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**Spatial Justice in Postcolonial Noumea:
The Tuband project**

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Acronyms

AFD: Agence Française de Développement

ADLD: Association pour le Droit à un Logement Décent

CDSS: Comité de Défense et de Soutien aux Squatters

DSQ: Développement Social des Quartiers

DSU: Développement Social Urbain

CDC: Caisse des Dépôts et des Consignations

FLNKS: Front de Libération Kanak et Socialiste

IEOM: Institution d'Emission de l'Outre-Mer

IRD: Institut de Recherche pour le Développement

ISEE: Institut de la Statistique et des Etudes Economiques

LNC: Les Nouvelles Calédoniennes

RUMP: Rassemblement Union pour un Mouvement Populaire

SA Tuband : Société Anonyme de Tuband

SIC : Société Immobilière de Nouvelle Calédonie

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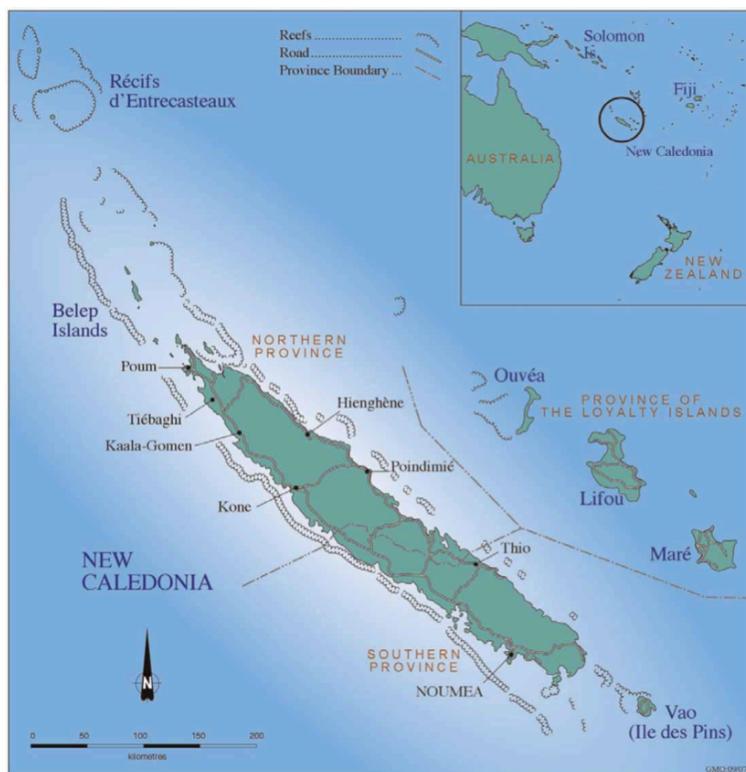
Chapter I - Introduction, research aims and objectives

A. Introduction

1. A journey to New Caledonia

When I arrived for the first time in New Caledonia after one year spent at the Victoria University of Wellington, in New Zealand, I had the strange feeling of being back in France. Wandering in Noumea, I was surprised by the French look of the capital of New Caledonia. The road-signs, the cars, the architecture of buildings, the street names, the supermarkets, the bakeries, the schools, the gas stations, the social housing buildings built in the periphery, the housing standards, the language spoken: Noumea undoubtedly does look like France, but yet New Caledonia is 18.000 km away from Paris:

Figure 1: Location of New Caledonia



Source: Mappery, 2012

On my way to the French Institute Research for Development (IRD), driving through Greater Noumea (Appendix, figure 7), I saw many Melanesian and *océanien*¹ people and Pacific Islanders walking on the side of the road, sometimes waiting for crossing the highway. On the fringes of the city, I caught sight of the numerous informal squatters' settlements (Dussy, 2005, 1999) located in the bush and the mangroves. A few minutes after, I arrived at the IRD, in the touristic and well-off southern neighbourhoods of Noumea, and could admire the nice beach of the Anse-Vate, and some brand new 4-wheel drives passing by the high-class touristic hotels. Within a few days, the first glimpses of Noumea corroborated the deep inequalities, racial segregation and ethnic divides underlined by the academic literature on New Caledonia, where the stratification and compartmentalization of urban society along ethnic and class lines was given concrete shape in the urban residential landscape (Gay, 2008; Hamelin, 2000; Dussy, 2000; Connell, 2003, 1987; Wacquant, 1989).

To summarize, two questions quickly rose: how to interpret the existence of such inequalities and segregation in a small municipality of 97.000 inhabitants (ISEE, 2009)? And why was the urban space looking so much French on a small archipelago situated in the Southwest of the Pacific, in Melanesia?

2. Colonialism, decolonisation and production of space

Those two questions did actually have the same answer: one needs to look at the patterns that structured the *production of space* (Lefebvre, 1974) in New Caledonia. The “*production of French Overseas space*” (Gay, 2008) is indeed rooted in French colonialism. Aligned on the colonial urban model where the physical laying of the city and the social structuring are coherent with the colonial doctrine (Massiah & Tribillon, 1987), the production of urban space was in New Caledonia structured on racial and social inequalities: Noumea is a spatial and social product of colonialism. The production of space under the colonial regime turned Noumea into a “*white stronghold*” (Wacquant, 1989) a historic site of exclusion for indigenous people and a symbolic bastion of

¹ *Océanien* is a French adjective used to qualify Pacific islanders, such as Melanesian or Polynesian people. In New Caledonia, *océanien* designate Kanak, Wallisians and other Pacific ethnicities.

colonialism depicted for a long time as the “*White Noumea*” (Dussy, 2005; Storey, 2003; Merle, 1995; Connell, 1987).

Since 1998, New Caledonia is involved in an original decolonisation process set up by the Noumea Accord (Appendix, fig. 33) that blurs the frontier between colonial and postcolonial temporalities. This Accord, which provides the main political framework for New Caledonia, officially started a new process of “*decolonisation*”, which aims at “*entailing the full recognition of the Kanak identity, as a pre-requisite for rebuilding a social contract between all the communities living in New Caledonia, and entailing shared sovereignty with France, in preparation for full sovereignty*” (Preamble of the Noumea Accord). The underpinning concept of the Noumea Accord is common destiny: “*the past was the time of colonisation. The present is the time of sharing, through the achievement of a new balance. The future must be the time of an identity, in a common destiny*” (*ibid.*). As “*urban growth rates in Melanesia represent some of the highest in the Pacific*” (Storey, 2003:259), and considering that Greater Noumea already accounts for 67% of the whole population (38% for the Noumea Municipality) and caters for 40% of the Kanak population and 90% of all other ethnicities, I argue that the rebuilding of a “*a lasting social bond between the communities living in New Caledonia today*” (Preamble of the Noumea Accord) through the process of decolonisation is deeply linked to the city of Noumea.

In New Caledonia, urban space produced by colonialism was stratified on social injustices. Now that New Caledonia is involved in a official decolonisation process that, beyond acknowledging the primacy of the Kanak identity, aims at creating a new social bond to build a common destiny, I make the hypothesis that the production of space should then reflect such a process. As “*social justice is embedded in space*” (Dufaux & al, 2009), I make then the following hypothesis that the production of space in Noumea is critical for achieving social justice in order to overcome long-lasting inequalities created and maintained by the colonial regime. To investigate this hypothesis, I adopt the theoretical framework offered by the notion of spatial justice (Soja, 2010b) in order to analyse a recent and highly symbolic urban development in Noumea: the Tuband project.

3. The Tuband project: rationale for the case study selection

Early 2012, an unprecedented urban project was indeed achieved on the Tuband domain, a 60 hectares vacant plot located in N'géo, one of the Southern neighbourhoods of Noumea (Appendix, figure 8). A new neighbourhood sprung up in 12 years, that divided the domain in two sections: while an upmarket residential area of large red-roof villas was built on 40 hectares, a large-scale social housing district with green-roof buildings was developed on the remaining 20 hectares by the *Société Immobilière de Nouvelle Calédonie* (SIC), the main social housing company in New Caledonia (Appendix: figures 4, 5 & 23). The rationale for selecting the Tuband district as a case study and a benchmark space stems from three main reasons:

- 1) Left aside as a vacant lot by the different stages of urbanization of Noumea, partly colonized by squatters since the mid-80s, the Tuband domain was gradually developed from its sale in 1999 to its final completion in 2012. In other words, the urban development of the Tuband domain (Figure 13) was completely designed and realised in the context set by the Noumea Accord. The Tuband domain offers us the opportunity to explore the production of space and the evolution of the city of Noumea in the wider decolonisation process.
- 2) Green-roof Tuband is the first large-scale social housing district to be ever built in the expensive, exclusive and predominantly European southern neighbourhoods of Noumea.
- 3) Green-roof Tuband was not actually completed yet it was already considered as a highly symbolic achievement for New Caledonia. The French President Nicolas Sarkozy, coming for the first time to the territory, visited the neighbourhood in August 2011, and local institutions and media described green-roof Tuband as a successful urban project achieving social diversity.

As New Caledonia provides us with a wide range of trustworthy data, something that is not often available in postcolonial context, it is possible to try and measure the changes introduced through the construction of Tuband. Analysing the transformation

of a place to evaluate urban temporalities in the production of space, to read and measure through the evolutions of a place the wider dynamics of political, social and economic changes has been suggested by Houssay-Holzshuch. To investigate the evolution of urban experiences in post apartheid Cape Town, she indeed selected various neighbourhoods of different social and ethnic background as *lieux-témoins* - benchmark sites (2010:108). This thesis seeks therefore to use Tuband as a benchmark site to analyse the production of urban space in New Caledonia throughout the lenses of spatial justice. Therefore, I would like to put forward the hypothesis that if Tuband is a vehicle of spatial justice, then there should be a clear, visible and measurable impact of its existence on the city's landscape and the district's profile.

B. Research aims and objectives

The overall aim of this research is then to:

Critically analyse the development of the Tuband domain by using the notion of spatial justice.

In order to achieve the aforementioned aim, the following objectives frame this research:

1. To examine the different stages and patterns of the urban development of the Tuband domain.
2. To analyse the various processes and dynamics of power that shaped the production of space on Tuband.
3. To measure the impact of Tuband within the city of Noumea.
4. To investigate the symbolism of Tuband.

As related to these objectives, this thesis also aims, in a macro perspective, at:

1. Analysing the city of Noumea in the regional Melanesian context and thus bridge the gap between English and French scholarships on New Caledonia.
2. Underlining how adopting critical spatial perspective can help understanding the postcolonial situation of New Caledonia, where the process of "*decolonisation without independence*"

(Connell, 2003) is blurring the frontier between colonialism and post-colonialism.

3. Contributing to the small body of literature on cities of the Pacific Islands.
4. Exploring the postcolonial dimension of New Caledonia.

C. Thesis outline

The thesis is divided as follows:

Chapter Two provides an overview of the relevant literature on spatial justice. It explores the emergence and the conceptualization of the notion, focusing on the correlation between space and justice. It then underlines how urban space crystallizes the debate on and the search for spatial justice. It concludes by offering a framework of spatial justice that will structure the argument and guide the investigation of Tuband.

Chapter Three engages with the necessity to postcolonialise the notion of spatial justice and to consider Noumea as an “ordinary city” of the Pacific. Consequently, it underlines the specific dimensions of postcolonialism in New Caledonia.

Chapter Four focuses on the creation and the development of Noumea until the Noumea Accord. Using the conceptual framework provided by the notion of spatial justice, it seeks at highlighting how the production of space is fraught with the creation, maintenance and renewal of social injustices in Melanesian cities. Chapter Five & Six focus on the case study of Tuband. Chapter Five seeks to measure, evaluate and explain how and why Tuband brought spatial justice. Chapter Six critically explores the symbolism of Tuband to question the urban norms in postcolonial Noumea, by focusing on the issue of diversity. In all those three chapters, Tuband is used as a benchmark space to evaluate the dynamics of the city of Noumea.

Chapter Seven assembles the key themes identified throughout this research and discusses the significance of the research findings to analyse the postcolonial dimensions of New Caledonia.

An appendix presents the various documents such as maps, pictures and tables to facilitate the reading and represent better the successive stages of the development of the Tuband domain.

D. Research design

Spatial justice calls for qualitative and quantitative approaches (Dufaux & al, 2009). My methodology was consequently structured on four axes to collect quantitative and qualitative information:

- 1) First, I reviewed the relevant literature on spatial justice, on Melanesian cities and on New Caledonia to articulate empirical and conceptual materials in my investigation of Tuband and Noumea.
- 2) To contextualize my argument within the broader New Caledonian context, I collected and analysed the never-ending list of reports, surveys and official documents dealing with the issue of housing and urban development in Noumea and New Caledonia, and more specifically with the Tuband domain when available. Particular attention was also given to reviewing the articles published in the local media over the last 12 years that dealt with those issues and with the Tuband domain. The comparison of aerial photographies over the last 50 year, the statistical and geographical analysis of the wide set of data provided by the census proved also to be particularly useful to retrace the evolution of the domain, to analyse the different stages of the development of Tuband and to measure its impact within the city of Noumea.
- 3) From mi-July to August 2011, I conducted semi-structured interviews with the inhabitants of Tuband and also with people and institutions involved in the Tuband project. A list of people interviewed is presented in the Appendix (figures 33 & 34). As interviews were conducted in French, I tried to stay as close as possible to the original meaning when translating.
- 4) Last but not least, I wandered almost every day around the Tuband district. By taking pictures, observing the daily movements, listening, attending events such

as the Teachers-Parents meeting in the Tuband *collège*² or the visit of the French President, playing soccer with the teenagers, walking around in the park, buying drinks at the local grocery stores, waiting at the local bus stops, accompanying local SIC agents to visit the district, I could immerse myself in the local atmosphere, engage into numerous informal conversations and get a sense of the place.

² The school system in France and New Caledonia works as follow: from 3 to 6 years, pupils attend the *école élémentaire* (preparatory school). From 6 to 11 years, the *école primaire* (primary school). From 11 to 15 years, the *collège*. From 15 to 18 years, the *lycée* (high school).

Chapter II - Understanding spatial justice

A. Spatial justice: emergence of the notion

1. The spatial turn and the production of space

The notion of spatial justice is an outcome of an interdisciplinary shift that, finding its first groundbreaking contribution with Soja's influential book *Postmodern Geographies: the reassertion of space in critical social theory* (1989), refers to a greater attention to and integration of space in social sciences. Laid out by the work of Henri Lefebvre, who demonstrated how space is a "social production" (1974), the conceptualization of the production of space is nowadays widely shared in social sciences as a theoretical backbone of social sciences (Buire, 2011).

Not considered anymore as a "*container, an immutable surface on which processes unfold*" (Dikeç, 2009:79), a mere fixed background that situates actions of human society, space is causal, formative, symbolic, embedded in politics and relations of power. Research has then to integrate space and the processes leading to its production, management, perception and appropriation. Whether the spatial turn only consists in a greater sensibility to space and spatiality or whether, following the evolution of Soja's critique of social theory with the publication of *Thirdspace* (1996), this diffusion of a critical spatial perspective has to be understood as a wholesale postmodern paradigm, the spatial turn explicitly challenges the classic hegemony of history in social sciences thinking (Warf & Arias, 2009):

"perhaps never before has the spatial organization of human society, particularly as it takes shape in the modern metropolis and the expansive global economy, been as widely recognized as an influential force shaping human behaviour, political action, and societal development."

(Soja, 2010b:13)

To conclude on the conceptual background that nourished the emergence of spatial justice, it is essential to retain that space is a social production embedded in politics, and that looking closely on the processes that shapes the production of space allows a better understanding of social, political and cultural dynamics. Investigating the

production of space in contemporary Noumea should then help us grasping the complexity of postcolonial dimensions in New Caledonia.

2. Why justice calls for a spatial perspective

The encounter between justice and geographers started actually in the 1970s, and mostly in the Anglophone radical geography (Harvey, 1973, 1992; Soja, 2000, 2009 ; Smith, 1994; Smith & Lee, 2004) and French geography (Reynaud, 1981). Notions of environmental justice emerged, academics developed reflexions on social justice in the field of urban studies (Gervais-Lambony & Dufaux, 2009). The first registered academic use of spatial justice, found in a paper signed in 1983 by a South African geographer directly confronted to the legacy of apartheid, George Pirie, conveys indeed the intuition that one needs to look closer into space:

"This notion of space is not inviolate. It may also be conceived of as a social creation as a structure created by society and not merely as a context for society... Conceptualizing spatial justice in terms of a view of space as process, and perhaps in terms of radical notions of justice, stands as an exacting challenge"

(Pirie, 1983:471-472)

Space is discontinuous, uneven and unequal. Overlapping forms and processes of segregation (Grafmeyer, 1994) at the scale of the city, the making of the North/South division, the expansion of globalisation processes and their uneven outcomes under the current capitalist mode of production are striking evidences that space is directly involved in the production and maintenance of inequalities and injustices.

a) Justice, space and distribution patterns

The academic building of spatial justice oscillated notably between the two contrasting poles of John Rawls' and Iris Marion Young's theories of justice. As Dufaux & al summarize: "*two contrasting concepts of justice have polarized the debate: the first focuses on redistribution issues, while the second is more concerned with decision making processes.*" (2009:2). Rawls in *Theory of Justice* (1971) offered a definition of justice as equity: based on an individual and universally applicable approach, justice would be achieved when each individual is granted with the same rights and when inequalities are optimized so that the prospects of the least fortunate are as great as they can be. In

other words, inequalities are acceptable when, in the legal system of the state, distributions of patterns successfully operate to create a democratic social order that meet expectations of the least advantaged. If strict equality is impossible, social differences tend to fade in a just society in the Rawlsian perspective (Lehman-Frisch, 2009). The Rawlsian approach to justice is fruitful to geography: it provides a relevant framework to assess spatial unevenness and address the issues of provision and accessibility in spatial organization and planning policies about development or urban management (Bret, 2009). It is no surprise that geography got interested in space through the lenses issue of justice, firstly with quantitative analysis of the distribution patterns. Distributive justice is indeed directly related to spatial patterns of public services, the functioning of public transports.

Aiming for rational and universal principles and procedure, Rawls' original theory of justice was criticized for its universal conception of justice that had the tendency to reduce social justice to issues of distribution (Soja, 2010b:79; Dikeç, 2001). In *Social Justice and the City* (1973), considered by many as the first major study to link social justice and geography, David Harvey investigated the deepening of socio-spatial inequalities in the current capitalist mode of social division of labour and dynamics of urban development and planning. Using Rawls' framework, he demonstrated the practical limits of the universal and normative theory of distributive justice exposed by Rawls by shifting the analysis from the issues of outcomes or distribution to the urbanization-rooted *processes* producing injustices. To incorporate the inherently unjust processes of the working of the urban system and understand the production of injustices, he framed the concept of "*territorial social justice*" as "*a socially just distribution justly arrived at*".

b) Justice, space and difference

The contemporary academic concern to understand justice as a highly contextual and contingent concept (Merrifield & Swyndegouw, 1997) and to adopt time and place specific approaches to and principles of justice (Dikeç, 2001) found a major theoretical ground with the pioneering *Justice and the Politics of Difference* by Marion Iris Young (1990). She differentiates from Rawls on two points. First, criticizing Rawls' universalism and individual-based conceptualization, Young states the primacy of social

groups to retheorize justice: her conceptualization of justice is rooted in relations between social groups, and not relations between individuals. Second, instead of coming up with a definition of justice to guide her reasoning, Young starts to identify the current injustices that people endure. She shifted the emphasis from the outcomes of distributive justice to focus on structural, contextualized and multisided forms and processes leading to the production and maintenance of injustices, disadvantages and privileges: « *injustice should be defined primarily in terms of the concepts of oppression and domination, rather than distribution* » (1990:192). She described 2 main categories of injustice: *domination*, which disempowers people from making choices, and *oppression*, which is subdivided in 5 overlapping forms in injustices: Exploitation; Marginalization; Powerlessness; Cultural imperialism; Violence. Any situation where a social group is confronted to those forms of oppression is a sign of injustice. Young insists on the procedural aspect of justice, which is to be achieved through negotiations between social groups, and not only through patterns of distribution. Her vision of justice echoes therefore the increasing attention in geography to the appropriations, perceptions and representations of space, to the making of territorial identities. Young's work had fertile implications for geographers (Harvey, 1992). As Dikeç writes: “*the framework she provides seems to be a productive terrain on which to construe a notion of spatial justice, for spatialization (the mode of social production of space) is one of the major systematic producers of domination and oppression: that is, of injustice*” (2001:1787).

B. Conceptualizing spatial justice: foregrounding the urban context

1. Cities crystallize debates on justice and injustices

There is a rich tradition of scholarship on justice and the city (Davies, 1968; Harvey, 1973, 1992; Dikeç, 2007; Merrifield and Swyngedouw, 1997; Soja, 2000, 2010b). It is indeed the observation of cities that nurtured and furthered the reflexions on socio-spatial inequalities and segregation, territorial justice, social justice and urban development and eventually the notion of spatial justice. While it is worthwhile remembering, in the perspective of the western culture, the philosophical legacy of the links between the city and politics, as exemplified by the Greek word *polis* – for city –

that politics is derived from, the academic scholarship laid emphasis on the last 60 years as the most important period of incubation for the notion of spatial justice. The first explicit theorizations of socio-spatial injustices are related to "*the spreading urban crises of the 1960s [that] brought to the surface the injustices and unfair geographies that had become deeply embedded in urban life in the preceding era of mass suburbanization and metropolitan growth*" (Soja, 2010b:81).

Scholarship brought a whole range of evidences that, either in the "North" or "the South", the evolution and transformation of social and spatial urban structures are deeply correlated with the creation, maintenance and renewal of injustices. The "*fragmentation*" of cities (Navez-Bouchanine, 2002), the social and racial processes and forms of segregation, the unprecedented informal urbanisation (Davis, 2006; UN-Habitat, 2003a, 2003b), made the headline on geographical publications over the past decades. Researchers and institutions such the United Nations point out the necessity to achieve social justice in cities in order to achieve sustainable development: as aptly summarized by Ban Ki-Moon, Secretary General of the United Nations, "*with more than half of the world's population now living in urban areas, this is the urban century. Harmonious urbanization (...) has never been more important.*"(UN-HABITAT, 2009:v). To conclude with Dikeç, "*the city seems to provide a fertile ground* » (2001) for conceptualizing and investigating the concept of spatial justice.

2. Spatial justice: thinking the just city

A main debate on the notion of spatial justice revolves around the articulations between justice, urban planning and the city: pioneering works of Sandercock (1977, 1998, 2003) gradually establish the notions of difference, diversity and cosmopolitanism in urban planning to tackle injustices and forms of oppression and domination:

"In contemporary thinking and practice in urban planning, one important outcome of the interest in recognising multiple identities in cities' publics was that social justice and injustice were seen to reside in the processes by which urban voices were heard and taken into account in decision-making"

(Fincher & Iveson, 2011:3)

Theoretical and empirical links between urban planning and distributive/procedural justice are obvious. Saying that spatial justice would be the ultimate goal of many urban planning policies would be a "*true statement*" (Marcuse,

2009). Using the frameworks of Iris Young and Nancy Fraser to approach justice, Fainstein stresses how urban planning seek to achieve a just city: rather than, or aside – depending on where you position yourself in term of critical urban planning – enhancing economic growth and competitiveness, planners must engage in the directions of furthering equity, diversity and democracy through communicative and consultative planning (2010). I emphasize two particular aspects of the notion of “just city”:

- As related to forms of spatial injustices, urban planning working towards a just city should focus on politics of redistribution and on the provision of mixed social housing to ensure material equality.
- With regards to procedural justice and the modalities of urban planning, the accent should be made on setting up democratic decision-making processes involving the targeted population, while “*citywide considerations must also apply*”(Fainstein, 2009).

C. How I understand spatial justice

This part aims at extracting an understanding of spatial justice to guide this study.

1. Is there a definition of spatial justice?

Keil (2009:1087), reviewing Soja's *Seeking Spatial Justice* (2010b) which constitutes the last major publication on spatial justice, acknowledges that: “*it takes the entire journey the book offers in order for the reader to approximate what exactly Soja does mean by it*”. Soja's most concise formulation of spatial justice is indeed quite vague: “*In the broadest sense, spatial (in)justice refers to an intentional and focused emphasis on the spatial or geographical aspects of justice and injustice.*” (2009:33). It seems actually to be easier to define spatial justice by the negative way:

“contextualizing spatial (in)justice becomes to a significant degree a matter of locating it in the specific conditions of urban life an in the collective struggles to achieve more equitable access of all residents to the social resources and advantages that the city provided”
(Soja 2010b, 31-32).

Many authors adopted this approach: the identification of unjust patterns of geography, the list of social movements fighting against socio-spatial inequalities would tell us about what would be fair or fairer. There is obviously an "*epistemological relationships between the documentation of injustice and the proposal of justice norms*" (Fincher & Iveson, 2012:2) that shapes the notion of spatial justice. One could interpret this methodological approach and the academic success of the notion of spatial justice as signs of vagueness. Spatial justice makes sense from a broad perspective – it is about linking social justice to space - but when it comes to provide a stricter contextualized definition, relevant at the scale of a specific city or a country, the notion fades or explodes in multiple directions. The concept of spatial justice perhaps lacks some self-explanatory power, but why would we need to provide a rigid definition of spatial justice? The absence of a clear definition of spatial justice has the merit to avoid any deadly institutionalization of the notion. Moreover, the theoretical flexibility of spatial justice highlights both the need and necessity to engage with social justice through time and space specific approaches: that is where geography can make an important contribution.

2. Justice between redistribution and difference: a framework to investigate the production of urban space

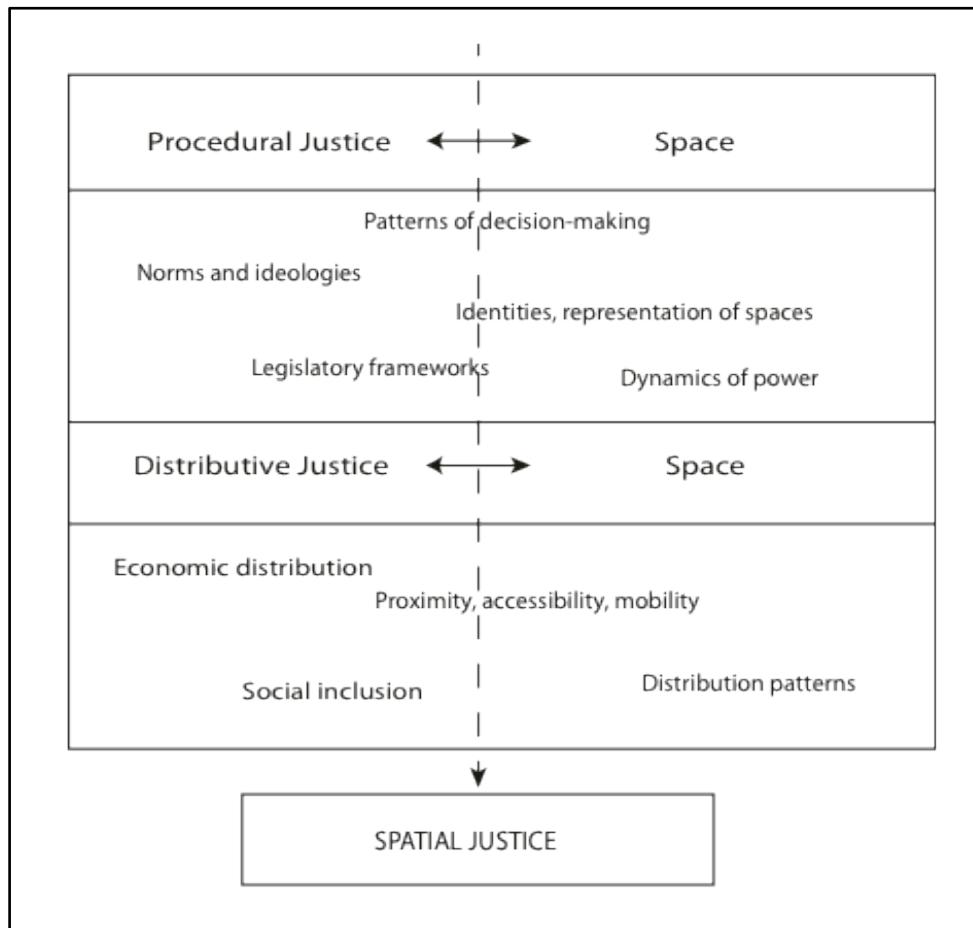
The theoretical flexibility and openness of spatial justice offers new ways of understanding space and provides an appealing theoretical framework to explore the spatial dimension of social justice in multiple and transcultural directions. I understand then the notion of spatial justice as a theoretical outcome resulting from the contemporary conceptions of justice and space. To use a visual metaphor, the notions of procedural and distributive justice, framed by the theories of Rawls and Young, filter throughout the notion of the production of space, as unfold by Lefebvre and others. Those lines from the academic journal *Spatial Justice/Justice Spatiale* are of the greatest relevance:

"An examination of the implementation of spatial justice raises interesting methodological questions: justice is frequently evaluated on the basis of "results" or spatial distributions (of goods, of services, of people...), but increasingly research on spatial justice is also engaging with issues of representational space where identities and experiences constitute the process of justice

(Dufaux, Lehman-Frisch, Landy & Gervais Lambony, 2009:1)

I propose the following framework to represent the understanding of the dimensions of spatial justice that structure this thesis (figure 2):

Figure 2 : A framework for understanding spatial justice



Author: J.Migozzi, 2012

This framework is not meant to provide a cookbook definition and a rigid conceptualization of spatial justice. It only aims at representing what are in my eyes the key interactions between justice and space and the major areas to be investigated. What is critical here in to approach those main issues as both *outcomes* and *processes*, which echoes those lines from Soja: "*Spatial (in)justice can be seen as both outcome and process, as geographies or distributional patterns that are in themselves just/unjust and as the processes that produce these outcomes* (2010a:34). Such an understanding is meant to guide the production of space on the Tuband domain: how was this vacant domain urbanized? Which processes shaped its urban development? How is it linked to the

political context of New Caledonia and what does it mean? This framework of spatial justice also underlines the need to measure the *outcome* of Tuband: what is the impact of Tuband at the scale of the neighbourhood, at the scale of the city of Noumea? Can we measure, assess and interpret this impact through the on daily urban practises on the inhabitants? And, in a dialectical movement, how can spatial justice help us to analyse Tuband within the city of Noumea?

3. Pointing out a question: what is to be done?

The notion of spatial justice can't be dissociated from the issue of "what is to be done?" If space is part of the production and maintenance of urban injustices, then the search and actions for justice should involve space. Here rises a debate that has profound repercussion on the conceptualization of spatial justice. There is among researchers no agreement on how to remedy to spatial injustices: should the priority be given to social strategies or spatial ones? Peter Marcuse, while recognizing some degree of spatial causality in "*aggravating*" injustices (2009) and accepting the need to address seriously the spatial aspects of how justice is formed and experienced, sees the spatiality of justice as "*derivative of broader social justice*" (2009:55), and ultimately a product of social, economic and political forces. Going in a different direction, Soja, building on his new ontology of being based on space, argues that actions to tackle injustices must drastically adopt a spatial perspective: "*it is essential to make the spatiality of justice as explicit and actively causal as possible*" (2010c:629). Iverson provides an insightful understanding on this debate:

"What seems to be at stake between Marcuse and Soja is the appropriate language and framework for capturing the duality of justice/injustice as both form and process. When Marcuse argues that spatial justice is causal but derivative, his key point seems to be that spatial forms of injustice such as segregation and unequal resource distribution are derivative of broader processes of injustice. (...) Soja, like Marcuse, is clear that unjust outcomes such as ghettoisation and uneven resource distribution are linked to broader processes. Unlike Marcuse, however, he asserts that these 'broader processes' of social injustice are fundamentally spatial. So, Soja's focus on spatial justice is not designed only to highlight unfair or uneven patterns or outcomes of development."

(Iveson, 2011:253-254)

Using spatial justice to explore Tuband and conversely using Tuband as an empirical case study to contextualize spatial justice aims therefore at addressing this debate. I believe that the answering the question “*what was done?*” and “*how was it done with which impacts?*” in the case of Tuband should help answering the question “*what is to be done?*”.

Chapter III - Postcolonialising spatial justice with New Caledonia and Noumea

My argument in this chapter is twofold. I aim first at explaining why spatial justice needs to be explored in a postcolonial context and why it can help us postcolonialising geography and urban studies (A). The next part focuses therefore on New Caledonia to question the specificity of its postcolonial dimensions and their potential links with the notion of spatial justice (B).

