**Shared perspectives upon emergent forms of urban densification: issues of access to resources (services, housing, employment and land).**

Call for proposal to the Workshop at the Hanoi University of Architecture (Vietnam), from 14th to 17th November 2017

*Urban densification in highly populated regions of Asia: emerging forms and governance issues*

In the densely populated valleys, deltas and coastal plains of Asia (more than 500 inhabitants/km2), in India, China, Vietnam, Indonesia, Cambodia and Myanmar, forms of urban densification emerge on the outskirts of the big cities, in their centres, and far from the metropolises in large villages that become urbanised *in situ*,and in small, unofficial towns. People cluster into large, populous units of increasing density, owing to natural growth and migrations, but also because resources of land are limited and its price keeps rising as a result of demand and speculation.

Governments establish residential density as a regional development objective in order to limit urban sprawl over agricultural land, but also to improve organisation and cost-effectiveness of shared amenities and social services. Proponents of sustainable development advocate a compact urban area that promotes functional diversity, energy savings through limited commuting and promotion of public transport, and generates economies of scale and diversification of activities. However, control of these emergent forms of urban densification, which do not comply with urban production norms, evades many governments that limit their influence to built-up areas to which they have conferred urban status for territorial, political and budgetary reasons. This densification of population in built-up areas not considered by governments as urban and poorly supplied with basic services and housing, and governed by under-skilled local authorities with limited budgets and knowhow, poses the question of their environmental, social and economic sustainability.

To settle a population in one place, and therefore provide support for the development and sustainability of these urbanised areas, a certain number of resources are necessary (services and amenities, housing, jobs and access to land for productive and residential purposes). Considering residential densities rather than the status of areas and neighbourhoods to measure needs in urban resources makes it possible to address the question of territorial and social equity in their supply to inhabitants. To a large extent, in India, China and Vietnam, these resources are created in official towns or cities by local authorities or the state, even though the private sector plays an increasing role in such developments. However, imperatives of profitability in the private sector restrict quality resources to those who can pay for them, thus marginalising a large proportion of inhabitants in these urbanising areas, particularly migrants.

Very rapid urban growth associated with the metropolisation of the world’s big cities, the urban renewal catch-up process in post-communist countries fuelled by migrations to the big cities, industrial parks established by young people in the rural population and the necessity of re-housing millions of inhabitants expropriated by large-scale urban development projects (50 to 60 million in China, You-Tien Hsing, 2010), the spiralling price of land in the most sought-after areas, and processes of counter-metropolisation or reversal of urban polarisation in favour of lower levels on the settlement system scale (Denis 1998) in areas distant from major globalised investment streams, are measures that transform very densely-populated areas according to time frames that vary from one country to another.

The reality of very dense settlement systems in some regions of Asia is not always fully taken into consideration by urban census statistics. Rates of urbanisation remain relatively low or moderate (between 30 and 50%) given the numbers that live in them. This suggests that urbanisation, as it is defined by official statistics, is not the only process causing clusters of population, or that Asian towns and cities are not the only places of settlement capitalisation, in contrast to their European counterparts (Fanchette, 2014). The urbanisation of densely populated Asia is a concept difficult to grasp with analytical categories devised in the North (Denis, 2015) and hence with official statistics. ‘Invisible’ urbanisation that outstrips official limits, truly dynamic in economic and demographic terms, remains absent from statistics and urban studies, more concerned with the big cities (Denis, Mukhopadhyay, Zerah, 2012), as it is difficult to assess and is very diversified.

Anti-urban policies were adopted in the 1960s that promoted the dispersion of industries and kept rural populations stable, thus stimulating the process of rural urbanisation and local development. In China, Vietnam and India, these policies were strengthened by control of migrations towards the cities through residence certificates and ration books not issued to migrants. In India, the economic liberalisation policy of the 1990s, founded on a global quest for cost reductions in the internationalised value chain, relaxed environmental regulations, and improved access to land in small urban centres (Denis & Zerah, 2017), accelerated the dispersion of economic activities. This has reduced the advantages of large Indian cities in a country where levels of innovation remain low, not generating a positive dynamic of concentration, even in the IT sectors, which are beginning to lose jobs… A relocation of industries into urban fringes is taking place, along transport corridors and in unofficial small towns, effecting a reversal of migratory dynamics, no longer principally directed towards the metropolises.

