

2.3. The City and Socio-Spatial Inequalities: Access to Public Services, Work and Housing

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(Transcript)

Day 1, Thursday 24th

Presentation of trainers and trainees (cf. list of trainees at the end of the chapter and trainers' biographies).

[Xavier Oudin]

I am happy to observe that your research themes are very diverse, so there is no doubt that the debates during this workshop will be all the more interesting. Furthermore, your average age, 33, gives us cause to hope that you all have solid professional and research experience. This will be very useful during our debates.

[François Roubaud]

We are going to take a look at this week's work programme. JTD philosophy focuses on three principal dimensions:

 Methodology. Throughout the workshop, we shall seek to transmit elements of method that are both quantitative and qualitative that will enable you to assess the scope and processes of spatial segregation;



- The demands of multidisciplinarity;
- Interactivity between trainers and trainees, as well as between the work groups that we are going to form.

During the week, we shall give you an equal mix of presentations and group work that will be the subject of exposés to be presented to the whole workshop.

We shall start right now by forming four groups and defining together the work themes for each one.

The groups must select a research issue linked to the subject of the workshop and then develop it. The principal stages of group work are:

- Defining the research issue;
- Formulating the research questions;
- Formulating an inquiry protocol to implement in order to answer these questions.

Allow me to insist upon the importance of this last stage, which should be at the heart of your collective reflection. Your work must lead to the conception of a questionnaire that is adapted to the research issues that you have formulated. Concentrating on the methodology and constructing it together is the best way to make you converge towards a common approach concerning the diversity of the disciplines that are presented within the workshop.

During the workshop, we shall reflect upon the formulation and the challenges of implementing a questionnaire on a particular scale: the neighbourhood. We shall present the different acceptations of the notion of neighbourhood, as well as the different types of usable indicators in order to give form and support to your research protocol. However, bear in mind that the protocol will not allow you to answer all the questions and that some of them will need to be addressed through the implementation of other protocols. The final objective of this third stage is to propose a questionnaire and not to implement it as such, owing to a lack of time.

Finally, we shall give you some time to prepare a summary of this work. Before you get to this stage, each group will have presented on several occasions the state of progress of its work, which will be the subject of commentaries from the other groups and the trainers, so that we can help you in the preparation of your research protocol. Then, on Tuesday morning, the representatives of our workshop will present all the work carried out to the rest of the JTD trainees.

Here is the week's programme:

- This morning we are going to introduce the constituted groups. We have associated two principal criteria: on the one hand, we have taken into account your profiles so that the groups testify to the diversity of the different disciplines you come from; on the other hand, we have considered linguistic criteria so that you can communicate with each other as efficiently as possible. Then, the day will be devoted to a presentation socio-spatial about inequalities in contemporary cities. A moment will be reserved for - and this will be on a daily basis - your work. Today, we shall ask you to use this time to define together the research issue you would like to work on;



- Friday morning will begin with a presentation of each group's research issue. This will be an opportunity for us to give you your first feedback about your proposals. Next, you will be presented with the challenges of access to urban public services in four cities: Antananarivo in Madagascar, Ouagadougou in Burkina Faso, Rufisque in Senegal and Paris in France;
- Saturday morning will be devoted to a presentation about the labour market in an urban environment, which will focus on the issues of residential segregation and access to the labour market, but also on the possible indicators of measure to assess this. Three examples will be considered: "Zones Urbaines Sensibles" (ZUS) in France; the impacts of segregation of a residential location in a peri-urban zone in Tel Aviv, Israel; and the heterogeneity of employment sectors in Hồ Chí Minh City. These examples will allow you to take a look at the ins and outs of preparing a quantitative questionnaire;
- Sunday's first session will be devoted to the presentation by the groups of their state of progress. In order to do this, we shall ask you to read the texts that were transmitted to you at the beginning of the workshop and identify in these texts two key concepts in order to link them to your own research work. In the afternoon, we shall show you the principal stages in the preparation of gualitative guestionnaires, by showing you two examples, the "floating population" of Hà Nôi as well as the residential trajectories of the households that live in the "New Urban Zones" (NUZ). During this presentation we shall also come back to the principal concepts of socio-spatial segregation. Finally, we will

ask you to prepare, in groups, a series of three questions of a quantitative nature in relation to your research subject and then present and explain them;

- Monday morning will be devoted to the sampling techniques necessary for the implementation of an inquiry protocol and then to group work. These techniques will allow you to identify the "target populations", which is an indispensable stage for any type of research in so much as it is practically impossible and concretely too expensive to survey the whole population on a given territory. Finally, the group work presentations will give you the opportunity to hear a final series of commentaries from us, with the objective of suggesting a summary of the whole workshop.

3.3.1. Inequalities and Socio-Spatial Segregation: Defining, Identifying and Measuring

[Jean-Michel Wachsberger]

In the plenary sessions, I dealt with several examples of the manifestation of sociospatial segregation. In spite of the generic character of the notion, it is indeed necessary to bear in mind that it manifests itself and can be defined in several ways: whether it be in terms of urban and spatial forms, such as the phenomenon of "Gated Communities" that constitute physical enclaves within the urban fabric, or whether it be in terms of populations, such as ethnic or socioprofessional based segregation. Socio-spatial segregation may thus vary from one city to another and it is thus relevant to approach it through measure – it manifests itself in many



Brazilian cities but does not seem to be greatly marked in Vietnamese cities, for example. If we wish to give full account of socio-spatial segregation, three questions must be asked:

- Who/what? Are we dealing with sociospatial segregation that affects the whole population or a specific population that is identifiable by its ethnicity, its culture, and the socio-professional group to which it belongs? This question aims at determining the characteristics of the population that we wish to observe in order to give a full account of the segregation;
- Where? This question deals with the space, or territory, on which we seek to observe the forms of segregation. This necessitates determining the global scale of the observation and the limits of the city. It entails determining the sectors to be compared with each other, that is to say the degree of precision with which we intend to work. This "where" will be of particular interest to us in the framework of our workshop and we will approach it principally on the neighbourhood scale;
- How? This question aims at constructing and selecting some indicators of measure for socio-spatial segregation.

The answers to these questions depend on the assumptions we have formulated beforehand, as well as the general research issue.

Defining and Observing Segregation: Between Objectivity and Subjectivity

Let us address the issue of ethnicity as an example of segregation. This entails elucidating the challenges of measuring a phenomenon of segregation. If you had to ask a question to determine an individual's ethnicity, how would you go about it?

Phạm Thái Sơn

We could ask them about their family origins or their social cultural environment.

Đỗ Phương Thúy

In Việt Nam, this is not a sensitive question, it may be directly asked.

[Jean-Michel Wachsberger]

The answers are specific to each country; if there are no taboos, the question may be asked directly. However, it is important to ask questions about the necessity and relevance of asking such a question. Asking a population about which ethnic minority it belongs to is also a way of contributing to its identification as such and, implicitly, contributing to a form of stigmatisation *vis-à-vis* this ethnic minority. That is why the researcher must be prudent about the eventual impacts of his/ her research on social reality; he/she must ask questions about the relevance and necessity of the categories created.

In Peru, in an inquiry into segregation, where the question is more delicate, we ask about an individual's mother tongue in order to indirectly obtain their ethnic belonging. In France, where it is a sensitive issue, we ask about the parents' place of birth. In the United States or in Canada, we can ask directly about information that is considered taboo in other countries, such as race: Caucasian, Black or White, etc.

Let us proceed with the same exercise for poverty.



[François Roubaud]

In relation to poverty and issues of sociospatial segregation, could you identify one "objective" and one "subjective" measure of poverty? Which questions should be asked to determine this?

Mai Thị Thanh Hoa

We could ask about the average daily income?

[François Roubaud]

A very good example concerning so-called "objective" poverty! We measure income, or consumption, and then establish a threshold that allows us to distinguish poor and nonpoor households. We might then observe in a city, neighbourhood by neighbourhood, the concentration of rich and poor populations by using average daily income as an indicator. However, it is acknowledged that poverty is not only a question of income and that other dimensions must be taken into account: health, education, the fact of feeling happy or free, etc. There are measures of poverty referred to as "subjective", one question might be "Do you feel yourself to be more or less poor?" Imagine that I ask this question in the inquiries, and then examine the division by neighbourhood of populations that have identified themselves as being poor. Are the neighbourhoods going to overlap?

Nguyễn Thị Thu Hà

The subjectively poor neighbourhoods are not necessarily those that are objectively poor.

Lê Hồ Phong Linh

Although there is a high chance that the neighbourhoods are different, they may also

overlap. This depends finally on the indicator used, income for an "objective" indicator and the perception of poverty of the populations for a "subjective" indicator.

[François Roubaud]

Indeed, the neighbourhoods will certainly be different but may also overlap. What is important is that you begin to see the distinction between "objective" and "subjective" measures.

