

HUMAN SETTLEMENTS IN A GLOBALIZING WORLD

In 1996, the United Nations Centre for Human Settlements (Habitat) produced its second Global Report on Human Settlements, characterizing cities around the world as places of opportunity. Aptly titled *An Urbanizing World*, it presented a view of cities as engines of growth. The report identified problems associated with urbanization but it also revealed cities as holding the potential for solving these problems.¹

Today, the trend of urbanization continues² but, more so than five years ago, it is intertwined with globalization, a process whose salience is reflected in recent international events and publications, including the *Human Development Report 1999*³ of the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) and the World Bank's *World Development Report 1999/2000*.⁴ An inventory of research literature since 1990 reveals an exponential growth of publications dealing with globalization. Figure I.1 illustrates this sharp rise during the last decade, showing a manifold increase.

In addition to the overall strong upward trend, it is noteworthy that the growth rate of publications on legal aspects of globalization is lagging behind that of publications on the subject in other fields (Figure I.1). The reason may be that the tradition of law tends to be reactive – rather than proactive – based on precedents which take time to establish. At any rate, the striking disparity is suggestive of an asynchronous and imbalanced relationship

between the ongoing globalization of commerce and the delayed development of normative frameworks to guide its direction, generating pressing challenges with which *Cities in a Globalizing World* concerns itself.

Like urbanization, globalization brings opportunities as well as problems, both most clearly seen in cities. The challenge is to develop solutions to the problems associated with globalization, while at the same time realizing its positive prospects.⁶ Human settlements can play a key role in this regard. Through good governance and effective partnerships, they can help eliminate poverty and reduce inequality. Their challenge is to function not only as engines of economic growth, but also as agents of social justice.

A Globalizing World

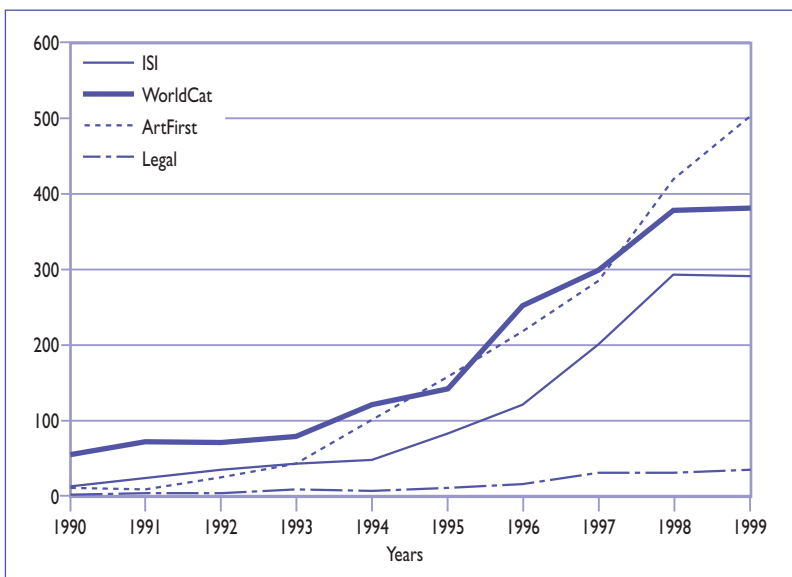
Globalization is not a new phenomenon. The Silk Road is but one example of an early economic and cultural linking of diverse societies across large distances.⁷

Globalization is not a new phenomenon. However, what is new is the speed, the scale, the scope and the complexity of global connections today.

However, global connections today differ in at least four important ways. First, they function at much greater *speed* than ever before. Improved technologies enable much faster transportation of people and goods and the instantaneous transmission of information. Second, globalization operates on a much larger *scale*, leaving few people unaffected and making its influence felt in even the most remote places. Third, the *scope* of global connections is much broader and has multiple dimensions – economic, technological, political, legal, social and cultural, among others – each of which has multiple facets.⁸ Linkages have proliferated to involve multiple, interdependent flows of a greater variety of goods, services, people, capital, information and diseases. Significant in this expanded scope is the growing globalization of human rights and the rule of law, which may conflict with established commercial routines and political practices. Fourth, the dynamic and often unmediated interactions among numerous global actors create a new level of *complexity* for the relationships between policy and practice.

