröffnung 2008 und fragt nun bei wachsender Konkurrenz in Katar und der Golfregion, wie es seinen Weg finden und bestehen kann. Zwei Beiträge von Alice Creischer und Andreas Siekmann, jeweils überarbeitet durch die Herausgeber, setzen sich kritisch mit den Kulturprojekten, einer Stadtentwicklung auf Kosten der Bauarbeiter auseinander. Zum Abschluss dieses Teils gehen die Herausgeber kurz auf die Arbeiten von Stefan Zirwes ein, dessen Arbeiten leider im Buchformat ihrer visuellen Kraft beraubt sind.

Der vierte und letzte Teil des Sammelbandes „Dubai-Style elsewhere“ blickt über die Grenzen der Golfstaaten und zeigt an den Beispielen Kairo 2050 Vision (Khaled Adham), Waterfronts in Marokko und Tunesien (Pierre-Arnaud Barthel), Damaskus (Leila Vignal) und die Gulfication von Khartum und Nuakhschott (Armelle Choplin und Alice Frank) auf, wie prägend Dubai als Beispiel für (Stadt-) Entwicklung geworden ist und wie unreflektiert es andernorts als Entwicklungsmodell gesehen wird. Die Liste der Beispielstädte ließe sich noch fortsetzen.

Der lesenswerte Sammelband glänzt mit einer großen Bandbreite an Themen und bietet neue Einsichten in die Urbanisierung in den Golfstaaten. Nicht Einzelgebäude, deren Architektur und Architekten werden dargestellt, sondern Zeitlinien und Zusammenhänge. Schade, dass die Beiträge nur wenige Grafiken und Bilder aufweisen. Dafür ist allerdings das artikelübergreifende Stichwortverzeichnis positiv hervorzuheben.

Wolfgang Scholz

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## March 16–18, 2017 in Berlin, Germany

SIMULIZI MIJINI. International conference Urban heritage activism@ Technische Universität Berlin – more info: <<http://urbannarratives.org/en/>>/

## March 20–23, 2017 in Ekurhuleni, South Africa

LOCS4Africa 2017: Water & Climate Congress, organised by Local Climate Solutions for Africa. More information: <[www.iclei.org/details/article/locs4africa-2017-water-climate-congress-1.html](http://www.iclei.org/details/article/locs4africa-2017-water-climate-congress-1.html)>

## March 29–30, 2017 in Vienna, Austria

UNSETTLED – Urban routines, temporalities and contestations. International Urban Conference, organised by the Interdisciplinary Centre for Urban Culture and Public Space, Department of Spatial Planning, Faculty of Architecture and Planning, TU Wien. Venue: TU Wien Sky Lounge, 11<sup>th</sup> Floor, Getreidemarkt 9, 1060 Wien. Contact: <[unsettled@skuor.tuwien.ac.at](mailto:unsettled@skuor.tuwien.ac.at)>, more information: <<http://skuor.tuwien.ac.at>>

## April 20–21, 2017 in Lisbon, Portugal

II International Conference on "urban e-planning", organised by the International Journal of EPlanning Research and the Institute of Geography and Spatial Planning, University of Lisbon. Contact: <[ijepr.conference@gmail.com](mailto:ijepr.conference@gmail.com)>, more information: <<https://sites.google.com/site/uep-2017conference/>>

## May 04–06, 2017 in Bonn, Germany

Global Forum on Urban Resilience and Adaptation, organised by ICLEI. Contact: ICLEI – Local Governments for Sustainability World Secretariat, Kaiser-Friedrich-Str. 7, 53113 Bonn, Germany. Phone: +49(0)228 / 976 299-28 Fax: +49-(0)228 / 976 299-01, Email: <[resilient.cities@iclei.org](mailto:resilient.cities@iclei.org)>, more information: <<http://resilient-cities.iclei.org/>>

## May 11–12, 2017 in Erfurt, Germany

Plan oder Projekt? Aktuelle Herausforderungen der Stadtentwicklung. Internationale Städtetagung 2017 von Forum Stadt - Netzwerk historischer Städte e.V. Die Tagung findet in Kooperation mit der Wüstenrot Stiftung im Historischen Festsaal des Erfurter Rathaus statt. Sa., 13. Mai Begleitprogramm: Expertenführung zur Erfurter Welterbe-Bewerbung "Jüdisches Leben in Erfurt". Kontakt: <[nina.ehresmann@esslingen.de](mailto:nina.ehresmann@esslingen.de)>, Info: <[www.forum-stadt.eu/Lde/start/Fachtagung.html](http://www.forum-stadt.eu/Lde/start/Fachtagung.html)>