In certain poor neighbourhoods, there may be strong networks of solidarity and the populations may feel less poor as they know they can count on their neighbours. On the other hand, in rich quarters, we generally remark that these networks are weak. The important thing is to remark that the big difference is between the phenomenon measured and the one perceived.

Territories of Segregation: On the Frontiers Between Conceived and Perceived Space

[Jean-Michel Wachsberger]

Let us now tackle the question of "where". Once the question of limits has been dealt with, we have to set about determining the size of the spaces that we wish to compare. On this subject, the results will of course vary according to whether we compare small or large spaces. A priori, the segregation will increase as we measure smaller and smaller spaces; the more we divide the spaces and work on a smaller scale, the greater the probability that segregation will manifest itself. The question of dividing territory is also a question of logic: What type of division do we wish to use? Administrative, arithmetical - that is to say dividing territories into grids; or should we indeed convert the



neighbourhoods into defined entities from the point of view of their social and cultural representations, or daily practices? Let us imagine the scenario where you are carrying out research independently of any material or financial constraints that might exist. In this ideal world where you are not limited, what type of division would you use and for which reasons?

Morgane Perset

We worked on social housing neighbourhoods that were defined according to administrative criteria. In the field, we observed big disparities. I would use the field as a basis for limiting the inquiry sector, the way in which the people live in their neighbourhood.

Nguyễn Tuấn Minh

We could take the different degrees of urbanisation of the sectors of the city as a basis for division. Often, in the city centre, population density is higher and there are more and better public amenities than on the outskirts.

[Jean-Michel Wachsberger]

Segregation consists in comparing areas, why not the city centre and the outskirts? We can also make use of administrative entities that already exist – communes, districts, etc. – when we divide the territory in question. Nevertheless, these administrative territories do not necessarily cover the everyday territories of the populations that live there. In certain cases, administrative divisions may indeed coincide with the inhabitants' living spaces. In other cases, these divisions remain, in the final analysis, artificial.

The other problem that arises is when we wonder whether the poor populations are confined in such or such an area. There is a great possibility that we will find a high concentration of poor populations in a bigger neighbourhood. This is one of the reasons for which we may find artificial divisions of a city of an identical size. In France, for example, there are census blocks (*Îlots* Regroupés pour l'Information Statistique [IRIS]) that were created by the Institut National de la Statistique et des Études Économiques (INSEE), which consist of a division of the territory into grids that are homogeneous in size - 2,000 inhabitants. This type of division may not correspond to the inhabitants' practices or to their perceptions of the territory, but it proves to be an interesting tool for comparing territories with each other. When we move towards more qualitative approaches, we observe that neighbourhoods are flexible entities and that each one may be attributed different significations and attributes.

"Correct Usage" of the Indicators of Measure of Segregation: From Reading to Interpretation

Let us now turn to the question of the measure of segregation, in other words the "How?". Generally speaking, five principal indicators of segregation may be identified:



Box X

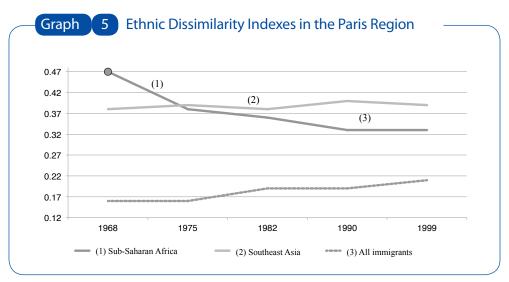
12 The Five Principal Types of Segregation Indicators

- Evenness Index: this is the segregation or dissimilarity index that is the sum of the differences between the proportion of a group considered as living in each neighbourhood and the proportion of the rest of the population (or of another population) living in the same neighbourhoods. It can be interpreted as the proportion of people of a group having to move house in order to ensure an equal distribution of this population in the different neighbourhoods.
- Exposure Index: this is the index of isolation or interaction that is the sum of the products of a considered group living in each neighbourhood by the proportion of the inhabitants of the neighbourhood who are not of the same group. It may be interpreted as the probability of a given individual entering into contact, within his/her neighbourhood, with an individual from another group.
- Concentration Index: this index calculates the difference between the ratio of the population of a group in the spatial unit and that of the city. It varies from 0 to 1 and may be interpreted as the proportion of a group that would have to move house in order to obtain a uniform density throughout all the spatial units.
- Clustering Index: this index expresses the average number of individuals in a spatial unit of a group as a total proportion of the surrounding spatial units. The absolute clustering index varies from 0 to 1 and may be interpreted as the proportion of a considered group that is grouped together in high-density zones.
- Centralisation Index: this index expresses the proportion of a group residing in the city centre. The absolute concentration index may be interpreted as the part of a group that would have to move house in order to obtain a uniform density of the group around the centre of the inquiry zone.

Source: Massey and Denton (1988).



Let us examine together the sense and utility of three of these indexes: dissimilarity, interaction and spatial grouping. Let us proceed with a quick exercise on the database from the Île-de-France region.



Source: Safi, 2009.

This graph shows us the ethnic dissimilarity index by commune in the Paris region and its evolution over several decades. How do you read the point for the year 1968 on the curve for the sub-Saharan African population?

Phạm Thái Sơn

The immigrants from African countries are very concentrated in relation to immigrants as a whole.

[Jean-Michel Wachsberger]

Indeed, but you are anticipating. What does 1968 tell us about the populations from sub-Saharan Africa?

Nguyễn Thị Thu Hà

47% of Africans must move house in order to ensure an equal division of the population on the territory of the communes of the Île-de-France.

[Jean-Michel Wachsberger]

Absolutely. There are several questions to be asked when confronted by such a graph: Do we sufficiently understand it? What does it say? What can we make it say?

The graph does indeed tell us that the dissimilarity of sub-Saharan African populations has diminished with the passage of time; in other words, these populations are



better distributed across the territory. At the same time, we also see that the segregation of the populations of Southeast Asia, which was weaker at the outset, has remained stable over the years and is finally more pronounced than that of the sub-Saharan African populations. This interpretation is obtained by cross-referencing horizontal – evolution in time – and vertical information – the different origins of the populations. On average, these two categories of population remain more unequally distributed on the territory than the other immigrant populations.

How can we obtain a drop in the dissimilarity index without people having to move house?

Phạm Thái Sơn

Other ethnic groups could come and live in the same commune and thus help lower the proportion of sub-Saharan Africans.

[Jean-Michel Wachsberger]

Absolutely, migratory trends have changed and the proportion of African populations has thus diminished. In other terms, if the equi-distribution of 1968 is not the same as in 1975, this might be the result of many factors. A city is not a closed circuit. Its population is mobile and it evolves as it becomes home to new populations, such as migrants from rural zones for example. It also changes as a consequence of births and deaths.

What can you tell me about the Southeast Asian populations?

Vũ Hoàng Đạt

The curve is more stable; the socio-spatial segregation of Southeast Asian populations became more pronounced than that of sub-Saharan African populations after 1975.

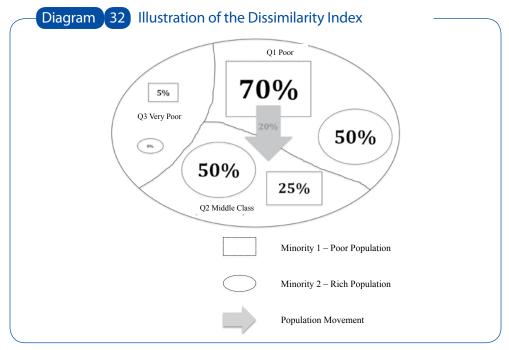
[François Roubaud]

Let us suppose that a city is composed of three different neighbourhoods where two different ethnic minorities live: minority 1 is a poor population whereas minority 2 is rich (*cf.* Diagram 32):

- Neighbourhood 1 is characterised by a globally under-privileged situation in so much as it is composed of 70% of minority 1 and 30% of minority 2;
- Neighbourhood 2 has a more balanced profile and could be likened to a "middle-class" situation, with 50% of the population rich and 30% poor;
- Neighbourhood 3 is characterised by a very under-privileged situation that forms a sort of "ghetto" as it is uniquely inhabited by minority 1.

Consequently, in the case of neighbourhood 1, in order for it to attain a median level, that is to say be composed of 50% of minority 1 and 50% of minority 2, it would be necessary for 20% of minority 1 to move elsewhere, for example towards neighbourhood 2. The sum of these percentages gives us the dissimilarity index.





Source: Authors' construction.

Comparing Segregated Populations: the Relativity of a Threshold

[Jean-Michel Wachsberger]

We can define segregation as the separation of the city into differentiated areas, socially or ethnically for example. Consequently, we can assert that a city is segregated if all the minorities are not present everywhere in the city but only in certain specific neighbourhoods. In the same way, we can say that a population is segregated if it finds itself concentrated in certain neighbourhoods of the city rather than distributed throughout the whole territory. These elements of definition are easy to grasp. The measure of socio-spatial segregation is more complex. During the plenary sessions, one lecturer asked if there existed a "percentage" to define segregation. From a geographical, economic and sociological point of view, it is this very question that interests us. The indexes that I am presenting you with here seem to be *a priori* neutral *visà-vis* this question. The dissimilarity index ranges from 0 (0%) and 1 (100%) – 0 marks the absence of segregation; 1 marks total segregation. At what moment can we speak about segregation? 30%, 40% or 50%? Can we fix a threshold beneath which we can esteem that segregation is negligible and above which it is problematic? Using the example of the Paris region, are Southeast Asian populations segregated?