It is important to acknowledge the positive consequences of globalization. Indeed, it would be short-sighted to ignore these benefits. Globalization has facilitated, for example, the diffusion of medical advances that have

Figure I.1
Frequency of
'globalization' in
publication titles,
1990–1999⁵



reduced mortality rates⁹ and agricultural technologies that have boosted food production.¹⁰ Globalization has also enabled the spread of norms of democratic governance,¹¹ environmental justice and human rights, helping to provide criteria against which the actions, policies and legislation of governments can be judged.¹² These valuable outcomes must be recognized and further encouraged.

The world welcomes these successes of globalization, but many urgent problems remain unresolved. In Africa, only one-third of all urban households are connected to potable water.¹³ In Latin America, urban poverty stood at 30 per cent in 1997, and the estimated quantitative housing deficit for 19 countries with available data totalled more than 17 million units.¹⁴ In Asia Pacific, a mere 38 per cent of urban households are connected to a sewerage system.¹⁵ In Europe, processes of social exclusion marginalize many low-income and minority households,¹⁶ while urban crime and the decline of peripheral housing estates undermine many communities.¹⁷ In the United States, problems of residential segregation, discrimination in housing markets, and affordability persist, particularly in large cities.¹⁸ Worldwide, innumerable people live under conditions of abject poverty or experience very unequal access to resources.

'The central challenge we face today is to ensure that globalization becomes a positive force for all the world's people, instead of leaving billions of them behind in squalor' – Kofi Annan, We the Peoples (2000) p 6

It is clear that benefits attributed to globalization have not accrued to everyone alike. Indeed, studies indicate that, while the conditions of many have improved, others have seen their situation deteriorate. In many countries, real incomes have fallen, the costs of living have gone up and the number of poor households has grown, especially in cities. Sixty countries have been getting steadily poorer since 1980.¹⁹ Many studies report increasing economic disparities between nations, cities, neighbourhoods and households.²⁰ The evidence reveals strong polarization, with inequalities getting worse.

The world welcomes the successes of globalization, but, at the same time, important challenges remain. Pressing problems of poverty, inequity and polarization urgently demand action

This focus on social justice in an increasingly market-oriented world is consistent with Article 11 of the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights,²¹ which 'recognizes the right of everyone to an adequate standard of living, including adequate food, clothing and housing, and to the continuous improvement of living conditions.'²²

The international community has universally recognized the right to an adequate standard of living, including housing, and the fundamental obligation of governments in the provision of shelter and the improvement of homes and neighbourhoods

It is also in accordance with the Istanbul Declaration on Human Settlements,²³ in which States announce that they will:

'intensify (their) efforts to eradicate poverty and discrimination, to promote and protect all human rights and fundamental freedoms for all, and to provide for basic needs, such as education, nutrition and life-span health care services, and, especially, adequate shelter for all'

while committing themselves to the objectives, principles and recommendations contained in the Habitat Agenda²⁴ and pledging to attain its goals of adequate shelter for all and sustainable human settlement development in a urbanizing world.²⁵

Globalization and Human Settlements

In recent years, several publications²⁶ and public discourses²⁷ have focused attention on various questions of globalization and development. These reviews and discussions have mainly dealt with aspects of *macroeconomic* development and *human* development. The development of *human settlements* has received much less attention. This is unfortunate because the outcomes of economic and human development are strongly linked to conditions and processes in human settlements.²⁸

The processes of globalization have a distinct spatial specificity. Their outcomes also show particular geographic patterns. Although globalization certainly affects rural areas,²⁹ global forces are centred in cities. It is in cities where global operations are centralized and where one can see most clearly the phenomena associated with their activities: changes in the structure of employment, the formation of powerful partnerships, the development of monumental real estate, the emergence of new forms of local governance, the effects of organized crime, the expansion of corruption, the fragmentation of informal networks and the spatial isolation and social exclusion of certain population groups.