These emerging forms of urban densification can be placed into several categories:

- With metropolisation, cities spread outwards and along roads, absorbing villages, *desakota* and small towns, and adding many migrants to their population. (Tran Khac Minh, Nguyên Van Suu).

- In the outer ring of suburbs in urban mega-regions, new urban areas and special economic zones are built along motorways arising from speculative land deals in a rural environment: affluent segments of the population entrench themselves in gated communities (Labbé D., 2015, Kundu R., 2016), while people expropriated from city centre developments and villages knocked down to make way for large-scale projects are grouped into neighbourhoods set aside for re-housing such populations.

- The urban areas of metropolises that are transformed by densification, often associated with deterioration and pauperisation: a growing number of urban villages absorbed into the city undergo development and receive migrants attracted by cheap lodgings (Banashree Banerjee, 2014, Naik M., 2015, Kao, Cheng-Hsuan, 2011, You-Tien Hsing, 2010, Him Chung & Unger Jonathan, 2013, Nguyen Van Suu, 2015). In India, intra-urban slums are built on still-unused land reserves and public land, and are being cleared (Dupont V. & alii, 2016). People are re-housed at the outer limits of cities in difficult conditions. Deteriorating old city centres fill with migrants and marginalised populations. These central spaces experience strong competition for land from municipal authorities and investors interested in these prime locations for generating returns on their capital through real estate construction and service sector activities.

- Far from the metropolises, a process of low-level autonomous urbanisation is developing in small towns (both officially recognised and not) (Denis, Mukhopadhyay & Zerah, 2012), in large villages and in market towns that derive their dynamism from their historical economic, industrial and commercial bedrock and their network of relations or clusters formerly rooted in regions of intensive agriculture. Long-range horizontal links in industrial relations, particularly, largely reconstitute these environments with relations between places more or less distant, without mediations from purchasers in the centre of urban regions (Vietnamese clusters are connected to their Chinese counterparts, while small Indian towns develop horizontal relations within ancient familial networks). Belonging to a morphological or so-called functional built-up area is very secondary, or even an obstacle, compared to distant relations that are not limited to simple economic relations (interfamilial links, diasporas, cultural exchanges…). An *in situ* process of urbanisation emerges within the *desakota* (Mc Gee, 1991) with clustering of population in one place, diversification of activities and society, diversification linked to the division of labour made possible by economies of scale. This densification, depending on the ways in which it is supported by technical services, social infrastructure and amenities, assumes very varied forms (Fanchette, 2014).

*The assets of emergent forms of urban densification and the issues of access to urban-type resources*

Craft/industrial or trade-oriented unofficial small towns, market towns and large villages and rural enclaves in cities are centres of economic activity and even innovation. Local communities benefit from social networks and specific means of mobilising capital (national budgets, financing from diasporas, agricultural value added) specific.

Privatisation policies for ‘urban’ services and amenities and for decentralisation aim to strengthen the power of local authorities in the management of these services for the establishment of public-private partnerships, but they are hampered by limited local skills, the politicisation of access to state budgets, competition between administrative bodies and between towns of different ranks, and price increases. Services are only offered where they are profitable, and their production no longer obeys the logic of public service general interest.

In countries that are in the process of industrialising very rapidly (China and Vietnam), very diverse forms of migration proliferate to respond to the demand for workforce from large businesses in industrial parks. Supply of housing and services to migrants constitutes a very important social issue owing to the scale of demand, but also to the vulnerability of these populations without residence permits (Tran Khac Minh, 2015).