Ly Sokrithea

The evolution between 1968 and 1990 shows a marked increase.



[Jean-Michel Wachsberger]

The populations of Southeast Asia are indeed segregated, notably in relation to the rest of the immigrant population. The comparison allows us to assess the segregation of a population. We can also observe that the segregation of the Southeast Asian populations holds steady, as a trend, at equivalent levels, whereas the segregation of the sub-Saharan African populations is falling – from 47% in 1968 to 37% in 1975. What can you say about the difference in segregation between these two populations between 1968 and 1999?

Ly Sokrithea

In 1968, the segregation of sub-Saharan African populations was higher than that of Southeast Asian populations. The relation switches from 1975 onwards, and in 1999 it becomes evident that the populations of Southeast Asia are more segregated than those of sub-Saharan Africa.

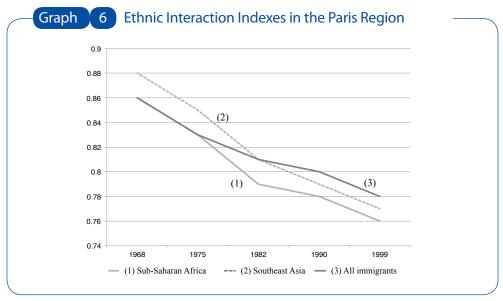
[Jean-Michel Wachsberger]

The evolution of the two curves does indeed show that there was a turnaround that needs to be interpreted. What interests us is to know whether the Southeast Asian immigrants are more segregated than the other populations?

On this matter, allow me to open a little aside. There is a political problem in France that we refer to as the tolerance threshold. This expression designates the tolerance threshold of the French of the immigrant populations, that is to say the number of immigrants on a given territory beyond which the French adopt xenophobic behaviour and reject immigrants, which results in votes for the extreme right. But in reality this guestion is more related to political arguments than to a proven social reality. To my knowledge, there has been no sociological research that has determined a percentage above which there would be socio-spatial segregation and the systematic occurrence of a same effect, and below which there would be no socio-spatial segregation and no effect. This example shows us that segregation is a question of more or less high degrees. The threshold is relative and necessarily arbitrary. We have to concentrate on the consequences of sociospatial segregation, particularly through the study of its effects when it varies. In 1999, we can observe that the dissimilarity index for sub-Saharan African populations is 33% and 40% for Southeast Asian populations. The difference is 7%. What do you think about this difference? Can we assert that Southeast Asian populations are a lot more or a little more segregated than sub-Saharan African populations?

My aim is to encourage you to question this notion of threshold beyond which there will be segregation and below which there will be no segregation. In reality, and when we set aside the question of threshold, segregation is simply the fact that certain particular populations are concentrated in specific territories and not in others. However, this definition should not leave out a measure of segregation. To do this, and after this first exercise about the dissimilarity index, I propose to then deal with the integration index and carry out a comparison.





Source: Safi, 2009.

The interaction index calculates the probability of an individual with particular characteristics – sex, ethnicity, socioprofessional status, etc. – meeting in his/her neighbourhood an individual with different characteristics. First of all, let us be sure that we fully understand the graph: How do we interpret the value 88% that characterises the immigrants from Southeast Asia in 1968? How do we obtain information about the evolution of segregation?

Lê Hồ Phong Linh

This signifies that in 1968, the probability of an immigrant from Southeast Asia interacting in his/her neighbourhood with a different individual was 88%. The level of interaction between the Southeast Asian populations was high in 1968, and then it diminished over the years. Consequently, I would say that segregation increased in so much as the probability of interaction has diminished.

[Jean-Michel Wachsberger]

Let us now compare the indexes of dissimilarity and interaction. The first seems to tell us that segregation remains globally identical in the long term; the second shows us on the contrary that segregation increases. How should we understand this paradox? How should we compare the evolution of these indexes?

Morgane Perset

We could hypothesise that the Southeast Asian populations are maybe more concentrated in certain neighbourhoods and, consequently, have little probability of meeting other populations.



[Jean-Michel Wachsberger]

Indeed, the bigger the population in a given neighbourhood, the less space there is for other populations, and the less probability there is of interaction.

The two indexes do not measure the same phenomenon. The dissimilarity index measures socio-spatial segregation in terms of process and distribution on the territory, whereas the interaction index addresses them in terms of process and effects.

The Consequences and Effects of Socio-spatial Segregation

Let us now reflect upon the consequences and possible effects of socio-spatial segregation, in terms of ethnicity, socio-professional status, level of income, etc. Could you suggest a certain number of consequences linked to socio-spatial segregation, for immigrant populations, for poor populations, but also for other populations and for the whole of society? I invite you to give us the positive and negative consequences in the perspective of identifying as many effects and consequences as possible of segregation.

Nguyễn Thị Lành

The higher the degree of segregation, the more difficult it is to find work and the lower the levels of education are. I am thinking about the Khor minority, for example, that is largely concentrated in the 8th district of Hồ Chí Minh City.

Đàm Thị Đào

Segregation can help preserve the transmission of an ethnic identity or a particular culture.

Roeungdeth Chanreasmey

For us, in Cambodia, segregation is first ethnic and is experienced as something positive, notably because it allows us to affirm our identity.

[Jean-Michel Wachsberger]

The concentration of poor populations in a poor quarter can result in the appearance of a vicious circle where the populations do not have access to sufficient social capital and do not succeed in forming solid networks of mutual aid. This phenomenon can be summed up by the expression "poverty trap".

[François Roubaud]

I should like to add that neighbourhood social networks can have positive consequences, whether it be through the maintenance and transmission of a cultural identity, or through the establishment and development of mutual aid networks.

Let us simplify things somewhat. When I am poor in a rich neighbourhood, there is a big chance that I will be stigmatised and that my socio-economic condition will deteriorate. On the other hand, if I am poor among a poor population, it is possible for me to establish mutual solidarity networks with my neighbours. Through these social networks, we can identify some negative and positive effects of socio-spatial segregation. Let us take another example: education. We tend to think that the children of poor populations do not succeed at school and that, because they are grouped together, this creates a downward trend. But can we not also identify positive effects?



Vũ Hoàng Đạt

I think that the positive consequences of segregation would be to increase confidence within groups. When we find ourselves with individuals who globally have an identical level, it is possible to acquire confidence in our own capacities. This confidence can be a driving factor in learning and educational success.

[François Roubaud]

In an even more direct way, the concentration of certain ethnic groups in areas or schools means that they can be taught in the groups' mother tongue, which greatly facilitates learning. The other possibility is that if pupils with a relatively weak level are grouped together, well-adapted, more efficient educational programmes, which target their level, can be developed.

By Way of a Summary: the Effects of Socio-spatial Segregation: Territories, Neighbourhoods and Individuals

[Jean-Michel Wachsberger]

I should like to remind you of three types of possible effects of socio-spatial segregation: those linked to the characteristics of the territory, those linked to the social composition of the territory, and those linked to social capital.

The first effects of segregation are linked to the characteristics of the territory.

For example, the poor populations in certain neighbourhoods are far from public services and employment areas, and sometimes, these neighbourhoods are badly served by public transport. To these elements, which globally consist of challenges of distance and access to urban advantages, we have to add elements that concern the morphology of the territory. Certain poor neighbourhoods are indeed located in areas that are particularly exposed to risks: flooding and pollution. The combination of distance and exposure to risk generally engenders negative effects on the populations in terms of health, employment and education.

Segregation also has effects that are linked to the social composition of the territory. We think of the phenomenon of stigmatisation that consists of pejorative judgements by society vis-à-vis a territory where a certain population is concentrated. For example, in France, in the large housing estates, located on the outskirts of the metropolises that have a relatively higher unemployment rate than other cities, reside populations that are stigmatised on the basis of their place of residence. In other words, belonging to certain neighbourhoods of the city can reduce the possibility of access to employment and also be harmful to educational performance. However, these negative effects that are linked to the social make-up of the territory must not hide the possibility of positive effects. The gathering together of a same population within a territory can result in the implementation of specific educational programmes. However, the sociology of education has also shown that the sociological diversity of a class can favour the chances of the pupils succeeding, and thus increase the possibilities of integrating children from impoverished neighbourhoods. Finally, when we take into



account the social make-up of the territory and when we use educational success as an example, we see the coexistence of two contrary consequences of segregation.