A. Why postcolonialising spatial justice?

1. The necessity to postcolonialise geography and urban studies

To unpack the interest of using spatial justice in a postcolonial context, I ground my argument in the works of scholars such as Robinson, who in *Ordinary Cities - between modernity and development* (2006) called for breaking the current paradigm of urban theory. The historic domination of Western cities on the production of urban theory, she says, led to the establishment of a hierarchy between cities that divided the landscape of urban theory in two distinct fields. On the one side, urban studies put cities of the “modernity” in lights. Those cities of the North dominate the production of urban theories: their so-called maturity established them as the site of elaboration for the theoretical concepts and systems underpinning urban studies. On the other side are found cities in need of “development”, cities of the South neglected by the urban theory precisely for being at the lowest scale of the hierarchy created by academics and urban thinkers or planners. She criticizes how cities in the developing world are labelled, ranked and classified among convenient and sterilizing categories: “poor” cities, “Third World” cities, “developing” cities, cities which schemes of governance are “inefficient” and “weak” with regards to what should be a “modern”, “democratic” and “efficient” urban management. Urban studies portrayed those cities “as objects for developmentalist intervention” (2006:2). This Eurocentric production of knowledge is indeed partly due to the overwhelming development studies that approach urbanization and urban condition in non-western countries throughout the exclusive and formatted lenses of

development issues. As a result, the contents and structure of those cities are left aside in the production of urban theory. Western scholarship actually turns parochial observations into universal concepts:

“Anglo-American geography has long had a tendency to universalize the parochial: economic geography is almost exclusively concerned with advanced economies; urban geography focuses on global and other Western cities and ignores the nature and effects of rapid urbanization taking place in developing countries »

(McEwan, 2009:327)

Robinson provides therefore some insightful comments on the necessity to postcolonialise geographical knowledge (2003, 2011). For Robinson, postcolonialising means indeed more than picking up cities from the South as nice case studies “*to diversify the voices*” and “*contexts*” in (...) academic collaborations” (Robinson, 2003:278). She suggests to “*dislocate modernity*” (2006) by investigating the production of urban space, the patterns of urban life and the daily urban practices in postcolonial urban contexts. It involves to foreground the geographical context of the study, which means that introducing Noumea as postcolonial city needs to be done by acknowledging both the specificity of the city and the commonalities it shares with the urban postcolonial Oceania. It also involves to stop opposing “world cities” to the so-called “Third World”, “poor” or “developing”, but consider all of them as “*ordinary city*”:

“instead of seeing some cities as more advanced or dynamic than others, or assuming that some cities display the future of others, or dividing cities into incommensurable groupings through hierarchising categories, I have proposed the value of seeing all cities as ordinary, part of the same field of analysis”

(Robinson, 2006:108)

2. Spatial justice: a concept for western cities? Postcolonial geographies: the missing context

Building on Robinson’ comments on the Eurocentric production of knowledge in geography and urban studies, it is obvious how the English-speaking academic literature on spatial justice focus indeed mainly on cities from the North. Dikec (2007) works on the “banlieues” of Paris, Soja continuously chose Los Angeles as a empirical background, Fainstein picked up her illustrations in Amsterdam, Paris and London. Analysing and

contextualizing the “*production of unjust geographies*” (2010b:8), Soja laid out a small discussion on “*colonial and post-colonial geographies*”, which he qualifies postcolonial geographies as a geography of power, domination and oppression that deal with the top-down political organization of space, the making of administrative boundaries and the associated imposition of power and cultural norms over groups and individuals.

Is the academic expansion of spatial justice so far reinforcing the current paradigm where scholars working in and on the West dominate the production of urban scholarship? The increasing number of researchers, who, working on the “South”, engage with the notion of spatial justice, especially in the French-speaking geography (Buire, 2011; Gagnol & Afane, 2010; Blanchon, Gardin & Moreau, 2011; Bret, Gervais-Lambony, Hancock & Landy, 2010), underlines that spatial justice, as a useful mode of empirical analysis, is relevant to analyse cities and countries confronted to deep and long-lasting inequalities engraved in the legacies of colonialism and renewed by capitalism and neoliberalism. Spatial justice can help grasping the complexity of those cities in order to achieve more equitable access of all residents to the social resources and advantages that the city provides. Moreover, because of its conceptual flexibility, spatial justice has no *a priori* on cities: deep injustices are found in New York and Cape Town, even though the first one is a “*global city*” (Sassen, 1991) and the other a Third-World one. As justice is to be searched everywhere, spatial justice can help reconfiguring the production of knowledge by valorising the urban experiences of those cities. I believe then that the notion of spatial justice is a real opportunity to dislocate the sterilizing hierarchy in urban studies opposing modernity to development.

Like many cities of the small Pacific Islands, Noumea is relegated at the bottom of the hierarchy dominated by the world cities that make the headline of current academic publications. Postcolonial New Caledonia and its fast-growing primary city, small and quite off the map in the landscape of urban studies, are then a relevant context to postcolonialise spatial justice. In the Robinsonian perspective, Melanesian cities and Noumea have then to be considered as “*ordinary cities*”: a place where daily urban practises are experienced and patterns of urban citizenship invented.

B. Foregrounding the New Caledonian context

If we consider Noumea as a postcolonial city of the Pacific, then what are the postcolonial dimensions that contextualize the investigation of spatial justice in New Caledonia? New Caledonia does share many commonalities with its Pacific neighbouring islands: its location in Oceania, its insularity and a colonial legacy (Guillaud, 2003:14) and the "*great diversity of ethnicities which characterise the societies of the states created by colonialism*" (Murray & Storey, 2003:217). The specificity of New Caledonia within Oceania, as one of the French overseas territories (Appendix, figure 9), needs nonetheless to be underlined, as the relationship with the French Metropolitan state deeply shapes the profile of those territories (Gay, 2008).

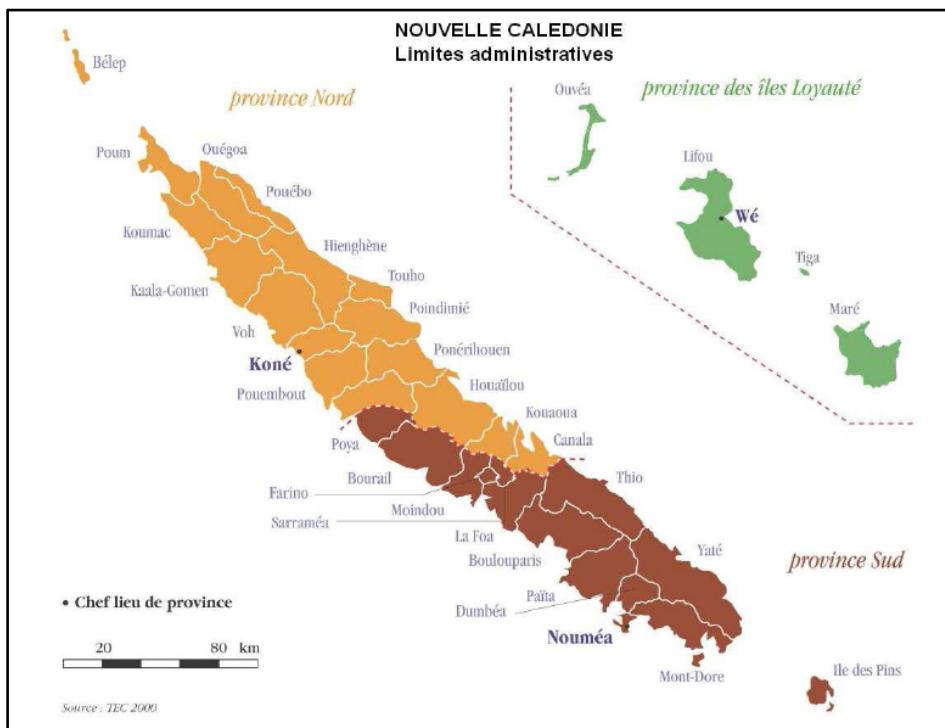
1. Understanding the political status: New Caledonia, shared sovereignty or last colony?

a) The Noumea Accord: decolonisation, social contract and common destiny

Colonised by France in 1853, New Caledonia had about ten different political statuses from 1956 to 1984 but never accessed independence (Mohammed-Gaillard, 2003). As Kanak nationalism started to get stronger and moved into a struggle for independence in the mid 1970s (Leblanc, 2003, Angleviel, 2005), institutional instability increased on the territory. The situation deteriorated after a wave of political murders and an increasing organization of road-blocs in the territory: by the mid 1980s, New Caledonia was effectively in civil war that culminated with the 1988 Ouvéa tragedy.³ After this climax of violence, the Matignon Accord sought to decentralize power from the Metropolitan state to local institutions with the creation of 3 provinces that became the platform of politics (figure 3):

³ A FLNKS commando on the Ouvéa Island took possession of a police station and then retreated with 27 policemen as hostages. The ensuing intervention of the French army resulted in 19 casualties for the FLNSK commando side – some Kanak being executed after surrender – while 2 French soldiers were killed.

Figure 3 : The 3 Provinces of New Caledonia

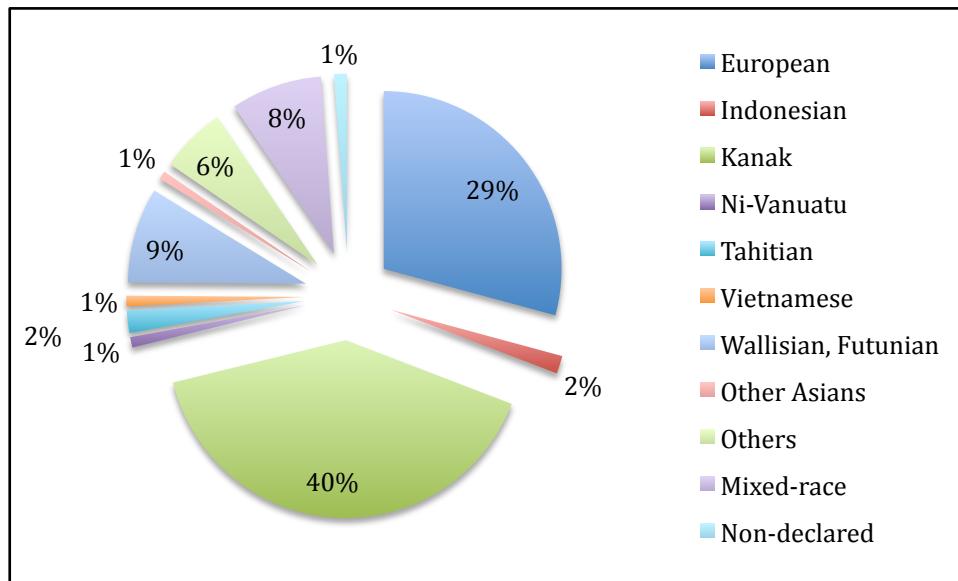


Source: Nouvelle-Calédonie 2025.

The Southern Province, with Noumea, went to the *loyalist*⁴ side after the 1989 elections, while the *indépendantistes* won the Northern Province and the Loyalty Islands. This new and decentralised institutional framework – inspired by federalism (Faberón, 2008) – granted each side with real decision-making capacities, institutional representation and power. The *Accord de Nouméa*, signed in 1998 between the different political parties of New Caledonia and the French Metropolitan state, follows the spirit of the *Accord de Matignon*. It sets out a transition period towards independence and constitutes the current political and economical framework of New Caledonia, which remains a dependency of the French state. Faberón identifies four core principles that structure the Noumea Accord (2002:40). The first one consists in the official recognition of the Kanak identity and sovereignty and of the long-lasting damages carried by colonisation. The second one recognizes the merits of the other ethnicities that contributed equally to the development of the territory. Those two principles therefore engraved the legitimacy of all inhabitants to live in New Caledonia and participate in the future of a pluriethnic territory (figure 4):

⁴ The term “loyalist” designs the political side that stands against the independence of New Caledonia.

Figure 4 : Population of New Caledonia per origin/ethnicity



Source: ISEE, 2009

The third principle combines together the building of a *destin commun* (common destiny) and the creation of a New Caledonian citizenship. A New Caledonian citizenship is created, along with identity symbols (motto, anthem, flag etc.). Essential component of the decolonisation process, the citizenship of New Caledonia, which entitles to vote for the provincial elections, is meant to transcend the ethnic divisions engendered by colonisation, and thus contribute to the building of the *destin commun* (Salaün & Vernaudon, 2009). The *destin commun*, or “common destiny”, is the underpinning concept of the Noumea Accord (Faberón, 2002:41).

The fourth principle is that the decolonisation process is a negotiated one. The executive power is gradually transferred from the French Government to the New Caledonia Territorial Congress. This period of transition and capacity building, this original, progressive and evolutionary status have been described as a *souveraineté partagée* (shared sovereignty) (Agniel & Faberón, 2000). Ultimately, by 2014 or 2018 at the latest, a referendum will be organized to vote on the attainment of full sovereignty:

“At the end of a period of twenty years, the transfer to New Caledonia of the reserved powers, its achievement of full international responsibility status and the conversion of citizenship into nationality, will be voted upon by the people concerned⁵”

(Preamble of the Noumea Accord).

⁵ “Au terme d'une période de vingt années, le transfert à la Nouvelle-Calédonie des compétences régaliennes, l'accès à un statut international de pleine responsabilité et l'organisation de la citoyenneté en nationalité seront proposées au vote des populations intéressées. »

To summarize, the current 20 years of transition period aim not only at building New Caledonia's institutional and economical capacities, but also at overcoming the social inequalities, injustices and antagonism of the past. The decolonisation process is indeed the "*the way to rebuild a lasting social bond between the communities living in New Caledonia today*"⁶ (*ibid.*)

b) Shared sovereignty or last colony?

How to understand and qualify this particular transition in the landscape of "*postcolonial Oceania*" (Murray & Storey, 2003)? Particularly interesting is the confrontation of analysis carried by the French scholarship to the English-speaking one in order to seize the complexity of postcolonial dimensions in New Caledonia. The French academic literature emphasizes - and sometimes almost celebrates - the political evolutions that increased the autonomy of New Caledonia over the past 3 decades of decolonisation process (Agniel & Faberon, 2000; Faberon, 2008, 2007, 2006; Gay, 2008). As part of the *France d'Outre-Mer*, New Caledonia is indeed granted a unique status in the French Republic's Constitution. As a collectivity *sui generis*, New Caledonia has indeed the largest autonomy that sets it apart from the other territories of the *France d'outre-mer* (Gay, 2008:87).

From a different perspective, the English-speaking literature denounces the "*maintained colonial status*" (Curtain & Connell, 1982:1) of New Caledonia and laments its slow access to independence despite a framework of greater autonomy. Analysing the shift in political status in 1946 when New Caledonia became a *Territoire d'Outre-Mer*, Connell speaks of a "*semantic decolonisation*" (2003:126). Chappell criticized the Noumea Accord as "*decolonisation without independence*" (1999). English-speaking scholars underline that New Caledonia

"remains one of very few dependent territories with significant pressure for political independence, albeit primarily from the indigenous Melanesian population who now constitute less than half the population"

(Connell, 2003:1)

⁶ " La décolonisation est le moyen de refonder un lien social durable entre les communautés qui vivent aujourd'hui en Nouvelle-Calédonie"

To investigate this crossroad of colonial and postcolonial temporalities, I interviewed Pierre-Yves Le Meur, an anthropologist at *Institut de Recherche pour le Développement*:

- [Me]: "To which extent can New Caledonia be described as "postcolonial"?
- [Le Meur]: There are many ways to answer the question. First, if we look at the official texts, New Caledonia is formally involved in a decolonisation process since the 1998 Noumea Accord. If we are in a process of decolonisation, then the situation is still colonial. The relationships with the French state, the French financial transfers that constitute the first resource of the country are essential aspects that suggest that the situation is still and to a great extent colonial. But at the same time, the inflection triggered by the Noumea Accord is fundamental. As the decolonisation process is negotiated, we already entered in postcolonial patterns of relationships. There can't be a rigid answer because it is a transitional situation."⁷

Studying New Caledonia means therefore to study a transition, a *process*.

2. Assisted economy: the making of social injustices

The deep dependence to a Metropolitan power does nonetheless establish New Caledonia as an exception. Indeed, "*a third of non-autonomous territories are located in the Indonesian-Pacific area*"⁸ (Guillaud, 2003:10). As widely demonstrated by academics (Baldacchino, 2010, 2007; Baldacchino and Bertram, 2009; Bertram & Poirine, 2007; McElroy, 2006) with relevance to the small Pacific Islands, and Gay 2008, with relevance to the French Overseas Territories), insular economies share a indeed common tendency to rely on external sources and foreign capital. Bertram and Baldacchino (2009) developed different models to seize the specificity of political economies and the

⁷ Moi: "Dans quelle mesure peut-on caractériser la Calédonie comme relevant du "post-colonial" ?

- Le Meur: "Il y a plusieurs façons de répondre à la question. D'abord, selon les textes officiels, on est formellement depuis 1998 dans un processus de décolonisation avec l'Accord de Noumea. Si il y'a décolonisation, c'est que nous sommes donc encore dans le colonial, que ce n'est pas fini. Le rapport à l'Etat, les transferts de l'Etat qui sont la première ressource du pays: il y a des aspects qui font dire qu'on est dans une situation largement coloniale. En même temps, l'infexion de 1998 est essentielle. Cette décolonisation est négociée: nous sommes aussi rentrées dans des rapports postcoloniaux. La réponse ne peut pas être tranchée car c'est une situation de transition."

⁸ "Un tiers des territoires non autonomes dans le monde sont situés dans la zone Indonésie-Pacificique"

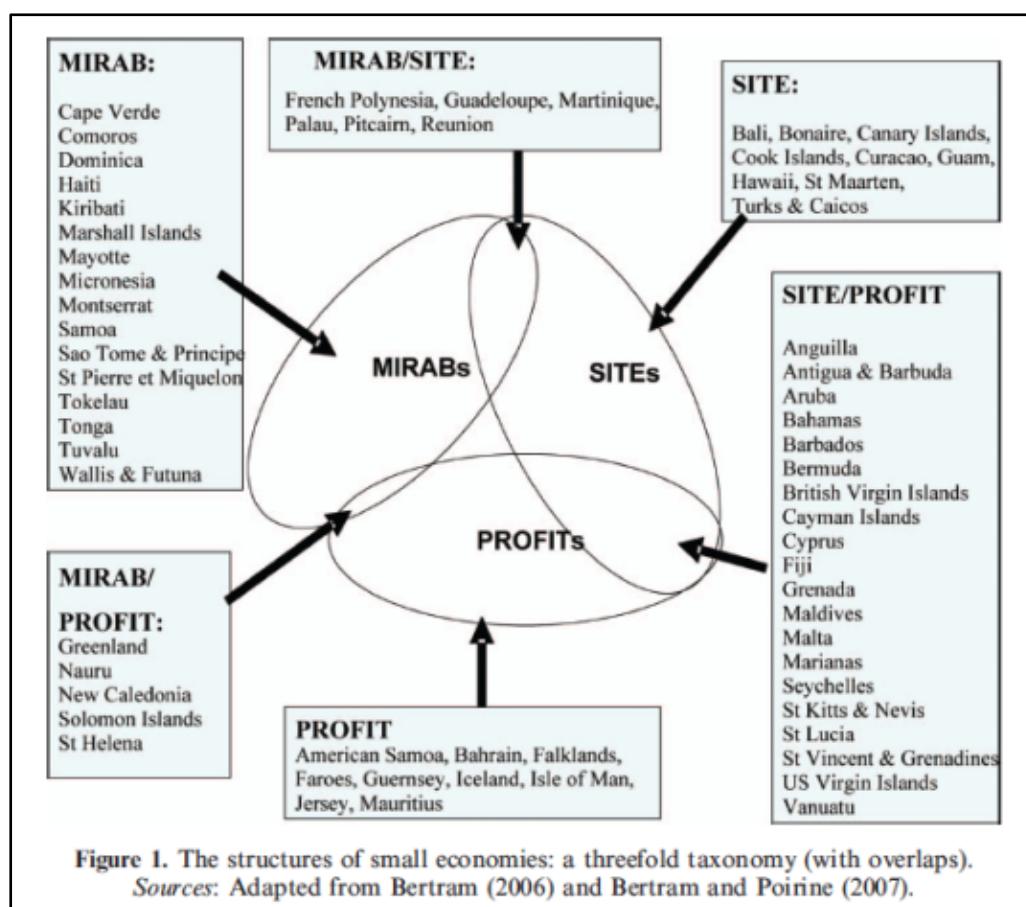
complexity of economic development in insular territories. While the MIRAB⁹ model is based on remittance and aid from metropolitan patron countries (Bertram & Waiters, 1985), PROFIT¹⁰ economies (Bertram, 2006) are more focused on particular niches:

“a shrewd immigration and cyclical migration policy; tough external negotiations concerning the use of local mineral, natural, political and other imaginative but exploitable resources; securing and controlling viable means of transportation; and luring foreign direct investment via preferential tax regimes”

(Baldacchino & Bertram, 2009:151)

Baldacchino and Bertram classified New Caledonia as a combination of the famous MIRAB and SITE¹¹ (McElroy, 2006) economic models, along with many of Pacific islands and the other insular Overseas French territories (figure 5):

Figure 5 : New Caledonia as a MIRAB/PROFIT economy



Source: Baldacchino & Bertram, 2009

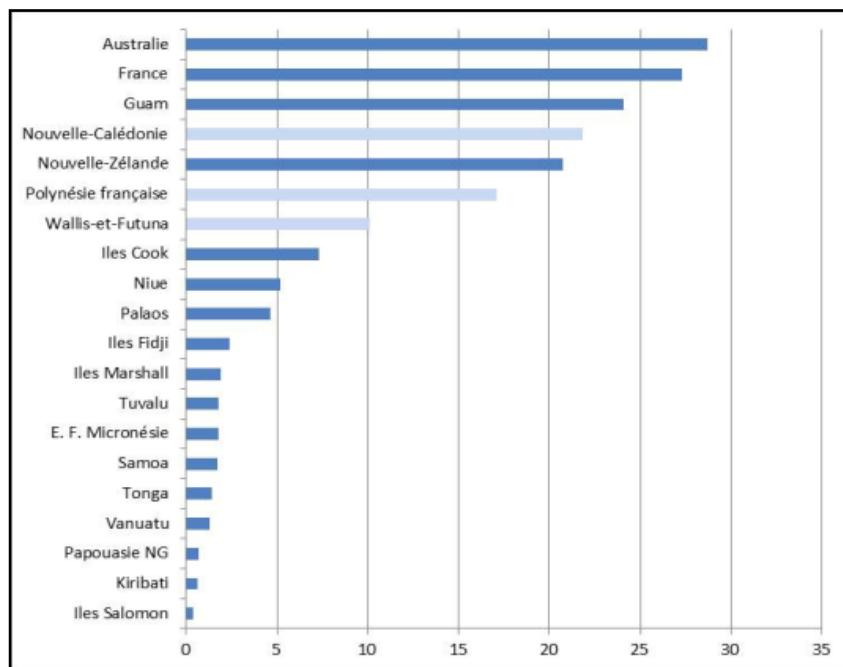
⁹ Migration, Remittances, Aid and Bureaucracy

¹⁰ Personal considerations affecting citizenship, residence and employment rights; Resource Management; Overseas engagement and ultra-national recognition; Finance and Transportation.

¹¹ Small Island Tourist Economies

Resulting from this deep dependence to French public monetary transfers and aid inflows, New Caledonia appears indeed as “*an islet of prosperity in an ocean of poverty*¹²” in Oceania (figure 6), weakly integrated to the regional market and political landscape (Gay, *forthcoming*) with exceptional indicators (Table 1):

Figure 6 : GDP per country in the Pacific



Source: Lagadec & Ris, 2010

Table 1: Key characteristics of New Caledonia

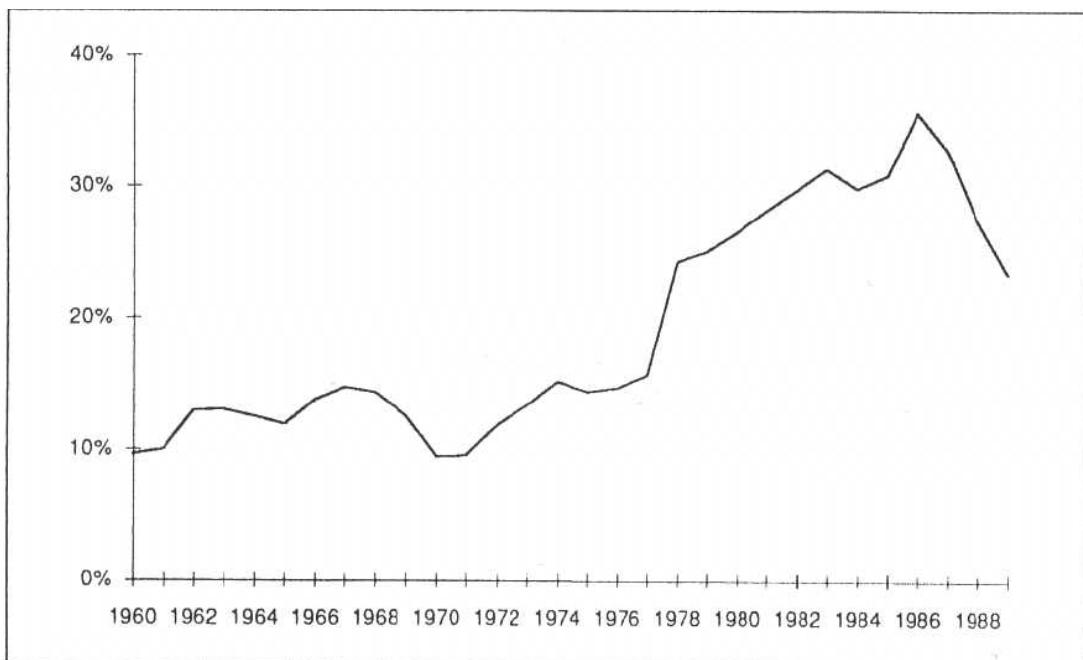
Land Area	18.576 km ²
Estimated Population (2009)	245,580 people
HDI	0.87 (34 th in the world)
GDP per capita (2008)	€24.900 (approx. NZD41,100)
Gini Index (2008)	0.43
Marine Area/ Exclusive Economic Zone	1,4 million (km ²)
Adjusted annual growth rate	1,8%
Rates of Unemployment ³	16,3%
Transfers from state (billions of euros)	€1.14b (approx. NZD1.88b)
French Transfer as part of the GDP	€1.14b is 18,5% of GDP
Minimum guaranteed wage (euros/month)	€1.042 (approx. NZD1,719)

Source: ISEE & IEOM

¹² “un îlot de prospérité au milieu d’un océan de pauvreté”

That particularity within Oceania is actually deeply related to the “*artificial economy*” that characterizes many French Overseas Territories (Gay, 2008; Chivallon, 2009) and which in the case of New Caledonia is engraved in the relationships with the French Metropolitan state as set up by the Matignon and Noumea Accords. Since 1988, New Caledonia relies indeed on increasing French subsidies: its economy is on a drip, sustained by enormous financial transfers from France, adding up to €1.14 billion per year, which amounts to between 18.5% and 25% of the GDP, depending on the nickel price rate. In a major book, the economist Jean Freyss (1995) came up with the concept of *économie assistée* (assisted economy) to qualify the economic situation of New Caledonia (Figure 7):

Figure 7 : Ratio between New Caledonia GDP and French transfers



Source: Freyss, 1995

Why is it essential to foreground this assisted economy for investigating spatial justice in Noumea? Firstly, Freyss, among others, argues that this assisted economy actually replaced the colonial regime as the dominant feature of society after 1988, under the banners of development, rebalancing and capacity-building. The assisted economy and the social dynamics it triggered weaken the capacity of the territory to achieve self-sufficiency, even with the expanding nickel industry, and to access full

independence, placing the country in an “*infinite pause in decolonization*” (Connell, 2003).

Secondly, the making of social injustices is strongly correlated to the assisted economy. The assisted economy constitutes indeed:

“a socially unjust system. By essence, redistribution aims at correcting inequalities. So the higher inequalities are, the wider and stronger redistribution be. According to this principle, the New Caledonian system should be more redistributive than the Metropolitan one because inequalities are greater. But what is happening is the opposite. Weak tax rates on incomes reinforce existing privileges. Last but not least, indirect taxation, are, as always, a source of injustice, because low-incomes households are proportionally more taxed than high-incomes ones¹³.

(Freyss, 1995:167)

Supported by French transfers, structured around salaries and imports generated by services and public administration, disconnected from New Caledonia’s domestic resources, based on tax exemptions and systematic bonuses for civil servants’ salaries, this assisted economy deeply impacts on political structures and nurtures wider dynamics of social change in New Caledonia, especially the urbanization of society and the deepening of inequalities. In New Caledonia, the GINI coefficient is measured at 0.42 in 2008 (ISEE, 2008) and 0.50 in 2004 (Lagadec & Ris, 2010), way above the French metropolitan one (0.33), which places New Caledonia along countries such as Ivory Coast, Gabon or China. Despite the new social directions set up by the accords de Noumea, the GINI coefficient increased in the Southern Province from 0,37 to 0,41 in the 1991-2008 period. In the Southern province, where Greater Noumea concentrates 85% of the total population, 25% of households have a monthly income superior to €5000, while 12% of households live with less than €1500 (Cabinet Syndex, 2010:11).

Thirdly, this assisted economy deeply shaped and shapes the production of space in New Caledonia. Gay describes the city of French Overseas territories as “*segregated*,

¹³ “Ce système est socialement injuste. La raison d’être de la redistribution est la correction des inégalités. Donc plus l’inégalité sociale est forte, plus la redistribution doit être importante. Selon ce principe, le système calédonien devrait être plus redistributif que le système métropolitain, puisqu’en Nouvelle Calédonie les inégalités sont considérables. Or c’est le contraire qui se passe. Par ailleurs la faiblesse du prélèvement fiscal sur les revenus constitue un privilège qui renforce les avantages dont bénéficient déjà les privilégiés (...). Enfin la prédominance d’une fiscalité indirecte est, comme toujours, source d’injustice, puisque les ménages bénéficiant de faibles revenus sont proportionnellement plus fortement soumis à la fiscalité que les détenteurs de forts revenus.”

*as it is the reflect of extremely unegalitarian societies*¹⁴ (Gay, 2008:181). The correlation between the assisted economy and the urban development in Noumea has indeed been firmly established (Freyss, 1995:281-290; Chauchat, 2006). The artificial wealth and the weak patterns of redistribution contribute to maintain and renew injustices engraved in the colonial regime.

3. Acknowledging the context of a postconflict and a postcolonial society

Confronted to deep socio-ethnic inequalities, New Caledonia is also embedded in a postconflict dimension. As MacLellan writes, analysing politics of reconciliation in New Caledonia:

“there are cultural, political and social tensions in New Caledonia, and the issue of peace building and reconciliation is just as relevant today for the French dependency as for neighbouring independent countries”

(MacLellan, 2005:1)

The New Caledonian society is indeed fragmented on ethnic and social lines. Speaking of his experience as a young researcher appointed in New Caledonia during the mid-80's, Loïc Wacquant, a world-renowned sociologist, testimonies: *“I lived and worked in a very brutal and archaic society: in the 80's, New Caledonia was a typical colony of the late 19th century that had survived, almost in its original state, throughout the 20th century*¹⁵” (2010:2). While violence has nowadays shifted in its meaning and forms, it hasn't vanished into social peace. Interviews show that the possibility of violence remains on the horizon and is strongly echoing memories of the 80's:

- “*If things go wrong in 2014, I'll leave New Caledonia*” (INT 12)
- “*A friend of mine told me that gun-rooms have never sold so many weapons before. They [the Kanak] are getting ready for 2014, you know that.*” (INT 19)

Violence in New Caledonia has actually to be considered more broadly than physical violence. The civil war that divided the population of New Caledonia along

¹⁴ “ La ville de l'Outre-Mer est ségrégée, car elle est le reflet de ces sociétés extrêmement inégalitaires”

¹⁵ « J'ai ainsi vécu et travaillé dans une société coloniale très brutale et archaïque : la Nouvelle-Calédonie dans les années 1980 était une colonie de type fin du XIXe siècle qui avait survécu, quasi intacte, à la fin du XXe »

ethnic lines around the issue of independence during the 80s is indeed still extremely salient in people's memory and mentality. During my stay in New Caledonia, Kassovitz' last movie *L'Ordre et la Morale* (2011), which revisits the tragic event of Ouvéa and the execution of Kanak *indépendantistes* by French soldiers, triggered a wide discussion in New Caledonia especially when the owner of the only theatre in Nouméa refused to broadcast it.¹⁶ Many voices rose, especially on the loyalist side, not to condemn this censure but to assert that the movie was likely to reopen some old wounds and thus cause some troubles: it was "*too early*" to investigate such events and establish the truth.¹⁷ On the other side, many argued that confronting history was essential for the common destiny that New Caledonian institutions are trying to build. Fears, hopes, debates awoken by this movie underline that the population is still tormented and divided by recent episodes of violence. As demonstrated by the anthropological literature, deep inequalities, enduring patterns of segregation and socio-ethnic divides, particularly visible in Nouméa, along with the highly sensitive issue of independence maintain actually a "*structural*" and "*symbolic*" violence (Bourgois & Scheppele-Hughes, 2004) in New Caledonia. Inequalities have been institutionalised into the structures of society, routinised by the colonial regime and the rising cost of living in New Caledonia (ISEE, 2008). The structural violence nurtured by inequalities is exemplified by the long-lasting stark ethnic inequalities in the realm of school that heavily hits Kanak pupils and maintain a social engineering reproducing patterns of inequality and domination in New Caledonia.