Human settlements form an important link in processes of globalization and their economic implications for human development

The characteristics of cities and their surrounding regions, in turn, help shape globalization; for example, by providing a suitable labour force, making available the required physical and technological infrastructure, creating a stable and accommodating regulatory environment, offering the bundle of necessary support services, contributing financial incentives and possessing the institutional capacity without which globalization cannot occur.³⁰

Thus, urban settlements mediate the reciprocal relationships between globalization, on the one hand, and economic and human development, on the other.

Making Choices: Globalization as a Purposeful Process

'We know that the global dilemma of squalor amid splendour is a creature of human agency, and that it can be reversed by human agency' – Kofi Annan, Address to the World Bank Conference on 'Global Knowledge '97', Toronto, 22 June 1997

Transportation and communication technologies are often seen as the driving forces behind globalization.³¹ These technologies, however, are neutral tools that merely make globalization possible and that may be used to various ends.³² Purposeful actors produce globalization as they develop and exploit technologies to their advantage. Among these actors, transnational corporations (TNCs) have been dominant. Motives of private gain have propelled their actions. Their chief purpose has been to maximize profit. Policies favouring market expansion have supported this purpose. Usually referred to as the neo-liberal platform, these include Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAPs) of the International Monetary Fund (IMF)³³ and World Bank, international financial rules of the IMF, trade rules of the General Agreement on Trade and Tariffs (GATT) and more recently the World Trade Organization (WTO),³⁴ and investment rules under Bilateral Investment Treaties (BITs).³⁵

To date, objectives of economic growth have dominated the policy agenda. However, for development to be successful, economic growth must be pursued in the context of social justice and environmental sustainability.³⁶

This sets up a conflict between the economic and social components of globalization and a dialectic on what the normative goals of globalization ought to be. There is little that is neutral about the content on either side as each seeks advantage by diminishing the effective power of the other.³⁷ The normative goals of globalization deserve and demand deliberate choices, informed by careful study of facts guided by agreed upon principles and standards of human living. The argument made in this report is that globalization strategies, which, up to now, have been dominated by economic interests, must give priority to the well-being and quality of life of the billions of people who are suffering increased hardship as a result of policies that have promoted, first and foremost, the global expansion of markets.

Need for New Institutional Arrangements

During the era of industrialization, the introduction of new manufacturing technologies affected the physical, economic and social characteristics of human settlements. The beneficiaries were first of all the capitalist investors and owners of the means of production, seeking the accumulation of wealth. Millions of workers and their families provided the labour that produced this wealth. They lived in rapidly

growing cities under abominable conditions that have been well documented.³⁸ Mobilization of various interest groups led to new roles for national and local governments, which assumed responsibilities for ensuring the public welfare; for example, by requiring a minimum living wage, proscribing the use of child labour, creating universal access to potable water, greatly improved provisions for sanitation (drains, sewers, garbage collection), basic health care and elementary education.

Similarly, during the present time of globalization, the widespread application of newly emerging transportation and communication technologies is reshaping the physical, economic and social fabric of cities everywhere. The benefits and costs of these changes are unevenly distributed. Homeless people are living in cardboard boxes next to gleaming skyscrapers occupied by corporations whose budgets exceed those of many developing countries. Just as in centuries past, industrialization brought in its wake advances and problems whose resolution demanded new institutional arrangements, so also does globalization at present.