The creation of urban-style resources for these dense units of settlement usually depends on their urban or rural status, on methods of governance and budgets pertaining to them, and on the way in which the local elites and powers have invested in the political domain in order to attract to their constituency a share of national budgets transferred by equalisation payments (26% of local budgets in Vietnam, Albrecht & alii, 2010). The rural status of unofficial small towns and peri-urban communes determines their poor access to state budgets and their poor fiscal skills (the inhabitants of towns in China, Vietnam and India are entitled to more numerous and better quality services than their fellow citizens in rural areas, a right to subsidised housing, but they are obliged to comply with production and construction norms, the imposition of the Master Plan, taxes and a much more restricted access to land).

However, there are many assets for development held by unofficial built-up areas. In some Indian states, rural local development policies are sometimes more advantageous than those aimed at urban areas and a downgrading of towns into villages has been witnessed (Denis & Zerah, 2012). Industrial companies relocate into rural settings where land prices are lower than in towns, environmental conditions of production less restrictive and access to workforce easier (presence of dormitory villages with cheap rented accommodation). This mode of industrial development founded on very short implantation cycles, with no support from social services or amenities, generates an urbanisation of poor quality and sustainability, with high social, political and environmental risks that limit the permanent settlement of the population in one place. Informal neighbourhoods on the outskirts of metropolises or in enclaves in urban centres, although poorly provided with sanitation systems or permanent housing, nonetheless present morphological qualities of sustainable towns (density, compactness, pedestrian access, functional diversity, etc.) and an adaptability to the context of climate change, particularly for those settled in deltaic zones that endure high risks of flooding (Clerc V., 2015).

*Workshop objectives*

This workshop aims to study and generate research questions and to present methods to analyse the dynamics of emerging forms of urban densification in the very highly populated regions of Asia, provision of support for them by regional development policies and issues concerning provision of urban resources to inhabitants for their sustainability.

Perspectives shared between several Asian countries offer the opportunity of comparing similar situations in terms of demographic densification, governance and promotion of local development founded on the diversification of non-agricultural activities, or the search for a third way between the urban and the rural, in very different contexts. Each presentation will be given by a pair of researchers working in two different countries better to compare the situations and modes of governance in differing forms of emerging urban densification, and people’s access to resources.

Hosted by The Hanoi University of Architecture, which trains Vietnam’s planners, this workshop will offer perspectives and topics for study and discussion to this country in a very rapid double urban and economic transition, through shared perspectives with the experiences of other very highly populated Asian countries. A review at the end of the day will make it possible to better give an account of the Vietnamese case in comparison with other Asian countries and make propositions on the subject of planning. My partners in Vietnam are very interested in comparative studies on subject matter linked to regional development on shared land. The question of access to services for migrants who are not registered, so not counted by the administrations that provide these services, constitutes in Vietnam a real social problem in the areas to which migrants flock, particularly rural peri-urban zones and close to industrial parks.... They also wonder about the allocation budgets to the provinces according to population figures, figures that don’t take migrants into account. So some provinces are under-funded to finance services, while others (the areas from which migrants leave) are over-funded.

The choice of regions under study (in India, Vietnam, China, Indonesia, Myanmar and Cambodia) depends firstly on their demographic particularities (very high densities and rapid densification) and on their variety of policies for regional planning and control of people established in the context of different political and land regimes. The assets of urban and rural status are ambivalent for planning, modes of governance and access to urban areas of low-income populations and they vary from country to country. Attempts to create a third way between the urban and the rural have been made in some countries (market towns in China, for example). Several other modes of regional governance can be imagined, such as at the urban district level rather than the urban level, in an integrated perspective of resources management and access to amenities.

Dense urbanisation processes will be studied in their specific regional and local context to highlight their particular history of settlements, of their location in comparison with traditional urban systems, but also of the place that the countries occupy in the international exchange system. We propose in order to identify these shared perspectives to create partnerships of pairs of researchers studying the same subject in different countries so that they may exchange and identify the particular characteristics of their field of research on these research subjects and on a shared research question.

We have identified five types of emergent forms of urban densification: i) urban villages cut off within the city and governed by rural authorities, ii) peri-urban and linear urbanisation zones, iii) new urban areas (*gated communities* in metropolitan areas and special economic areas), iv) small towns not recognised by the administration and large craft and industrial villages, v) shantytowns, and dilapidated former urban centres undergoing gentrification, in several countries in which we will study the various forms of creation of urban resources (services and amenities, housing, jobs and land) by the institutional and private actors and the conditions of access to these for inhabitants depending on their residential status.