¹⁶ LNC, 10/22/2011

¹⁷ LNC, 10/29/2011

Chapter IV - “Before Tuband”, the development of Noumea and the making of injustices in a colonial context

Peter Marcuse argues that “*there are two cardinal forms of spatial injustice*” (2010:84): the “*involuntary confinement of any group to a limited space*” deals with forms and processes of segregation and ghettoization. The “*allocation of resources unequally over space*” deals with any inequalities in distribution or accessibility “*not based on need or other rational distinction*”(2010:86). Using this framework and the one provided by the notion of spatial justice (cf Figure 2), this chapter seeks to put into relief the correlation between the production of space aligned on the colonial urban model and the creation and renewal of injustices in Melanesian cities such as Noumea (A). It then focuses more specifically on the processes of segregation and the patterns of urban management that divided the city and established the capital of New Caledonia as the “White Noumea” (B). The third part deals with the post-Matignon Accord period, where the ideologies of development and rebalancing as framed by French urban norms deeply impacted on the production of the city and the renewal of spatial injustices: using Tuband as a benchmark space, I focus there on the two major and interrelated issues of social housing and squatters settlements (C).

A. The colonial urban model and the production of injustices in Melanesia: Noumea under the colonial regime (1853-1946):

1. The creation of Noumea

Colonialism produced urban space: “*urban history in Melanesia is colonial history (...). The similarities between Melanesian urban areas are considerable because the towns were entirely a creation of colonialism*”(Curtain & Connell, 1982:119). The creation and development of Noumea are indeed intimately linked with the colonial regime and the “*production of the French Overseas space*¹⁸” (Gay, 2008:13). France annexed New Caledonia in 1853 to set up a penal colony. In 1854, the captain Tardy de Montravel

¹⁸ “*production de l'espace ultramarin français*”

chose the site for the edification of a fort in the bay of Noumea, on the East coast of the peninsula. Named Port-de-France until 1866, Noumea was created ex-nihilo with the expropriation of local Kanak clans in the purpose of establishing a town that would control space and monitor the colonisation:

“In less than 50 years on the New Caledonian territory, the colonial government achieved its project: the creation of a town with a predominantly European population, where the presence of Kanak was under strict control¹⁹.

(Dussy, 2005:103)

The colonial urban model, studied by Massiah & Tribillon (1988) follows indeed political motives of control, functionalism and regulation of space by and for the colonial administration and power, establishing segregation and separation of Europeans and native populations as general principles. Speaking of Melanesia, Storey writes:

“Towns have been seen as, and still are, sites of historical exclusion, theft, and privilege where indigenous people are not welcome. Colonial towns were exclusive domains and their indigenous history mostly dates from independence when apartheid-like regulations were repealed or disregarded.

(Storey, 2003:260)

From and in Noumea, the colonial administration implemented indeed racist policies to separate the European population from the indigenous one at every scale. The *Code de l'Indigénat* (Indigenous Code), which prevailed until 1946 as the juridical framework, divided the society in two unequal categories of “citizens” and “subjects”, a division that bluntly echoes the South African colonial experience of institutionalized racism that structured the implementation of apartheid (Mamdani, 1996). Kanak people were denied the status of citizen. The New Caledonian case presents as well strong similarities with the “*bifucated state*” (Mamdani, 1996:18) where colonial power relied on two correlated spatial forms of domination. Kanak reserves in rural areas were placed under the authority of customary chiefs, following indeed the model of “indirect rule”, while the jurisdiction over urban space was directly controlled by the modern, racist and colonial administration. Colonisation in New Caledonia was so harsh and brutal (Leblanc, 2003; Merle 1995) that some scholars invoke the South African apartheid

¹⁹ “En moins de cinquante ans de présence sur le territoire de Nouvelle-Calédonie, le gouvernement colonial parvint à réaliser son projet: fonder une ville à majorité européenne, où la présence des Kanak était strictement réglementée”

to describe the patterns and impacts of colonialism: “*apartheid-like regulation*” (Storey, 2003:260), “*apartheid à la française*” (Leca & Gille, 2009:158).

The colonial legislative framework in Noumea played an essential part in the spatial confinement of the indigenous population: relegated at the fringes of the town, Kanak were denied with the freedom of movement and their presence was subject to strict control (Merle, 2010:27; Hamelin, 2000). The organization of colonial urban space aimed indeed at the spatial confinement of indigenous people and their consequential economic and social marginalization. The imposition of European norms by the colonial administration contributed to the making of unfair patterns of distribution, especially in the sector of education, health, transport and housing standards. Noumea has and is therefore a colonial legacy: mainly built by the convicts (Gay, 2008:34), its centre is still shaped by the classic colonial orthogonal plan, common to many cities of the France d’Outre-Mer (Gay, 2008:167), which structured the earliest stages of Noumea development (figure 8):

Figure 8 : Noumea city centre : the orthogonal colonial plan



Source: Google images

The colonial urban model materialized indeed the colonial utopia to mould in the same template spatial and social organization of the city (Massiah & Tribillon 1987:39): as colonialism relies on control *over space* (Said, 1993) it is obvious how the production of urban space in Melanesian and New Caledonia was rooted in the creation of injustices and enduring patterns of domination and oppression.

2. The slow growth of a small colonial town: establishing the primacy of individual strategies

The Noumea municipality was created in 1879 when the town had around 1500 inhabitants. This first public institution that could discuss decisions coming from the French Metropolitan state (Dussy, 1999b:241) was controlled by the white local bourgeoisie emerging from the colonial administration, the nickel industry and the trade business. As the capacity of the municipality to monitor and control the city's growth faded under the influence of private landowners, Noumea developed without any planning until the Second World War (Doumengé, 1982:402; Dussy, 2005:156). The production of urban space followed indeed private interests as the land market gradually enshrined private ownership. This particular distribution of land ownership deeply impacted on the anarchic development of the colonial town (MacTaggart, 1996:196): the primacy of individualistic strategies resulted in a sporadic and sparsely urban growth without continuity and density. Moreover, the colonial regime controlled by Metropolitan France didn't grant local institutions any pre-emption rights, which weakened the capacity of public institutions to coordinate and orientate urban development towards public concern.

The Tuband domain exemplifies the primacy of individual strategies and private economic motives over the production of urban space: the South of the peninsula got almost entirely sold to settlers (Appendix: figure 10). Tuband consists of a 60 hectares agglomeration of large plots that a historically and economically prominent white-settlers families of New Caledonia, the powerful Pentecost family, gradually acquired. As Dussy summarized, the development of Noumea was structured on the value of individualism (2005:162). The production of urban space was indeed shaped by the structures of private ownership and the domination of private interests over common good, which fostered land speculation and also increased the influence of historic settler families, their business and economic motives over the development of Noumea (MacTaggart, 1963; Dussy, 2005:151).

B. “Noumea the White”: the explosion of Noumea (1946-1988)

1. The impacts of the World War II

World War II was a major period for the development of Noumea (Doumenge, 1982; Connell, 1987; Dussy, 2005). Turned into a US military base, the stagnating city of 11 000 inhabitants was awoken by the arrival of 100 000 soldiers. Following the war, urban growth spread towards the Southern neighbourhoods with the development of the Receiving and Motor Pool districts surrounding the vacant Tuband domain in the 60s. (Appendix, figure 2). After the conflict, New Caledonia lost its status as a colony to become a *Territoire d'Outre-Mer*. In 1946, the removal of the *Code de l'Indigénat* legally opened the city to indigenous people and granted them citizenship. These political evolutions triggered the transformation of the city as Kanak urban population slowly started to rise with increasing circular mobilities between Noumea and Kanak tribes (Doumenge, 1982:405). In 1956, only 15% of the Greater Noumea Population was kanak and only 11% of Melanesians lived in Greater Noumea. In 2009, 39% of Melanesians live in Greater Noumea and they represent 24% of the Greater Noumea population (ISEE, 2009).

2. The White Noumea: migrations and urban growth

“No other country in the South Pacific has experienced such significant international migration and hence such ethnic diversity” (Connell, 1987:210).

The “*politics of population*” (Connell, 1987:210) driven by the spectacular economic growth of the “nickel boom” (1969-1971) and actively supported by the French state, aimed at changing the ethnic demographic balance to undermine Kanak nationalists’ claims for independence, as shown by this letter of the French Prime Minister Pierre Messmer:

“New Caledonia, a settler colony, though already destined to be a multiracial mixture, is probably the last non-independent tropical territory in the world where a developed country can encourage its nationals to migrate. It is necessary to seize this last chance to create another Francophone country so that the French presence in Caledonia could only be threatened by world war and not by

nationalist claims from the indigenous people supported allies from other Pacific communities. In the short or medium term the massive immigration of metropolitan French citizens or citizens from the Overseas Departments (Réunion) would enable this danger to be averted, and would immediately improve the numerical balances of the races”

(Translated by Connell, 1987:218).

Pro-active migration policies were also strongly supported by the local municipality: the conservative and anti-independence mayor of Noumea, Roger Laroque, told indeed Pierre Messmer in 1970: “*il faut faire du Blanc*” (Lebllic, 2003:302)²⁰. The arrival of nearly 40,000 migrants from 1969 to 1976 with half of them permanently settling down (Freyss, 1995:194, Lebllic, *ibid.*) - from Metropolitan France, Algeria, Wallis & Futuna etc. - deeply impacted on the production of urban space and shaped the “europeanization” of the colonial town as it went through its period of most rapid urban growth (Freyss, 1995:194; Connell, 1987:227-231). As Noumea concentrated 75% of the whole growth, rising from 39 996 to 74 335 inhabitants, French migrants concentrated in the Southern neighbourhoods. The Kanak population remained a minority while Noumea gathered 57% of the total population in 1974 (45% in 1963). From 1969 to 1976 the population of Noumea grew indeed by 34% while Greater Noumea grew by 50%: urban growth triggered indeed peri-urban urbanization towards neighbouring municipalities of Dumbea, Mont-Dore and Païta. The small colonial town turned into a “*sprawling city*²¹” (Doumenge, 1982:403). New neighbourhoods grew anarchically with many empty plots and why Tuband remained was left aside despite its convenient location (Doumenge, 1982:403. The northern part above the Tuband domain was thus urbanized quite lately compared to the other southern neighbourhoods: 89% of all properties were built after 1976 in N’géo (ISEE, 2009). The urban development of N’géo actually started in 1974 with the building of housing estates on the *Société N’Géo*’s land in 1974 and the *Domaine Tropical* in 1981 (Appendix, figure 3). Quite isolated from the rest of the city with a few road connexions only towards North and South, N’Géo and the Tuband domain exemplify the “anti-urban” bias and the anarchic growth of Noumea.

²⁰“ We have to do White »

²¹ “agglomeration tentaculaire”

3. A segregated city

a) The N'géa neighbourhood and the Tuband domain

Gay conducted a Principal Component Analysis (PCA) to compare the neighbourhoods' profiles with data of the 1989 census (*forthcoming*). On the one side, the PCA (Appendix, figure 12) underlines the deep correlation between the origins of inhabitants (ratio of inhabitants arrived in the 1983-1989 period, ratio of inhabitants born outside New Caledonia), their social class (ratio of middle-ranking/senior executives, ratio of people public civil servants) and the household equipment levels (radio, phones and air-conditioning system). On the other side, it reveals how the ratio of unemployment, the ratio of people under 20 years, the lack of mobility (ratio of people without car) and the ratio of workers and the social structures (ratio of households with 5 people and more) are correlated in the making of socio-spatial injustices. Four profiles can be identified for the neighbourhoods of Noumea (Appendix: Figure 11). Accounting for only 196 inhabitants in 1989 with 55% of them born outside New Caledonia and 36% in Metropolitan France, N'géa was also endowed with large and ultra-modern villas (Doumenge, 1982:407), as shown by its ratio of phones and air-conditioning system, the highest within the whole city. With only 2% of workers and a 100% European population, N'géa catered for a privileged population of newcomers. The PCA classifies therefore N'géa as a European, well-off neighbourhood, very representative of the profile and the identity of the Southern neighbourhoods of the White Noumea.

b) The North-South division: a very political unequal allocation of resources

The map of the PCA underlines indeed the deep opposition between the South and the North. The large proportion of Metropolitan migrants in the Southern neighbourhoods in 1989 showed how political migrations shaped the production of space and maintained Noumea as a unique place of power and a bastion of colonialism:

“The large houses at the southern end of Noumea peninsula have given a large part of Noumea an almost wholly European population;

the suburbs of Baie des Citrons, Anse Vata and Val Plaisance have very few Melanesians, a situation apparent in the tiny proportion of votes for indépendantiste candidates in the ballot boxes from these suburbs”
(Connell, 1982:231)

Especially under the 32 years mandate of Roger Laroque (1953-1985), Noumea municipality focused on the renovation of the city centre and on the upgrading of the southern neighbourhoods with the marina, the aquarium, street refurbishments, schooling infrastructures, spaces for tourism and leisure activities such as the promenade de la Baie des Citrons, de l’Anse Vata, and the promenade Vernier alongside the Tuband domain²².

The urbanization of the North followed different patterns. To deal with the dramatic shortage of housing (Doumenge, 1982:404), public institutions advocated for building large social housing districts: Cité Tendu, Cité Pierre Lenquette, Cité Logicoop, Magenta-Tours, Montravel, Saint-Quentin etc. Sometimes quite multiethnic (Rivière Salée, Magenta Tours: Doumenge, 2982:430-431), those social housing units built in the periphery became quickly “*the dominant housing framework for the integration of the Melanesian population*”²³ in Noumea (Doumenge, *ibid*:428). Their architecture privileged large building for collective housing (figure 8).

Figure 9: the towers of Saint Quentin, built in 1972: a taste of Paris in Melanesia



Source: Google Images, 2012.

²² Noumea Municipality (2000). *Mémorial de Nouméa*.

²³ “le cadre d’insertion privilégié de la population mélanésienne”

As the allocation of funds focused on the southern districts, the situation worsened quickly, leaving the local population in harsh and sometimes awful living conditions (Connell, 1987:231; Herrenschmidt, personal communication, 2011). While in the 1950's, the Kanak population was spread out quite homogeneously, even in the city centre and in the Southern neighbourhoods, the social mechanisms of segregation driven by the control of landlords over the land market and the institutions, moved them towards the north (Doumenge, 1982). With 50% of Melanesian in 1969 & 1976, Montravel was nicknamed "*the océanien city*"²⁴ for being almost exclusively occupied by Kanak. In 1989, 23% of Noumean and 36% of Caledonians – people born in New Caledonia – living in Noumea were Melanesian (ISEE, 1989). Like the majority of the other Oceanian ethnicities, they were for a large majority the "*urban dispossessed*" (Connell, 1987:231), confronted to poverty, marginalisation and segregation, while on the other side French migrants were generally middle-class civil servants as shown by the impact of the administrative sector that grew from 10% of the GDP to 27% in 1983 (Leblanc, 2003:302). With the combination of political and economical processes that stratified the urban colonial society on socio-ethnic disparities, Noumea became a site of exclusion fully embedded in a wider logic of a colonial geography of control:

"The new Caledonian melting pot increased my awareness of ethno-racial inequality and of spatial confinement as modalities of social control, the majority of Kanak people being relegated into isolated rural reserves or highly-segregated neighbourhoods of the capital Noumea."²⁵

(Wacquant, 2011:110)

To summarize, the production of space edified the city as a "*white stronghold, exerting monopolistic control over most of the economic, cultural and political resources of the colony*" (Wacquant, 1989:197). In this perspective, despite the fact that New Caledonia had lost after WW2 its official "colonial" status, the colonial doctrine that shaped the creation and development of Noumea continued to impose of norms and ideologies coming from Europe at the expense of disadvantaged populations. Comparing Port Moresby, Suva and Noumea, Storey writes indeed that:

²⁴ "la cité océannienne"

²⁵ "le creuset néo-calédonien m'a sensibilisé à l'inégalité ethno-raciale et au cantonnement spatial comme modalité du contrôle social, les Kanaks étant majoritairement relégués dans des réserves rurales isolées et des quartiers « hyper-ségrégés » de la capitale Nouméa."

"Melanesian cities have never been places of inclusion. (...) Cities have been, and are, essentially outposts of colonial then post-colonial elites and the urban middle class. (Storey, 2003:262).

C. Development and rebalancing: emergence of urban policies in an "exclusive city" (Storey, 2003)

1. Matignon Accord: economic dependence and transplantation of French urban policies

The Matignon Accord deeply shaped the development of Noumea (Dussy, 2003; 2000; 1999a; 1999b; Guiart, 1997:251; Freyss, 1995:281-290; Doumenge, 1982). Like the Southern Province that signed in 1989 a multiannual *contrat de développement* with the French state, the Noumea municipality signed a *contrat de ville* in 1993. The French state provided for instance 56,8% of the €45 million that were used for financing urban development (water sewages, social housing, refurbishing public spaces etc.) and social policies in the 1993-1997 *contrat de ville*.²⁶ To address social issues, French urban policies were adopted, transplanted in New Caledonia (Dussy, 2005). Those urban policies were "*not French urban policy in general, but a particular one that was initiated in the 1980s with the 'spatialization of social policies'* (Bertho, 1996; 1999; Chaline, 1998), and regrouped later in 1988 under the generic term la politique de la ville as a national urban policy", Dikeç (2001). Set up in 1981 in France, the *Développement Social des Quartiers* (DSQ, translated Social Development of Neighbourhoods) was transplanted in New Caledonia in 1989 and then relayed by the *Développement Social Urbain* (DSU, translated Urban Social Development). It focused on the Northern segregated neighbourhoods to develop social activities, build community centres and reduce delinquency, the French state financing 50% of the DSQ. In a very French approach, social housing was the cornerstone of those urban policies transplanted in Noumea: it was perceived as critical for avoiding segregation, social exclusion and facilitating integration.

²⁶ Contrat d'Agglomération 2000-2004.

2. Social housing and social engineering

As Gay recalls, “since 1983, the history of New Caledonia seems to have worked as a fatal machine that produced and organized social categories into a hierarchy”²⁷ (*forthcoming*): the spatial distribution of social housing played a major role in the social engineering that nurtured ethnic divides and segregation. Indeed, following the Matignon Accord, the real estate market experienced a sudden increase. The artificial economic growth and the weaknesses of the tax system led to a multiplication of luxury property’s for touristic and residential functions (Dussy, 2005:173) in the southern neighbourhoods. On the other hand, confronted to the lack of public land and the exclusive prices of the real estate market in the south of the peninsula, social housing operators had to locate their activities almost exclusively in the northern part of the city.

Moreover, the transplant of French social urban policies and the correlated funding of urban policies by French external capitals underline how the production and management of urban space were shaped by French norms and enduring patterns of colonialism. Massiah and Tribillon demonstrated indeed the vivid legacy of colonial urban geography:

“The colonial urban model (...) has been a reference and a guiding line in the creation of many cities and urban networks. These are lasting; their logic marks post-colonial policies and practices”

(Massiah & Tribillon, 1988:20, translated by Dupont & Houssay-Holzschuch, 2006).

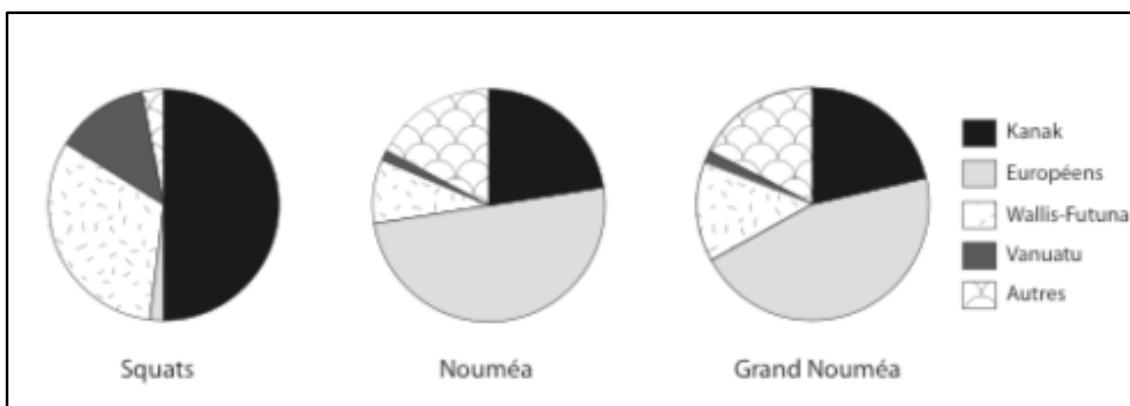
As Melanesian cities entered in the “*movement of independence and globalisation*” resulting from decolonisation (Massiah & Tribillon, 1988:41), anti-urbanism policies partly faded but disparities in urban spaces are still stratified along ethnic and social inequalities inherited from the colonial period (Connell, 2011). “*Exclusive cities*” (Storey, 2003) of the Pacific, that Noumea exemplifies, are concentrating patterns of social divisions, exclusions and ethnic tensions that constrain urban sustainability (Connell and Lea, 2002).

²⁷ “L’histoire de la Nouvelle-Calédonie depuis 1853 semble avoir été une funeste machine à produire des catégories sociales hiérarchisées”

3. Squatters settlements: the Tuband squat and the emergence of contrasting urban norms

The collective rental social housing units for disadvantaged populations proved also to be untailored with the *océanien* way of life. Facing a lack of housing and the rising prices of the real estate market boosted by the Matignon Accords and the assisted economy, indigenous Pacific islanders gradually colonized empty plots of land, which had been left aside by the fragmented urbanization of Noumea. They started to build dwellings where they would not have to pay a rent and could garden to keep their cultural ties to the land. Those numerous informal and illegal settlements quickly multiplied. In 1996, around 9% of the Noumea population were squatters (Dussy, 2005:20). Building their own houses, setting up nakamals, they started “*reconquering*” the city (Guiaut, 1996:256) with other norms than the French ones. In this regard, Matignon arguably laid out “*new conditions of ethnic cohabitation*²⁸” (David, Guillaud & al., 1999) in Noumea. The forms of the habitat, the daily activity of gardening and the *océanien* character of their population (figure 10) challenged indeed the identity and system of values of the White Noumea (Dussy, 2000:147)

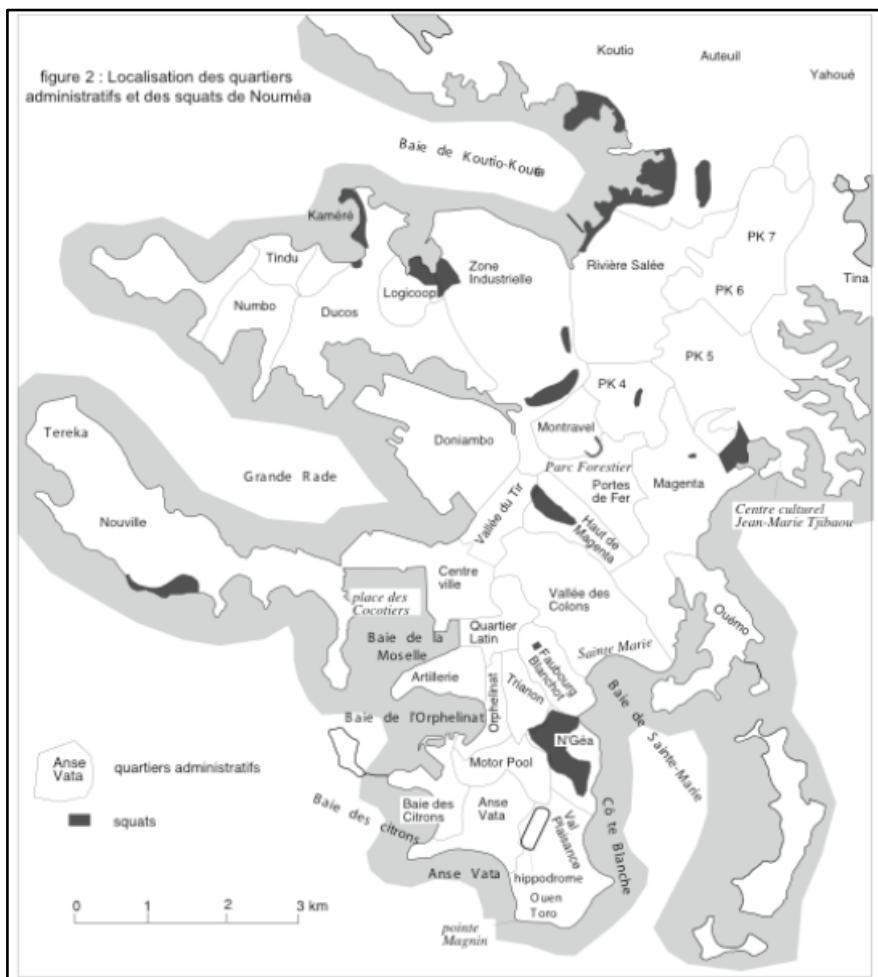
Figure 10: Population of squats per ethnicities in 1995



Source: Dussy, 2005:27

²⁸ “nouvelles conditions d'une cohabitation ethnique”

Figure 11 : Map of squats in Nouméa in 1995



Source: Dussy, 2005:9

As shown by this map (figure 11), a large squat developed on the vacant Tuband domain and starkly juxtaposed with the existing rich N'Géa residential neighbourhoods. Squatters concentrated on the norther-west side of the domain (Appendix: figures 22 & 23 squat de 2004) isolated from N'Géa by a small hill and mangroves (Appendix: figure 17). Embroiled in a conflict with the municipality for a long trial about land taxes²⁹, the owner of the Tuband Domain never had the capacity or the institutional support to remove squatters of their property (Guilart, 1996:256). Facing the hostility and the “bulldozers tactics” of institutions and landowners, squatters got organized. After the owner of Tuband sent two bulldozers to demolish 20 huts, they squatters reacted: the *Comité de Défense et de Soutien aux Squatters*³⁰ was created in Tuband in

²⁹ Conseil d'Etat n°70028 du 17mars 1993, “société des domaines Tuband” et cour administrative d'appel de Paris, n°95PA03716 du 15 juin 1999, “SA Domaine Tuband”.

³⁰ Support and Defense Committee for the Squatters

October 1992 (Lebliec, 2003; Pabouty, 2001). It aimed at gathering all informal settlements and squatters for the same fight. They called for acknowledgement and dignity, and subsequently won the fight for the access to running water in 1995 after three-year conflict with the Noumea municipality. They acquired an official status with the creation of the *Association pour le Droit à un Logement Décent*³¹ (Figure 12) and suggested in 1993 that the northern “squatted” part of the Tuband domain should become a tribal Pacific islander village (Pabouty, 2001 and 2011, personal communication):

Figure 12: Logo of the ADLD



Source: ADLD

When the Tuband domain was put on sale in 1999, around 150 families of squatters were living on the northern-west part of the domain (Appendix: figure 4).

³¹ Association for a right to decent housing

Figure 13 : Chronology of the urban development in Tuband

1999

- The SA Tuband finalizes the project of an upmarket residential era

2000

- First constructions of villas on the Tuband domain
- Squatters refuse to leaveLast social housing buildings completed

2002

- SIC buys the northern part of the domain (20 hectares)
- Convention signed between the Noumea Municipality, the Southern Province and the SIC regarding planning and land use.

2003-2005

- Negotiation with Tuband squatters

2006

- Opening of Jean Mermoud school
- First inhabitants to move in the first social housing buildings

2008

- Opening of the Tuband college

2011

- Opening of the police station

2012

- Opening of the Tuband primary school
- Opening of the community centre

Chapter V - Measuring and understanding spatial justice in contemporary Noumea with Tuband

Grounding my argument in the procedural dimension of spatial justice, I first explore the processes that shaped the production of space on the Tuband domain: I argue that green-roof Tuband brought spatial justice by dislocating the existing relations of power that historically governed the production and management of urban space in the southern neighbourhoods. The resulting change in patterns of land ownership orientated urban development towards common good. In this perspective, the Tuband project is intrinsically linked with the political context set by the Noumea Accord (A). Moreover, in the context of increasing inequalities and social segregation in the Noumea, green-roof Tuband tackled spatial injustices by locally neutralizing the logic of the private real estate market and allowing disadvantaged people to live in the most expensive areas of the city (B). Combining the available and relevant data on Tuband with field observations, this last part aims at measuring the impact of Tuband (C).

A. Building Tuband: achieving spatial justice in postcolonial Noumea by dislocating the structures of power

How and why such a social housing project, which scale is unprecedented in such a location, got built in the southern neighbourhoods, in the core of the White Noumea, where urban development and management historically excluded social housing?

1. Two new actors in the urban development of the southern neighbourhoods

As demonstrated earlier, the production of space in the southern neighbourhoods had always been shaped by the private land market and orientated towards residential and touristic functions. Located in the upper-class N'gea district, close to the city centre, surrounded by touristic spots and numerous amenities, the last vacant lot in Noumea was a major opportunity for private real estate developers when the domain was put on

sale in 1998. Indeed, the *Société Anonyme Tuband* (SA) Tuband), a private company that owned the entire domain, designed in 1999 the first project of urban development for Tuband. The 63 hectares were divided in 5 sections for a total of 659 plots.³² 583 plots were allocated for the construction of villas and the other plots for upmarket housing estates. The norms dictated by the SA Tuband in the specification section clearly indicate that the whole domain was meant to be turned into a high-class residential area. Each buyer of a plot would become a member of the local inhabitants' association that owns the entire domain. The plot owner also had to respect a strict regulation for the construction of the house:

- It has to be a villa;
- The roof has to be red with a diamond shape;
- Colours of external walls are strictly pale;
- 2 pine trees and 2 coconut trees have to be planted in the garden;
- No gardening is allowed on the front side of the villa garden;
- The outsides of the property (house, garden, walls) have to be carefully maintained and kept in clean and excellent condition;
- Etc.

The original project for the urbanization of the Tuband domain was targeting and selecting a privileged population. N'géa was meant to emerge as one of the most exclusive neighbourhoods of Noumea, with an expected predominantly white and metropolitan population. This original project was entirely ruled and controlled by a private entity, the only public institutions involved was the Noumea municipality which agreed in 2001 to co-finance the building of a concrete culvert which would clean up the northern part of the domain by draining the arroyo.³³ To summarize, the development of the Tuband lot was just business-as-usual in the southern neighbourhoods, where despite the size of the domain and the need for housing, social housing was not on the agenda. The SA Tuband's project said nothing on the squatter settlements, but obviously also implied the removal of the 150 squatter families who were living in the northern part of the domain.

³² Source: "Lotissement du domaine Tuband, "cahier des charges". Compromis de vente, Annexe n°7, Document 01-07-99-A1, July 1999.

³³ Source: Noumea Municipality, "Note Explicative de Synthèse", Délibération n°2001/37.

However, the project faced the squatters' resistance. From the end of 2001 to august 2002, works on the 3rd section were interrupted as squatters refused to leave.³⁴ The SA Tuband had to freeze the development of the 4th and 5th ones, where squatters were concentrated and as no one would buy a plot occupied by squatters. The squatter settlement was also located on the less valuable part of the domain, quite marshy and swamp. The owner, who had been living out of New Caledonia for a long time, definitely wanted to sell the domain. With the possibility of a graft upon the existing infrastructures and networks, the Tuband domain stood as a great opportunity for the SIC:

- "A piece of land of such a dimension, it's rather exceptional for Noumea. And not to mention the location in the Southern neighborhoods.³⁵

(INT 2)

- "It was such a huge opportunity. Such a building land in the Southern neighborhoods. We really had to do it.³⁶

(INT 1)

The SIC was looking for available land and had the mission, in the post-Noumea Accord context, to provide decent housing conditions for New Caledonians and to eliminate substandard housing³⁷. Both parties had then a common interest.

« 60 hectares, it was way too much, way too expensive for the SIC. But splitting the domain in two parts was interesting for both parties. So that's what we did »

(INT 2)

In December 2002, the SIC bought the 4th and 5th tranches of the Tuband domain, borrowing for this \$2,5 million from the French Development Agency (AFD) and €5 million from the *Caisse des Dépôts et Consignations*³⁸ (CDS). For the first time, and because of the squatters' resistance, a social housing company became the unique owner of 20 hectares in the southern neighbourhoods. The project presented by the SIC to the Noumea municipality and the Southern Province included the elimination of the squat and the relocation of squatters in the SIC property inventory. When the SIC came around in 2005 to present their project and ask for the squatters' cooperation, the squatters'

³⁴ LNC, 8th of August 2002

³⁵ "Un espace foncier de cette dimension, c'est assez exceptionnel à Nouméa. Qui plus est dans les quartiers sud"

³⁶ "Un tel terrain, dans les quartiers sud ! Il fallait absolument qu'on y aille !"