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The Role of Government

As global forces have increasingly asserted themselves, particularly in the form of TNCs, the sovereignty of national governments has declined. The gap in serving the public interest is being more and more taken up by local authorities and, paradoxically, by the private sector as these entities become responsible for functions previously ascribed to national governments. This 'hollowing out of the state' (upwards, sideways and downwards) can be observed, in various forms and to different degrees, in many countries around the world. However, this development does not render national governments impotent or irrelevant. In contrast, as shown in this report, important responsibilities remain and new roles are presenting themselves.³⁹

These new roles must be given form under difficult circumstances. Not only do national governments face critical domestic issues, they are also constrained by major international interests that favour solutions thought to result from the workings of market mechanisms. The World Bank and the International Monetary Fund,⁴⁰ among others, have argued that the task of national governments should be to remove barriers that prevent the smooth functioning of markets. From their perspective, competition between cities and regions is something positive, leading to economic growth, which, in turn, is seen as the solution to poverty. According to this viewpoint, governments should eliminate regulations that hamper market dynamics and play an active role in 'levelling the playing field.'⁴¹

However, research reported in Chapter 1 shows that reducing inequality can have as much impact on reducing

poverty as does increasing economic growth. Moreover, evidence, presented in this report and elsewhere, indicates that the notion of completely free markets is a myth. In reality, governments always shape market dynamics and outcomes; for example, through tariffs on trade, quotas for immigration, licensing requirements, taxation of income and property, anti-trust legislation and regulation of the supply of credit. An especially conspicuous contradiction is the renewed drive for stricter border controls to keep out immigrants and refugees, while at the same time lifting restrictions to create border-free economic zones.⁴²

Government intervention is often required to ensure that the strong centripetal tendencies of unregulated markets do not result in oligopoly or even monopoly that would adversely affect the leading indicators of market effectiveness: price and quality. These interventions reflect the influences of contending interest groups on policy,⁴³ and they produce outcomes that benefit some a great deal more than others.

Nor are 'open' markets a panacea. Indeed, there is growing recognition that opening new regions for expanding markets often creates or reinforces patterns of uneven development, as investors prefer some locations to others.⁴⁴ Acknowledging these concerns, the European Union, for example, created the European Regional Development Fund to promote infrastructure projects that enhance the productive capacity and strengthen the economy of disadvantaged regions. It also established the European Social Fund in support of vocational guidance and skill-improvement programmes to help young people and the long-term unemployed gain access to (better) jobs.⁴⁵ Debate exists about the adequacy of these initiatives, but research shows that different public policies can produce different living conditions in countries with similar experiences of globalization and technological change. It is clear that there will be a continuing need for strong government involvement.⁴⁶ This government role is shifting from that of provider to that of enabler, with an emphasis on the ability to act as a regulator, catalyst and partner. Markets, moreover, are not inclusive. Households with low incomes often cannot translate their needs into an effective market demand. It is not evident how profit-seeking suppliers can guarantee access to entitlements and assistance programmes without which such households are left to the mercy of market forces, unable to meet their basic needs for shelter, health care and food.

Markets also fail to generate solutions to serious environmental degradation, especially when powerful producers and consumers exploit distant natural resources. Economic calculations do not usually include the disruptions of ecosystems whose implications are far into the future or whose costs are borne by others rather than the profit makers.⁴⁷ Markets need to be regulated in ways that internalize such externalities and balance short-term private discount rates with long-term societal ones.⁴⁸

The connection between the logic of the market and the logic of liveability is anything but automatic. The markets that shape cities are first of all markets for land, and land is a finite commodity.⁴⁹ More land cannot be

produced in a particular place in response to increased demand. When demand for land exceeds supply, price increases are the likely result. Projection of a demand trend into a future without countervailing regulatory pressure results in the speculative valuation of land. A growing proportion of urban dwellers face an impossible disjunction between the wages generated by city labour markets and the housing costs generated by the market for urban land. At the same time, 'marketable' uses for land, like housing for affluent individuals and commercial space for corporations, drive out non-marketable uses, like parks and green space, making the city as a whole less liveable.⁵⁰

'Glocalization', the Rise of Civil Society and the Changing Nature of Urban Planning