The third effect of socio-spatial segregation is linked to social capital. We generally distinguish a positive social capital that puts individuals in contact with others - Bridging Capital – from a negative social capital that leads to enclosure - Bounded Solidarities. We can also speak about sub-cultures that are specific to a neighbourhood, for example that of poverty, which maintains populations in a situation of poverty - cf. "poverty trap". The sub-culture may also result in the emergence of criminal gangs who contest the established social order. Conversely, it may also be the source of positive effects: the maintenance of traditional cultures, development of individual esteem within the group, establishment of mutual aid networks and solidarity between individuals. Certain studies have shown that it is better to be poor in a poor neighbourhood than poor in a rich one (Wachsberger, 2009b). However, mutual aid and solidarity are not self-evident either, and we cannot suppose that the homogeneity of a neighbourhood, from an ethnic or cultural point of view or in terms of income, necessarily results in solidarity between individuals. Often, in poor neighbourhoods, insecurity remains more pronounced.

By way of a summary, I should like to insist upon an essential element of sociospatial segregation: it is neither positive nor negative *per se*. We have seen together that the effects of socio-spatial segregation can often go in either direction, that is to say reproduce and increase social and territorial inequalities, or on the contrary, contribute to the improvement of the living conditions of a population on the territory.

The trainers remind the workshop of the instructions for the first group work:

- Define a particular population (the poor, the young, informal sector workers, people with a low level of education, etc.);

- Formulate hypotheses about the effects of the concentration of this population within a territory;

- Identify the mechanisms and processes through which these effects are manifested. The principal objective is to show that the effects and consequences of socio-spatial segregation are not only tricky to anticipate, but also that the channels of transmission through which they are produced and manifested are diverse and can operate in a complementary, concurrent or parallel way.



Day 2, Friday 25th

The morning begins with a first presentation of the research issue that each work group has chosen for the week:

Group 1. Ethnic minorities and access to work;

Group 2. Migrant workers and access to essential services;

Group 3. Access to employment among the young;

Group 4. The challenges of rehousing populations (city of Đà Nẵng).

Each group exposes a research issue, the hypotheses and the methods used. A dialogue follows with the trainers in order to complete the reflection and specify some of its points.

Principal requests made: specify the hypotheses and widen the research issue to the labour market, as well as the possible consequences of the research; develop the notion of ethnic minority; define the challenges of the localisation of populations.

3.3.2. Accessing Essential Services in the Urban Environment

[Mireille Razafindrakoto]

We are going to deal with the question of access to public services in the urban environment. This will allow us to come back to the dual effects of socio-spatial segregation: access to public services is a factor of segregation; segregation influences access to public services. The reason for which we are focusing on access to essential services in the city is linked to the phenomenon that we refer to as "urban bias" - cities are generally better equipped with public services than rural areas.

In a certain number of countries, access to public services is not necessarily better, in terms of quantity or quality, in the city than in rural areas (Vlahof *et al.*, 2007). This study shows that infant mortality is lower in the city than in the countryside, but this results from the fact that incomes are higher in the city. At equal income, there is no "urban bias". However, we generally observe a greater concentration of public services and, of course, population in the city. For our analysis, it is necessary to take into account:

- The distribution of public services within the territories of the city. This reveals inequalities in availability and proximity, particularly when we differentiate poor and rich neighbourhoods, with certain extremes such as those observed in shanty towns where the poor mobility of the populations – often for reasons of security – exacerbates the problem of a very limited offer in public services;
- The rhythm of urbanisation. Cities in developing countries (DCs) are home to more and more immigrants, there is often a mismatch between the demands of urban populations and the offer of public services;
- The characteristics of individuals and households. When we are examining the "urban poor", we are really speaking about populations that do not have access to public services because the neighbourhoods they live in are globally lacking infrastructures and they do not have sufficient income – the "poor neighbourhood effect" is added to the "income effect".



We also have to add another phenomenon that you did not bring up in your presentations: the notions of health and wellbeing. When we speak about planning and urban management, we generally emphasise the challenges of social and economic development. However, it is also important to take into account environmental issues, notably the impacts of urban morphology or the availability of public amenities (including sports centres, green spaces, etc.) on public health. This approach allows us to consider public services in broader terms, as essential elements for the population's well-being. Even though these research issues are very recent, they place great emphasis on the notion of "double burden". On the one hand, the poor populations are, on average, more greatly exposed to infectious diseases, because of the lack of public services, but also because of their living conditions and income and education levels. On the other hand, they are more affected by the appearance of diseases that used to affect so-called "rich" countries - heart disease notably - as they do not have access to the leisure infrastructures and green spaces that would allow them to reduce their stress. levels. Studies have shown that in Hong Kong, suicide rates are higher in the new housing that lacks green spaces than in the old neighbourhoods that have green spaces (Burdett et al., 2011).

We are going to take a look at four concrete examples that illustrate the difficulties of access to services on urban territory and which show how these difficulties can be identified and measured. The examples concern four cities:

- Antananarivo (Madagascar) where a phenomenon of neighbourhood polarisation and great inequalities in access to public services have been brought to light;

- Ouagadougou (Burkina Faso) where the evolution in the offer of health infrastructures has been assessed over the past years;
- Rufisque (Senegal) where the direct impact of access to public services on the health conditions of the population has been demonstrated;
- Paris (France) where the question of accessibility has been studied in order to go beyond the simple research issue of the spatial distribution of services on the territory by taking a look at the behaviour of the inhabitants.

Polarisation of Neighbourhoods, Inequalities and Expectations with Regard to Public Services: Antananarivo

What are the first readings we can take from the Table 10?

Lê Hồ Phong Linh

This table shows the levels of poverty and wealth of the neighbourhoods in the city of Antananarivo. For example, the neighbourhood in quartile 1 concentrates the greatest number of poor households on the territory – 47%, whereas the neighbourhood in quartile 4 concentrates the richest households, that is to say are situated in the 4th quartile in terms of unit – 42%.

[Mireille Razafindrakoto]

Indeed. Among the poorest 25%, or the 1st quartile, 47% live in the poorest neighbourhoods and only 8% in the richest neighbourhoods. Conversely, for the richest 25%, or the 4th quartile, 42% live in the rich neighbourhoods and 14% in the poorest



Table

Distribution of Individuals by Neighbourhood according to Level of Wealth								
	Average income of neighbourhoods							
Household income per CU	Neighbourhood of quartile 1 (poor	Neighbourhood of quartile 2	Neighbourhood of quartile 3	Neighbourhood of quartile 4 (rich)	Total	Poor neighbourhood with a high concentration of poverty	Rich neighbourhood with a high concentration of wealth	
1 st quartile	47	31	15	8	100	34	0	
2 nd quartile	42	26	18	14	100	36	1	
3rd quartile	30	28	24	17	100	26	4	
4 th quartile	14	22	22	42	100	10	17	
Together	33	27	20	20	100	26	6	

10 Antananarivo: Polarisation of Neighbourhoods.

Reading key: Among the persons in the 1st quartile (poor) with incomes by consumption unit (CU), 47% live in the poor neighbourhood (that is to say a neighbourhood whose average income is part of the lowest 25%, and 8% live in a rich neighbourhood (that is to say one whose average income is part of the highest 25%). The neighbourhoods with a high concentration of poverty (or wealth) are those where the variation coefficient is lower than the average variation coefficient.

Source: Wachsberger (2009a).

guarters. We speak about polarisation. Even though I know this city well, I can assure you that this phenomenon of polarisation is far from obvious: this type of inquiry allows us to go beyond simple observation or intuition.

Let us now focus on commenting the second part of the table, that concerning the concentration of poor populations within the poor neighbourhoods and rich populations within the rich neighbourhoods.

Vũ Hoàng Đạt

The poorer the neighbourhoods, the greater the variation in incomes within the neighbourhoods.

[Mireille Razafindrakoto]

The table also shows that in the poor neighbourhoods, there is a very high concentration of poor populations. Conversely, in the rich neighbourhoods, there is a greater variability of incomes. In the poor neighbourhoods, there is a relatively high concentration of poor households - 34%, whereas in the rich quarters, there is a low concentration of rich households - 17%. In short, the rich neighbourhoods are home to poor populations, whereas the poor neighbourhoods are composed more exclusively of poor populations.



On this concentration can be superimposed another phenomenon that concerns The geographical inequalities. poor neighbourhoods are generally located on the outskirts and at the foot of the central hill in Antananarivo that is home to the richest populations. These "slum neighbourhoods" are generally less equipped than the central neighbourhoods in terms of administrative institutions or public schools. They are also more exposed to flooding.

Table 11 shows us the characteristics of the neighbourhoods according to their levels of average income, as much for "objective" data – access to electricity, water connections – as for "subjective" data – inhabitants' appreciation of the level of cleanliness of their neighbourhood, satisfaction *vis-à-vis* public transport or medical services.