³⁷ *Journal Officiel de la Nouvelle-Calédonie*, 2008/n°82, p.40

³⁸ Deposits and Consignments Fund

association advocated for their rights to be relocated in the Tuband domain if they so wished, and to have a say in the land use plan:

"They came and presented their project so they could start negotiating for the squatters to leave. We said ok. We can leave, but you have to make sure that no one is left on the side of the road: squatters have to be properly relocated. And if we leave for somewhere else, we want to have the opportunity to be relocated here. The ADLD also had demands for jobs: they asked for builder contractors to hire squatters. The idea was to generate incomes so squatters could pay their rent once relocated.³⁹

(INT 7)

The SIC agreed to give the priority to squatters in the allocation of the first social apartment to be built. By 2005, 85 families were relocated in the SIC rental apartments, the majority in the Northern districts of Magenta Aérodrome, Portes de fer and PK4. Meetings were held in the Tuband squat for the negotiations. The partnership formed around 2002 between the SIC, the Noumea Municipality and the Southern Province was unprecedented. The Noumea Municipality would be in charge of social assistance by setting up a personalised social support process for the squatters, in order to help them get jobs, food and means of transportation, etc. The Southern Province would subsidize a part of the construction and deliver financial social assistance to squatters' families, according to the social section of the development contract. The change over land property turned Tuband into a pilot programme for reintegration or inserting those labelled as "excluded" into the city through urban social policies. The urban development of Tuband took on a symbolic dimension:

"The big guns of the institutions, we got them going on the field. The mayor, the High-commissioner, they came and met the squatters in the squat"⁴⁰

(INT 1)

It was not the first time that squatters were offered the opportunity to be relocated in social housing, but given the location, it was clearly the first time that such a dialogue was created between two actors, the SIC and the squatters, historically

³⁹ "Ils sont venus et ils ont présenté leur projet pour commencer à négocier le départ des squatters. On a dit ok. On peut partir, mais vous vous organisez pour que personne ne reste au bord de la route: les squatters doivent être relogés. Et si on part ailleurs, on veut avoir la possibilité d'être relogé ici. L'ADLD avait aussi des revendications au niveau de l'emploi : que des squatters soient embauchés par les entreprises qui construiront le quartier. L'idée, c'était de créer des revenus pour qu'ils puissent payer leur loyer quand il seraient relogés."

⁴⁰ "On les a fait descendre sur le terrain, les institutionnels, à la rencontre des squatters. Le maire, le commissaire délégué, ils sont venus dans le squat"

excluded from decision-making over urban development and land use in the context of the Southern neighbourhoods. To this extent, the dynamics of power engendered by the Tuband housing project are indeed unprecedented and intrinsically linked with the new context set up by the Noumea Accord.

2. Overcoming conflicts and changing patterns of power through the dynamics of the Noumea Accord

The project of building social housing on a large scale in the southern neighbourhoods and the promise to eventually relocate squatters in N'géa met with strong opposition, especially from the Noumea municipality and the residents of neighbouring districts. The reluctance of the Noumea Municipality is actually twofold. First, for the Noumea Municipality council, such a project was problematic by itself, as if a social housing district was not “suitable” to the profile of the Southern neighbourhoods because it would be too “different” and difficult to integrate in the existing social landscape.

“The municipality council debated, yesterday evening, on the way to successfully integrate a social housing district in a private residential domain”⁴¹

This argument actually hides a political motive, rooted in the colonial and postcolonial history of the city. Noumea was indeed never ruled and managed as a Melanesian city (MacLellan, 2005; Dussy, 2000) by public institutions. As social housing catered a predominantly *océanien* population, the Noumea Municipality, historically dominated by the conservative *loyalist* side, actually relayed the political opinion of its electorate in the European Southern neighbourhoods. The increasing presence of Melanesian and Pacific people in Noumea is indeed perceived with fear of violence and danger by a large part of the white Noumean population, as if the European population was losing power on its own ground (Dussy, 2005). As social inequalities are structured on ethnic divides, a social housing project such as Tuband would necessarily increase the presence of Melanesian people in the heart of White Noumea.

⁴¹ “Le conseil municipal a débattu, hier soir, de la manière de réussir l'intégration d'un lotissement social dans un domaine privé hautement résidentiel”. LNC, 9th august 2002

Yet, the SIC got the support of the Southern Province in the person of Jacques Lafleur, whose involvement was critical:

Extract n°1 of the SIC' Head Manager interview:

- Of course, the SIC was not acting on his own. Such a project matched a strategic, political goal for the institutions at the time, especially for the Southern Province. The president of the Southern Province, M. Lafleur, participated to the contacts with Michel Pentecost.
- [Me] How went the negotiations with the institutions?
- There was no negotiation, it was more of an intervention, I would say a political one, by the president of the Southern Province. The project was strongly backed by the president. You know, over here, every thing is always about... [He smiles, waves his hand to evoke the influence of local big men in New Caledonia]. The project was backed up, that's a fact. You know, it goes like the saying, "Simon says"⁴². People wouldn't have dared to express their reluctance, even though they were more or less against the project, as soon as there were instructions coming from the president of the Southern Province.⁴³

A leader of the anti-independence side, a signatory of the Matignon and Noumea Accords (photo), president of the Southern Province and the deputy of New Caledonia Lafleur (1932-2010) was one of the major political personalities in New Caledonia at the time. While he was originally interested in the Tuband domain to develop tourist infrastructures, his powerful patronage was a decisive input as no one from his own side would stand against him, including the Noumea municipality. Tuband highlights indeed how politics are structured on the "*big men*" (Connell, 2011:131; Guillaud, 2003:12) in the Pacific and in Melanesia, where power is associated with personalities.

However, the opposition between the Noumea municipality on the one side, and the Southern Province and the SIC on the other side, got drawn in an open conflict after the 2004 provincial elections. A new political party, *Avenir Ensemble*, lead by Philippe

⁴² In French, the game "Simon says" is called "Jacques a dit" – Jacques says. Ironically, the first name of Lafleur is "Jacques".

⁴³ "Bien sur, la SIC n'était pas toute seule. Ca correspondait à un objectif stratégique, politique, des institutions de l'époque, et en particulier de la Province Sud. Le président de la province sud de l'époque, M. Lafleur, a participé aux contacts avec M. Michel Pentecost.

- Comment se sont passées les négociations avec les institutions ?
- Alors il n'y a pas eu de négociations, il y'a plutôt, une intervention, j'allais dire politique, du président de la province Sud. Y'a eu un portage du Président. Vous savez ici, tout est toujours très... (Il sourit, laisse évoquer avec ses gestes le poids des hommes importants). Y'avait un portage important du président, voilà. Vous savez c'est la formule Jacques a dit. Les gens n'auraient jamais osé manifester, même si dans le fond ils étaient plus ou moins défavorables, à partir du moment où il y'avait une instruction du président de la province de l'époque."

Gomez, defeated Jacques Lafleur at the provincial level. Created in the aftermath of the Noumea Accord, in search of *a via media* between the two sides that structured the political landscape in New Caledonia, this new party was much in favour of reviving the strong relationship with the FLNKS and started to cooperate with Kanak leaders, in the provincial governments and in the customary Senate as well (Boengkoh, 2007:3). Following this first-time shift of balance, the partnership with Noumea Municipality deteriorated as members from the Municipality were excluded from the new provincial team. The Municipality openly showed its unwillingness to cooperate by providing only a very lame social assistance to the squatters:

Extract n°2 of the SIC Head Manager interview:

- [Me]: How was the cooperation with the Muni... ?
- [He bluntly interrupts me] With the Noumea Municipality it was a disaster. They were totally against the project. But for more political reasons...
- Why ?
- Because they were not anymore part of the ruling majority. With this change of power, politicians of the Noumea Municipality were not in the new provincial team.
- Was is the only reason for their opposition to the project?
- I think that's the main reason, a political one. And I also think that there is a power base for the Noumea Municipality, especially in the Southern neighbourhoods, opposed to social housing projects. As you know, you don't act on your own in politics: the Noumea Mayor relayed the opinion of the neighbouring residents.

But under the influence of Philippe Gomèz, the new president of the Southern Province who was also the Honorary President of the SIC, the financial and political support for social housing was strengthened by the Southern Province. The SIC indeed relied on loans and tax exemptions to finance the housing project.⁴⁴ Overall, the project cost €83 million. \$33 million were financed through tax-exemptions as the construction of buildings heavily relied on financial operations as set by the *Gigardin Law* (2003) that allows massive tax-exemptions for companies that invest in the development of Overseas territories, for instance by bringing capitals to housing projects. The other funds for the construction of buildings were generated by long-term loans contracted

⁴⁴ *Journal Officiel de la Nouvelle-Calédonie*, 2004/n°40, p.6

with the AFD and the CDS and covered by the Gouvernement of New Caledonia⁴⁵. In this enabling economic context set up by the Noumea Accord, the production of social housing increased by 50% (IEOM, 2007:112) from 2004 to 2007. In this context, Tuband, as a highly symbolic and large-scale project, was even more supported by the Province. To summarize, the Tuband project was going against the profit motives of private real estate developers and the political views of the Noumea municipality and its traditional electorate. Yet, it was implemented precisely because the traditional structures of power that dictate the production of space in Noumea, and particularly in the Southern neighbourhoods, got dislocated. In this perspective, Tuband is deeply linked with the Noumea Accord that increased the power of Provinces, put social housing higher on the agenda and imposed the notion of common destiny to institutions:

“15 years ago, Tuband would have been unthinkable. Tuband, can't be dissociated from the Noumea Accord. If you look at the words, at the text, that's exactly what it is”⁴⁶”

(INT 1)

To this extent, Tuband shows that spatial justice was in this case attained in postcolonial Noumea by addressing the correlated issues of power distribution and land ownership, both rooted in colonialism.

3. Spatial justice by joint public planning

The split of the domain in two distinct sections changed patterns of urban development within the Tuband domain. The transfer of 20 hectares to the SIC triggered indeed a wider change of land ownership. It resulted in turning a part of a private domain into a kind of common property, as public institutions acquired land (Appendix, figure 19). The contrasting patterns of urban development on the private section and on the SIC's section highlight how patterns of land ownership deeply shape the production of space, and must be then put under scrutiny for the achievement of spatial justice.

The land use plan drafted by the SA Tuband in 1999 guided the development of the 40-hectare-privately-owned section, which was divided into nearly 400 individual

⁴⁵ *Journal Officiel de la Nouvelle-Calédonie*, 2008/n°82, p.41

⁴⁶ “Tuband, ça aurait été impensable il y'a 15 ans. Tuband est indissociable de l'Accord de Nouméa. Dans les mots, dans le texte, on est en plein dedans”

properties. Only a 2-hectare plot was allocated to the building of a primary school and two others for small grassy areas. Despite exorbitant prices, sales were rapid. Works started in 2001 with the landscaping of the first two tranches on the eastern and southern parts of the domain where the squatters were missing. In 2003, 154 plots were already built. In 2006, 318 villas were built. The only local public facilities consists in the *école maternelle et primaire* Jean Mermoud, opened in 2006. By 2007, when roads got eventually transferred to the Noumea municipality's public domain⁴⁷, the residential district had already taken its final form. The predominance of the residential function of red-roof Tuband underlines that people expected to move into the area would have their own vehicles, be independent for their daily needs and that the distance to public places, supermarkets and places of entertainment was not a real issue.

A different structure of land ownership characterizes green-roof Tuband: public institutions eventually acquired land on the SIC section. Each public institution demanded indeed a share of the land to get involved in the urban development of the domain and have a say in the negotiations. Originally opposed to the project, the Noumea municipality demanded to acquire land on the SIC's property: this initiative met the SIC' project to address social issues by creating a neighbourhood endowed with local public services. A tripartite agreement over land allocation, finalized in 2002 between the SIC, the Southern Province and the Noumea municipality, planned that 8 hectares would be sold to public institutions. The Southern Province bought a 2 hectares lot for a *collège*. In 2005, the Noumea municipality bought 2 plots for a primary school and a water treatment plant⁴⁸. This hybrid land ownership, coming from an agreement between all parties, resulted in a urban development policy orientated towards common good.

As competences for public services are shared between various institutions, the coordination for providing public services to the population is a real issue in Noumea: *collèges* are indeed under the Province's responsibility, while primary and preparatory schools are the municipality's. On those 20 hectares, every institution took the opportunity to acquire land to fulfil their respective general interest mission. As a consequence, the urban development of Tuband arguably targeted general interest and aimed at improving the quality of life for the inhabitants:

⁴⁷ Noumea Municipality (2007). Note Explicative de Synthèse, Délibération n°2007/448.

⁴⁸ Noumea Municipality (2002). « Note Explicative de Synthèse », Délibération n°2002/1118.

"The City of Noumea has also the will to acquire the necessary plots for building public services and public facilities such as: water treatment plant, extra width of roads, public gardens, sports fields, playgrounds and more generally any local facility that could improve the quality of life for the inhabitants of this future neighbourhood"⁴⁹

To summarize, Tuband brought spatial justice but through the remarkable involvement, in spite, or perhaps because of conflicts, of every public institution in the decision-making and the land planning.

B. Social housing as means for spatial justice

In the context of increasing inequalities and social segregation, Tuband also tackled spatial injustices by neutralizing the logic of the private real estate market and allowing disadvantaged people to live in the most expensive areas of the city. With the existing set of data on the land market at the scale of the city and at the scale of the N'géo, this impact of the social housing district can be effectively measured.

1. The strengthening of residential segregation at the city's scale

Noumea is nowadays becoming "*a more and more unequal society*"⁵⁰ as "*the increase in prices contributes to the socio-economic divides between Greater Noumea's neighbourhoods*"⁵¹ (IEOM, 2008:16). Indeed, the tax-exemption system set up to facilitate private investments from Metropolitan France in the local building industry and the artificial purchasing power fed by French transfers are impacting on the real estate market in Greater Noumea. From 2001 to 2006, rents increased by 45% in

⁴⁹ "La Ville de Nouméa a par ailleurs la volonté d'acquérir des emprises foncières nécessaires à la réalisation d'espaces publics et d'équipements d'intérêts collectifs tels que : station d'épuration, surlargeur des voiries interquartiers, jardins publics, terrains de sports, parcs de jeux d'enfants et plus généralement tout aménagement de proximité susceptible d'améliorer la qualité de vie des habitants de ce futur quartier"

⁵⁰ "Une ville de plus en plus inégalitaire"

⁵¹ "La hausse des prix contribue aux clivages socio-économiques des quartiers du Grand Nouméa"

Noumea⁵², especially in the southern neighbourhoods (+6% from 2006 to 2007). Sale prices almost doubled in five years in Noumea (Chauchat, 2006:169). From 2006 to 2007, sales prices increased by 9% in the southern neighbourhoods and decreased by 1.7% in the northwest. In Noumea, the households' median income is nearly €2100 per month⁵³: confronted to skyrocketing prices and the diminution of available land within the Noumea municipality, low-class and middle-class households increasingly establish themselves in the periphery (IEOM, 2007) and moving further away from their work place, turning Païta, Dumbéa and Mont-Dore into commuter districts (Gay, *forthcoming*).

Confronted to the scarcity of land and the exorbitant prices of the land market, social housing providers such as the SIC have oriented their activities towards the periphery since the early 2000s⁵⁴, which enhances the concentration of social housing programmes and projects in the northern neighbourhoods and in the neighbouring municipalities⁵⁵. As a consequence, the real estate market divides the city in two zones: the southern neighbourhoods are even more socially selective, as shown by the part of the Tuband domain designed for luxury individual housing. In red-roof Tuband, in 2002, a 5-6 acres lot would cost indeed around €100.000 (LNC, 26th of April 2007). As of today, a vacant plot cost around €200.000, sometimes up to €350 000. Buying a 5 bedroom villa would cost around €700.000 while rents rise up to €1500 per month.⁵⁶ Prices are similar all over the southern districts. Overall, inequalities and urban segregation increased over the past 14 years (Chauchat, 2006:169) and socio-ethnic disparities perpetuate.

2. Tuband: neutralizing the logic of the real estate market

In this context, Tuband stands apart. It consists in a unprecedented social housing project by its scale and its location in the Southern neighbourhoods:

⁵² IEOM, "The real estate market in Greater Noumea", 2007:8

⁵³ Compas-Ville de Nouméa, 2011, Diagnostic territorial. Les quartiers de Nouméa, version finale-octobre 2011, 109 p., p.76

⁵⁴ AFD (2009). "Etude d'évaluation de la Société Immobilière de Nouvelle-Calédonie", Série évaluation et capitalisation, March 2009, n°23.

⁵⁵ Plan Local de l'Habitat, 2006.

⁵⁶ Estimations based on real estate newspapers and websites.

"There never used to be the SIC in the Southern neighbourhoods. Southern neighbourhoods, rich neighbourhoods, there is no such thing as SIC, it doesn't exist"⁵⁷

(INT 13)

"There are in effect multiple cities in Greater Noumea. Kanaks, and Wallis and Futunans, remain marginalised through ethnicity, income, and through regulatory planning thus continuing a process of exclusion of indigenous Pacific Islanders from urban life (Dussy, 2000: 147–148). (...) Noumea remains today very much a European town. Even for middle class Kanaks in some areas, such as in the South of Noumea (around Anse Vata), '*having a brown face is not really acceptable after 5.30. You should go home. It is not the face of the suburbs'* (interviews, 2002).

(Storey, 2003:271)

The South of the city is then commonly depicted as the European Noumea, a place for rich people:

"So I've been told: "here you go, you're rich now, you live in Tuband. You live in the Southern neighbourhoods, so you are a rich"⁵⁸

(INT 18)

Social housing is indeed nonexistent and considered as antithetic to the history and socio-ethnic profile – in short, the identity -, of the Southern neighbourhoods, a fact easily corroborated by their very low rates of social housing. There, the median monthly income is also clearly above the average level in Noumea: households have enough resources to face the price of the private real estate market. In 2001, before green-roof Tuband was built, N'géo was indeed one of the top four most expensive districts for rent prices⁵⁹. From 2001 to 2006, the rents in the private market drastically increased in N'géo from €15 to €20 per square meter, following the development of red-roof Tuband and the general evolution of the market. However, prices follow a different logic in green-roof Tuband, as rents are aligned on the three different types of controlled rents defined by the Southern Province and based on applicants' monthly incomes (Table 2):

⁵⁷ "Y'avait aucune SIC dans les quartiers Sud, quartiers sud, quartiers riches, y'a pas de SIC, ça existe pas."

⁵⁸ "Moi on m'a dit, ca y'est, tu vis à Tuband, tu es riche. Tu vis dans les quartiers sud, donc t'es un riche !"

⁵⁹ IEOM, "The real estate market in Noumea", 2007:2

Table 2: Types of social housing rents in Tuband

Type of rents in social housing	Households' monthly incomes	Number of apartments in Tuband	Average monthly rent for a 3 bedrooms apartment in Tuband
<i>Loyer Très Aidé (LTA)</i> Very High Housing Allowance	From €0 to €1500	106	€290
<i>Loyer Aidé (LA)</i> High Level Housing Allowance	From €1500 to €3000	298	€500
<i>Loyer Aidé de Transition (LAT)</i> Transitory Housing Allowance	From €3000 to €4200	200	€640
<i>Loyer Economique</i> Basic Housing allowance	Above €4200	30	€800

Source: SIC & Maison de l'Habitat

The 634 apartments in green-roof Tuband encompass the various types of social housing rents, and are scattered in the property inventory.⁶⁰ (Appendix: figure 20) Based on my calculations, the average rent in green-roof Tuband is around €450 a month, that is more or less 70% cheaper than existing prices of the private market in N'géa and the Southern neighbourhoods.⁶¹ As a consequence, the logic of the real estate market was discarded on 20 hectares of the original Tuband domain and a disadvantaged population was explicitly granted a right to live in the exclusive Southern neighbourhoods with their numerous amenities:

“ If the whole domain had been sold for building €700 000 houses, it would have been worse. Doing Tuband was also a way to say that the Southern neighbourhoods are not only for rich people. Even the poors, they have the right to live in the Southern neighbourhoods, to go and have a walk on the Promenade Vernier.⁶²

(INT-1)

The existence of Tuband is visible at the scale of the district: the median households monthly income in N'géa is clearly inferior to the other southern

⁶⁰ Source: SIC, “Brochures of Tuband I, II, III, IV, V, VI, VII & VIII”. From 2006 to 2009. Around 100 pages each

⁶¹ IEOM, “Housing and urban development in Greater Noumea”, 2008:26

⁶² “Si jamais tout le domaine avait été vendu pour faire des baraqués à 80 millions, ça aurait été pire. Tuband, on l'a fait, car c'était aussi pour dire que les quartiers sud, c'est pas que pour les riches. Que même les pauvres ils ont le droit de vivre dans les quartiers sud, d'aller se balader sur la promenade Vernier”

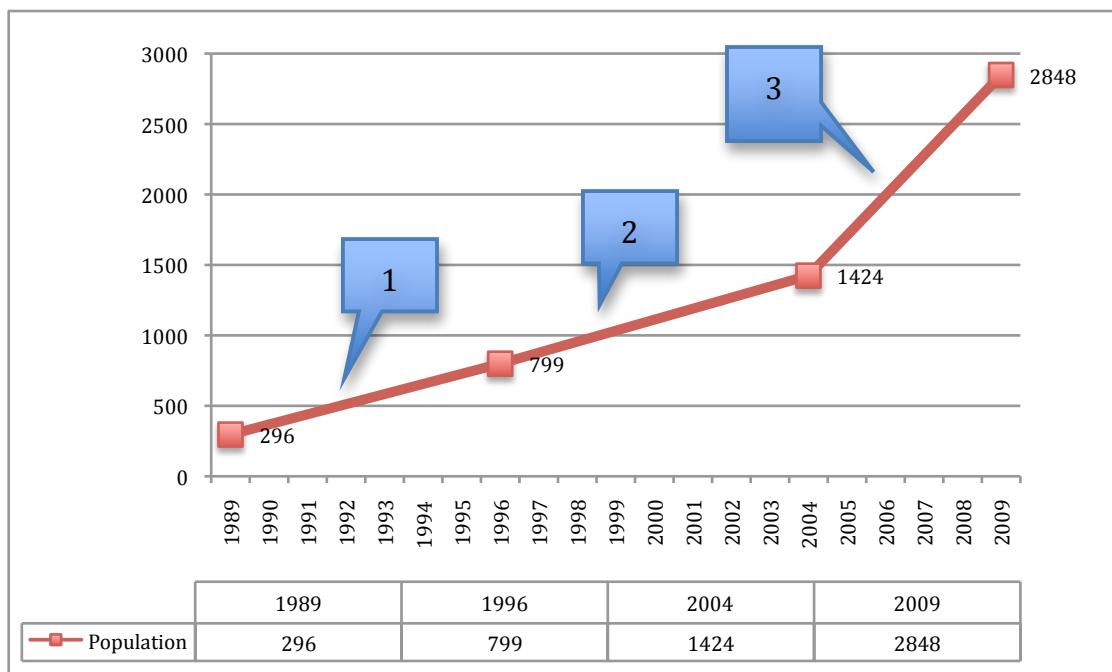
neighbourhoods ones, despite the existence of a large upmarket residential area (red-roof Tuband and the “historical” core of N’géo). In this perspective, the building of a social housing district with the Tuband project gives indeed social justice a very spatial dimension that can be effectively measured by existing data and statistics.

C. Measuring and visualizing spatial justice: the impact of Tuband

1. The N’géo district in Noumea: from an exclusive to an inclusive neighbourhood

Starting at the scale of the N’géo district, the 2009 census provide us with a rich set of data to analyse the impact of Tuband.⁶³ Between 1996 and 2009, N’géo gained 2049 inhabitants. However, before 1996, the increase remained limited (figure 14, (1)) to the building of residential high-class buildings in the historical core of N’géo:

Figure 14 : Population of N’géo



Source: ISEE

⁶³ At that time, 301 social apartments were still in construction in N’géo. The 2009 census is thus underestimating the impact of green-roof Tuband on the N’géo social profile.

The brutal increase witnessed after 1996 is clearly correlated to the urban development of Tuband, first with the high-class residential area (2) and then with the social housing project (3). The building of 333 rental social apartments had a clear impact on the N'géa district profile, as shown by the PAC conducted by Gay with the 2009 census data. The multivariate analysis of 17 indicators projected Noumea's neighbourhoods on two axes highlighting the increasing differentiation between predominantly European and well-off neighbourhoods and the working-class, *océanien* northern districts (Appendix, figure 14). While N'géa was classified as a high-class residential district in 1989, it now appears as an "intermediate" neighbourhood. The urban development of Tuband moved the N'Géa district closer to the neighbouring northern districts' profile, a move obviously attributable to the large-scale social housing district. N'géa stands out in the Southern neighbourhoods with around 40% of its population living in social housing. The arrival of nearly 1150 people (2200 in 2012) in green-roof Tuband is also correlated with the remarkable increase of the socio-ethnic diversity of the district's population, yet underestimated, but which deeply contrast with the predominantly European population of other Southern neighbourhoods: as the current legislation in France and in New Caledonia forbids to publish ethnic data at the scale of the neighbourhood, I'm not entitled to communicate exact numbers, but having analysed such data and conducted field trip investigation in the N'géa neighbourhood, I can affirm that N'géa is the southern neighbourhood where Pacific islanders are the more represented. While European population is still predominant in N'géa, the proportion between Melanesian and European is around 50% in green-roof Tuband:

"I can tell you something: when a Melanesian live Tuband, it is another one that gets the available apartment. 50-50, that's how we proceed in Tuband"

(INT 1)

The impact is also visible on the population's origin: in 1989, 55% of the population was born outside New Caledonia; in 2009, 58% of the N'géa population is born in New Caledonia (Appendix: figure 16). Compared to the other Southern neighbourhoods, N'géa is also characterized by a higher representation of lower and middle-classe people (Appendix: figure 15). Such a quantitative approach clearly proves that, unlike the other Southern neighbourhoods, N'géa is more inclusive. Its profile is more balanced, less European, more *océanien* than before: by allowing a disadvantaged

population to live in the South of the Peninsula, the large-scale housing Tuband district brought a measurable improvement of spatial justice.

2. Who lives in Tuband?

If spatial justice can be measured, it should also be visible, audible. Green-roof Tuband is a neighbourhood where people are living. Wandering around green-roof Tuband, I had the opportunity to *see* the impact of the project by interviewing inhabitants. Here are a few portraits of Tuband inhabitants:

Marie Joelle

M.J is a 44 year old Kanak woman from Houäilou, on the northern east coast, where she goes back every weekend with her son. She works three days a week as a cleaning lady. She used to live in Dumbéa at her uncle's house since 1994, but she applied for social housing as her husband became physically disabled after a serious illness. They needed to get closer to the hospital and to her workplace. The SIC first offered an apartment in Montravel, but she refused: she didn't like it, as it was too noisy, too dangerous for her and her husband. She finally arrived in Tuband two years ago. She does not like the city life, "because you have to pay for everything", and yet, she is really satisfied with her apartment in Tuband I, especially as far as the location is concerned. It is safe, quiet and close to everything she needs- the supermarket, the bakery, the post office. Living in Tuband is also better for her daughter who spends now less time in the bus to go to high school. M.J doesn't have a car, so she also uses the bus that goes through Tuband for moving around the city. A few weeks ago she went demonstrating against the rising cost of living. She does not like going to the city centre, but really appreciate to walk on the promenade Pierre Vernier: "*it's nice and wide, there is a nice view on the sea, everybody is walking along*". During the day, she watches TV, reads the Bible and takes care of her husband. If she could afford it, she would buy her own house: that is "*her dream*".

Romari

Romaric is a 19 years old Kanak. He was born in the Tuband squat but identifies himself as coming from Canala, on the southern west coast. He was one of the first Tuband's inhabitants. He dropped out of high school but he is thinking about joining the army to learn a job and make some money. He lives with his parents and his younger brother who attends the Tuband *collège*. He misses the squat: now he lives between two walls, everybody can see him when he wakes up

from the window and he can hear what is happening in the neighbours' apartments. Tuband is a sardine can, he says. He is nostalgic about his childhood in the squat, the proximity with the nature, the trees and the sea. That is why the Promenade Vernier is a nice place to live nearby: he can go there for exercising, running, walking. He introduces also himself as the leader of his group. They call themselves the "Soweto gang": "*When I was younger, Lucky Dube (a famous South African reggae singer, he came to the squat. He told us that things were quite similar over here. I looked it up on Wikipedia, Soweto it's f*** dangerous man. He baptized the squat "Soweto", so we kept this name*". During the day, he walks around with his mates, dressed in the Kanak urban youth "uniform": long jeans and hoodies hiding the face. They can squat for hours the buildings' stairwells, a behaviour which echoes the classical picture of young people in French *banlieues*. He plays soccer, but does not go that often to the city centre or the southern waterfront and beaches. The SIC helped him to start up his own gardening company, so sometimes he works for the villas around. But to make some cash he is selling marijuana. He is quite excited about the opening of the community centre, something "really positive". In a few years time, he sees himself living in his own house in Païta, with a big garden.

Silulea

Silulea is a massive Wallisian who played rugby for a few years in France. He arrived in Tuband 6 years ago. His parents were born in Wallis, but he was born in Noumea, in the northern districts (Tindu). He stayed there for 25 years, and left when it "*started to be a mess*". He always lived in social housing. He likes Tuband for being nice and quiet. He works as a deliveryman. Now that he lives in Tuband he is closer to his workplace. He stays away from the city centre but he often goes with his children and his wife to the southern beaches in Baie-des-Citrons or Anse-Vata. Promenade Vernier is a really nice place. His father is also living in Tuband. There are the only ones of his family to live in the southern neighbourhoods. Tuband is a very good location, but the district really lacks a place where people could meet and chat so they get to know each other.

Solange

Solange is born in Noumea. Her family was among the first settlers. She is a 40 year old divorced woman and has been living with her son in Tuband since 2008. Working for the SIC, she moved in Tuband for the *collège* - her son can walk by himself to school - and because the location is "*amazing*". With monthly income of €2200, she is eligible for social housing: if middle-class people with a decent salary have to live in social housing, then it is the fault of the entire economic system. Moreover, it is not the time for her to invest in a property: who knows

what is going to happen with the referendum for the independence? The Events marked her for life and she sounds quite worried about the forthcoming referendum. She fears outburst of violence. In her eyes, independence is not possible, because New Caledonians, especially the Kanak, are not ready to face such a big responsibility.

Laila

Laila is 24 years old and works at the Tuband *collège* as a school assistant. Born in Noumea, she grew in the "*high-class society*" in the southern neighbourhoods but broke off with her family to gain her independence. She used to live in the northern district before in a social housing apartment (4e KM), but was scared by the place. She got robbed twice and decided to apply for another apartment. That is how she arrived in Tuband in 2008. When she talks about social housing in the Magenta Towers, she describes the place as dirty, old and unsanitary: in contrast, Tuband is nice and new, clean. There is no difference with the comfort and standard of the apartment she had before, but she likes Tuband for the location: right in the southern neighbourhoods, 5 minutes away from the Promenade Vernier and the bars and clubs of the waterfront. She can just walk to work. For her, if you live in Tuband you must be happy with what you have. She tells that she is worried about what could happen with the referendum: "*you never know what to expect. So we [The Whites] are scared*". For her, the young Kanak generation is waiting for 2014 with anger. She is really positive on building a social-housing district here: it's not because you are Wallisian or Melanesian that you are not allowed to live in the southern neighbourhoods: "*I don't have much money but I live with the rich people*". For her, the New Caledonian society is clearly divided on ethnic lines. She says she believes in the "*common destiny*" but thinks that too many Kanak rely on social assistance to make a living: if you work hard at school, you will succeed.

All people I interviewed in the district were usually satisfied with living in Tuband. Most of them used to live in other social housing districts in the northern part of the city and they all suggested that they improved their living standards by moving to Tuband, which they often described as more quiet, nicer and in a better state.

3. Spatial justice through the lenses of distribution and accessibility

The literature on spatial justice calls for investigating patterns of spatial distribution and accessibility. In this regard, Tuband's location was always indeed mentioned as a major asset by the people I interviewed, but also its close proximity to local shops and public services (Appendix: figure 18). In the N'géa district, the poorest people are the closest to local public services as green-roof Tuband is well endowed with a *collège*, a primary school, a community centre, a post office, a police station, two banks, two grocery stores, sport facilities, the N'géa park, and two areas for playing *boules*. Two supermarkets are nearby on the Faubourg Blanchot and residents have access to the highly frequented Promenade Vernier, a popular walk along the sea. Everything is within walkable distance, which is a very valuable asset in a city confronted to a lack of public transport and where it is difficult move around without a car. Halfway between the southern waterfront and the city centre, the district is also well connected to the neighbouring districts with four roads connections. In January 2011, two bus stops were also set up in green-roof Tuband. The SIC is particularly proud of those patterns of distribution and accessibility:

“In my point of view, what really makes Tuband successful is its conception and planning, especially with the road connections to the surrounding neighbourhoods. It's not the type of dead-end district that you can see sometimes here and there. Above all, we wanted since the origin of the projet to secure the presence of public facilities and convenience stores”⁶⁴

(INT 2)

“Tuband is a little neighborhood, with everything you need”

(INT 1)

In Tuband I & II, residents mentioned indeed the location of Tuband as the best asset of their apartment: the proximity to work, to supermarkets, to health

⁶⁴ “De mon point de vue, la première réussite de Tuband, c'est sa conception en aménagement, avec des notamment des liaisons inter-quartiers. Ce n'est pas un quartier cul de sac, comme on peut le voir quelquefois ici et là. Surtout on a voulu dès le départ assurer la présence d'équipements publics, de commerces de proximités”

infrastructures and schools is appreciated by more than 90% of residents⁶⁵. The Southern beaches and the waterfront on Baie des Citrons and Anse-Vata did not attract most *océanien* people, but all of them mentioned the neighbouring Promenade Vernier as one of their favourite places. As Grafmeyer recalls, the “*unequal access to tangible and symbolic goods*” (1994:89) is another essential dimension of segregation: by living in the Southern districts, these low-class *océanien* people gained also an easy and daily access to the highly-frequented facilities of this area, which shows that Tuband contributes to desegregate public places such as the Promenade Vernier in the Southern districts.