A recent analysis of spatial development patterns in Pacific Asia concludes that a strategy towards more resilient economies calls for policies that *localize* the potential for development across *national* space rather than global regions.⁵¹ Just as national governments are not impotent onlookers on the global stage, but active participants with continuing responsibilities, so also can local governments play important roles. In fact, there is an inverse relationship between the significance of *distance* and the significance of *place*. As the constraints of geographical distance are becoming less important, the specific features of particular locales are becoming *more* important in the locational decision-making of businesses and households. Locational features impose certain restrictions but they also provide opportunities for local development choices that can be 'marketed'. Globalization necessarily materializes in specific institutional arrangements in specific places, many of which are in cities. 'Glocalization' is a term used to describe the dialectic interdependence of the local and global dimensions of economic, political and cultural processes. Local development is tightly linked to global forces, but not determined by machinations of international capital.⁵² Therefore, far from exerting a deterministic, homogenizing effect, globalization processes allow for local differentiation. As will be argued later in this report, the outcomes of these processes reflect the claims that different interests make on urban places – more *or* less effectively. These interests include representatives of global capital that use cities as an organizational commodity to maximize profit, but they also include disadvantaged local population groups who need the city as a place to live. Cities are increasingly strategic sites in the realization of these claims. Against this background, the emergence of new forms of governance and the formation of civil society organizations in the interstices of existing arrangements reflect a 'globalization-from-below' whose articulation happens in transnational networks across urban nodes.⁵³

The emergence of a new localism under globalization can be seen in three important ways.⁵⁴ First, we can observe a growing significance of organized civil society,

particularly in countries of the developing world, but also in the north.⁵⁵ Civil society organizations and social movements emerged as central actors in Latin America during the 1960s and 1970s, when more direct forms of institutional demand making were not available. They left in their wake a strong NGO network that is increasingly working with municipal governments to improve services and participatory structures for the relatively disadvantaged majority. In the north, new attention to the local arises, to a considerable extent, from growing concerns about environmental risk and the consequences of uncontrolled urban development.⁵⁶ In Africa, where civil society and associational life has been slower to develop, with some exceptions, global forces have created an informal sector that fosters non-state initiatives at the local level in which women play prominent roles.

Second, as civil society becomes more organized and effective, municipal institutions have been democratizing. There is some connection between these trends in that more active civil society both requires, and responds to more participatory local structures. Local elections with a choice among multiple parties have become increasingly common in Latin America, and in parts of Africa, South Asia and Southeast Asia. In many cases – such as South Africa, India and Brazil – this expansion of local democratic government has been reinforced by constitutional reforms. Although the full evidence is not yet in, there are encouraging signs that municipal performance is improving in response to democratization.⁵⁷

Given an emerging civil society and democratic municipal institutions, a third element of ‘the growing importance of the local’ has to do with how communities make choices. Local political coalitions together with important groups from civil society are attempting to shape their cities and towns in ways that maximize what they consider the opportunities to be gained from globalization. Whether this involves campaigns against crime or plans to improve the local environment in order to attract tourists; or whether it involves strategies to reduce local taxes or develop a more comprehensive educational system in order to attract outside investment; in either case, municipal officials and their partners are increasingly alert to the potential benefits of competitive strategies.

As a result, in many cities there has been a shift in the policies of urban government from managerialism to entrepreneurialism. This entrepreneurial attitude views the city as a product that needs to be marketed. The emphasis on marketing underpins the restructuring of cities so that they appeal to global investors and favours the dominance of economic interests in urban planning. The particular historical character of a city tends to be subordinated in the quest for an international image, with local identity becoming a public relations artefact designed to aid marketing (see Chapter 2).

By the same token, cities that do not have the resources to attract outside interest and investment may find themselves even more bereft and impoverished. Local capacity building is essential to reduce the potential for such polarization. In this connection, it is encouraging that

international cooperation in the form of city-to-city exchanges is growing in popularity. Public–private partnerships are also being broadened to include civil society groups and there is increasing evidence of the potential of community-based networks based on direct people-to-people interactions. Decentralized cooperation further supports local choices in urban development. These developments are reviewed in Chapter 14.