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Quartiles of neighbourhood incomes	quartile 1 (Q1)	quartile 2	quartile 3	quartile 4 (Q4)	Q1 with a high con- centra-	Q4 with a high con- centra-	Total	
					tion of poverty	tion of wealth		
Housing conditions (% of individuals who have)								
Access to electricity	57	77	83	91	50	97	76	
Running water	8	18	36	53	7	85	28	
Appreciation of inhabitants (% of individuals faced with problems linked to)								
Lack of cleanliness in the neighbourhood	39	26	18	17	42	6	30	
Far from place of work	18	20	17	18	19	12	18	
Far from health centres	26	12	12	13	27	9	16	
Far from schools	15	9	10	12	15	9	12	
% of adults declaring themselves to be dissatisfied with these aspects of the neighbourhood								
Public transport	24	15	8	2	25	9	15	
Medical services	47	30	34	35	50	50	37	
Schools, educational establishments	36	18	21	25	38	32	25	

Source: op. cit. (2009a).



The poor populations are less well endowed in terms of infrastructure than the rich populations: only half have access to electricity and only 7% have running water in the neighbourhoods with a high concentration of poverty; in neighbourhoods with a high concentration of rich inhabitants, 97% of houses have electricity and 85% running water. These inequalities may indeed be explained by the populations' levels of income, but not only: there is also a physical problem of infrastructures and access to neighbourhoods, "neighbourhood the effect". While this table provides us with information about the infrastructure endowment in different neighbourhoods, it above all prompts us to confront this "objective" information with the inhabitants' appreciation.

When individuals are asked about their degree of satisfaction vis-à-vis medical services, we remark that there are no major differences between the rich and poor populations. Thus, in the neighbourhoods with a high concentration of poor populations, as in those with rich populations, the degree of satisfaction vis-àvis medical services is identical: 50%. A similar observation can be made vis-à-vis schools and other educational establishments. This phenomenon can be explained by the notion of "preference attrition": the populations internalise their difficulties and lower their aspirations for a better residential environment and better services. These elements show us the interest of taking into account both "objective" information, such as for example the geographical distribution of infrastructures and urban services, and "subjective" appreciations.

Public Policies and the Offer of Health Infrastructures: Ouagadougou

Let us take the example of the city of Ouagadougou where research work has studied the evolution of the distribution of health structures over a period of time. This example allows us to illustrate concretely the impact of public health policies on the local population (*cf.* Map 17).

Lê Hồ Phong Linh

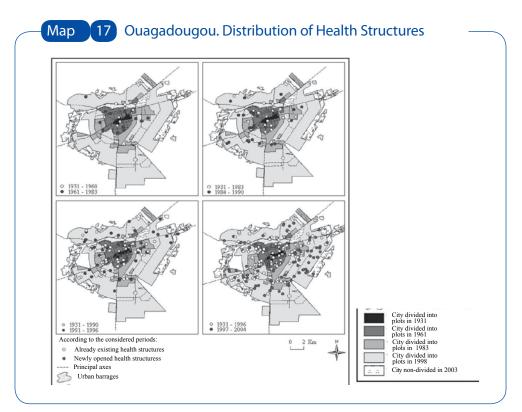
The rhythm of urbanisation seems to be rapid; the surface area of the city has doubled in 70 years. A large part of the health structures existed before 1961; we can note the absence of health structures in certain neighbourhoods, particularly in the neighbourhoods that were recently urbanised.

[Mireille Razafindrakoto]

A "parcelled" area corresponds to a serviced area (including roads, sewers, electricity). But these maps do not provide us with information about the chronological evolution of the non-parcelled areas; they simply indicate their demarcation in 2003:

- Until the 1960s, we can remark a concentration of health structures in the central colonial city;
- With the regime of Thomas Sankara, these structures developed on the outskirts of the city;
- Since the 1990s, there has been an explosion in the offer of health structures in the city. The operators are private, which poses not only a problem of accessibility for the populations but also that of an unequal distribution on the territory since





Source: Cadot and Harang (2006).

the non-parcelled areas and the outskirts are not served. We can also observe at the same time that the private health infrastructures are more concentrated and more numerous than the public infrastructures.

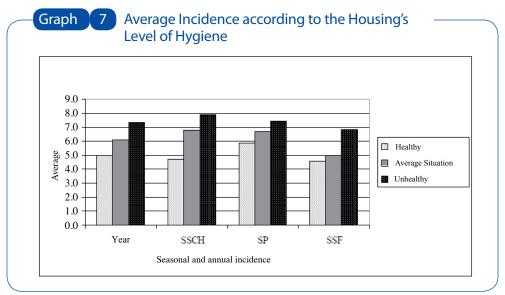
The private sector seeks first and foremost a solvent demand. All the private health structures are located near the urban poles where the relatively rich populations reside, which are served by transport infrastructures and integrated into the rest of the city.

The Impact of the Neighbourhood's Characteristics (Access to Water and Hygiene) on the Health of the Populations: Rufisque

This case study is particularly interesting as it concerns an old port city near Dakar, where there are still several open canals that used to serve for the circulation of individuals and goods. Today, this city is confronted with several problems of insalubrity. A multidisciplinary team from the IRD measured, neighbourhood by neighbourhood, the impact of public health policies on the



populations by using the hygiene index (fresh water supply, wastewater disposal, disposal of household waste, population density, type of housing, etc.). This housing hygiene index is cross-referenced with the index for the prevalence of consultations for diarrhoea.



Source: Sy (2006).

Notes: WDS Warm Dry Season; RS Rainy Season; CDS Cold Dry Season.

The greater the insalubrity in the neighbourhoods, the more cases of diarrhoea there are – with some variations according to season. The most vulnerable populations are households that do not have access to water – kitchen, bathrooms or toilets. Finally, rather than favour one factor to the detriment of another, we have to examine in this case a combination of factors between effects of context (place of residence) and income (level of poverty).

From Access to Accessibility, Availability, Proximity and Mobility: Paris

First of all, I should like to draw your attention to the interest of not using administrative demarcations in the analyses. Are they really relevant? We can indeed make use of the actual experience of the inhabitants in their neighbourhood; this entails confronting "objective" data – the administrative division of neighbourhoods – with "subjective" data – the perception of the inhabitants (*cf*. Table 12).

When we wish to measure the impact of public policies from the planners' point of view, we can indeed adopt administrative divisions. On the other hand, how do we approach, in terms of methodological tools, the perceptions of the population? A study was carried out in Paris to tackle this question (Vallée *et al.*, 2014). We have the administrative data about the number of doctors and chemists located on the territory of the Paris region, but also neighbourhood



	Access to Local						
	In the Paris agglomeration (n= 653)	In Paris (n= 196)	In the large communes (n= 157)	In the small communes (n= 300)	Ratio between Paris and the small communes		
Average number of general practitioners in the neighbourhood							
defined using a fixed radius (= 367 m)	7.0	15.0	3.2	3.7	4		
defined from the neighbourhood as perceived by the inhabitants	11.1	30.7	3.8	2.1	15		
Average number of chemist's shops in the neighbourhood							
defined using a fixed radius (= 367 m)	3.2	6.9	1.5	1.7	4		
defined from the neighbourhood as perceived by the inhabitants	4.8	13.1	1.6	0.9	14		

Table 12 Demarcation of the Neighbourhood and Inequalities

Source: Vallée (2012).

by neighbourhood. As the latter do not all have the same administrative size, an average was calculated in order to make them comparable (367 metres). We asked individuals about the number of doctors and chemists located in their neighbourhood without however defining its limits.

Nguyễn Thị Phương Yến

Globally, the number of doctors by neighbourhood according to the perception of the inhabitants is higher than the number of doctors according to the administrative division. The perceived neighbourhood can appear bigger than the administrative neighbourhood.

[Mireille Razafindrakoto]

The "administrative entity" neighbourhood and the "lived in" neighbourhood do not necessarily overlap. We have to take into account the perception individuals have of their neighbourhood, but also behaviours for the "neighbourhood effects" or "context effects". The study thus took into account the size of the individual's activity space, his/her practical and everyday territory, and the image and representations of the neighbourhood. We have the characteristics of the individuals (education, socio-economic and cultural status) and of the neighbourhood (physical environment, offer of urban services). The approach allows us to highlight that there is indeed a "neighbourhood effect" on behaviour, but, at the same time, behaviours fashion the neighbourhood. Certain everyday activities are concentrated on the territory of the neighbourhood such as it is perceived. What is interesting in the case of Paris is that the availability of health infrastructures in the neighbourhoods did not seem to explain the access of individuals to preventative medicine. The availability of health infrastructures in a given neighbourhood has a positive influence on behaviour concerning preventative medicine, but this is only true for individuals who already



carry out a certain number of activities in their neighbourhood. For those individuals whose everyday activities are generally carried out outside their residential neighbourhood, there is no correlation between the offer of health infrastructures and consultations for preventative medicine.

The question of mobility is central. What it is necessary to assess is the relationship between availability in the area studied and the mobility behaviours of individuals. We will speak about exclusion or segregation with relation to individuals' behaviours, of their capacity to be mobile and have access to the different territories and infrastructures of the city.