*The research questions*

Several research questions can be developed in the presentations on the issues surrounding the creation of urban resources and their accessibility to inhabitants and the sustainability of these emerging forms of urban densification. They will aim to provide elements of understanding for the reconfiguration trajectories of territories in the process of densification with their de facto urbanisation (social, economic, governance, conceptual), as it is perceived by the local actors and through local municipal initiatives. The question of the future of intensive and diversified agricultural activities will be asked in the case of peri-urban areas.

What is the sustainability of these emerging forms of urban densification, depending on the skills of their local authorities, their budgets, on modes of governance (devolved authoritarian, decentralised, participative) and conditions of sharing and of access to urban resources by inhabitants (migrants and locals)? What tensions exist between the various levels of administrative hierarchy, investors, donors and inhabitants in planning development for areas becoming urbanised? Does the integration of “municipal political entrepreneurs” into national political networks and their relations with the senior urban administration have an effect on the access of local authorities to financial resources for the creation of urban resources? Do the economic and social networks specific to small towns and big multi-active villages and their integration into an ancient production territory take part in the mobilisation of capital to produce urban resources and settle populations? In what way can these networks be affected by integration into metropolitan influence and the Master Plans?

Does industrialisation with a short implantation cycle, such as that developed in the globalised industrial parks and the special economic areas, have an urbanising effect? Does it allow migrants to settle in one place? How does it structure territories from country to country?

The development of the former people’s communes of Guangdong (Southern China) at the origin of the most dynamic industrial region in the world appears exceptional. Control of land is maintained by the former people’s communes converted into companies that recover part of the land appreciation of industrial or real estate projects. In what way can this example help us to analyse the conditions of *in situ* industrial development in other countries and analyse the social, political and administrative conditions so that an authority emerges that is capable of taking charge of the development of its urban environment?

Don’t the improvement of living conditions in urban and peri-urban villages or market towns through the provision of urban resources to inhabitants, the liberalisation of infrastructure and the expected professionalization of agencies that look after undertaking contracts risk making these inaccessible to migrant and marginalised populations, and thus pushing them into less well developed urban fringes?

The vulnerability of migrants in urban and peri-urban villages constitutes an opportunity for capitalisation of rent income for expropriated small farmers who have become landlords and their integration into the city, despite the poor provision of urban resources. But the temporary passage of migrants in these neighbourhoods, which only constitutes one stage in the residential journey for some of them (Clerc, 2015), does it not make the future of these neighbourhoods uncertain and their urbanisation compromised? Informal neighbourhoods located near the centres of cities offer job opportunities, housing, proximity and functional diversity, therefore economic sustainability for the low-income inhabitants and play a role participating in keeping the city running by supplying a cheap workforce for services (domestic servants, public services, rubbish collection and street cleaning, transport…). (Clerc, 2015). Does not their being moved on jeopardise the economic dynamism of big cities?

**Format of the workshop**

1. Two days of symposium: in 4 sessions

* A day on the forms of densification in the metropolises: urban villages, shantytowns and abandoned old city centres
* A day on urban forms outside metropolises: small towns, peri-urban zones, big industrialised villages in clusters

2. A half-day will be devoted to methodological questions from the study of emerging forms of urbanisation. Indeed, the urban and rural categories in the regions of high density are not suitable for studying units of population. Depending on countries, definitions of the urban vary and are multiple: in India there are two ways to define official towns (managed by Town Planning Ministries) and censal towns (recognised as such by the statistical services for the census, but managed by the rural services).

- Eric Denis (CNRS, Géocités): Presentation by of the eGeopolis method for studying morphologic urbanisation of towns over than 10,000 inhabitants

- Stéphane Milhaud (Groupe 8): Presentation by of the analysis of dynamics of Chinese small towns and market towns from the perspective of donor projects and development planning

- Terry Mc Gee (Department of Geography, University Vancouver): presentation of a  holistic and ethnographic approach that uses case studies to mesure and locate diffuse urbanization in the *desakota*

- François Carlet-Soulage (Noi Pictures, photographer Hanoi): presentation of how drones pictures can help to make typologies of emergent forms of urban densification and to locate them.