Globalization not only increases competition but also fragmentation, with contradictory effects on cities. To compete effectively, cities must act as collective units. However, their growing social, political, economic and physical fragmentation hampers their capacity to build coalitions, mobilize resources and develop sufficient governance structures. Given that metropolitan areas are the chief arenas for global competition, it is necessary to strengthen them by giving them greater authority and autonomy in resource allocation. However, the enabling role of governments must be broader than facilitating the functioning of markets and also includes responsibility for social cohesion, equity and conflict resolution.

The term ‘metropolization of the world economy’ has been used to describe the archipelagic spatial structure of emerging global urban networks.⁵⁸ Megacities, comprising urban cores and associated hinterlands, are theoretically able to address all kinds of technical problems, including urban service provision and environmental management. However, they are facing difficult governance challenges, owing to obsolete systems tailored to traditional cities and inhabitants who are more concerned with their immediate individual and local neighbourhood interests than with their common future as citizens of the same city.⁵⁹

Urban planners are inescapably caught up in this dynamic. The new planning is less codified and technical, more innovative and entrepreneurial. It is also more participatory and concerned with projects rather than whole urban systems. Planning expertise is increasingly sought not only by the state, but also by the corporate sector and civil society. Planners seek to forge agreements through negotiation and mediation among contesting parties. Planning is no longer lodged solely in urban government as a font of privileged knowledge about ‘the public interest’. What is controversial is not urban planning per se, but its *goal*: whether it should be directed chiefly at efficiency, reinforcing the current distribution of wealth and power, or whether it should play a distributive role to help create minimum standards of urban liveability.⁶⁰

As planning becomes more difficult to define as a state-based process of intervention, it finds expression in a greater diversity of forms, including the advocacy for and mobilization of community-based groups that seek to assert their rights to the city.⁶¹ This development places marginality at centre stage. It stresses a notion of urban poverty that goes beyond monetary standards and consumption for basic needs. It offers insights from within households to show how poverty is a form of vulnerability and lack of power that is multidimensional and, further, how efforts at redress by households are not typically anti-systemic but oriented towards gaining benefits from more favourable

inclusion in ongoing urban development processes.⁶² These insights also provide a better understanding of the gendered nature of poverty and the important roles of women in attempts to eradicate it.⁶³

Figure I.2 is a visual summary of how societal sectors interface at different scales vis-à-vis a range of issues. It indicates how actors in the public and private sectors as well as civil society, at all levels, may play a role in relevant approaches to those human settlement concerns that urgently demand attention. Foremost among these problems is the rapid growth of urban poverty and polarization. The challenges presented by these trends exceed the capabilities of governments. They require the formation of partnerships with the private sector as well as civil society. If such partnerships are to be effective, people living in poverty, and women among them in particular, must be empowered to deploy their unrealized potential as equal participants in the development of solutions to the problems that they experience first hand. It is clear, then, that appropriate capacity building and cooperative governing are vital elements of strategies to improve urban liveability for *all* people.

Whatever its merits as a representation of the multiple facets of human settlements development policies, Figure I.2 cannot capture the complex dynamics of real-world interactions, nor the distribution of resources and the real costs and benefits experienced by people. It is precisely these aspects that this report takes up.

Purpose of this Report

The purpose of this report is to review human settlement trends in the context of globalization; to analyse their implications for poverty, inequity and polarization; and to develop recommendations for planning, development and management policies and practices in support of those most at risk