Day 3, Saturday 26th

3.3.3. Inequalities on the Labour Market in the Urban Environment

[Xavier Oudin]

We are going to focus on the factors that may explain inequalities in work in the city: access to employment, working conditions, transition between jobs, but also interactions with the city such as residential constraints and migratory trajectories. "The Signal Theory" (Tilly *et al.*, 2001) explains for example that employers are little interested in the education and training of job seekers and are more interested in the reputation of the schools attended. This theory, when transposed to the city, highlights the discriminating role of the place of residence.

The Labour Market: Concepts, Tools and Situational Analysis

Urbanisation runs parallel to two major phenomena of labour markets in DCs:

- The relative fall in the number of agricultural jobs in employment as a whole;
- Demographic growth and the increase of working age population.

Analysis of the labour market is principally part of a quantitative approach. It is carried out at several levels: analysis of the structure of the labour market – as the distribution of jobs between sectors, analysis of working conditions – as job quality and the distribution of incomes – and finally, transition analysis. The principal tools and concepts of the labour market concern above all the working-age population and individuals aged 15 and over among whom we distinguish the active and inactive population.

The active population includes the occupied population - those in employment and the unemployed. It groups together declared jobs, but also any person having worked at least one hour during a determined period (the preceding week or month, according to the inquiries), whatever the form of remuneration received Three criteria are used to define the unemployed: not being occupied, being available for work and actively seeking employment. The employed population is generally divided into activity sectors and according to job status. Furthermore, consideration may also be given to the institutional sectors of individuals by distinguishing the state sector from the private sector, the sectors of foreign enterprises from those of domestic or family enterprises. Finally, a specific case covers the distinction between the formal and informal sectors.

These elements of definition allow the calculation of indicators.



Box 13 Methods of Calculation of Different Economic Indicators

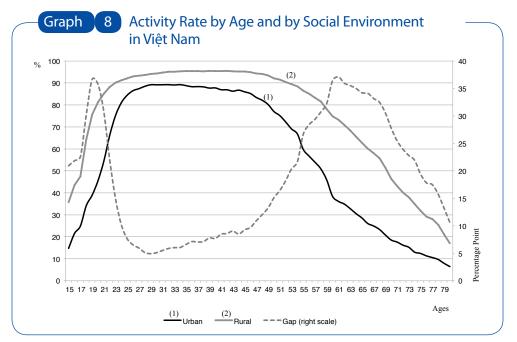
The activity rate: used to measure integration into the labour market; active population (occupied workers + unemployed) / working-age population.

The employment rate: used to measure the capacity of an economy to create jobs; occupied workers / working-age population.

The unemployment rate: used to measure the performance of an economy; unemployed/ active population.

Source: Authors' construction.

The activity rate varies over time but also according to gender, ethnicity, and rural or urban environment.



Source: Authors' construction.



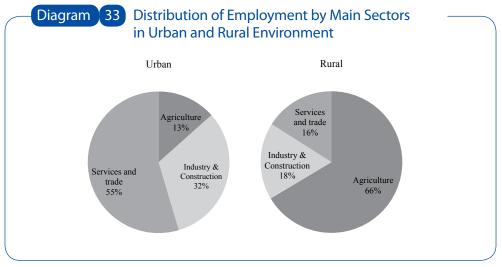
At the age of 40, 95% of the rural population works compared to less than 90% in the urban environment. The dotted curve illustrates the urban/rural difference according to age. The difference for the young populations can be explained by more education in the urban environment. We can also remark a rise in the inactivity rate among the young in the urban environment owing to a lengthening of the time spent studying.

The unemployment rate has a strong political dimension as it reflects the performance of the labour market and its ease of accessibility. There are nonetheless certain nuances in DCs where declared rates are globally low and do not correspond to the social reality – absence

of unemployment benefits. In 2013, in Việt Nam, the urban unemployment rate was 3.3%.

Activity Sectors and Types of Employment: the Frontiers between Formal and Informal

In Việt Nam, the structures of the urban and rural labour market are significantly different. The rural sector includes 66% of farmers and fishermen, whereas the urban sector only includes 13%. The urban labour market is characterised by a majority of workers in the tertiary sector. Thus, there are more workers in the rural environment because of the localisation of numerous industries.



Source: Authors' construction.

Outside the agricultural sector, the majority of individuals work in the sector of individual and family domestic enterprises – non-salaried work. The State employs 25% of workers in the urban environment. In spite

of an intricate administrative network throughout the country, the state sector remains principally urban. Finally, the private sector, domestic and foreign, employs only 25% of the active urban population.



[Axel Demenet]

The radical reform of State-owned Enterprises (SOE) that took place in China at the end of the 1990s provides an interesting context to implement the division of jobs by sector that we have just presented, since it makes it possible to assess the impact on the urban labour market of the sudden and massive contraction of the institutional sector (public enterprises). Several studies (notably Xia Song *et al.*, 2013) have demonstrated that the reduction in the number of jobs in the public sectors has increased inequalities in wages on the urban labour market and the wage gap between public sector jobs and

jobs in other sectors. Let us thus remember that all the elements presented until now allow us to characterise the structure of the labour market in general, and the urban zones in particular. If you take two different labour markets – two neighbourhoods – you can remark that the unemployment rate is equal but that the quality of the jobs is not the same. Job quality refers to an essential component in the analysis of labour markets. Generally, individuals put forward wage levels as an indicator of job satisfaction, but more advanced indicators exist. The International Labour Organization (ILO) has proposed a series of indicators concerning job quality that characterise "decent work"

Box

14 Indicators for Defining "Decent Work" According to the ILO

- Social Protection: social coverage linked to the job that concerns accidents, maternity leave or medical insurance.
- Remuneration: it should be "appropriate" with regards to the context, above the poverty threshold and include overtime rates and bonuses.
- Job Stability: it concerns long-term contracts and protection against dismissals and layoffs.
- Working Environment: it must respect hygiene and security norms, must not expose the worker to danger or harm and be without stress and moral harassment.
- Workers' Rights: they concern the respect of the labour code and the possibility of forming unions.

Let us now turn to the informal sector. In Việt Nam, in order to determine whether an enterprise is informal or not, the criterion used is its registration. But we can also define informal employment by other internationally recognised criteria. According to these criteria, nearly 13% of employees in the Vietnamese public sector in 2009 are considered to have an informal job. In Hà Nội and Hồ Chí Minh City, 50% of workers are classified in this sector.



Box 15 The Five Possible Criteria for a Job to be Considered as Being Informal

- Absence of a written contract;
- Absence of a pay slip;
- Absence of social protection;
- Having insecure working status;
- Absence of legal and union protection.

Discrimination, Mobility and Access to the Labour Market

[Xavier Oudin]

In the city, labour mobility is an essential challenge. In theory, the market functions in a perfect fashion, that is to say that supply and demand should meet without any hindrance or barrier. Mobility on the labour market consists in the circulation of workers between different jobs, within an enterprise, from one enterprise to another, from one territory to another, from the countryside to the city, etc. Mobility is considered as a "natural" process since the market is in constant evolution. From a theoretical point of view, mobility should also be perfect, that is to say that it should result in the optimum allocation of human and economic resources. In reality, the obstacles to mobility are multiple and markets are neither pure nor perfect. Several theories seek to account for the imperfect functioning of the labour market. It is notably the case of the segmentation of labour theory that defines two segments:

 An "upper" segment: the workers are qualified and mobile. Jobs are stable and have better social protection, are better paid and offer career prospects; - A "lower" segment: the workers are not well qualified and not very mobile, they are in a position of dependence *vis-à-vis* their job.

In Việt Nam, the upper segment would be that of the civil service and State enterprises; the lower segment would identify the informal sector and migrant labour.

Let us also refer to the "insiders-outsiders" theory developed by Lindbeck and Snower (1989) concerning workers' behaviour. The insiders aim to protect and secure their position on the labour market by hindering access to outsiders.

Another example: there are costs linked to information asymmetry – the employer never truly knows the real competences of the candidate, he thus takes a risk by employing him/her. This asymmetry also exists for employees who do not necessarily know the working conditions, the reality of their mandate or even the social relations within the enterprise. In short, this theory emphasises the remoteness of the centres that do not have access channels or do not succeed in decoding them – "neighbourhood effects". This can notably be verified in DCs where family and social networks allow us to access information.



These barriers to a fluid functioning of the labour market concern its economic and institutional characteristics. There also exist political and cultural aspects; discrimination phenomena.



Source: Bureau of Labor Statistics (2008), http://www.npr.org/templates/story/story.php?storyId=125998232

This graph shows that in the United States the white population is better remunerated than the black one. There is a dual discrimination: gender discrimination and an ethnic one. You will remark that discrimination according to gender is more pronounced in the categories that earn the most – the Asians – than in the categories that earn the least – the Hispanics. On the other hand, the discrimination that is not visible in this data is that men generally have access to management posts that are better paid than for women.