⁶⁵ BVA, “Rapport : Mode de vie des locataires de la SIC Tuband I & II”, September 2010. 70 pages.

Chapter VI - Myth and issues of diversity in Tuband: questioning urban norms in Postcolonial Noumea

Before its completion, green-roof Tuband was indeed already deemed a symbolic achievement for New Caledonia and the city of Noumea. As spatial justice “*is also engaging with issues of representational space where identities and experiences constitute the process of justice*” (Dufaux, Lehman-Frisch & al, 2009), this part aims at looking beyond the issue of distribution and accessibility and seeks to investigate the urban experiences of the residents of Tuband and at analysing discourses and representations on Tuband within the spatial justice framework.

The first part aims therefore at unfolding the norms and values that explain such a celebration and such a symbolism in the post-Noumea Accord context (A). The second part confronts discourses on social diversity to the reality of diversity in practise in Tuband, where the cohabitation between green-roof and red-roof Tuband reveal unfair processes of segregation and stigmatization (B). The last section eventually discusses the issue of diversity in postcolonial Noumea as related to spatial justice by questioning the urban norms that dictate the production of space in the Tuband domain (C).

The key interrogation that guides this chapter is the following: is the top-down implementation of social diversity, as shown by Tuband, a vector of spatial justice?

A. Tuband or the celebration of top-down diversity

1. A Tuband, a media success and a symbolic achievement

Tuband is just one of the numerous housing projects launched after the Noumea Accord but no other district was granted the same attention. In 2006, an official ceremony gathering the Noumea Mayor, the president of the Southern Province and the first inhabitants to move in Tuband I & II was organized for the “handing over of the keys”. In 2009, the SIC was also awarded a prestigious prize in Metropolitan France, the *Trophée des Etablissements Publics Locaux*⁶⁶ and got invited by the French Development

⁶⁶ Trophy for Local Public Companies

Agency to come and present the Tuband project in Columbia and South Africa where the AFD is also financing housing projects. One year after, the Overseas Ministry, Marie-Luce Penchard, gave green-roof Tuband a first hype visit in 2010. The consecration of green-roof Tuband as a symbol eventually occurred with the official visit of the French president Nicolas Sarkozy in August 2011 on the eve of the opening ceremony if the Pacific Games:

Figure 15 : A presidential visit



Source: Southern Province, (2011). *Horizon Sud*, n°13.

On the left, Pierre Frogier, President of the Southern Province. On the right, Nicolas Sarkozy. In the background, villas of red-roof Tuband.

Coming for the first time to New Caledonia, he gave a speech at the Tuband *collège* and opened the local police station in front of many TV channels and press reporters (Appendix, figure 30). Almost all local political personalities attended the event and every public institution was represented: the Government of New Caledonia, the Customary Senate, the Southern Province, etc. Interestingly, the visit of the neighbourhood was conducted by mayor Jean Lèques and the SIC board was not even introduced to Sarkozy, or even mentioned by the Mayor or by Pierre Frogier, the new President of the Southern Province, who used to be one of the biggest opponent to the SIC's project. He nonetheless described Tuband as a "success" in front of the media and the French president.

2. Unfolding symbolism: Tuband, a place of rebalancing and common destiny?

How can one explain such politicization of Tuband by the *loyalist* side and such symbolism (figure 15)? Some elements for an answer can be drawn from the President's speech, which I had the opportunity to hear:

Insert n°6: extract of Nicolas Sarkozy' speech in Tuband

"Je suis venu en Nouvelle Calédonie parce qu'ici se joue pour la République française un grand défi, celui de faire vivre sur un même territoire (...) des femmes et des hommes aux histoires, aux habitudes, aux modes de vie différents, mais qui tous aiment ce territoire. Celui de faire rayonner la France et ses valeurs dans ce Pacifique qui représente tellement dans ce monde d'aujourd'hui (...) Un développement où chaque communauté aurait le droit de vivre dignement, aurait le droit de faire vivre ses enfants dignement. Quand chacun a conscience qu'il est traité dignement, qu'il est respecté, alors c'est la violence qui recule (...) Si nous n'avons pas peur les uns des autres, alors on peut construire un avenir ensemble. Pour moi, dans la province Sud, y'a place pour les deux communautés. (...)

The fact that Sarkozy insisted on the issue of common destiny suggests how to interpret and understand the symbolism of Tuband: Tuband is intrinsically linked with the post-Noumea accord context and is depicted as a place where rebalancing and common destiny would be effectively happening. The implantation of a large-scale social housing district, never seen in the southern neighbourhoods, indeed contributes to a social and spatial rebalancing within the city's urban and social landscape. Rebalancing also has a cultural dimension: in this perspective, the media coverage of Tuband and its politicization underline that New Caledonia is actually looking for new symbols that would support nation-building processes, such as the Tjibaou Centre. Tuband would stand as a symbol just like the *Mwa-ka* (Appendix, figure 29): the same provincial government that allowed the edification of the Kanak monument in the White Noumea supported the Tuband project. In Djubéa-Kaponé, a Kanak language, *Mwa-ka* means, "the big house", the high chief's house that all people belong to. As MacLellan wrote:

The demography of the Southern province has been changing in recent years. Many Kanaks have moved to Noumea and its outskirts over the

last fifteen years, and the immigrant Wallisian population has increased in numbers. For this reason, attempts to transform Noumea from a European provincial city to a Pacific capital take on important symbolism

(MacLellan, 2005:1-6)

Because it allowed disadvantaged *océanien* people to live in the Southern neighbourhood, the symbolism of green-roof Tuband would therefore stem from its unprecedented socio-ethnic diversity. Something is quite disconcerting in this argument: before green-roof Tuband, many disadvantaged *océanien* people were already in Tuband: they were living in a squatter settlement, but yet they were nonetheless living in the Southern neighbourhoods. In this regard, there is actually nothing new in Tuband, which implies that there are other reasons for celebrating Tuband. Let us analyse Sarkozy's speech once again:

"I knew this neighbourhood: it used to be synonymous with failure a few years. People were not used to come and have a walk, a few years ago. And when delinquency was on the agenda – I'm speaking under the supervision of my friend Jean Lèques - this neighbourhood was mentionned. Today, in this neighbourhood, people can live in happiness. So I repeat it, the [French] State will back and accompany you. The State will not fail New Caledonia. The State will be a faithful and ambitious partner" ⁶⁷

The notion of "failure" and "delinquency" are particularly evocative and fruitful to unfold Tuband' symbolism. The Tuband squat was a place where one could buy easily marijuana, and once, somebody got killed⁶⁸. But was it really a place of danger and delinquency? C. Chauvin, a former cartographer at the Research Institute for Development (IRD), used to live just next to the squat: she told me that she used to go a few times a week to the local nakamal without any problems, and saw everyday squatters walking around or going to local grocery stores without causing any troubles. In fact, the Tuband squat was a "failure" in the President' eyes and the ruling majority of the Noumea Municipality and the Southern Province because it was *out of norms*. In the name of social diversity and the fight against exclusion by the elimination of substandard housing, Tuband turned from an *océanien* squatters settlements to a standard social housing district. Moreover, squatters were allowed to come back under

⁶⁷ "Ce quartier, je le connaissais, il était synonyme d'échec y'a encore quelques années. On ne venait pas s'y promener, il y'a encore quelques années. Et quand on parlait de délinquance, je parle sous le contrôle de Jean Lèques, mon ami, ce quartier était souvent mis en exergue. Aujourd'hui, dans ce quartier, on peut vivre heureux. Donc je le dis, l'Etat vous accompagnera. L'Etat ne laissera pas tomber la Nouvelle Calédonie. L'Etat sera un partenaire loyal et ambitieux"

⁶⁸ LNC, 18th of November 2002

certain conditions: they had to pay their rents and “*behave in an exemplary manner*” – be respectful of the property and pay rents - during their temporary stay in other SIC properties (INT 2). Only 10% of squatters eventually returned to green-roof Tuband. An ‘illegal’ land tenure, the type of dwelling, the fact that squatters do not pay rent made the squatter settlement too different from what was expected to be standard norms of housing and ways of living in the city of Noumea.

The speech of Pierre Frogier, the *loyalist* president of the Southern Province, reminded Sarkozy, the media and the audience that a project such as Tuband was indeed successful because it gave decent and standard housing conditions to disadvantaged families, before stressing that the issue of housing could not be addressed without the assistance of Metropolitan France. The celebration of Tuband rests on the assumption that Tuband is a successful project because it converged towards what should be the urban norms in Noumea (“*now, in this neighbourhood, people can live happily*”) as set by New Caledonian institutions and their urban social policy. Indeed, the Noumea Municipality stated in 2002 that the SIC mission was indeed to:

“conduct an operation that would help eradicating substandard housing zones, relocating the families and develop this part of the domain in order to create an attractive and balanced neighbourhood”.⁶⁹

The depiction of Tuband as a model eventually conveys the message that the current social urban policy is efficient, that New Caledonian institutions are improving the life from people in Noumea and keep with the spirit of the Noumea Accord.

3. The Tuband model: transplanting French urban policies, implementing top-down diversity

Green-roof Tuband is indeed depicted as a “*model*”⁷⁰ because it achieved a social and economical diversity (*mixité*) that would contribute to the sustainability of urban development. Such discourses and political views cannot be dissociated from the postcolonial transition of New Caledonia. The social urban policy in Noumea is aligned

⁶⁹ “Réaliser une opération qui permette d’éradiquer les zones d’habitat insalubre, de reloger les familles et d’aménager cette partie du domaine en vue de créer un quartier attractif et équilibré”

⁷⁰ “Tuband: press file”, SIC, 19 pages. Also newspapers articles and official announcements for the visit of Nicolas Sarkozy.

with the notion of social diversity, as exemplified by Tuband. Urban policies in New Caledonia are essentially transplants of French social urban policies that shape the production and management of urban space in Metropolitan France, and also in French overseas Territories (Benzaglou, 2006). In the Tuband case, this transplantation is double-sided. First, French urban policy establishes the issue of housing as key element for social integration and the fight against exclusion in the city. A standard dwelling is a condition to live in dignity (Deschamps, 2001): hence, squatter settlements should be eradicated in New Caledonia for safety, health and dignity concerns. Second, the transplantation of French social urban policies determines “diversity” as the underpinning concept of urban development and planning in New Caledonia.

Commonly opposed to segregation, diversity is depicted both as ideal (Genestier, 2010) and a necessary goal in urban planning to achieve social justice and develop a just city (Fainstein, 2010; 2009, 2006; 2005; 1997) by the academic literature and institutional discourses (Lehman-Frisch, 2009):

Diversity has become the new orthodoxy of city planning.
(Fainstein, 2005:3).

The ideal of social diversity prevails in many cities of the North, as a goal that urban policies should target. “Social diversity” was indeed imposed in France in the field of urban norms for planners from 1986 in order to orchestrate the allocation of social housing (Bacqué, 2003). The diversity in social housing policy was indeed prescribed as an “*antidote to segregation*” (Deschamps, 2001:82). Discourses over Tuband and the existing norms over urban planning in New Caledonia point out social and ethnic diversity as the norm upon which to structure the New Caledonian society and the development of Noumea. Opposed to the historical segregation that prevailed in the production and management of urban space in New Caledonia, the notion of social diversity would be valuable in itself in the post-Noumea Accord context framed by the concepts of common destiny and rebalancing. The necessity to follow a top-down implementation of diversity in order to fight against exclusion and segregation shows through discourses on Tuband:

“The success of Tuband is also linked to this social and economical diversity that we originally wanted to impose in the apartments”⁷¹
(INT 2)

⁷¹ “La réussite de Tuband tient également à la mixité économique dans les logements qu'on a voulu imposer dès le départ.”

The same concern for implementing and successfully achieving diversity is found in discourses held by two people in charge of the major places of social interaction in Tuband. When interviewed, the Headmaster used the term “gamble” to assess the role of the Tuband *collège*:

“Opening this college, it was a real gamble. We had to turn this *collège* into a place of real diversity”⁷²

(INT 27)

The manager of the community centre also underlined the necessity for him and his team to develop activities that would gather people from all backgrounds:

- “The Tuband community centre is not only for people living in green-roof Tuband. It aimed at being a place for everybody in the Southern neighbourhoods. This is why my job here is really different from the job I had before in Saint Quentin (a social housing district with a reputation located in the northern districts). In the other community centres, the public is 90% Melanesian. Here, the community centre has to attract people from outside green-roof Tuband. We need to show that such a public place is not only for “poor people”. Developing socio and ethnic diversity: that’s clearly my mission.” (The Manager of the Community centre)
- (Me) Would you describe your community centre as a “laboratory” then?
- (Him) Yes. That’s exactly what it is.”

INT 26

To summarize, the SIC, the Southern province and the Noumea Municipality, three main institutions involved in urban development and urban management in Noumea aligned their policies on guiding principles and norms imported from Metropolitan France. Tuband would be a model which diversity is to be preserved and enhanced.

⁷² “Ouvrir ce collège, c’était un vrai pari. Il fallait réussir à faire du collège lieu d’une vraie mixité”

B. Tuband: living together or living aside? Diversity in practise

While cameras and video-recorders were all focused on the president's speech and absorbed in celebrating and visiting the Tuband model, forerunner of the New Caledonia common destiny, no one seemed to notice that just a few meters away from social housing buildings, people were also watching the scene in the Tuband *collège* from their balconies in €700.000 luxury villas (Figure 16). During the press, the visit and also in the media coverage, no one also mentioned that a totally different world was just around the corner and no one wondered how inequalities could be so blatant on a space that used to be the same vacant lot a few years ago

Figure 16 : Cameras in Tuband: looking on the bright side of life?



Migozzi, 2011

Green-roof Tuband should not hide that the original Tuband domain was actually shaped by the deep and increasing inequalities that characterize New Caledonia. The cohabitation between green-roof and red-roof Tuband should put the laudatory discourses in perspective: a certain social and ethnic diversity does exist at the scale of green-roof Tuband, enabled by the different types of rents, but at the scale of the former Tuband domain, how is diversity perceived and practised between inhabitants from very different backgrounds that live just aside? This part aims at exploring the tension

between stigmatization and segregation that lead to reconsider the issue of diversity in Tuband.

1. One domain, two spaces: the reproduction of inequalities

If the type of dwelling is an clear indicator of income and prosperity, then, looking at the N'géa landscape, the spatial clustering of Tuband underline that inequalities and segregation have probably never been so blatant and marked in Noumea. From the outward appearance to the interior decoration and equipment of houses, the contrast is striking from green-roof to red-roof (Appendix, figure 24). Collective housing strongly contrasts with the luxury individual villas where the size of houses and the concentration of swimming pools clearly indicate that inhabitants belong to the upper class (Appendix: figure 18). Pictures of living rooms, bathrooms, bedrooms indicate a tremendous gap in the standards of living (Appendix, figures 25, 26 & 27). Vehicles also show a stark gap in incomes. Expensive and brand new 4-wheels cars are parked in the streets and one counts numerous boats and also many scooters and a few motorised quadricycles⁷³ (Appendix, figure 28) driven by teenagers living in red-roof Tuband. In green-roof Tuband, cars are less expensive and I never saw a teenager driving anything.

Getting into a few red-roof villas for interviews, one can get astonished by the luxury and the comfort. A mere 5 minutes away on foot, the level of equipment in green-roof Tuband is actually miles away from red-roof Tuband's standards, especially in the LTA and LA apartments where furniture is scarce. In Tuband I & II, 40% of residents don not have access to the internet⁷⁴. In red-roof Tuband, every house I got in had a bedroom for each child, whereas I visited some apartments in green-roof Tuband where children had to share the bedroom, especially for Melanesian households. A few participants mentioned that overcrowding is indeed an issue, especially when a cousin or a nephew comes to spend a few weeks in Noumea and stays in the apartment. Moreover, many social apartments I visited showed signs of deterioration resulting from poorer quality materials. Even window views deeply contrast: one can admire the serenity of the sea in the Sainte-Marie Bay and the nice range of trees on the Promenade Vernier while one

⁷³ Motorised quadricycles can be driven without an automobile driver's licence in France, and so in New Caledonia.

⁷⁴ BVA, "Rapport : Mode de vie des locataires de la SIC Tuband I & II", September 2010. 70 pages.

could contemplate Tuband's sport facilities concrete ground, the building of the primary school or the large solar panels on roofs. The respective atmospheres of red-roof Tuband and green-roof Tuband deepen this contrast, both at night and during daytime. In red-roof Tuband, no one walks on the streets, except at lunchtime and at the end of the day when a few pupils go back home or a few Kanak cleaning ladies leave the district. The district is silent – loud noise is prohibited by the regulation after 10pm. Architectural choices traduce a desire for security and quietness:

“Red-roof Tuband? Well, it is all about “security”⁷⁵

(INT 16)

Indeed, it is almost impossible to catch a glimpse of the villas' inside life as houses and gardens are hidden behind high enclosure walls: architectural design targets privacy and isolation, socialization only happens when desired. Those social norms are materialized in the landscape and villas' appearance. Quite significantly, even inhabitants from a similar social background look for isolation: residents of the historical part of N'gea refused to see their houses connected to the new high-class district and set up a barrier to forbid car traffic.

Going over the hill or taking the roundabout gets you into a completely different setting: green-roof Tuband is characterized by collective housing. The shops, the two schools and the post-office create a permanent hubbub that suddenly explodes at school's closure. The district can get loud at night-time when somebody went a bit too hard on the drinks, and also during the day, when children play soccer, parents yell or when a loud radio play a reggae song. There is always somebody watching you when you walk down the streets. As buildings face each other, it's really easy to see what's going as by looking at balconies or garden usually exposed to public view. Living in green-roof Tuband requires putting up with a certain lack of privacy whether you like it or not.

Contrasting patterns of urban development in Tuband domain underline that the production of space is clearly shaped by the deepening inequalities in New Caledonia. Despite the naïve statement of Philippe Gomez' in 2006 at the handing over of the keys, (“*you will be better-off than those living in the private lots just aside. You have the good*

⁷⁵ “Toit rouge ? Ben c'est “sécurité”

*fortune to have refurbished sidewalks and a cycling track*⁷⁶), standards of living clearly differentiate in green-roof and red-roof Tuband. Last but not least, a major difference between green-roof and red-roof Tuband is the regime of property: in the red-roof section, households *own* their villas; the apartments can only be *rented* in the SIC' buildings. Most of the latter's residents, except the former squatters, did not actually choose by themselves to come and live in Tuband. They applied for a social housing apartment and were allocated one in Tuband. If most of them are satisfied with the result, their presence in Tuband is submitted to stricter conditions than people owning a house.

To complete the picture, here are two portraits of red-roof Tuband inhabitants:

X⁷⁷ is born in New Caledonia. She identifies herself as "*a Noumean*". Married, she works as a lecturer at the University of New Caledonia. Before moving to Tuband, she was living in Tina. With her husband, a notary, she bought a plot in 2002 to build their "*dream home*" but ignored that a social housing district was on the agenda. They wanted to get closer to Noumea, for avoiding trafficShe now lives in a luxurious and giant villa with a 360 view on the Tuband domain and the Sainte-Marie Bay, just above the court of the Tuband collège. To maintain the villa and look after her child, she employs three full-time Melanesian servants: she "*ensures a decent way of living for three families*". When they moved in Tuband after two years of works, they encountered various problems: they faced a few attempted robberies and more importantly, She describes how it is "*not easy*" for them to live in such a house while "*down there*" people who "*have a hard time to make ends meet*" can watch you: they felt constantly stigmatized as "*well-heeled person*": "*you take it right on the chin*". She heard from a friend that the proportion of the different types of social housing rents was not respected in Tuband, which could lead to social issues. But she sounds nonetheless really positive about green-roof Tuband: the architecture is nice, and if she was disadvantaged, she would definitely ask to live in Tuband. The location is indeed "*marvellous*": she goes to Promenade Vernier two or three times a week, goes to the park with her young daughter, uses the local post office and the neighbouring supermarket. She never uses public transports. She plans to send her daughter to school according to the feeder zone her house is attached to: her daughter will attend the new primary school in green-roof Tuband if that's how it is. Coming back to New Caledonia at the age of 28, after attending university in France, she was astonished by the development of squatters and

⁷⁶ "Vous serez mieux lotis que ceux qui habitent dans les lots privés à côté. Vous avez la chance d'avoir des trottoirs revêtus et une piste cyclable, pas eux" Source: LNC, 7th of September 2006

⁷⁷ The participant decided to remain anonymous.

noticed the increase of inequalities. She describes the contemporary New Caledonian society as less equal, less mixed, and more compartmentalized, more divided on ethnic lines from what it used to be during her childhood. In her eyes, this change is particular obvious for the new generation. She is then wondering if the diversity is “*working*” in green-roof Tuband.

Jean Pierre works for the Southern Province. He arrived in New Caledonia in the 80s as a civil servant, and always lived in Noumea since then. During the interview, he is uncomfortable and tries to answer in a very neutral way. He bought a plot to build a villa in Tuband in 2002. When asked to comment on the issue diversity, he answers, embarrassed, that “*there are only white people*” living in red-roof Tuband. He often goes to the Promenade Vernier and never use public transports. Her children attend the *lycée Lapeyrouse*. He never goes to green-roof Tuband, except for the local post office, so he doesn’t except anything from the new community centre.

2. Diversity in practise: segregation, NIMBY and stigmatization in Tuband

a) Who is diversity for?

As shown by the series of portraits, two extremes of the New Caledonian society live in the same district and share a few public places such as the post office, the *collège* or the Promenade Vernier. The opposition is social but also ethnic. As the second participant confessed, there are only white people living in red-roof Tuband. When the Noumea Municipality accepted the project of the SA Tuband in 1999, it was written nowhere that such an urban development should enhance social diversity to follow the spirit of the Noumea Accord. Moreover, when the media and the institutions celebrated the diversity of Tuband as something good, just and necessary for the future of New Caledonia, no one criticized that land was developed and transformed there into very expensive/exclusive housing estates for primarily white French citizens, and that red-roof Tuband continued the process of exclusion of indigenous Pacific Islanders from the South of the city through planning and incomes.

Then, who is diversity for? Who is concerned by diversity giving the current norms that govern the production and management of space in Noumea? Social diversity

was celebrated as a model in Tuband, but sounded problematic for the Noumea Municipality when the SIC finalized the project:

« There will diversity, we are in favour of this. But diversity does not mean anything. The owners of the private part of the Tuband domain can't be told that they will have to co-exist with a very high social allowance housing apartments. There will some high social allowance apartments, but with a limited proportion and in such a way that the transplant would be successful. We are right now thinking about the proportion of very high-level housing allowance, high-level housing allowance and even basic housing allowance apartments.⁷⁸

(Gael Yanno, first deputy mayor, RUMP)

The first Deputy Mayor's declaration that red-roof Tuband inhabitants should not be forced to deal with a large presence of impoverished population. The expressed concern for limiting the number of LTA apartments underline that diversity had to be controlled, implemented through a top-down approach and restricted to a certain scale to favour the integration of the targeted population to the existing environment. This is materialized within the very planning of the SIC that located the most expensive social housing apartments in the top of the valley (*cf map*), where the spatial proximity is the biggest between red-roof Tuband and green-roof Tuband. This is also reflected by the NIMBY attitude of the residents of the older surrounding districts, materialized by their refusal to create road connections with green-roof Tuband (*cf pictures of closed roads*). Green-roof Tuband inhabitants, when invited to reflect of the socio-ethnic diversity of their district, spontaneously assessed it as something "good", "valuable":

"Well yes it's good. We are in a same country, so we have to learn how to live together.⁷⁹

(INT 11)

"Here, it's cool, there is a bit of everything in my crew: Kanak, Wallis. There is a white dude, that's not a problem. There is even a Asian guy. That's perhaps something good compared to my previous life as a squatter"⁸⁰

(INT 10)

⁷⁸ "Il y aura mixité, nous en sommes partisans. Mais mixité ne veut pas dire n'importe quoi. On ne peut pas dire aux acquéreurs de la partie privée du domaine Tuband qu'ils vont devoir coexister avec des logements très aidés. Il y en aura, mais à un dosage et selon une organisation tels qu'ils donneront à la greffe une chance de prendre. Nous sommes en train de voir quels seront les pourcentages de logements très aidés, aidés ou même économiques."

⁷⁹ "Ben oui c'est bien. On est dans un même pays, alors on doit à apprendre à vivre ensemble"

⁸⁰ "Ici, c'est cool, dans notre bande y'a de tout tu vois, des kanak, des wallis. Y'a un blanc aussi, pas de problème. Y'a même un asiatique. C'est peut être ça de bien qui change par rapport au squat"

But concerning this diversity in practise, they always carefully draw a distinction between their district and red-roof Tuband:

- "Up there? Those are the people that don't mingle. It's another world over there"⁸¹

(INT 13)

"Up-there? You are talking about the well-heeled guys?"

(INT 11)

"It's dead over there. Nothing is happening. With their high walls..."

(INT 10)

Despite the mission of the new community centre to attract people from all over the Southern neighbourhoods and implement social diversity, the manager also brought up this strong distinction between practises of diversity:

"It's gonna be very difficult with ref-roof Tuband. We tried to go up there and talk to the people, to the parents. But they are just not interested in the activities we are going to offer, or even in passing by to see what's going on. But here, in green-roof Tuband, children, teenagers and even adults are curious, they come every day to see what's going on, they have strong expectations. They came to see the place and ask us some questions even before the official opening."

(INT 26)

The local press, covering the "Neighbours' Party", a festive event organised each year by the SIC in every neighbourhood, echoed as well this divergence:

"During the Neighbours' Party, the *Zoreilles*⁸² were looking at us from the window. We called them, but they didn't come down⁸³

To summarize, those discourses, practises and choices in planning reveal that the diversity celebrated in Tuband is not meant to apply to everyone and, as an urban norm, remains limited to the social housing district and policy.

⁸¹ "Là haut? Ca s'est ceux qui se mélangent pas eux. (sourire). C'est un autre monde de l'autre côté"

⁸² Les "Zoreilles" is a nickname used to designate white Metropolitan newcomers.

⁸³ "Lors de la fête des voisins, les Zoreilles nous regardaient par la fenêtre. On les appelait, mais ils ne descendaient pas". LNC, 2nd of March 2009.

b) Tuband: exploring the tension between segregation and stigmatization

As measured earlier by statistics, green-roof Tuband effectively contribute to desegregate the N'géo district and allowed a fairer share of local amenities such as the Promenade Vernier or the N'géo park. But is residential desegregation by the implementation of a top-down diversity enough to counter spatial injustices? The academic literature on Noumea underscores that people living in social housing, especially the indigenous Pacific islanders, are not only historically marginalized by land market and planning but also by representations and discourses that sustain processes of "*territorial stigmatization*" (Wacquant, 2007): along with other markers such as income, ethnicity the type of dwelling, the location and territorial fixation are also stigmatizing the population of disadvantaged districts:

"A "blemish of place" is thus superimposed on the already existing stigma traditionally associated with poverty and ethnic origin"

(Wacquant, 2007:67)

Discourses and representations of the neighbourhood actually highlight that while Tuband did reduce serious engraved in residential racial segregation, it also sustain processes of territorial stigmatization. First, in each of the interviews I conducted and informal conservations I had with people living in Noumea, discourses always draw a distinction between "green-roof" Tuband and "red-roof Tuband":

"I know somebody who lives in Tuband. But the red-roof Tuband, you know."

"You are conducting a research on Tuband? But Tuband-SIC or red-roof Tuband?"

"Yes, I live in Tuband. But red-roof Tuband"

Usually, N'géo is not even mentioned as a location in the conversation. The often-repeated refrain given by inhabitants on both sides is also that green-roof Tuband is "going down the drain", is "getting worse" with the increase of damages, moral degradation, thefts etc.

"In red-roof Tuband, there are robberies every month. Many of them try to sell their houses, but villas are so expensive that they don't succeed in"

(INT 6)

"The youth from Tuband, they went up the hill the other day and tagged "fucking whites" on the villas' enclosure walls"

(INT 19)

Youth Melanesian people are often designated as "hoodlums" and considered as the source of those troubles.

Green-rood Tuband is certainly part of the southern neighbourhoods, but as a social housing district it is heavily stigmatized. And while green-roof inhabitants do live in the Southern neighbourhoods, they don't appear as "ordinary" residents: their place of residence would make them different:

"The other Tuband? Well over there you find the angry people. I can tell you that because my auntie is living over there with other people I know. They are not happy because when they bought their plots, they didn't know that such a project was already on the run, some way behind their back. €500 000 for the land! Those guys, they spend a fortune and ended up living just next to, well, "the hoodlums", in their eyes. They were not happy to be forced to leave aside people that are... well, hmmm, Melanesian.⁸⁴

(INT 16)

Those stigmatizing discourses and social practises of spatial distance in Tuband also lead to question the relationships between top-down social diversity of Tuband and the sustaining segregation in Noumea. Social housing policy was indeed "imported" in New Caledonia and originally operated within a silent but institutionalised system of segregation reinforced by market forces. Now, social housing should reduce inequalities in resources for housing and thus help to implement diversity and rebalance the city of Noumea in the spirit of the Noumea Accord. Green-roof Tuband arguably brought a spatial remedy to racial and social segregation, that can be effectively measured and that is visible when wandering in the Southern neighbourhoods and going to N'géa. But if data on ethnicities was available at a finer scale, there would be no doubt that the map would show a clear demarcation in N'géa. If diversity is to be searched everywhere in

⁸⁴ "L'autre Tuband ? Ah oui là c'est les gens qui sont pas contents. Je peux te le dire parce que ma tante et pleins de gens que je connais habitent de l'autre côté. Ils sont pas contents parce que quand ils ont acheté leurs terrains, ils savaient pas, alors que quelque part le projet était en train de se faire, et derrière leur dos. 50 patates le terrain ! Les mecs ils ont gaspillé des fortunes pour, quelque part, se retrouver avec quelque part "la racaille", pour eux. Ils étaient vraiment pas contents qu'on leur mette des gens qui sont... mélas quoi."

postcolonial Noumea, then exclusive prices of the land market have to be fought everywhere and not only in spatial pocket of social housing district. Moreover, the deep social distance between the two Tuband sections emphasize the paradoxical character of a phenomenon such as segregation that have to be understood as “*separation without significant spatial distance*” (Gervais-Lambony, 2001:34). Indeed, “*segregation creates social distance without creating too much spatial distance*” (*ibid.*). Tuband illustrates clearly that “*cohabitation in a situation where distances are short and proximity is functional may go hand-in-hand with the existence of very rigid social barriers*” (Brun, 1994:26). Segregation is not only an issue of spatial distance or spatial proximity, as “*spatial proximity does not determine modes of cohabitation nor does it preclude social distance*”. (Dupont & Landy, 2005:20). As Grafmeyer demonstrated (1994), building on Schelling’s major book (1978), segregation has to be approached through three intertwined processes: institutional or top-down discrimination, the distribution resulting from inequalities in resources and the “*combining of individual discriminatory practices*” (Dupont & Landy, 2005:16). Then, building a social housing district in the Southern neighbourhoods didn’t tackle all sources of segregation, as shown by the territorial stigmatization that penalizes residents of green-roof Tuband, and by the social discrimination engraved in unequal practises of diversity. Green-roof residents are precisely stigmatized because of the top-down diversity they have to live with. Using the framework provided by Young (1990), it is clear that such territorial stigmatization, which is a source of injustice. It is indeed a form of cultural oppression, where dominant groups impose their norms and values that label dominated groups as deviant through a series of stereotypes (Lehman-Frisch, 2009:105).

3. The Tuband college: controlling or enhancing diversity?

In daily life, interactions between the two Tuband are scarce and limited to a few public places. To further investigate the issue of practices of diversity in postcolonial Noumea, this part focuses on the Tuband *collège*. As a place of education and daily interactions, the Tuband *collège*, attended by children from the two Tubands, stands indeed as a place where diversity is put into practice, to a greater level to what one finds at the scale of green-roof Tuband. At the opening ceremony in 2008, the media

described the *collège* as a “*bridge between two worlds*”.⁸⁵ Interviewed, the headmaster of the Tuband *collège* made a direct link between the diversity of the college and the building of the New Caledonian common destiny:

“In the upcoming years, we will have to successfully achieve the integration of pupils from very different socio-cultural backgrounds and give them the same chances of success. It is a very important issue and a real challenge. But I’m confident, as I think that the New Caledonian society can rely on many good people and has a real desire to build a common destiny.”⁸⁶

The necessity to transform the school system in order to desegregate the New Caledonian society and tackle social inequalities has been indeed repeatedly investigated (Kohler & Wacquant, 1989; Hadj, Lagadec, Lavigne & Ris, 2011). To draw a useful parallel with a country historically built on racial inequalities and segregation, research on South Africa has underlined that schools are enabling new mobilities that are critical to desegregate society and create new patterns of urban citizenship and identity (Lemon & Battersby-Lennard, 2010; Battersby, 2004). Kohler & Wacquant (1985) investigated in the 80s the structure of the urban school space in New Caledonia and demonstrated that the educational system, especially in Noumea, “*functions primarily as an instrument of reproduction of the colonial society of New Caledonia*” (Wacquant, 1989:194). Further recent studies confirmed the maintenance of social inequalities in the education system (Hadj, Lagadec, Lavigne & Ris, 2011; Salaün & Vernaudon, 2009). In this regard, building and opening a *collège* in a social housing district attended by pupils from an upmarket residential area certainly participates to the decolonisation of the school system. When schools starts and finishes or during parents-teachers meeting day, the social and ethnic diversity is indeed quite astonishing. Some Melanesian teenagers just walk back on the other side of the street while a few white teenagers, dressed in fancy clothes, jumped into brand-new sophisticated 4 wheels drive that turned at the street corner.