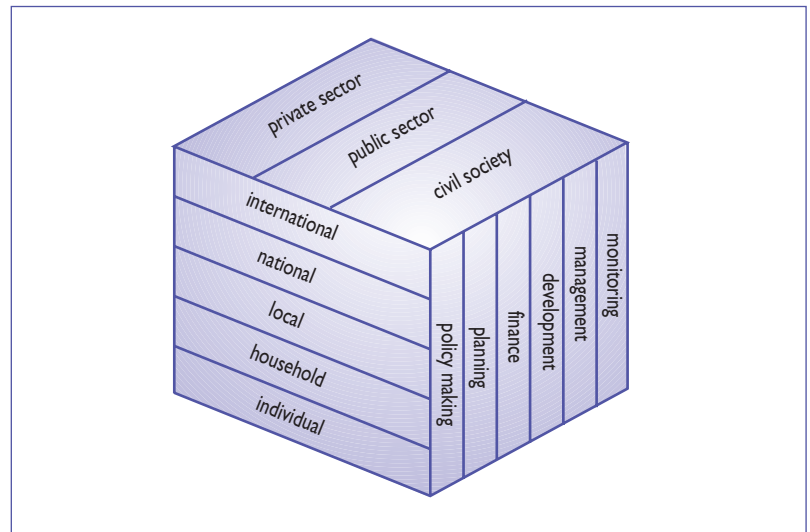


Figure I.2

Interfaces of societal sectors

Against this background, one aim of this report is to examine conditions and recent trends in human settlements around the world. In doing so, it concerns itself particularly with implications of globalization for poverty (the inability to maintain a minimum standard of living), inequity (poverty amid affluence and the unequal access to redress) and polarization (inequities becoming worse). It also makes recommendations from a perspective of advocacy on behalf of those at greatest risk: typically the poor, women, children, the elderly, the disabled, refugees, immigrants and minority groups. Although it is critical to give special consideration to these population groups, it is equally important not to restrict the focus to their particular characteristics which would have the effect of reifying them as *a priori* 'vulnerable categories'. Their vulnerability is not a given. It does not exist in a vacuum. This makes it essential to adopt contextual perspectives that direct attention to the factors that put these groups at risk. Without such perspectives, efforts will be misdirected at symptoms, rather than aimed at root causes.

Notes

- 1 See UNCHS (Habitat), 1996. For an earlier view of cities as engines of growth, see Klaassen et al, 1989.
- 2 Brockerhoff, 1999 reviews projected and actual urban growth rates in the developing countries since 1970. His analysis indicates a slow down of the anticipated urban transition. In the oft-cited case of Mexico City, based on simple extrapolation of a population increase from 5.4 million in 1960 to 13 million in 1980, the United Nations predicted a population of 31.3 million in 2000, whereas the actual number in that year was only about 18 million.

- Brockerhoff's review indicates that observed trends warranting downward adjustments of urban growth rates are not limited to a few large cities, but are widespread in the developing world. These changed trends reflect the effects of relatively weak expansion of urban industries and price shifts unfavourable to manufactured goods, population ageing and migratory patterns.
- 3 UNDP, 1999.
 - 4 World Bank, 1999a.
 - 5 Data for Figure I.1 come from the following sources; ISI: Web of Science, Social and Behavioral Sciences, Institute of Scientific

- Information (ISI) (www.isinet.com/); WorldCat: over 42 million cataloging records created by libraries around the world in 400 languages (available through Online Computer Library Center (OCLC) (www.oclc.org/oclc/menu/home1.htm), used by over 36,000 libraries in 74 countries); ArtFirst: articles found in the table of contents of nearly 12,500 journals covering science, technology, medicine, social science, business, the humanities and popular culture (source: OCLC); and Legal: articles from legal journals,

- yearbooks, institutes, bar association organs, law reviews and government publications originating in the United States, Canada, Great Britain, Ireland, Australia and New Zealand (source: OCLC).
- 6 Commenting on 'The Urban Revolution', Klaus Töpfer has described cities as 'home to a wealth of cultural diversity, political dynamism, immensely productive, creative and innovative', while, at the same time, noting that cities are 'breeding grounds of poverty, violence, pollution, and congestion' which 'for many millions of people, [have] become a nightmare',