3. A day in the field in two teams, with the participation of resource people on the spot:

- Peri-urban territories

- A Khu Do Thi Moi (one of the new urban areas = gated communities)

- Cluster of large villages, industrial clusters,

- Dormitory village near industrial zones

- A small administrative town

- Territories in the city

- Villages in the city (the case of My Dinh): a dormitory village for migrants

- The neighbourhood outside the Long Bien dyke: shantytown and hidden houses for the day-workers at Long Bien Market

- Quang Ba, former kumquat tree village in the first ring of the city’s suburbs, which profited from its status as a market garden village and its location on the shore of West Lake to convert itself into an upmarket neighbourhood aimed at expatriates.

4. A half-day: presentation of work by architecture students

- Exhibition of scale models, photos and drawings from the Recycling Project for Waste from Hanoi and Delhi

- Others

The public: researchers, teachers, students and planning professionals

**Participants pressentis selon les catégories de formes urbaines et les pays d’étude = participants by emergent forms of urbanization categories in various countries**

*Zones péri-urbaines et urbanisation linéaire = periurban areas and linear urbanization along roads*

Rémi de Bercegol (CNRS)/ Nguyen Thai Huyen (Université d’Architecture de Hanoi) : Marges urbaines en densification (Inde, Vietnam) Collecte informelle des déchets

Olivier Telle (CNRS) (Inde, Cambodge) / Marc Choisi (IRD, Vietnam) : problèmes de santé et épidémies Dengue et accès aux services en Ville

Luu Bich Ngoc, Nguyen Thi Thieng (IPSS) : Marges urbaines en densification (Vietnam) Accès aux services de santé des migrants-

**Kimberly M Noronha (CPR)** ?: Marges et petites villes périphériques (Inde) Logement locatif et assainissement

Trân Khăc Minh (doctorant, University Paris 1/UMR Prodig): accès au logements des migrants ouvriers dans périphéries Ho Chi Minh Ville (Vietnam)

Nguyên Van Suu (Department of Anthropology, University of Social Sciences of Vietnam, Hanoi) : migrants dans villages péri-urbains, accès au logement migrants et au foncier pour les villageois (Vietnam)

Michael Digregorio ? (Asian Foundation) : accès au foncier et aménagement dans périurbain Hanoi

Christophe Jalil Nordman, -(IRD/IFP, India)/ & Laure Pasquier (IRD) (Vietnam) : mobilisation des réseaux sociaux des migrants pour l’accès à l’emploi

Tran Nhat Kiên (Université d’Architecture de Hanoi) : les migrants dans les villages périurbains (logement, services relations avec villageois)

Clément Musil, (Ausser, Paddi, Hô Chi Minh Ville) : Extension des réseaux de transports communs aux périphéries des métropoles / Remi Desmouliers (Jakarta) ?

Etienne Monin (ater Aix Marseille), dynamiques agricoles des périphéries deltaïques chinoises et la question de l’intégration des territoires ruraux. (delta Yang Sté, Chine)

Clerc V., (IRD) quartiers informels en marge urbaine (Cambodge, Myanmar)

*Nouveaux quartiers urbains et zones économiques spéciales enjeux de l’intégration avec villages périurbains = New urban areas and Special economic zones and issue of integration of periurban villages*

Labbé Danielle, (Institut d’urbanisme, Université de Montréal), accès des villageois aux services des KDTM?  (Vietnam),

Tran Minh Tung, (Université d’Architecture de Hanoi), création de logement et accès aux logements dans les KDTM, Nouvelles Zones Urbaines, (Vietnam).