Let us now approach the theories about the segmentation of the labour market in DCs. Generally, we distinguish between a rural and agricultural labour market and a modern and industrial one, or again, the formal and informal sector. All these dichotomies are used to understand labour in DCs. When we speak about several sectors, this signifies that there are barriers between the different zones. The level of education remains a determining criterion. For example, to work for Samsung requires a minimum level of nine years schooling. Because of these barriers, many researchers have defined the informal sector as a "refuge" sector: individuals wish to work in the formal sector but have no access to it. The informal sector is considered to be easy to access because it does not require any particular training or economic capital; there is no cost to enter it. Are the migrants who arrive in the city going to necessarily seek refuge in the informal sector?



Nguyễn Tuấn Minh

Certain migrants who arrive already have a job and others find work in the formal sector.

[Xavier Oudin]

Absolutely, this is a prejudice we have to fight against. In many factories, the workers belong to the formal sector even though they are migrants. We often associate the informal sector research issue with that of migration, but the two issues are different. Researchers, who refute dualist analyses, argue that the advantages of the formal sector are not necessarily so big. You may benefit from social protection in the framework of your job, but you have to raise questions about the quality of this protection. On the other hand, the informal sector can be considered a space of freedom and mobility. Working conditions are sometimes hard and below those of the formal sector – more than 99% of workers in the formal sector receive a pay slip and 96% benefit from paid holidays; for the informal sector, these figures are 27% and 11%, respectively. Finally, remuneration levels in the informal sector compared to the formal sectors - private and public - are lower.

Socio-spatial Segregation and Work in the Urban Environment: Mechanisms of "Distance"

[Axel Demenet]

Can you explain what are supposedly the principal factors of segregation in access to employment?

Vũ Hoàng Đạt

In India, the fact of living in a slum or being the member of a particular cast affects your chance of finding work.

[Axel Demenet]

There may be a specific impact of the position of the neighbourhood on finding employment. This concept is evoked in Spatial Mismatch (Kain, 1968) to characterise a spatial mismatch between the place of residence and the place of employment. The concentration of working opportunities in certain sectors (often central ones), far from the places of residence of the poor populations, results in reduced accessibility. Note that this reasoning can also be reversed: it is also because a person has a lower income that he/she cannot reside in the area near where there are employment opportunities.

More specifically, three mechanisms explain socio-spatial segregation on the labour market:

- Transport costs. These affect both the quality of job seeking and the probability of accessing the market;
- Absence of information. In certain neighbourhoods where the labour market is mainly informal, it is difficult to gain access to information concerning the formal sector;
- From the employers' point of view, certain neighbourhoods have a job repelling effect as they are stigmatised, too far away and associated with negative characteristics.



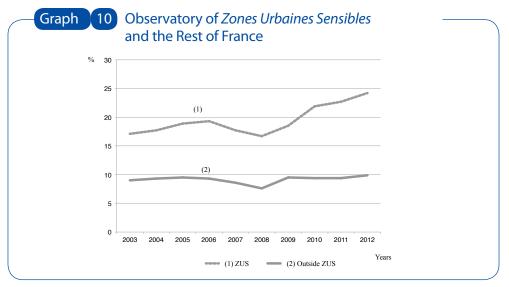
These mechanisms are based upon the notion that "distance" between job opportunities and individuals, understood in the broad sense of the term: not only geographical, but also from the point of view of competences, social network and the segmentation of occupations.

Urban policies propose certain solutions: antidiscrimination laws, low-cost public transport, information dissemination agencies, etc., which function more or less well.

This potential spatial mismatch is illustrated by taking three examples in three different countries: the question of *Zones Urbaines Sensibles* in France, peri-urban zones in Tel Aviv and finally the differences between residential zones in Hồ Chí Minh City.

Territorial Stigmatisation and Ethnic Discrimination: Zones Urbaines Sensibles (*ZUS*) in France

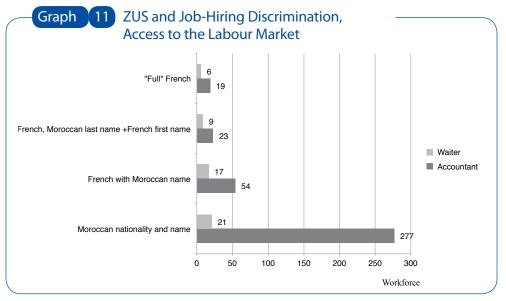
France has defined geographical zones that are deemed to be economically penalised and are thus a priority target for public policies. These ZUS are selected according to different criteria, one of them being habitat degradation, and, *a priori*, combine several penalising characteristics (badly served, vulnerable populations). In certain French cities, the ZUS may represent up to 50% of the total population – Marseilles, Rennes, Toulouse, etc. A ZUS observatory exists that compares the average unemployment rate inside and outside these zones.



Source: Bunel et al., 2013.



In these zones, unemployment is higher than in the rest of France; the difference seems to have increased over a period of ten years. In 2012, nearly 25% of ZUS inhabitants were unemployed. This captures a geographical effect, but also an ethnic one; employment discrimination has been tested (Bunel *et al.*, 2013) by submitting identical job applications, except for the "ethnic" variable. Several hundred applications were submitted for the posts of waiter and accountant; the surnames were modified: French, Moroccan and mixed surnames.



Source: Bunel et al., 2013.

For the post as waiter, the ethnicity effect is present but remains weak; for the accountant's post, which requires qualifications, the ethnicity effect is clear and pronounced. There might therefore be a specific geographic effect on access to employment, which is combined in the case of ethnical segregation with potential jobhiring discrimination.

The Undesirable Effects of Residential Segregation on Gender Relationships: Tel Aviv (Israel)

The studies of Semyonov and Epstein (1991) show that the effects of segregation can be amplified. In the context of a peri-urban area where the offer of employment is low, an individual is obliged to travel a longer distance at a greater cost to go to work than



in other areas. In Israel, women tend to selfselect when taking a job near their homes as they are subject to domestic constraints. In other terms, we can observe that segregation mechanisms according to place of residence and gender are interconnected.

Employment Access Possibilities Gap: Hồ Chí Minh City (Việt Nam)

The third and final illustration describes the characteristics of employment according

to residential areas in Hồ Chí Minh City. We can observe here a wide employment access possibilities gap when the smallest statistical unit is mobilised: the enumeration area (about one hundred households). The objective is to capture the variability of the indicators between the different areas; this does not entail geographically placing the areas, but only observing the variability of the downscaled positions on the labour market.

Access: The Enumeration Area in Hồ Chí Minh City							
	Obs	Mean	Std. Dev.	Min	Max		
Employment rate	5272	.493	.0841	.296	.897		
Informality (% employed)	2598	.457	.185	0	.833		
Public employment	2598	.158	.144	0	.846		
Ethnic minority (%)	5272	.0816	.176	0	.891		

Source: Authors' construction – derived from an employment survey (2013).

On the scale of the smallest spatial unit in statistical terms, the city reveals itself to be a multitude of very differentiated areas as far as access to employment is concerned. Although the average employment rate is 49%, variations are considerable – from a minimum of 29% to a maximum of 83%. For the informal sector, the average is 45%; the minimum is 0% and the maximum 83%.

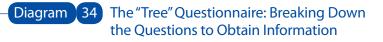
Methodological Introduction to the Construction of a Quantitative Questionnaire

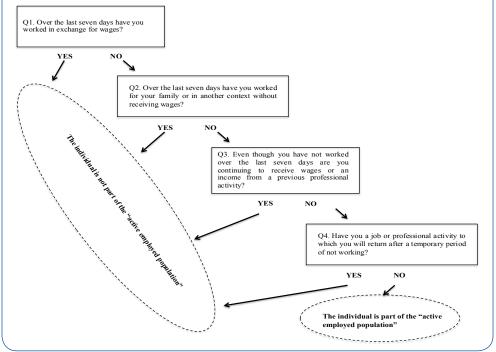
When we carry out an inquiry, whether qualitative or quantitative, it is necessary to know beforehand the type of information that we wish to obtain. Before we are able to prepare a well-adapted questionnaire, we need to have a good knowledge of the population.



For a quantitative questionnaire carried out on large samples we use closed questions - the range of responses are provided in the questionnaires; they are exclusive of each other. In order to construct an efficient guantitative guestionnaire, we refer to a first qualitative questionnaire: open questions in order to determine the possible field of responses. The order in which the questionnaire is set out is important, as there is a bias for the first responses that are proposed; if we ask someone to judge their standard of living, it is necessary to adapt the scale in order to avoid the response "middle class" for self-perception reasons for example. In the same way, the formulation of questions depends on the type of interview carried out: face-to-face, telephone, self-administered, etc. The formulation of questions should be simple and directly comprehensive. The questionnaire must be balanced. A badly formulated question and a questionnaire that is too long do not allow us to obtain relevant responses. The other challenge lies in the construction of your population.

In order to determine whether someone belongs to the employed active population, four questions are necessary. These questions function as a "tree". The final objective is to be able to envisage all the possible configurations and catch at each stage the employed active population that might have passed through the filters of the questionnaire.