However, a change over the school zoning in 2009 underline that such an evolution in the New Caledonia society is not easy. The new school zoning divided the Tuband domain into two distinct parts: school feeder zones boundaries conspicuously

⁸⁵ LNC, 21st of February, 2008.

⁸⁶ Dans les années à venir, il va falloir réussir l’intégration d’élèves d’origines socio-culturelles très variées et leur donner à tous les mêmes chances de réussite. Il s’agit d’un enjeu important et d’un véritable défi. Mais j’ai confiance, car je pense que la société calédonienne recèle énormément de bonnes volontés et un réel désir de construire un destin commun”. Source: Ibid.

follow the border between red-roof Tuband and green-roof Tuband. Red-roof Tuband went into the feeder zone of Jean Mermoud school and Mariotti *collège*. The Mariotti *collège* is attached to the Lycée Lapérouse, the oldest and most reputable high school in Noumea that historically trained and educated the New Caledonian elite. On the other hand, the Tuband *collège* is attached to the lycée Jules Garnier, known for catering to a way more popular and Melanesian population. According to the education authorities this is set up to prevent the overcrowding of the Tuband *collège* and counterbalance the decreasing enrolment of pupils at Mariotti but yet, this redrawing of feeder zones is furthermore ignoring the criteria of proximity, as teenagers from green-roof Tuband, whose parents are less likely to be able to drive them to school, are the ones that have to go the further in a city whose public transports are deficient, as mentioned earlier. Not only this change over catchments areas is unjust, but it also clearly undermines the search for diversity in Noumea. As one of the parents said:

“Officially, they want to restore Matiotti’s image, turn it into a elite college for white people, and turn Tuband into a “SIC college”. This is even more understandable when you look at the schooling channels for high-schools: Lapérouse for Mariotti and Jules Garnier pour Tuband”⁸⁷

Instead of pushing towards the sharing of a common environment at school level, this change is setting up two parallel networks that maintain children of the two Tubands in separated schooling channels (Appendix, figure 21). One can still celebrate the socio-ethnic diversity of green-roof Tuband: but with such a school change, Tuband does run the risk to turn into an enclave of socio-ethnic diversity and remains an embryo for desegregating the city of Noumea. In the perspective of the Noumea Accord, which, as a blueprint invites to move away from “*the shadows of the colonial period*”, to “*achieve a new balance*” and to look for a common identity, such an institutional decision, strongly correlated with the territorial stigmatization of green-roof Tuband engraved in colonial urban history, is clearly going against the forging of an inclusive and shared identity that could overcome ethnic divides.

⁸⁷ “Officieusement, ils veulent redorer le blason de Mariotti, en faire un collège d’élite, avec des Blancs, et faire de Tuband un collège Sic. Cela se comprend d’autant mieux quand on voit les lycées de rattachement, Lapérouse pour Mariotti et Jules-Garnier pour Tuband” Source: LNC, 22nd of October 2009

C. Tuband or the myth of diversity: when urban norms reveal cultural domination

1. From the big house to the community centre: fighting for diversity, neglecting the right to difference

As Fainstein recalls, diversity is multifaceted:

The term has several meanings: a varied physical design, mixes of uses, an expanded public realm, and multiple social groupings exercising their “right to the city”

(Fainstein, 2005:3)

Building on the relationships between diversity and landscape, I would now like to investigate the issue of diversity and social norms through a focus on the architectural norms that guide the urban development of Tuband. In a highly influential book on the relationships between politics, culture and landscape, Don Mitchell explored:

“the struggles that make “culture”, to show how they get worked out in particular spaces and places – in particular landscapes – and to show how struggles over “culture” are a key determinant, day in and day out, in the ways that we live our lives – and in what therefore constitutes significant cultural difference. I take as a starting point the fact that we live in a world defined by continuous culture wars. There are wars over the shame of everyday life, over the production and maintenance of social meanings, and, most importantly, over the distribution of power, justice and social and economic advantage” (2005:xiii).

Cultural means impose social control and social norms. Then, for Mitchell, landscape is political. The lack of Melanesian architecture and landmarks is indeed pointed as a true political issue: Noumea can be the capital of New Caledonia if and only if New Caledonians recognize themselves in a city historically built on European norms (MacLellan, 2005). Jean-Marie Tjibaou, the leader of the independentist side, wanted indeed to *“bring the tribe to the city”*⁸⁸ (ADCK, 1994:12) in order to turn Noumea, *“a place of antagonism”* (Doumenge, 1998: 138) for Melanesians and Pacific islanders, into an inclusive city. Melanesian people I interviewed in Tuband never defined their Melanesian neighbours or themselves as “Noumean”, even if they were born in the capital city. They are *“from Mare”*, *“from Lifou”*, *“from Houailou”*⁸⁹. This distinction

⁸⁸ “Amener la tribu à la ville”

⁸⁹ Mare and Lifou are two of the three Loyalty islands. Houailou is a town on the East coast of the Northern Province.

between their identities and the city they live in finds its roots in the lack of Melanesian landmarks in Noumea:

“What is a part of us in this city? Except here [The Tjibaou Centre], the only things that look like a bit Kanak are the bus stops with their arrow shape.”⁹⁰

Emmanuel Tjibaou, Head Manager of the Tjibaou Centre, personal communication, July 2011

The negotiations between the squatters and the public institutions exemplify this political struggle to give Noumea a more *océanien* landscape that would acknowledge the Kanak identity and set up new cultural landmarks in the city. The squatters wished indeed that

“this still verdant part of Noumea was not embedded in concrete but that the architecture and environment of the SIC project would reflect the Kanak or *océanien* aspect”⁹¹

Counting away a handful of decorations (Annexe: photos), Tuband nowadays looks like many other social housing districts buildings in Noumea and in metropolitan France. At the exception of Tuband I & II, where the majority of squatters was relocated and the gardens are *inside* the unit, the Tuband domain is characterized by a strong architectural uniformity and conformity. The choice of collective housing, the high density of the district obviously answer the necessity for the SIC to generate enough income with the residents' rents to finance its operations, but also underline the imposition of European urban norms over the production of landscape.

The struggle over the building of the community centre is particularly eloquent with regards to urban norms and diversity in postcolonial Noumea. When the SIC presented the project, squatters required that a public space was planned for the forthcoming district, which would be called *La Grande Case* (the big house), just like the central house in Kanak tribes, and where all communities would be invited to meet:

“The Big House is the unifying place for all families from different ethnic and social backgrounds”⁹²

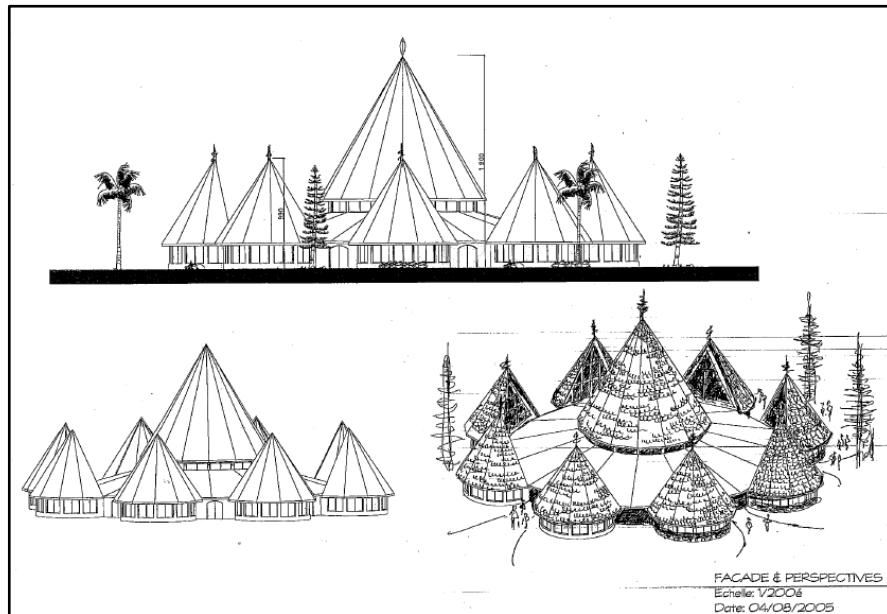
⁹⁰ “Qu'est ce qu'il y'a de nous dans cette ville? A part ici (le centre Tjibaou), y'a que les abris bus qui font un peu kanak avec leur forme en flèche faitière”

⁹¹ “Cette partie de Nouméa encore verdoyante ne soit pas bétonnée mais que l'aspect kanak ou océanien se retrouve dans l'architecture et l'environnement du projet de la SIC”. Source: ADLD, “La Grande Case – Maison commune culturelle”, Note de synthèse, 2005, 2 pages.

⁹² La Grande Case est le lieu unificateur de toutes les familles d'origines diverses ethniques et sociales

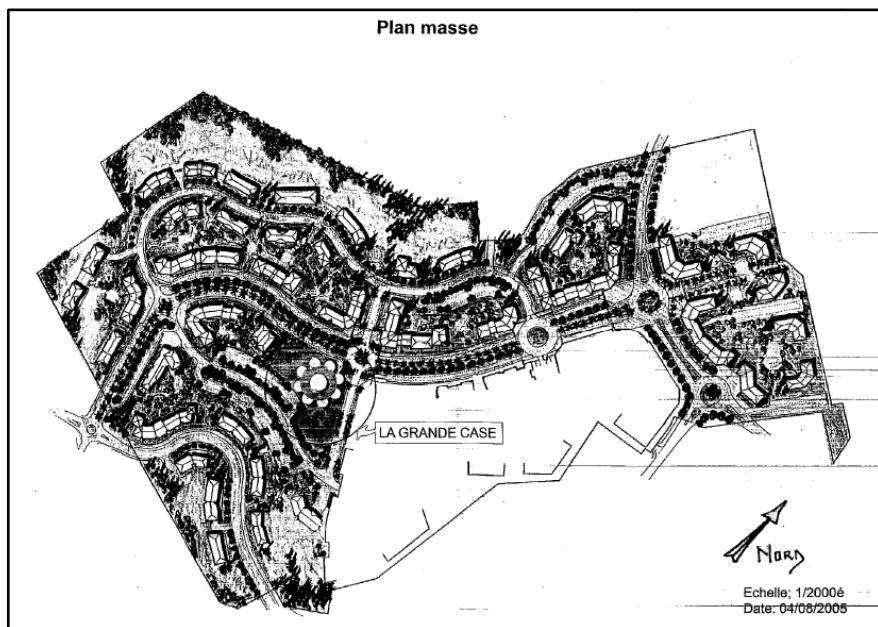
The squatter's association hired an architect to draw the *Grande Case* and presented a project for the building and the financing of this public space (figures 17 & 18):

Figure 17: The project of the Tuband Grande Case as drawn by the squatters



Source: ADLD

Figure 18: The plan to integrate the Grance Case to the joint planning document



Source: ADLD

The Southern Province accepted the project, but immediately substituted the name *Maison commune* to *Grande Case*. The municipality eventually decided to finance the building of such a common place with the *contrat d'agglomération*. But with the Noumea municipality taking the leadership, the *Maison commune* became a *maison de quartier*, which would be the 9th community centre of the city and the first community centre to be built in the southern neighbourhoods, the 8 others being located in the northern districts. The architects hired by the municipality also abandoned the idea of a central house. The community centre was finalized in early 2012. The architectural choices give the building a Melanesian character, which is quite original and stands out in the southern neighbourhoods' landscape (Appendix: figure 31). Those Melanesian aspects are clearly a product of squatters' claims and resistance and testify to their former presence in Tuband and their involvement in the production of space. As Mitchell writes, "*the form of the landscape actively reincorporates the struggles over it*" (2005:139). Yet, the community centre, run by the Noumea Municipality, is far from a Melanesian big house. The project presented by the squatters' associations was indeed judged too "expensive", "too pretentious" by the SIC and the Noumea municipality. The squatter's project met a strong opposition from all institutions, the SIC included:

"They had ridiculous demands. They wanted a mini-Tjibaou⁹³ Centre."⁹⁴

(INT 2)

"We introduced our project. They told us: "are you crazy or what? You really wouldn't ask for a mini-Tjibaou centre, would you?"⁹⁵

(INT 7)

The budgetary argument is not solid enough to justify the institutions' refusal, as New Caledonian institutions are not confronted to a lack of funds and the Tuband community centre with 6 full-time staff members is actually the biggest ever to be run. Building on Mitchell' analysis, the rejection of the squatter's project for building of "classic" community centre highlights the relationships of power and the existing inequalities that structure the production of urban space and the production in

⁹³ The Tjibaou centre is a manor monument in New Caledonia. Built in Noumea by the internationally-renowned architect Renzo Piano and financed by France following the Matignon Accord, it is a landmark for reconciliation in New Caledonia (photos). The site is an absolute beauty and represent a true attempt to turn Noumea into a city for all communities.

⁹⁴ "Ils avaient des prétentions énormes. Ils voulaient un mini-centre Tjibaou"

⁹⁵ "On a présenté notre projet. Ils nous ont dit, ça va pas ou quoi? Vous voulez pas un mini-centre Tjibaou quand même?"

postcolonial Noumea. As landscape is “*a part of a system of social regulation*” (Mitchell, 1005:142), the debate over Tuband future public place is actually a debate over social and political norms in postcolonial Noumea: what a public place should look like, how it should be managed, what it should represent. The edification of a Melanesian big house as a public place for all in Tuband within the southern neighbourhoods would have had a deep political meaning and would have reflected a change over the balance of power that the Noumea municipality couldn’t have tolerated. As shown by the stigmatizing nickname given to the squatter’s projects by the municipality and the institutions (a “*mini-Tjibaou centre*”), with a Melanesian big house in the southern neighbourhoods the city’s landscape would have officially recognized the Kanak identity in the historical and spatial heart of White Noumea. While the Noumea Accord officially acknowledges the primacy of Kanak identity, the Tuband community centre shows that the decolonization process is still occurring at a very slow pace in the production of urban pace, deeply shaped by colonial urban norms:

“Personally, I was in favour of a Big House. But it is too early.”⁹⁶
(INT 1)

“They are not yet ready for such a thing. Accepting to help us building a Big House would have been badly interpreted by their traditional electorate, that is to say the residents of the Southern neighbourhoods.”⁹⁷
(INT 7)

The decision of the Noumea municipality to build instead a community centre, a “classic” public infrastructure for social housing district, unpacks existing forms of cultural domination, in this case an obvious cultural imperialism over the production and management of space that Young defined as unjust. The Tuband community centre stresses that the transplantation of French urban social housing policy and the current distribution of power over the production of space leads to neglect a right to the difference in postcolonial Noumea. As Tuband clearly showed with the design of the community centre and the implementation of social housing policy:

“la mixité, dans les espaces résidentiels ou dans les espaces publics, n'est pas nécessairement le gage d'un égal « droit à la ville » pour tous les citadins. Elle peut au contraire aboutir, de manière contournée, à

⁹⁶ “Moi, j'y étais favorable à une Grande Case. Mais il est encore trop tôt.”

⁹⁷ “Ils ne sont pas encore prêts pour ça. Accepter de nous aider à construire une Grande Case aurait été mal vu par leur électorat traditionnel, c'est à dire les habitants des quartiers sud”

l'imposition de normes, de valeurs, d'usages et de pratiques, par certains groupes (dominants) sur d'autres (dominés)."

(Lehman-Frisch, 2009:112)

The Tuband project underline that diversity is tolerated and celebrated only when it is subject to control and remains within the norms set by the ruling majority: in other words, social diversity is good in social housing to reduce segregation, but there is a strong opposition to implement an architectural diversity that would acknowledge the Melanesian identity of Noumea.

2. How to approach diversity in postcolonial Noumea?

Towards the ideal of “together-in-difference”

Given the violent political history of New Caledonia and the forthcoming referendum, reducing inequalities and ethnic divides dants as a real issue for the future of New Caledonia and the sustainability of Noumea. Segregation is commonly identified as spatial injustice by social sciences, and this idea of segregation as injustice is intrinsically linked with the ideal of social diversity that prevails in many Northern cities (Lehman-Frisch, 2009:108). Diversity is promoted as a model and a ideal to converge to, especially in social urban policy. The current social housing policy, aligned on the French conceptual background of republicanism, focuses indeed on a top-down implementation of social diversity in Noumea. But is the diverse city the model of a just city? New Caledonia is not Metropolitan France: why would the metropolitan norm of diversity in social housing be intrinsically relevant and positive for a postcolonial Melanesian city?

Kanak culture is indeed shaped by the prism of the group, the community. The Kanak individual identity is actually informed by crosscutting identities attached to the land, to a tribe, to a clan, to networks of motherhood and fatherhood (Bensa & Leblie, 2000; Bensa & Rivierre, 1985). Urban Kanaks actually maintain strong ties with their tribes. Similarly, the culture of Wallisian and Futunian is structured on the belonging to a group, to a community. If Melanesian people could freely choose to live together in Noumea, should we then interpret the resulting concentration based on ethnicity as a will of auto-exclusion and lament on segregation and resulting injustices? As Lehman-Frisch analyses,

“Certains mouvements de ségrégation libre consentis par les individus – on peut les qualifier de mouvement d’agrégation – ne peuvent être considérés comme injustes a priori”

(Lehman-Frisch, 2009:101)

The issue of justice or injustice lays more in the outcome of such processes, when they lead to create and renew territories characterized by a spatial concentration of poverty, unemployment and marginalization that undermine individual capabilities and equality in life chances (cf Peter Marcuse' framework for spatial injustices) That is exactly the outcome of social urban policies so far in Noumea. The current social housing policy and the implementation of top-down diversity do not enable the disadvantaged populations to choose where they want to live and with whom. Unlike residents in red-roof Tuband who decided to come and live here, who chose their own social environment, green-roof residents were not given the possibility to do so. Social diversity in social housing is perhaps desired, even appreciated sometimes, but it is nevertheless imposed.

Research underlined that homogeneous patterns of residential housing could help integrating populations (Simon, 2002) by providing material, social and symbolic resources that residents can mobilize. Sophie Barnèche (2005, 2009) showed how the new generation of young urban Kanak, born in Noumea and grown up in segregated northern districts, has a real difficulty defining its identities: they identify themselves as Kanak, even though most of them do not speak the dialects of their parents, and they identify themselves as people from Noumea, which is problematic as Noumea does not appear as a Melanesian city. The loss of cultural markings, the serious distress regarding identity is pointed out as a source of delinquency for the young urban Kanak by a report of the Customary Senate.⁹⁸ Living together requires more than spatial proximity: it involves the sharing of inclusive public spaces, the equality of life chances across space and a sense of belonging to a common polity that overcome differences without neglecting them (Young, 1990). To contextualize, it is one thing to allow disadvantaged *océanien* people to live in the Southern neighbourhoods, but as current norms of social housing and the top-down implementation of social diversity neglect the right to difference, it is another thing to build a common sense of belonging to a common polity,

⁹⁸ Sénat coutumier, 2009, *Entre tradition et modernité. La place du jeune Kanak*, Nouméa, Commission Education Formation du Sénat coutumier de la Nouvelle-Calédonie.

in this case to the city of Noumea, in order to overcome divisions of the New Caledonia society.

Perhaps Marion Iris Young, with her concept of “*together-in-difference*” (1999), provides us with a relevant framework to approach the delicate issue of diversity and group affinity in a postcolonial city and a postconflict society such as Noumea and New Caledonia. Young acknowledges indeed that residential racial segregation is a major “*source of serious injustices as well as social divisions that impede political communication*” (Young, 1999:237): given the current issues that New Caledonia faces, communication between social and ethnic groups is indeed critical for tackling ethnic divides. As she writes, “*social justice (...) requires not the melting away of differences, but institutions that promote reproduction of and respect for group differences without oppression*” (Young, 1990:47). She argues then “*a common ideal of integration*”, the top-down diversity in the case of Noumea implemented in standard housing, “*is not the best guide for action*” (1999:237):

Instead I offer an ideal of desegregation and social justice which I call together-in-difference. This ideal assumes that people dwell together in a common polity but are locally differentiated into group affinities. (...) The ideal affirms freedom of social differentiation, which may entail spatial clustering and ought to entail local institutions of cultural expression and political selforganization. Mutual recognition of such differentiation is thus key to the ideal of together-in-difference.

(Young, 1999:237-246)

Here lays the issue of transforming White Noumea, not only by changing patterns of residential location but by acknowledging the diversity of urban norms, still largely shaped by colonialism, in order to turn Nouméa into an inclusive citiy for all communities. Then, can we define fair patterns of residential clustering or group clustering that would respect a right to the difference in Noumea? How to design a type of dwelling, a kind of neighbourhood that would enable and respect the feeling of belonging to a community without reinforcing existing lines of division and segregation?

As Le Meur says,

“It is not just a matter of focusing on “how can we build a neighbourhood so people can live in?” It is about focusing on the fact that people live both in a neighbourhood and go to their tribe, and that this is a very strong link. They are not in the *brousse*⁹⁹ or in Noumea, they are in both places at the same time. It is not just about a week-end

⁹⁹ The “*brousse*” (the bush) designates rural areas in New Caledonia.

trips. Taking into account this mobility, this double residential location stands as a real challenge for urban management in New Caledonia."¹⁰⁰
Pierre-Yves Le Meur, personal communication, 25th of August 2011

As the Noumea Accord officially states the necessity to rebuild a social contract by acknowledging the primacy of the Kanak identity, the production of space should then also be decolonised and give way to more architectural diversity. Imagining an urban development that would enable and respect the *right to the difference* in a postcolonial city without playing the game of segregation stands actually as a real challenge for New Caledonia.

¹⁰⁰ Il ne s'agit pas de se concentrer juste sur "comment construire un quartier de façon à ce qu'il soit le plus habitable possible", mais penser au fait que les gens habitent dans ce quartier mais qu'en même temps ils vont en tribu et que ce lien est très fort. Ils sont pas en brousse ou à Nouméa, ils sont les deux en même temps. Ce n'est pas juste qu'ils partent en week end. Prendre en compte que les gens soient mobiles, aient deux endroits de vie, il y'a quelque chose à creuser là pour l'aménagement urbain en Nouvelle-Calédonie"

Chapter VII - Conclusion

A. Tuband as a vector of spatial justice: what was done?

This thesis aimed at analysing the development of the Tuband domain by using the framework provided by the notion of spatial justice. From a procedural and distributive perspective, green-roof Tuband achieved indeed spatial justice.

Firstly, analysing Tuband as an *outcome*, the impact of green-roof Tuband can indeed be measured and seen in patterns of distribution and accessibility. The positive impact of Tuband is also visible in the profile of the N'géa district: by enabling disadvantaged people historically excluded from the Southern neighbourhoods, the social housing district turned N'géa into a more inclusive and balanced district.

How was it done? Which modalities explain such achievement? Analysing the *processes* that structured development of the domain, the thesis identified three main reasons:

- The splitting of the Tuband domain, following the resistance of the squatters and the involvement of the SIC, changed patterns of land ownership.
- This change led to the dislocation of existing structures of power: the social housing company and the squatters had a say in the decision-making, while the political motives that historically ruled the production and management of urban space in the Southern neighbourhoods got disregarded.
- Exclusive and selective prices of the real estate market were neutralized in the most expensive part of the city with the building of social housing apartments.

Joining Fainstein (2005), I argue then that Tuband brought justice because the production of space got gradually orientated towards common good. Citywide considerations applied in joint planning, eventually at the benefit of disadvantaged people.

As a consequence, Tuband provides elements of answer to the debate on social or spatial remedies (cf chapter II). Tuband stresses that social injustices can effectively be partly addressed with spatial remedies: spatial justice in Tuband stems indeed from the unprecedented *location* of a social housing district in the southern neighbourhoods and the consecutive fair patterns of distribution and accessibility. However, As Marcuse wrote:

“Spatial remedies are a necessary part of eliminating spatial injustices, but by themselves insufficient; much broader changes in relations of power and allocation of resources and opportunities must be addressed if the social injustices of which spatial injustices are a part are to be redressed”

(Marcuse, 2009:55).

Green-roof Tuband stands as a very concrete political and symbolic outcome in the search for spatial justice in postcolonial Noumea. This should not hide the fact that, despite the search of a common destiny and a new social contract, segregation increased in Noumea: the decolonisation process as set up by the Noumea Accord did not reduce socio-ethnic divides in the capital of New Caledonia. Tuband brought indeed spatial justice by addressing the structures of power and tackling the residential segregation and socio-ethnic inequalities created and sustained by the real market estate market. Based on this analysis of Tuband, I would then agree wholeheartedly with Marcuse: as long as inequalities engraved in the weak patterns of economic redistribution perpetuate in New Caledonia, spatial injustices are likely to reproduce in Noumea. Shifting the scale of the analysis on the whole domain highlights indeed how Tuband was actually built on the renewal and the deepening of socio-ethnic inequalities in the New Caledonian society.

B. Building Tuband, building the dependence?

Analysing the production of space in Tuband throughout the lenses of spatial justice also aimed at exploring the postcolonial situation of New Caledonia, which is subject to so many debates, and to also explore the overall process of decolonisation. In this perspective, I believe that this thesis contributed on two main points.

First, investigating the processes that framed the development of the whole Tuband domain and unfolding the symbolism of green-roof Tuband revealed that the production of space, from the issue of planning to the contemporary practises and discourses of diversity, is still largely shaped and dominated by French urban norms. In this perspective, this study fully agrees with the remarks of Godin: involved in a series of workshops organised in 2010 & 2011 on the urban development the Northern Province, Godin criticized how New Caledonia is loosing its autonomy and its creativity by

transplanting French urban planning norms and legislative frameworks. This “copying-pasting” is, he argues, clearly working against the decolonization process.¹⁰¹ The transplantation of French urban policies in New Caledonia, as underlined in Tuband by the discourses on “social diversity”, leads indeed to “*the application of external solutions to internal issues*”¹⁰² (Godin, 2011:12-13). While the Noumea Accord undoubtedly set up an enabling context, framed by the concepts of common destiny and rebalancing, for achieving such an unprecedented project as Tuband, I argue nonetheless that the production and management of urban space in New Caledonia are still structured on norms that are source of injustices and ethnic divides in Noumea.

The second point is related to the deep links identified between the production of space in Noumea and the current assisted economy that characterises New Caledonia. The social housing district was indeed massively subsidised by public funds derived from external capitals and tax exemptions. To put in a nutshell, the exclusive dynamics of the land market, the deepening of social inequalities, residential segregation and ethnic divides and the financing of social housing projects such as Tuband: the assisted economy. French transfers and weak patterns of distribution contribute to generate the injustices that housing projects seek to reduce by borrowing external French capitals to finance the operations. The channelling of funds for housing programmes place then local institutions in a constant status of dependence towards Metropolitan France for their budgets, and social housing remains then a never-ending issue. It is perhaps more in this sense that Tuband is intrinsically linked with the political and economical context set up by the Noumea Accord.

¹⁰¹ “Projet urbain VKP: compte-rendu des ateliers thématiques”. February-March 2011, pp. 12—13.

¹⁰² “L’application de solutions extérieures à des questions internes”

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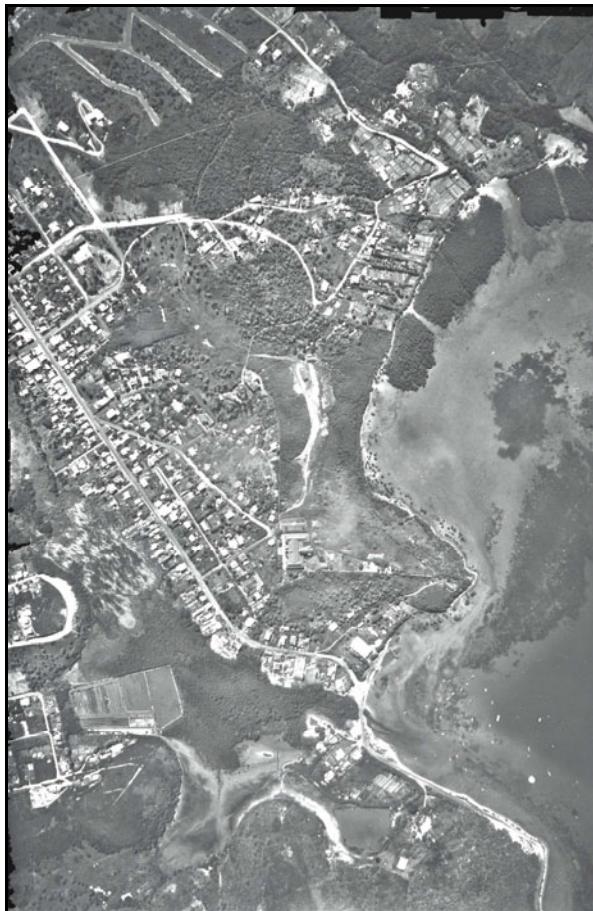
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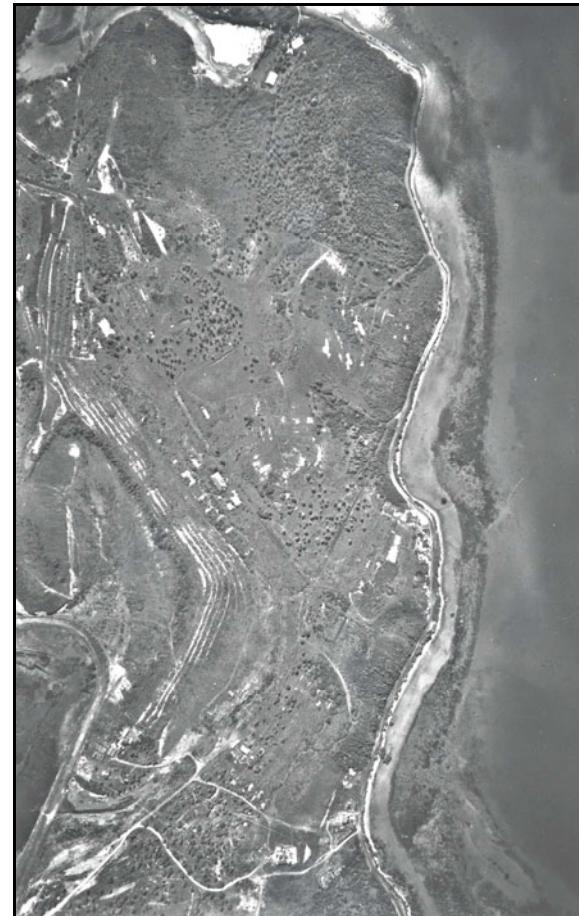
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Figure 1: Tuband in 1954



N'g  a and the Faubourg Blanchot



The Tuband domain



The south of the Peninsula

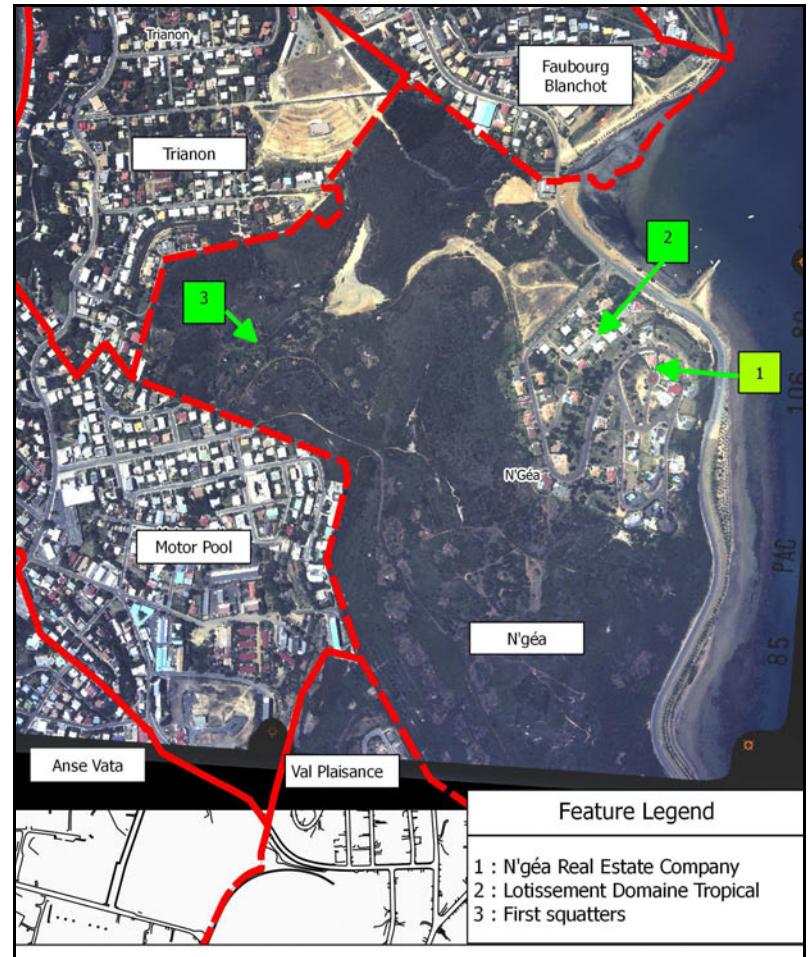
Source: DITTT

Figure 2: Tuband in 1969



Source: DITTT.