## May 17–18, 2017 in Algiers, Algeria

Colloque international à Alger – Participation citoyenne et habitante au développement social et urbain - entre «bonnes pratiques» et slogan politique – regards croisés dans le contexte algérien et international. Une coopération entre l'Ecole Polytechnique d'Architecture et d'Urbanisme – EPAU, le Laboratoire Ville, Urbanisme & Développement Durable - VUDD, Université d'Alger 2 et le Laboratoire de recherche LASADET. Information: <[coll.vudd-lasadet.2017@epau-alger.edu.dz](mailto:coll.vudd-lasadet.2017@epau-alger.edu.dz)>

## June 22–23, 2017 in Derby, UK

Cities, Communities and Homes: Is the Urban Future Liveable? More information: <<http://architecturemps.com/derbyconference/>>

## June 26–30, 2017 in Syros, Greece

3<sup>rd</sup> International Conference on "Changing Cities III: Spatial, design, landscape & socio-economic dimensions". Syros, Delos, Mykonos Islands - Greece, <http://changingcities.prd.uth.gr/cc2017/>

## June 28–30, 2017 in Rotterdam, NL

14<sup>th</sup> IMISCOE ANNUAL CONFERENCE on Migration, Diversity and the City (Rotterdam). Read more: <<http://www.imiscoe.org/>>

## June 29 – July 1, 2017 in Basel, CH

7<sup>th</sup> European Conference on African Studies, Basel, Organised by the Centre for African Studies Basel and the Swiss Society for African Studies on behalf of AEGIS (Africa-Europe Group for Interdisciplinary Studies). Conference website: <[www.ecas2017.ch](http://www.ecas2017.ch)>

## July 11–14, 2017 in Lisbon, Portugal

AESOP Congress. Spaces of Dialog for Places of Dignity: Fostering the European Dimension of Planning. A joint endeavour of IST (Instituto Superior Técnico), IGOT (Geography and Spatial Planning Institute) and FA (Faculty of Architecture), three schools of the University of Lisbon, and also University of Aveiro that hosts the PhD Workshop at the city of Aveiro, Portugal. More info: <<http://aesop2017.pt/>>

## August 01–04, 2017 in Cambridge, UK

8<sup>th</sup> Annual Gulf Research Meeting, organised by University of Cambridge. More information: <<http://grm.grc.net>>

## August 21–23, 2017 in Bergen, Norway

Globalisation at the Crossroads – Rethinking Inequalities and Boundaries. Bergen, Norway. EADI (European Association of Development Research and Training Institutes). More information: <<http://eadi-nordic2017.org/>>

## September 07–08, 2017 in Lisbon, Portugal

II International Conference on 'African Urban Planning'. Location: University of Lisbon, Portugal Organisation: Institute of Geography and Spatial Planning, University of Lisbon & International Planning History Society (IPHS). Conference Website: <<https://sites.google.com/site/cpcup2017conference/>>; E-mail: <[urbanplanningafrica2017@gmail.com](mailto:urbanplanningafrica2017@gmail.com)>

## September 14–16, 2017 in Milano, Italy

18<sup>th</sup> N-AERUS Conference, 'What urban in a hyper-connected Global South?' hosted by Politecnico Milano and the Network-Association of European Researchers on Urbanisation in the South (N-AERUS). The deadline for the submission of abstracts will be May 15, 2017. The registration for the conference is going to open on May 29, 2017. Contact: <[marcello.balbo@iuav.it](mailto:marcello.balbo@iuav.it)>; more information: <[n-aerus-net/](http://n-aerus-net/)>

## September 21–23, 2017 in Reggio Emilia, Italy

First International Conference of Anarchist Geographies and Geographers (ICAGG) – Geography, social change and antiauthoritarian practices. Reggio Emilia (Italy) - Centro Studi Cucine del Popolo, via Beethoven 78/e Contact: <[scientific\\_committee@icagg.org](mailto:scientific_committee@icagg.org)> ; more information: <<https://icagg.org/wp/>>

## October 2–6, 2017 in Santa Fe, USA

54<sup>th</sup> IMCL Conference on Public Places for Community, Democratic Dialogue, Health and Equity at La Fonda Hotel, Santa Fe, New Mexico, USA. Organized by Making Cities Livable Conference LLC. More information: <[www.livablecities.org/conferences/54th-conference-santa-fe/](http://www.livablecities.org/conferences/54th-conference-santa-fe/)>