Source: Authors' construction.



In order to determine whether an individual may be considered to be unemployed or not, we must be in a position to know whether the person combines the three criteria: not having a job, being available for work, actively seeking a job. To know these three criteria, we have to break down the questions.

Nguyễn Thị Lành

How can we test a questionnaire that we have developed?

[Axel Demenet]

Once we have established the questions and structure of the questionnaire, we carry out a test with selected households or individuals. The objectives are to verify that the questionnaire is adapted, that it is not too long and that the inquirer is in a position to collect the information he/she wants.

Nguyễn Thị Lành

How many individuals, households or enterprises do we need for the test?

[Axel Demenet]

The number varies according to the time you have, your financial and human resources, but also the complexity of your questionnaire. It also depends on the innovative character of the questionnaire.

Day 4, Sunday 27th July

After three days of training and debate, the work groups that were constituted at the beginning of the week give a progress report on their research subject:

Group 1. Segregation and access to the labour market; Cham minority in the 8th district of Hô Chí Minh City;

Group 2. Impacts of segregation on access to child care facilities for the migrant workers of Linh Trung in Hô Chí Minh City;

Group 3. Segregation and access to first employment among the young in Phnom Penh (Cambodia);

Group 4. Impacts of rehousing on expropriated populations (Đà Nẵng).

Beyond the specific commentaries made to each group, the trainers remind the trainees of the importance of clearly stating the research issue and hypotheses made in order to distinguish the individual characteristics of the "neighbourhood effect" and develop a realistic questionnaire.

3.3.4. The Principal Concepts and Challenges of Residential Segregation: Reading Texts

This session is facilitated by Danielle Labbé and Gwenn Pulliat.

Reading texts were distributed to the workshop before the training – the references are included at the end of this chapter, the texts are available on the site www.tamdaoconf.com; using the groups constituted at the beginning of the workshop, the exercise consists in preparing a summary of the texts and presenting the concepts that emerge in order to identify forms of segregation.



Group 1. Impacts on the health of the populations of desegregation policies; text by Rebecca Cohen (2011).

Group 2. "Gated Communities" and selfsegregation; text by Edward J. Blakely and Mary Gail Snyder (1997).

Group 3. Impacts of residential segregation on the health of populations; text by Emily Badger (2012).

Group 4. Evolution of the favelas in Rio de Janeiro and the phenomenon of relegation; text by Janice Perlman (2007).

Danielle Labbé and Gwenn Pulliat continue with their presentations by taking a look at residential trajectories and practices in the city. The complementarity of quantitative and qualitative approaches is emphasised, qualitative inquiries carried out among the floating population in Hồ Chí Minh City and the residents in the new urban zones in Hà Nôi serve to throw light upon the analysis. Finally, the methods of the semi-structured interview are explained. Concerning these issues, we refer the reader to the preceding editions of the JTD and particularly to the 2010 training where the complementarity of quantitative and qualitative approaches was the subject of a specific workshop (Razafindrakoto et al., 2011).

Day 5, Monday 28th July

The workshop implements the methodological principles explained the previous day: their research subject for the week including questioning related to the carrying out of a qualitative interview.

3.3.5. "Target Population" and "Sampling Strategy" in the Survey Protocols of Quantitative Inquiries

[François Roubaud]

We are going to take a look at the question of sampling in quantitative inquiries, and more generally the inquiry protocol to be implemented. In order to this, we are going to present to you the construction stages of a "sampling strategy".

The construction of a questionnaire in the framework of quantitative research must be in relation to a specific population: the "target population". However, in most cases and for reasons of feasibility, it is not possible to survey the whole population. We can distinguish two types of inquiry:

- Exhaustive inquiries: the whole of a type of population is surveyed – all the members of an enterprise, a village, a neighbourhood or even a specific population such as the young aged 18 to 25, for example;
- Inquiries by sample group: a representative sample of the "target population" is surveyed. We are going to present you with this type of inquiry.

In sample group inquiries, we distinguish again two types of sub-inquiries:

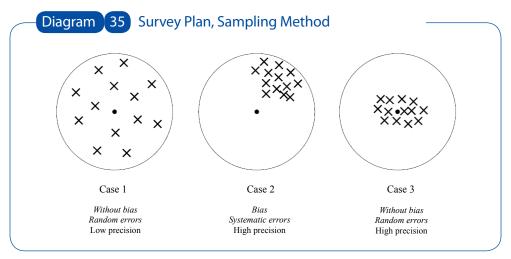
– Non-random inquiries, or in other words those referred to as "reasoned choice" inquiries: within this category we include on the one hand "snowball" inquiries where we survey an individual from the same population, etc., and on the other hand, inquiries by quota. The latter require the knowledge of the socio-demographic characteristics of the population (which include for example a total of 25% of men aged between 25 and 30) in order



for them to be respected in your sample – without, however, being able to claim to be representative of the diversity within this category;

 Random inquiries: they are more costly and trickier to implement than non-random inquiries, but present better properties. Let us focus on this category.

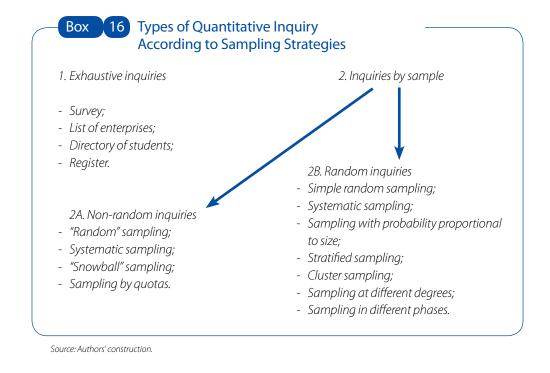
We seek to avoid errors (bias) and be precise (minimise variance). To gain a better grasp of these imperatives, it is possible to view these inquiries as a shooting exercise at a fun fair.



Source: Authors' construction.

In case 1, the shots are widely scattered without any precise direction in relation to the centre, but are generally wide of the mark: there is no bias and the errors are random, but the inquiry is not very precise. In case 2, the shots are well grouped and precise, but far from the centre: the inquiry is very precise, but there is bias and the errors are systematic. Finally, case 3 is the best because the shots are concentrated and grouped around the central target: there is no bias, the errors are random and the inquiry is very precise.





The simplest and most well-known quantitative inquiry is the simple random survey (without replacement). We identify the "target population" and at the time randomly extract a number "X". Then, we administer the inquiry to this randomly selected population. The second case concerns systematic sampling. We start with a list and select individuals using the same gap between them - for example, my list contains 100 individuals. I start with number 3 and then select every 7th individual. The third type of quantitative inquiry corresponds to the probability proportional to the size of the "target population". This technique is very interesting when we have different sized samples - the case of neighbourhoods whose populations are not the same, and where we would run the risk, in the case of random sampling, of selecting more individuals in the larger sized samples

than in the small ones. Another technique is the cluster survey. We randomly pull out groups of individuals and survey all the individuals who compose the randomly selected cluster. This technique has the advantage of reducing costs. However, if all the individuals are alike in this selected cluster. the inquiry will not reflect the diversity of the population. Another sampling technique concerns so-called "stratified" samples. In the case of a random selection, there is a risk that a part of the population will be totally absent (men for example). In order to avoid this, stratified sampling consists in dividing the population beforehand - women are separated from men for example, or poor populations from rich ones, and we then select a significant number of individuals in each of the strata of population. In our example we are thus sure to obtain a "sufficient" number of men and women.



The last case is different degree sampling. It is this that we are most interested in. In a different degree survey, we begin by randomly selecting a certain number of households in each of the geographical areas. Since we randomly select the geographical areas on a given territory, we only obtain a part of the whole of the territory. This explains why certain areas of the territory in question do not present any data: they have not been randomly selected at the first stage of different degree sampling. For the theme of our workshop, only inquiry by sampling allows us to obtain spatial data because it selects at the outset a group of geographical areas. If we had chosen a simple random survey, we might have only selected one household for one neighbourhood and ten for another. One household per neighbourhood is not enough to characterise the neighbourhood, and certainly not enough to assess sociospatial segregation.

The end of the day is devoted to the fourth and final presentation by each of the work groups and to the final summary, which will be given the next morning during the final restitution in the plenary sessions.

Working documents

- Glossary of the principal terms used in statistical work.
- Example of indicators of spatial segregation and their interpretation.
- Inquiry about segregation, its dimensions and impacts (Lima, 2013).

Reading texts (www.tamdaoconf.com)

- Almeida Vasconcelos (de), P. (2013), Processus et formes socio-spatiaux des villes : une contribution au débat, in *Ségrégation et fragmentation dans les métropoles : perspectives internationales*, Carrel, M., P. Cary and J.M. Wachsberger (Eds.), Presses universitaires du Septentrion (extract from a chapter).
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13 July 2015

A Glance at Sustainable Urban Development

Methodological, Crosscutting and Operational Approaches

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