Figure 3 : Tuband in 1985



Migozzi, 2012. Source: DITTT.

Figure 4: Tuband in 2000



The squat colonized the northern-west part of the Tuband domain
Source: DITTTT

Figure 5: Tuband in 2003



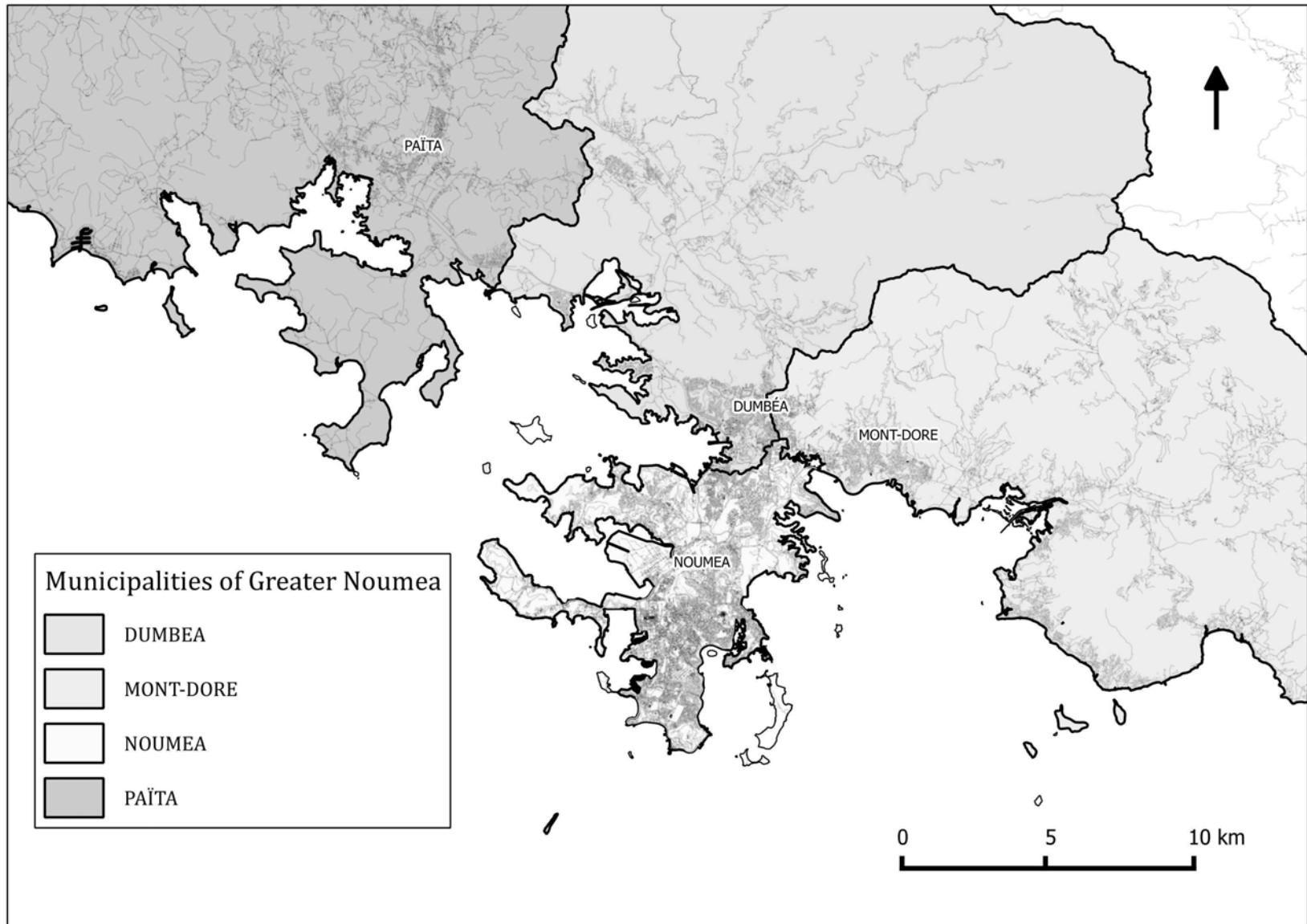
Migozzi, 2012. Source: SIC.

Figure 6: N'géa and Tuband in 2012: a new neighbourhood



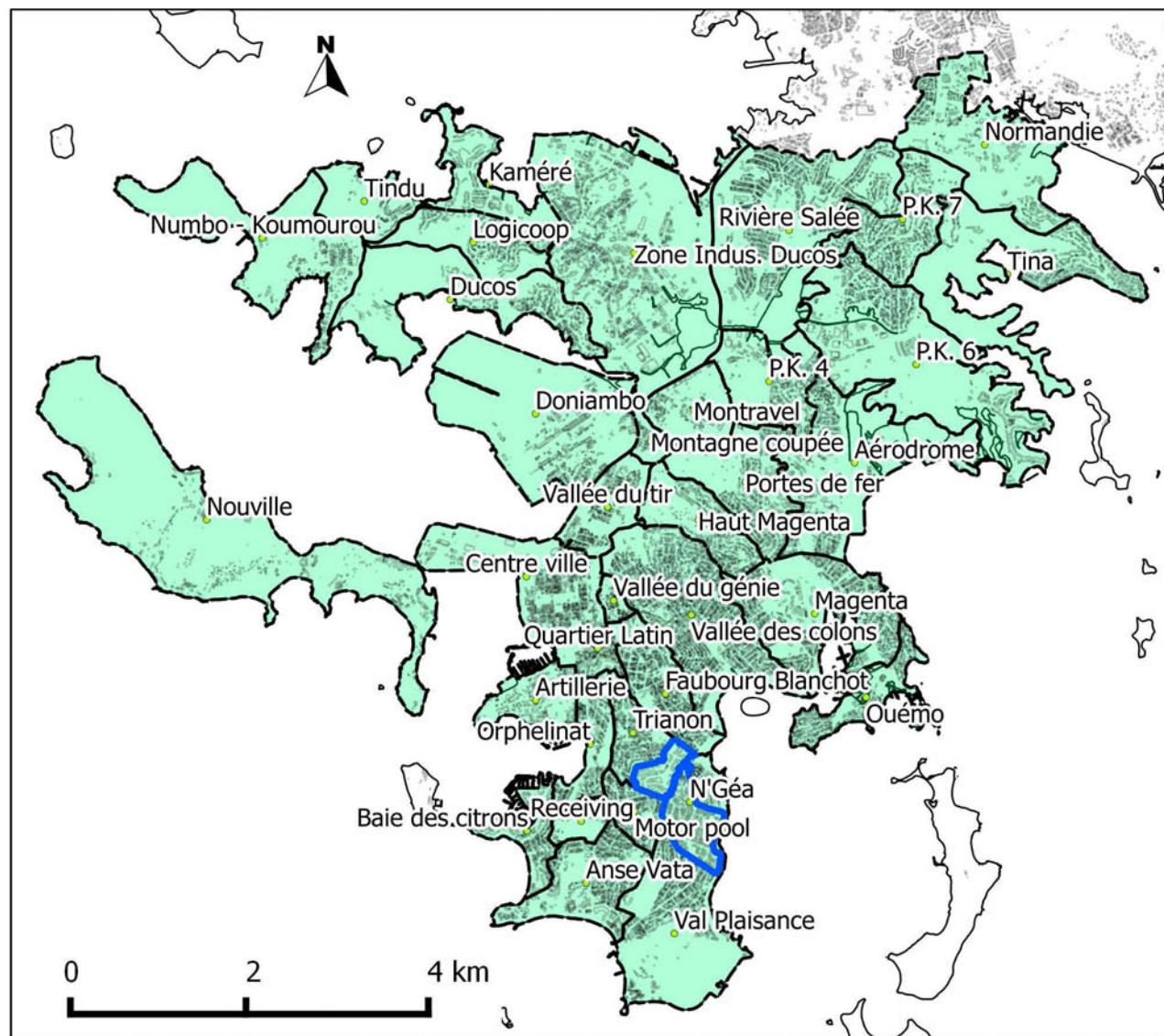
Migozzi, 2012. Source: DITTT.

Figure 7: Greater Noumea, New Caledonia



Migozzi, 2012.

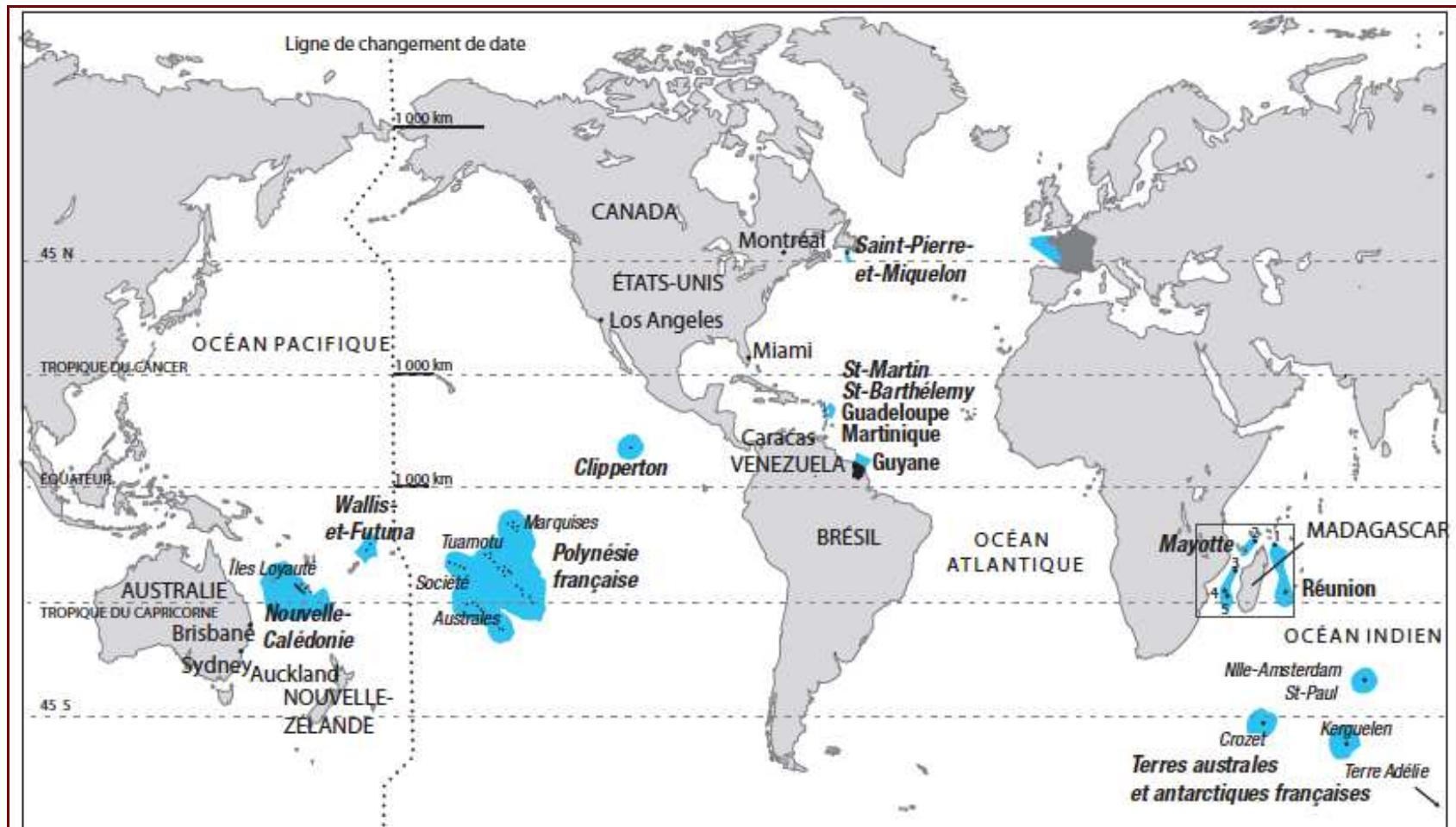
Figure 8: Location of Tuband in Noumea



Location of Tuband

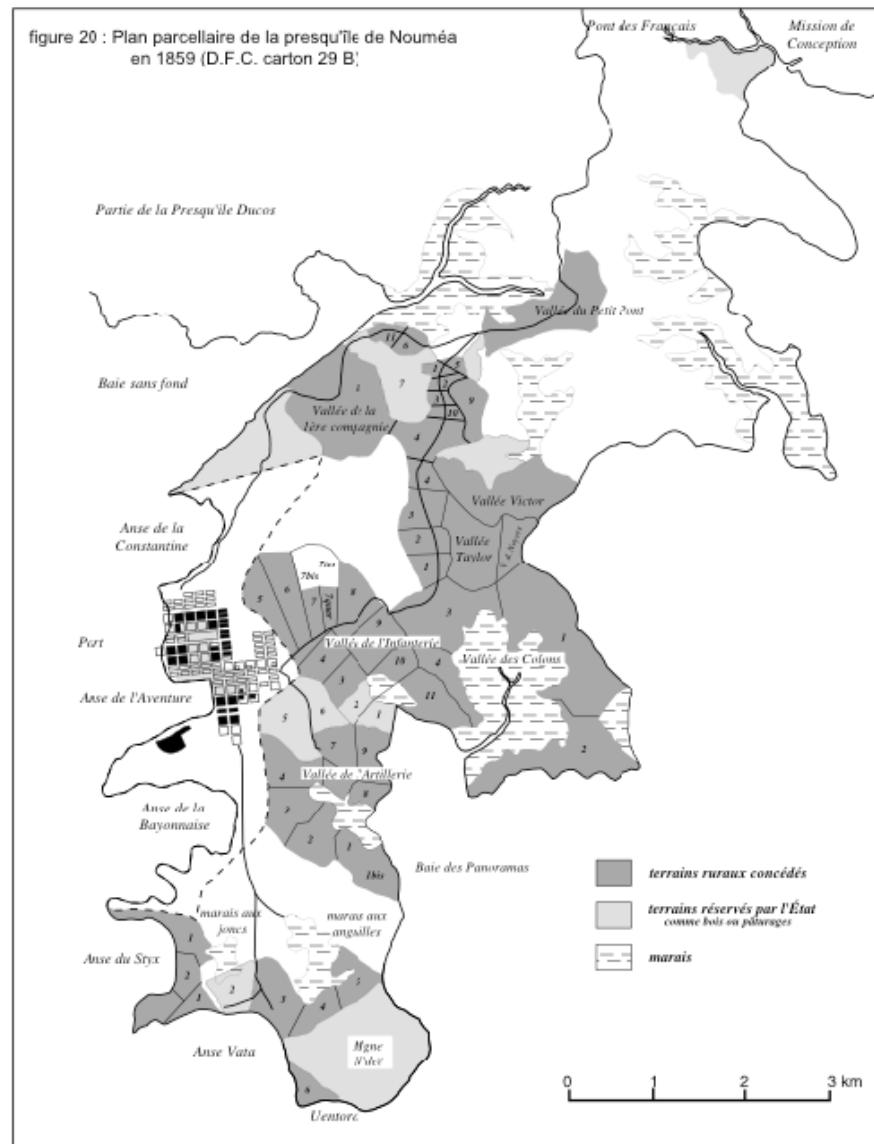
- The Tuband Domain
- Neighbourhood

Figure 9: New Caledonia, a French Overseas Territory



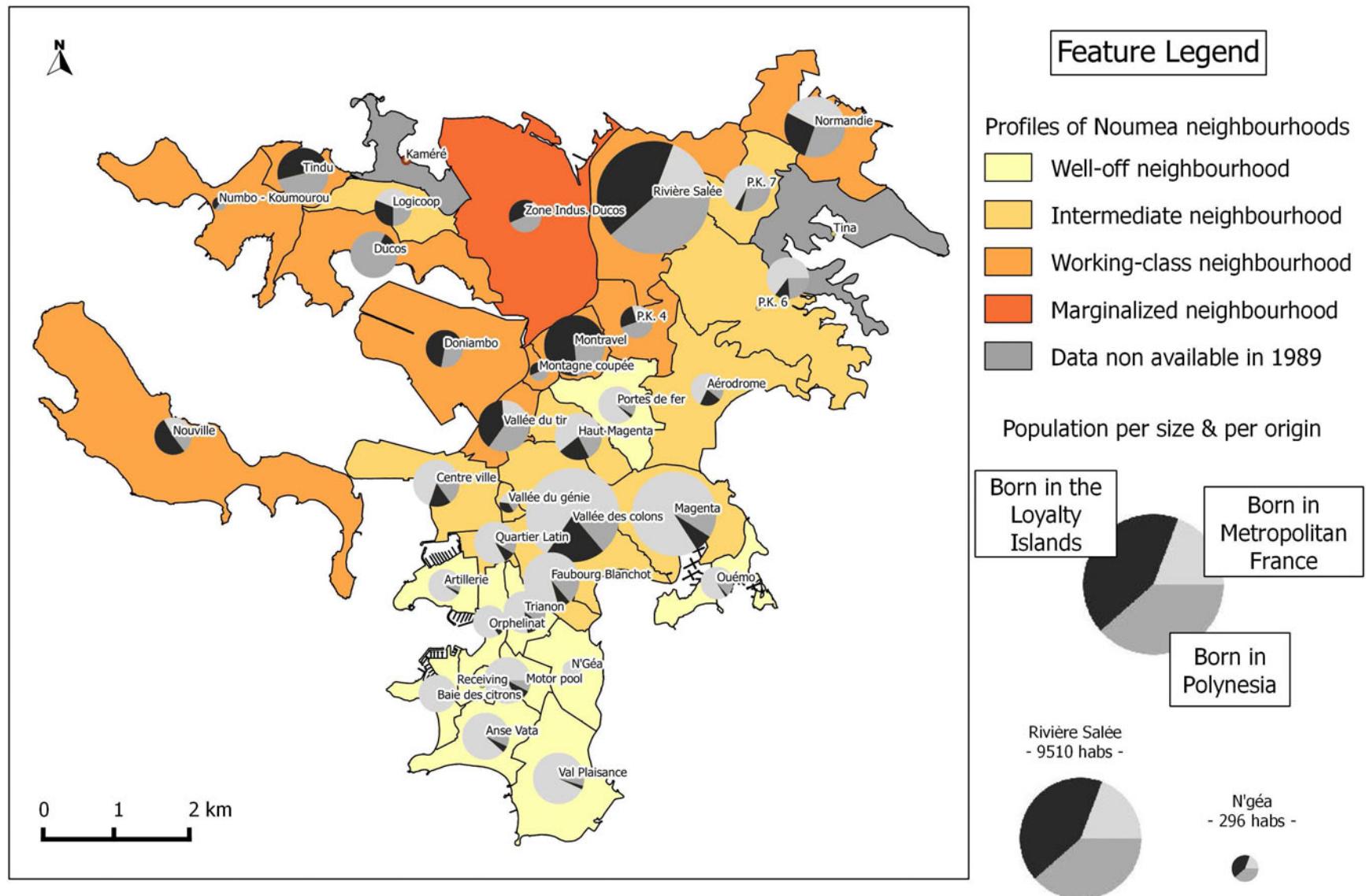
Source : J-C. Gay (2006)

Figure 10: The subdivision in plots of the south of the peninsula



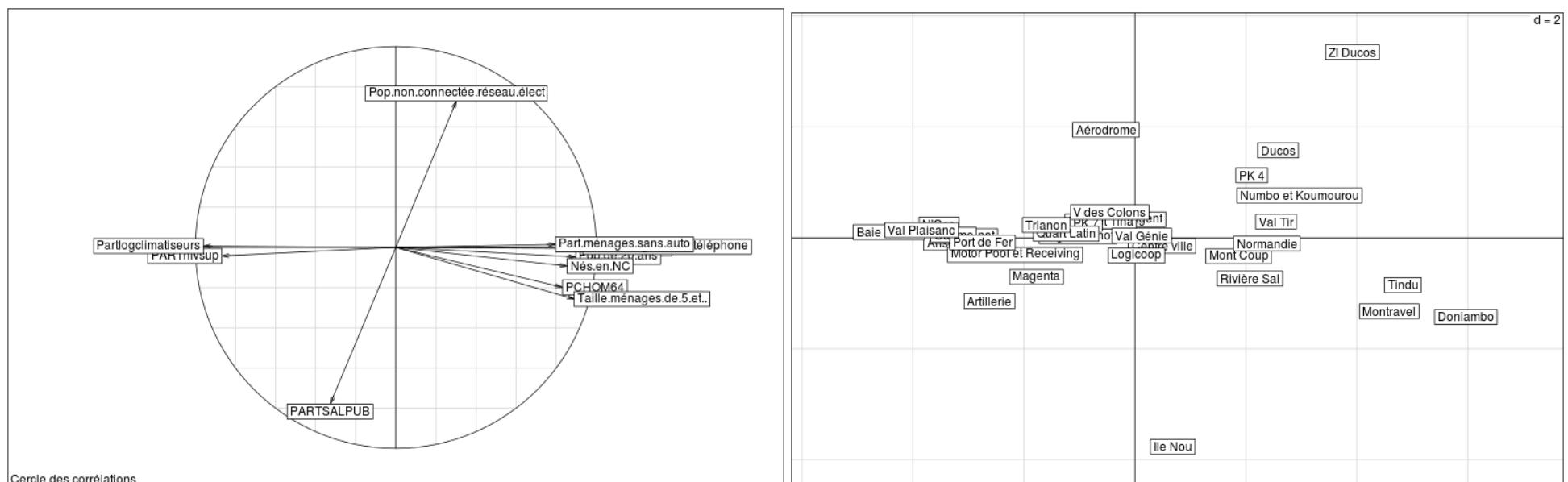
Source: Dussy, 2005.

Figure 11: Profiles of Noumea neighbourhoods in 1989



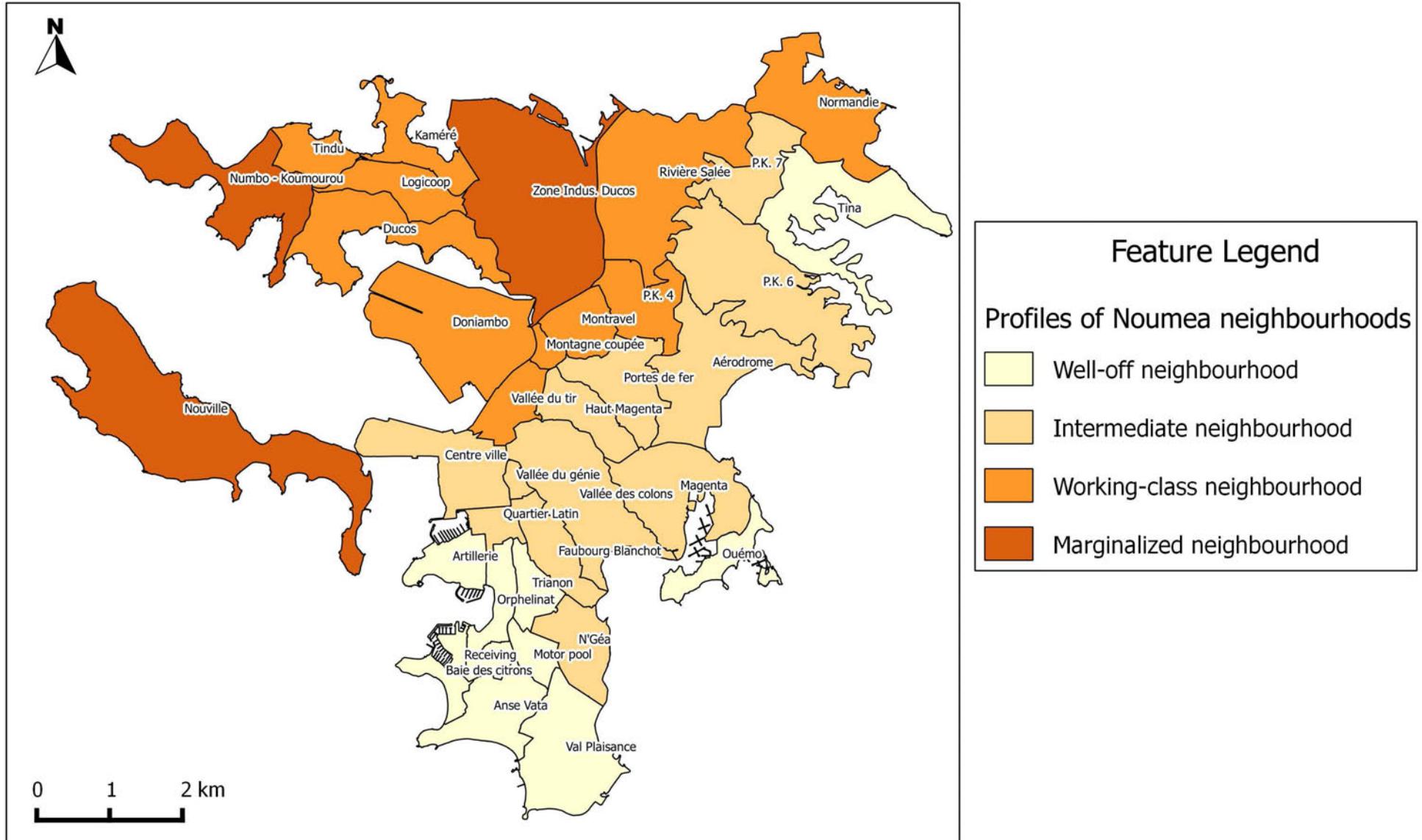
Migozzi, 2012. Source: ISEE & Gay, forthcoming

Figure 12: Details of the 1989 ACP



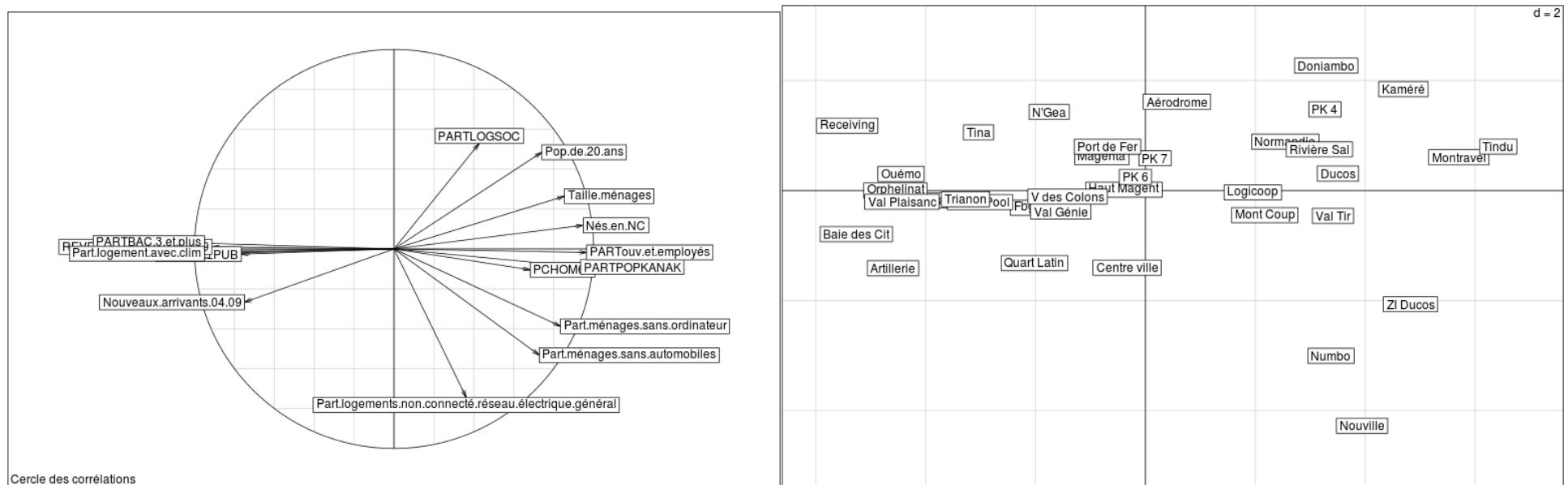
Source: ISEE & Gay, *forthcoming*

Figure 13: The North-South division of Noumea in 2009



Migozzi, 2012. Source: ISEE & Gay, forthcoming

Figure 14: Details of the 2009 PCA



The 17 indicators of the 2009 Principal Component Analysis	
Ratio of Europeans	Ratio of people born in New Caledonia
Ratio of Kanak	Ratio of newcomers in the 2004-2009 period
Rate of unemployment for the 15-64 yld.	Ratio of people under 20
Ratio of public civil servants	Average households size
Ratio of middle-ranking/senior executives	Ratio of social housing
Ratio of workers and employees	Ratio of households without computers
Ratio of people holding a three-year degree after graduation	Ratio of households without cars
Median households' income	Ratio of houses not connected to public electricity grid
	Ratio of houses with air-conditionning