Ratoola Kundu ?, (Centre for urban Policy and Governance, School of habitat Studies, Tata Institute of social Sciences in Mumbai), Intégration Gated Communities et villages urbains, périphérie de Kolkata, accès aux services,

Hiêp, architecte : les jeux d’acteurs et la spéculation foncière dans les villes fantômes

Quartiers de relogement à Hanoi, étudiants master DPEA, Université de Hanoi

Mike Douglass, NUS,

*Petites villes non reconnues par l’administration et gros villages, clusters artisanaux et industriels = non statutory small towns and large villages, clusters of craft villages*

Zérah MH.(IRD) services urbains de l’eau et équipements dans petites villes  (Inde),

Denis Eric (CNRS) / accès au foncier et aménagement petites villes non statutaires (Inde)

Samanta G.(University of Burdwan, Inde). Petites villes, Status towns - Census towns, aménagement services et équipements

Fanchette S. (IRD) : Clusters artisanaux, Vietnam (services, emplois et logements des migrants) and Birgi J. (doctorant Inalco + urban planer Bordeaux) Cluster du bois à Java : (Indonésie, Vietnam) –

Hoang Quang (IPSARD) : politique des nouveaux villages au Vietnam et installation de services et équipements.

Yves Duchère (CEPED), Cluster artisanaux, environnement et services de santé aux migrants (Vietnam)

Stéphane Milhaud (Groupe 8), Villes secondaires et bourgs en Chine : offres de services et urbanisation

Joshua Benjamin Solomom, (Indian Institute of Technology Madras), small firm economies, and small town urbanization in coastal South India.

Vijaya Baskar, (MIDS), India, Political Economy of Small firm based Industrialisation, Technological Change and Regional Development.

*Bidonvilles et centres-urbains dégradés = slums and deteriorated down-town*

Dupont V. (IRD) « Gros bidonvilles du centre en rénovation urbaine (Inde) accès au logement

Shubhagato (CPR) ,Marges et espaces précaires, (Inde) Assainissement -

Nguyen Leroy Marie-Lan (IMV)  : logements insalubres et migrants dans zones hors digue à Hanoi (maisons « cachées » sous Pont Long Bien) accès au logement des migrants et investissements dans foncier illégal des habitants (Vietnam)

Clerc V., (IRD) quartiers informels urbains centraux (Cambodge, Myanmar)

Peyronnie K. (IRD) Requalification des centres historiques (Thailande? Myanmar)-

Tadié J IRD/URMIS ( ?), informalité, pouvoir, envers des espaces urbains, mobilisation des habitants à Jakarta/Manille

*Villages urbains = urban villages*

Wong Kit-Ping Tammy (Hong Kong Baptist University) Pearl River Delta (Chine) : logements, emplois des migrants,

Naik Mukta (CPR) Marges et petites villes périphériques (Inde) : logement Locatif, statut résidentiel

Radhika Govinda  (post doc Sociology, University of Edimburg), accès à l’emploi des villageois dans le village urbain de Shapur Jat, problèmes de genre (Inde)

Kim Chung (Hong Kong Baptist University) ?, Pearl River Delta urban villages : logements, services, gouvernance

**Partners and participants**

France

IRD : Institute of Research for Development (France)

CEPED : Center of Population and Development (IRD/University Paris Descartes University (USPC)

CESSMA : Research Center for Social Sciences on Asian, African and American Worlds (Paris Diderot University/USPC, IRD, INALCO)

CNRS : The French National Center for Scientific Research

IMV : Institut des Métiers de la Ville, The Cooperation Center for Urban Development in Vietnam

IFP, French Institute of Pondichery

Canada :

Institut d’urbanisme, Université de Montréal

Vietnam

HAU : Hanoi University of Architecture

IPSS : Institute of Population and Social Sciences, New University of Economics, Hanoi

IPSARD : Institute of Policy and Strategy for Agriculture and Rural Development

Local Economic Affairs Direction of Central Economic Commission

Department of Anthropology, University of Social Sciences of Vietnam, Hanoi

India :

CPR : Center for Policy Research (Delhi),

University of Burdwan (West Bengal,

Institut Français de Pondichery

ITT : Indian Institute of Technology Madras

MIDS : Madras Institute of Development Studies

Hong Kong, (Department of Geography, Hong Kong Baptist University)

National University of Singapour

China : waiting for contacts

Indonésia : waiting for contacts

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