Source: ISEE & Gay, forthcoming

Figure 15: Social housing and occupational groups in Noumea

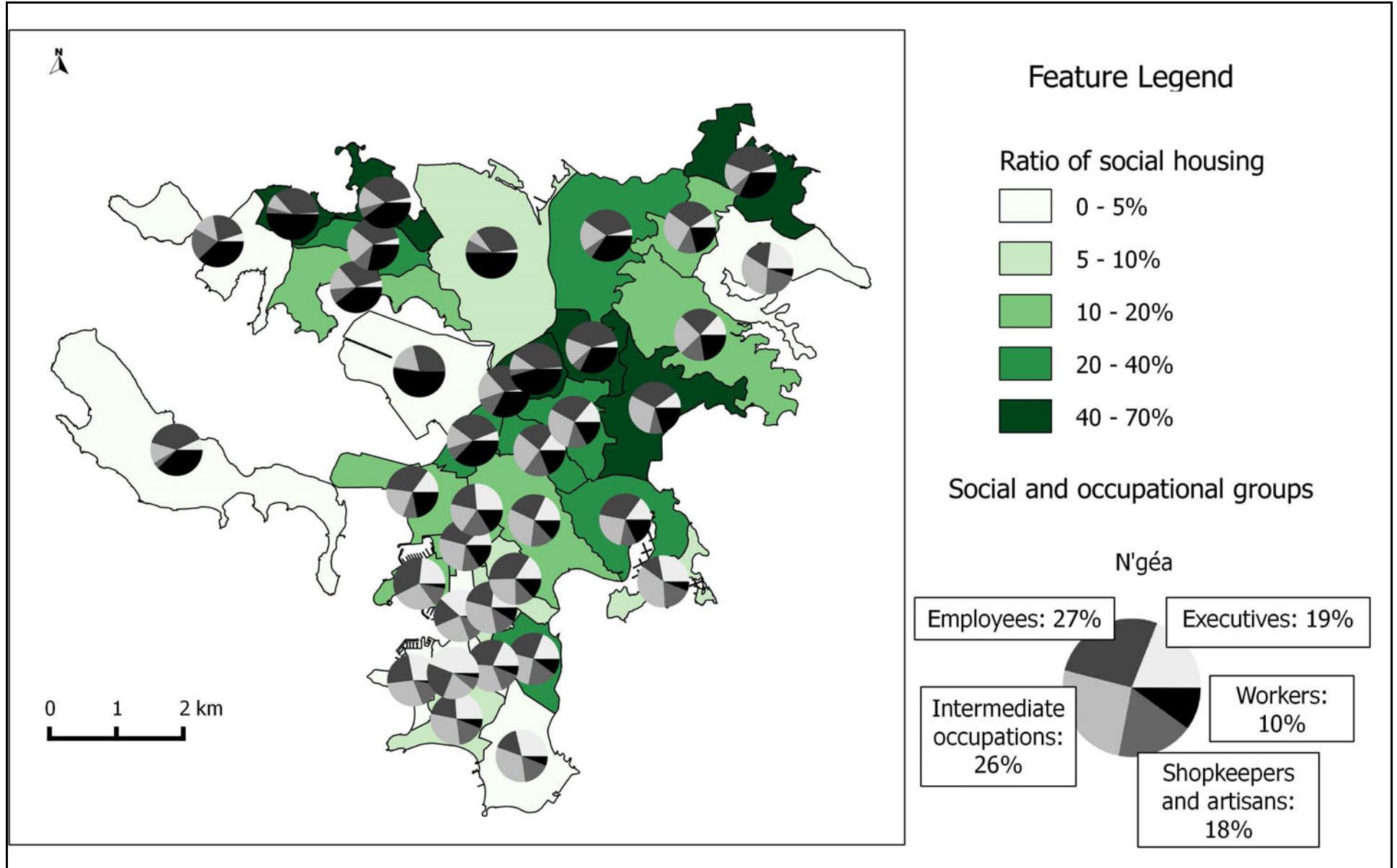
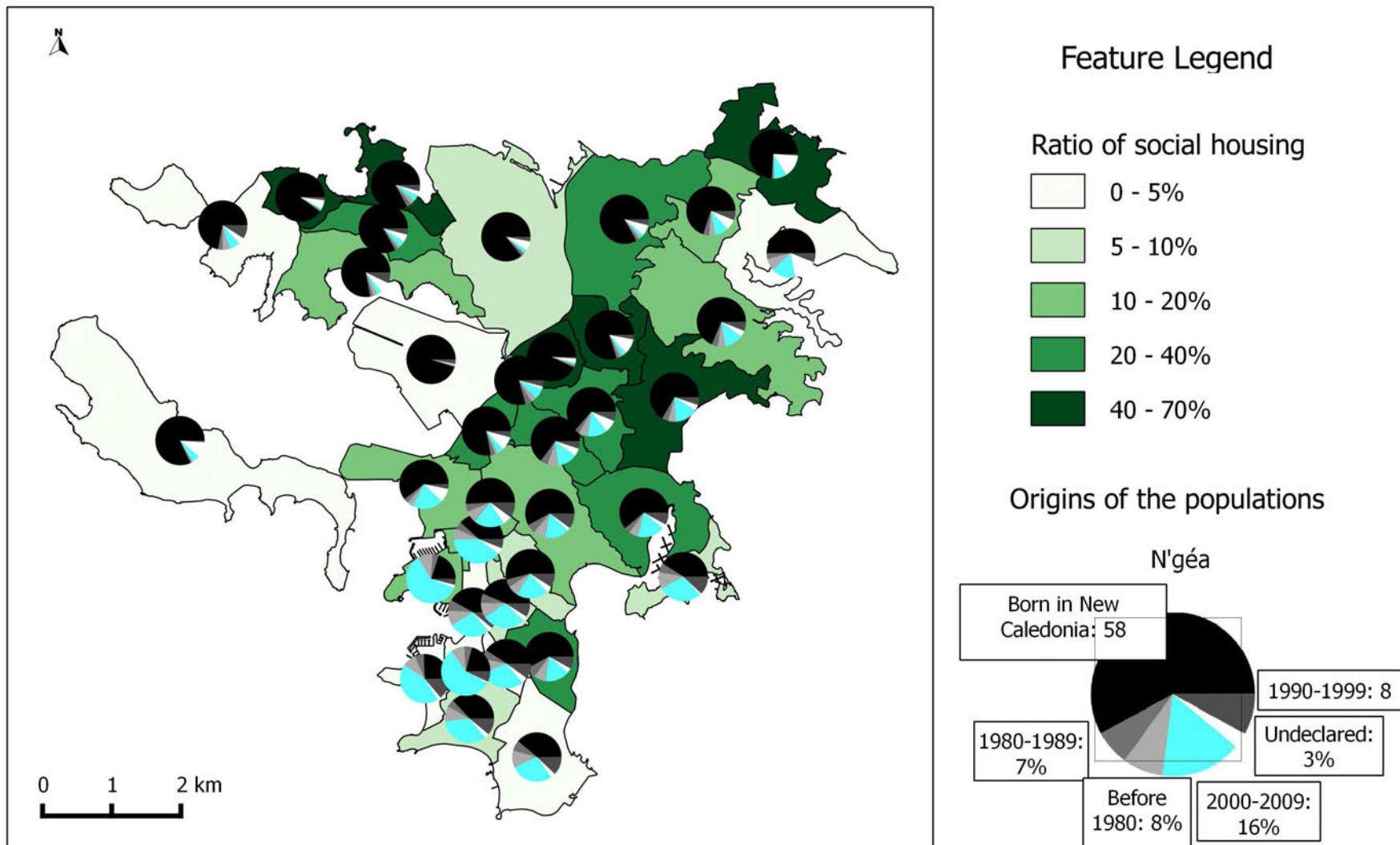
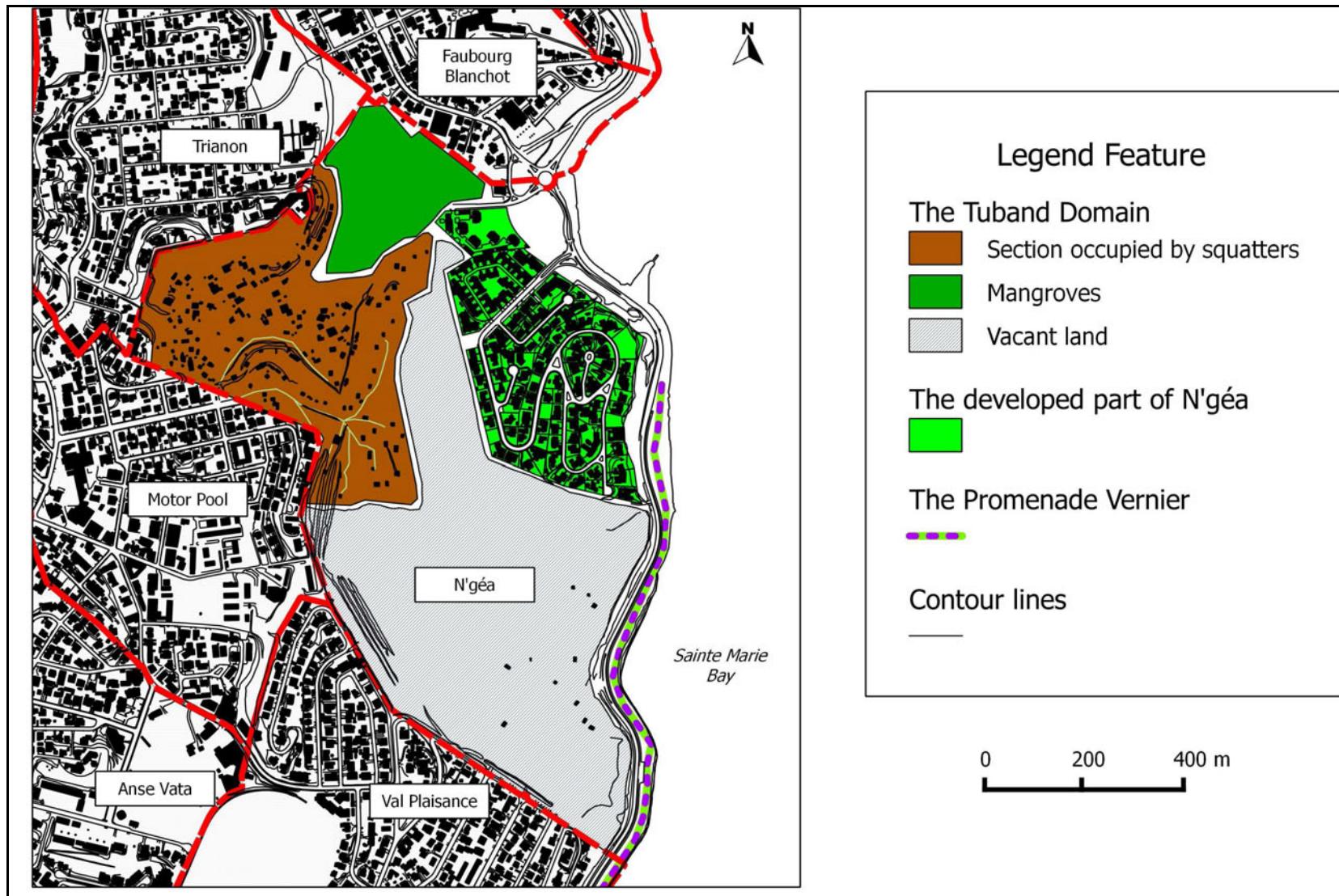


Figure 16: Social housing and origins of the population in Noumea per district



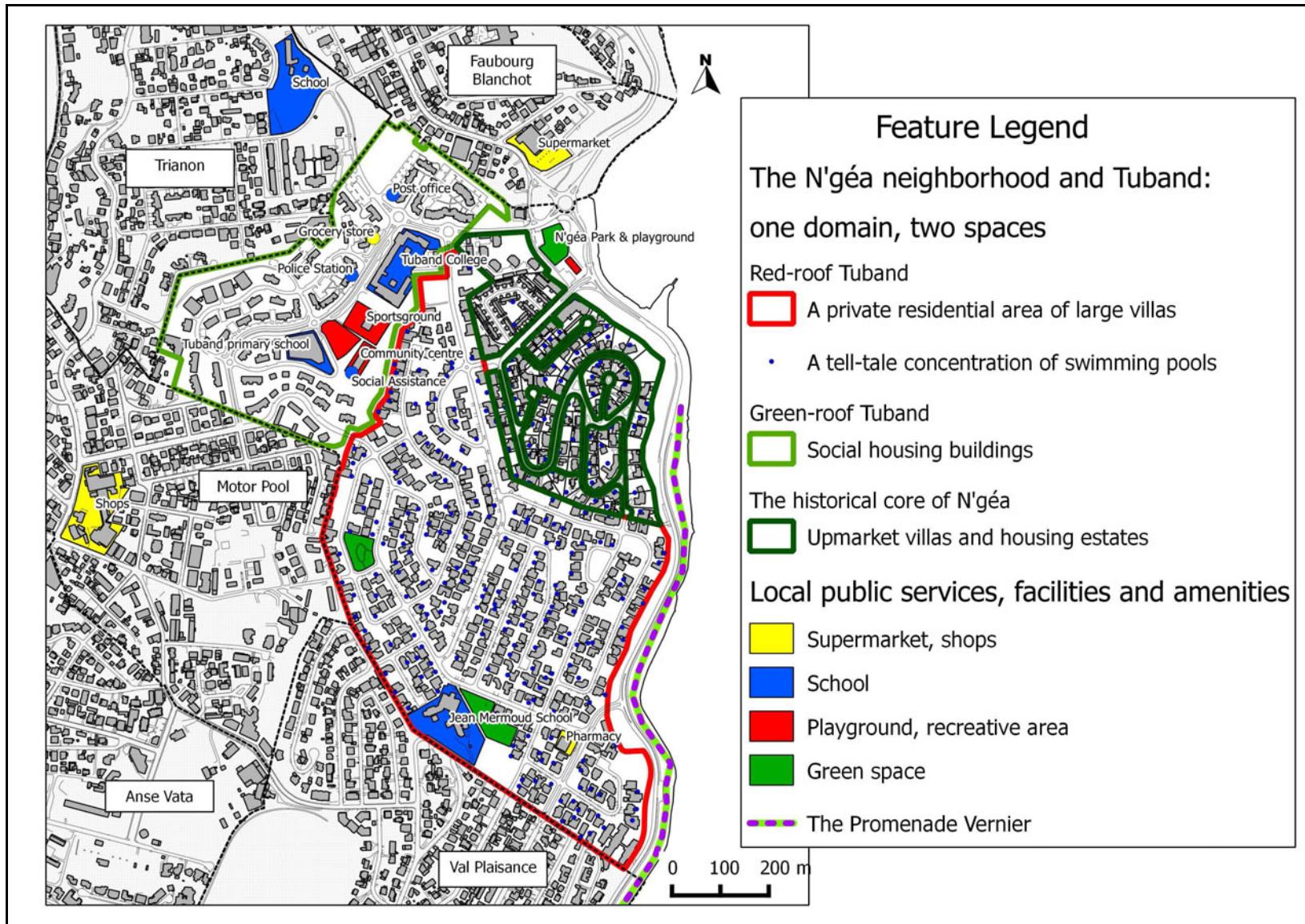
Migozzi, 2012. Source: ISEE

Figure 17: Map of N'géa and Tuband in 2000



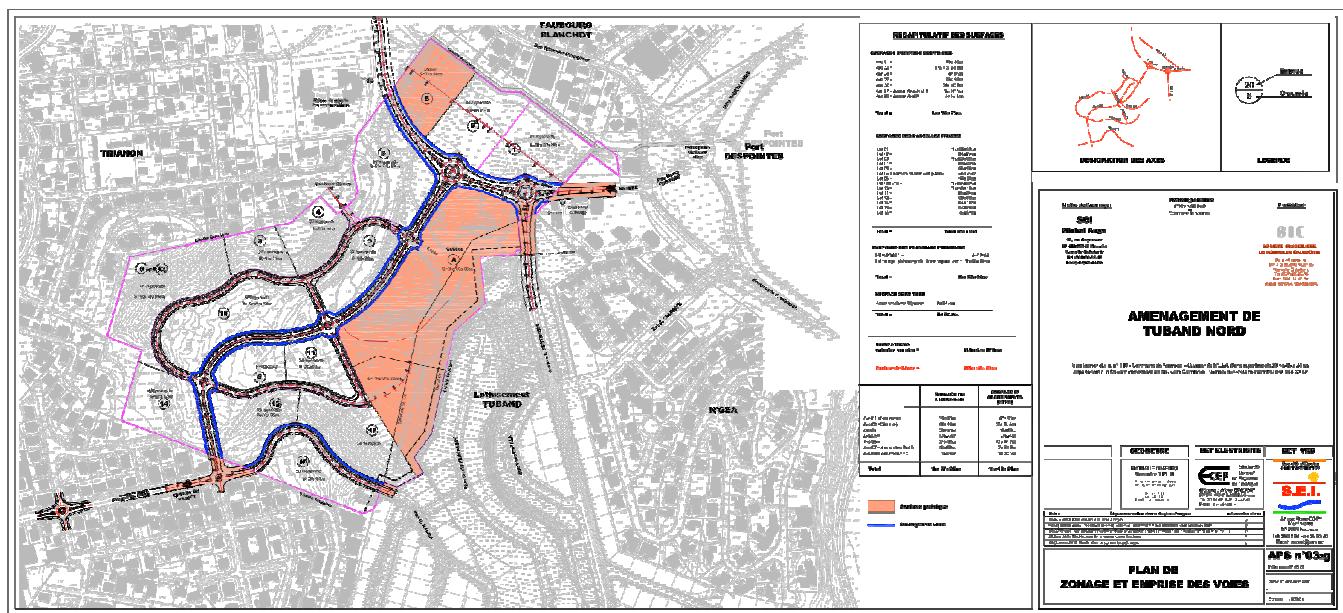
Migozzi, 2012.

Figure 18: The N'géa neighbourhood in 2012



Migozzi, 2012

Figure 19: Extract of the official land planning documents for Tuband



This document, drafted in 2004, highlights how public land ownership orientated the land use plan on the SIC section. In red, public lands.

Source: SIC.

Figure 20: Tuband, social diversity through mixed types of social rents



Migozzi, 2012. Source: SIC & field research

Feature Legend

The 8 sections of SIC Tuband

- Tuband I
- Tuband II
- Tuband III
- Tuband IV
- Tuband V
- Tuband VI
- Tuband VII
- Tuband VIII

Types of social housing rents
and number of apartments

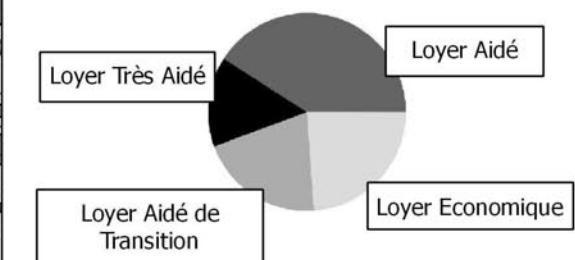
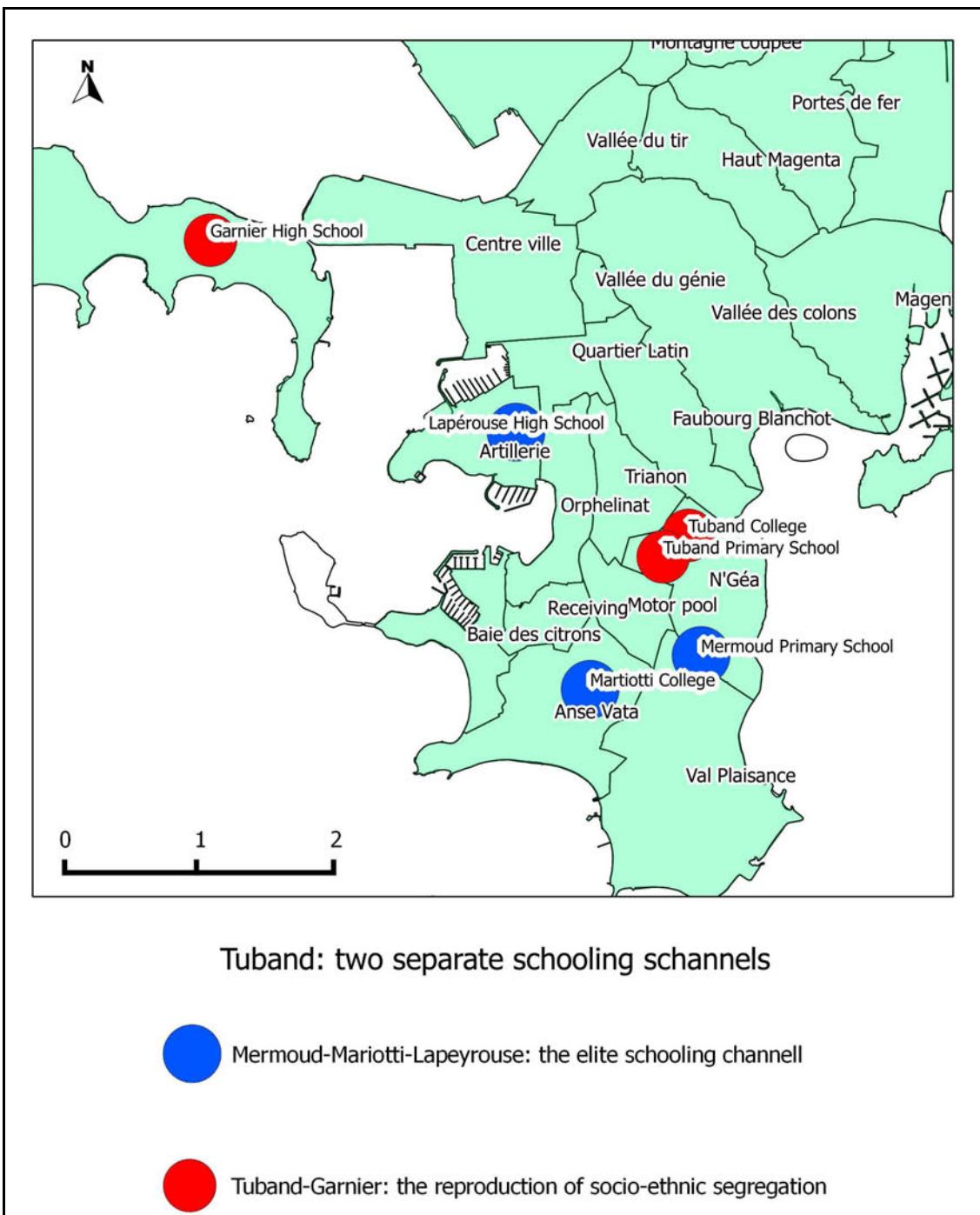


Figure 21: Tuband: controlling socio-ethnic diversity at school



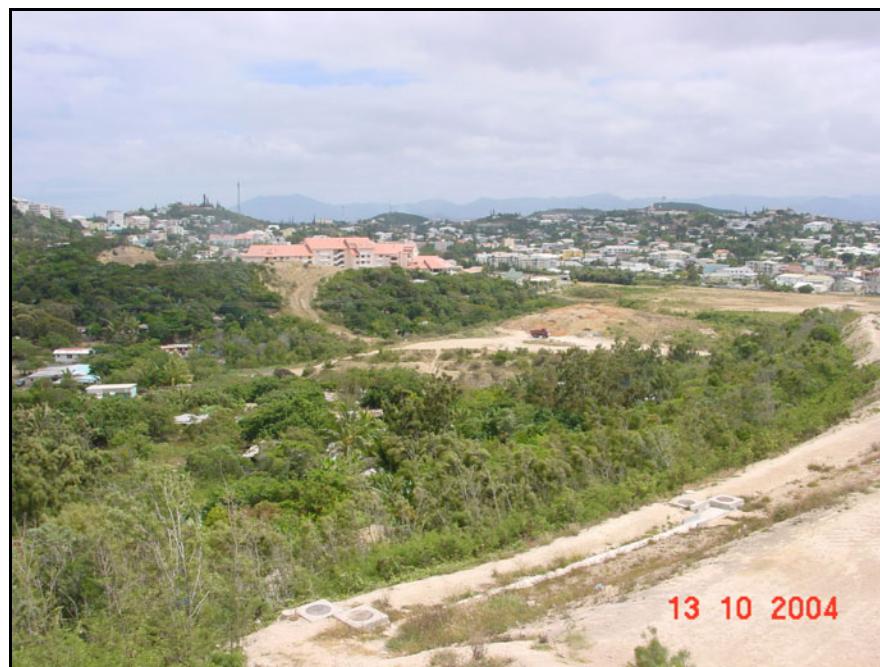
Migozzi, 2012

Figure 22: the Tuband squat in 2004



The entrance to the Tuband squat from Motor Pool.

Source: SIC, 2004.



A picture of the SIC section of the Tuband Domain, looking north, taken from the small hill that separates green-roof red-roof Tuband. On the left, the Tuband squat.

Source: SIC, 2004.

Figure 23: Aerial view of Tuband from East to West, 2008



On the foreground :

On the left : Red-roof Tuband. On the right: The historical core of N'géa (Domaine Tropical)

At middle distance, behind the hill: The social housing district.

On the left: Tuband VII & VIII are being built. In the midde: Tuband III & IV and the Tuband collage are completed. On the right: Tuband I & II.

On the background, in the following order: Trianon; Orphelinat, the City Centre and the Moselle Bay. Source: SIC, 2008.

Figure 24: A portfolio on red-roof and green-roof Tuband



Luxury villas on the small Tuband hill. Migozzi, 2011



Villas overlooking the social housing district. Migozzi, 2011



Migozzi, 2011



High walls and silence. Migozzi, 2011



In front of the Tuband community centre. Migozzi, 2011



Tuband VII, Migozzi, 2011



Tuband II. Migozzi, 2011



Tuband III. Migozzi, 2011



A garden in Tuband II. Migozzi, 2011



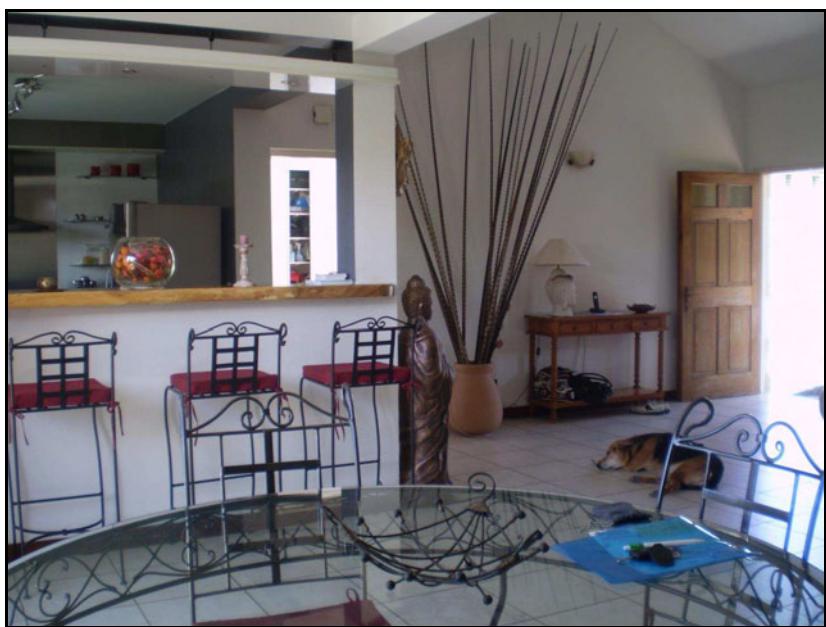
Villa outdoors in red-roof Tuband. Migozzi, 2011



A garden in Tuband V. Migozzi, 2011

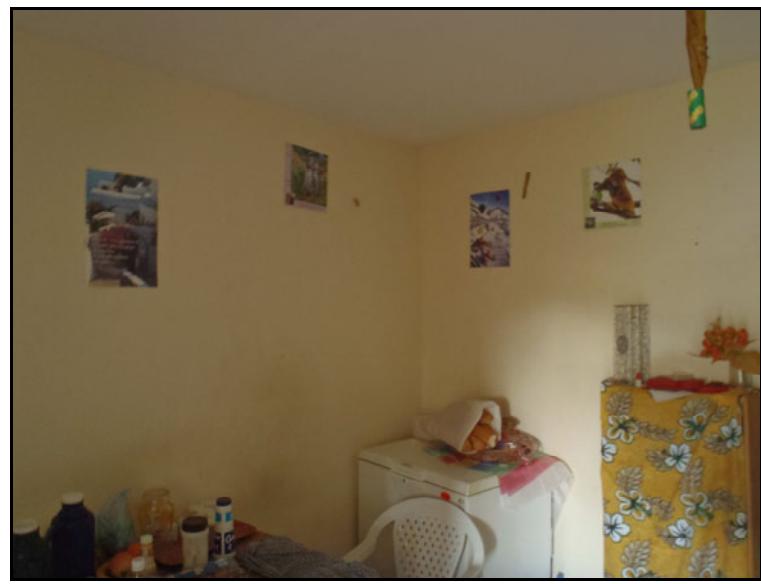


Figure 25: Interested in buying a villa in Tuband?



Source : Real estate agencies websites

Figure 26: A 3 bedroom apartment in Tuband II,



On the top-left, the kitchen. On the bottom left, the living room. Decoration on the walls is sobre and deeply influenced by Christian religion. Migozzi, 2011

Figure 27: A 3 bedroom apartment in Tuband IV



Living-room and kitchen. Migozzi, 2011



Figure 28: Vehicles in green and red-roof Tuband



Tuband II



Above, Tuband II. On the right, red-roof Tuband.
Migozzi, 2012

Figure 29: Unfolding the symbolism of Tuband: a place of common destiny?



The Mwa Ka in Moselle Bay.
Migozzi, 2011.



The erection of the Mwa Ka in 2004.

Source: google images



Like the Mwa Ka, green-roof Tuband was celebrated as an symbolic achievement for the building of a common destiny in New Caledonia. Pictures show that the same words were used during the celebration. However, while numerous FLNKS flags welcomed the erection of the Kanak monument in in the Moselle Bay, the visit of Tuband by the French president was celebrated with French flags. The symbolism of Tuband is way more rooted in the celebration of French urban policy than in the acknowledgement of Noumea as a Melanesian city.



A sign hanging at a balcony in Tuband IV during the visit of Sarkozy. Migozzi, 2011

Figure 30: a Presidential visit



The opening ceremony of the Tuband police station with the Noumea Mayor Jean Lèques
Source: Google Images, 2012.



The speech in the Tuband college with Pierre Frogier, President of the Southern Province
Source: Google Images, 2012

Figure 31: The Tuband Community Centre



Migozzi, 2011



Figure 32: Extract of the Noumea Accord

"Preamble

1. On 24 September 1853, when France claimed 'Grande Terre', which James Cook had named 'New Caledonia', it took possession of a territory in accordance with the conditions of international law, as recognised at that time by the nations of Europe and America. It did not establish legally formalised relations with the indigenous population. The treaties entered into with the customary authorities in 1854 and subsequent years did not represent balanced agreements but were, in fact, unilateral instruments.

This territory, however, was not empty.

(...)

The Kanak identity was based on a particular relationship with land. Each individual and each clan defined itself in terms of a specific link to a valley, a hill, the sea or a river estuary and carried in its memory the acceptance of other families on its land. The names attached by tradition to each element of the landscape and the taboos affecting some of these, as well as the customary ways, gave structure to space and exchanges.

(...)

The relationship of New Caledonia with the distant motherland long remained marked by colonial dependency, a one-sided relationship and a refusal to recognise specific characteristics, from which the new communities, in their aspirations, also suffered.

3. The time has come to recognise the shadows of the colonial period, even if it was not devoid of light.

The impact of colonisation had a long-lasting traumatic effect on the original people.

(...)

The Kanaks were relegated to the geographical, economic and political fringes of their own country, which, in a proud people not without warrior traditions, could not but cause revolts, which were violently put down, aggravating resentment and misunderstanding.

Colonisation harmed the dignity of the Kanak people and deprived it of its identity. In this confrontation, some men and women lost their lives or their reasons for living. Much suffering resulted from it. These difficult times need to be remembered, the mistakes recognised and the Kanak people's confiscated identity restored, which equates in its mind with a recognition of its sovereignty, prior to the forging of a new sovereignty, shared in a common destiny.

4. Decolonisation is the way to rebuild a lasting social bond between the communities living in New Caledonia today, by enabling the Kanak people to establish new relations with France, reflecting the realities of our time. Thorough their participation in the construction of New Caledonia, the communities living in the Territory have acquired a legitimacy to live there and to continue contributing to its development. They are essential for its social balance and the operation of its economy and social institutions. Although accession of Kanaks to positions of responsibility remains insufficient, and needs to be increased through proactive measures, it is also a fact that the participation of other communities in the life of the Territory is essential.

It is now necessary to start making provision for a citizenship of New Caledonia, enabling the original people to form a human community, asserting its common destiny, with the other men and women living there.

The size of New Caledonia and its economic and social balances do not make it possible to open the employment market widely, and justify action to protect local employment. The Matignon Accords, signed in June 1988, demonstrated the will of the inhabitants of New Caledonia to put violence and rejection behind them and tread the path of peace, solidarity and prosperity together.

Ten years on, a new process needs to commence, entailing the full recognition of the Kanak identity, as a prerequisite for rebuilding a social between all the communities living in New Caledonia, and entailing shared sovereignty with France, in preparation for full sovereignty.

The past was the time of colonisation. The present is the time of sharing, through the achievement of a new balance. The future must be the time of an identity, in a common destiny.

France stands ready to accompany New Caledonia on that path.

5. The signatories of the Matignon Accords have therefore decided together to come to a negotiated agreement, based on consensus, which they will, jointly, call upon the inhabitants of New Caledonia to endorse.

This agreement specifies the political organisation of New Caledonia and the arrangements for its emancipation over a twenty-year period.

Its implementation will require a Constitution Bill which the Government undertakes to draft for enactment by Parliament.

The full recognition of the Kanak identity requires customary law status and its links with the civil law status of persons governed by ordinary law to be defined, and provision to be made for the place of customary bodies in the institutions, particularly through the establishment of a Customary Senate; it requires the Kanak cultural heritage to be protected and enhanced and new legal and financial mechanisms to be introduced in response to representations based on the link with land, while facilitating land development, and identity symbols conveying the essential place of the Kanak identity in the accepted common destiny to be adopted.

The institutions of New Caledonia will reflect further progress towards sovereignty: some Congress Resolutions will be deemed to be laws and an elected Executive will draft and implement them.

During this period, signs will be given of the gradual recognition of a citizenship of New Caledonia, which must express the chosen common destiny and be able, after the end of the period, to become a nationality, should it be so decided.

The entitlement to vote in elections to New Caledonia's own local assemblies will be restricted to persons with a certain period of prior residence in New Caledonia.

In order to take into account the limited size of the employment market, provision will be made to give priority access to local employment to persons residing on a long-term basis in New Caledonia.

The sharing of responsibilities between the State and New Caledonia will signify shared sovereignty. This will be a gradual process. Some powers will be transferred as soon as the new arrangements commence. Others will be transferred according to a set timetable, which the Congress will be able to modify, according to the principle of self-organisation. The transferred powers may not revert to the State, reflecting the principle of irreversibility governing these arrangements.

Throughout the period of implementation of the new arrangements, New Caledonia will enjoy the support of the State, in terms of technical assistance, training and the funding necessary to exercise the transferred powers and for economic and social development.

Commitments will be applied to multi-annual programmes. New Caledonia will participate in the capital and operation of the main development institutions in which the State is a partner.

At the end of a period of twenty years, the transfer to New Caledonia of the reserved powers, its achievement of full international responsibility status and the conversion of citizenship into nationality, will be voted upon by the people concerned.

Their approval would mean full sovereignty for New Caledonia."

Informal translation done by the Pacific Community translation services. Available online.

Figure 33: List of Interviews conducted with members of institutions

	Institution/ Organization	Position
INT 1	SIC	Directrice de la Gestion Locative
INT 2	SIC	Head Manager
INT 3	SIC	Manager of the local Tuband agency
INT 4	SIC	Engineer
INT 5	SIC	Engineer
INT 6	SIC	Manager of the local agency
INT 7	ADLD	Elected member of the Southern Province for the FLNKS
INT 8	Southern Province	Director of urbanism
INT 9	Noumea Municipality	Director of the DSQ

Figure 34: List of interviews conducted in Tuband

Code Number	Status	Name
INT 10	Green-roof Resident	Romari
INT 11	idem	Marie Joëlle
INT 12	idem	Solange
INT 13	idem	Silulea
INT 14	Idem	A Wallisian Family
INT 15	Idem	-
INT 16	Idem	Laila
INT 17	Idem	Paul
INT 18	Idem	Rolande
INT 19	Idem	Fabrice
INT 20	Red-roof Resident	-
INT 21	Idem	-
INT 22	Idem	Jean Pierre
INT 23	Idem	David
INT 24	Idem	-
INT 25	Owner of the grocery store	-
INT 26	Manager of the community centre	-
INT 27	Headmaster of the Tuband College	-