- thus creating a 'tale of two cities' (Töpfer, 1999).
- 7 See, for example, Foltz, 2000; Laut, 1990; Liu, 1998. The Silk Road is an interesting historical precursor of modern globalization; it has recently been used as the name for a proposed money system with low-cost electronic communication protocols, enabling small transactions, without a central bank, in an open system that supports network resource management, routing, interconnection with the internet and other information services, across trust boundaries with competing providers for all services (Hardy and Tribble, 1995). The Australian Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade similarly referred to the Silk Road in its recent report on facilitation of international trade through effective use of the internet (Australia, 1999); cf Bloor, 2000. For historical perspectives on economic globalization, see Henderson, 1999 and Chase-Dunn et al, 2000.
 - 8 For example, economic globalization can include growth of international trade as well as increases in foreign investment. Likewise, political globalization can be seen in greater cross-border cooperation between national governments, but also in the 'twinning' of municipal governments (see Chapter 14) and in the rise of international networking of non-governmental organizations (NGOs) and civil society groups.
 - 9 Especially important have been the benefits of antibiotics and vaccination. The best-known example is perhaps the eradication of the often fatal smallpox disease. Unfortunately, these gains stand along with setbacks resulting from new diseases, notably HIV/AIDS, which are taking their toll while patent protections limit the accessibility of medication on the basis of ability-to-pay, recently announced price cuts notwithstanding. For a recent examination of the link between globalization, urbanization and the spread of infectious disease, see Pirages and Runci, 2000. See also Lee and Dodgson, 2000 for a historical examination of cholera pandemics as a function of globalization. Aside from the spread of medication, noteworthy as well is the global work of organizations such as the 1999 Nobel Peace Prize-winning Médecins Sans Frontiers (www.msf.org), an independent humanitarian medical aid agency, founded in 1971 with a commitment to providing medical aid wherever it is needed, regardless of race, religion, politics or sex and raising awareness of the plight of the people in need.
 - 10 A recent example is the development of high-yield, mosaic-disease-resistant cassava, the food staple of large numbers of households in East Africa. Optimism about these advances is tempered by concerns about unpredictable consequences of genetically engineered food products for environmental and human health.
 - 11 According to the Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance (www.int-idea.se/index.htm), since the fall of the Berlin Wall, more than 50 countries around the world organized elections for the first time in their existence. See Karatnycky, 2000, for a historical review; cf Franck, 1992. The Press Freedom Survey 2000 (www.freedomhouse.org/pfs2000) offers an assessment of recent changes in restrictions placed on printed and electronic media.
 - 12 Hulchanski and Leckie (2000) provide a comprehensive chronology of United Nations activity concerning the human right to adequate housing. The Centre on Housing Rights and Evictions (COHRE) (www.cohre.org), established in 1994 as a non-profit foundation, offers an informative web site with links to international organizations and data bases on economic, cultural and human rights; see also the web site for the Asian Coalition for Housing Rights (www.achr.net/). Castells (1996) has identified the growth of a diversified, worldwide women's movement as one of the most important grassroots developments under globalization. In this regard, see also Moghadam, 2000. For an excellent internet gateway to human rights, see www.hri.ca/. Adeola (2000) provides a discussion of a specific recent example of international environmental justice and human rights issues, highlighted by the Movement for the Survival of the Ogoni People (MOSOP) in Nigeria. See also Brooks, 2000, on the U'Wa people of the Colombian Andes, who have been fighting oil-drilling on their land by Occidental Petroleum.
 - 13 UNCHS (Habitat), 1998.
 - 14 See MacDonald and Simioni, 1999.
 - 15 See note 13 supra.
 - 16 European Commission, 2000 provides an in-depth study of social exclusion in ten urban neighbourhoods in eight countries. See also Lawless et al, 1998; Madanipour et al, 1998. For social exclusion specifically in relation to housing, see, for example, Marsh and Mullins, 1998; McGregor and McConnachie, 1995; Ratcliffe, 1998; Somerville, 1998; Taylor, 1998.
 - 17 Power (1997; 1999) provides a wide-ranging examination of 20 crisis estates in Britain, Denmark, France, Germany and Ireland. Krantz et al (1999) oriented a similar study to the social and physical dimensions of housing projects on the periphery of cities in Britain, Denmark, France, The Netherlands and Sweden. Hall (1997) offers a comprehensive review and analysis of regeneration policies for problematic outlying British housing estates.
 - 18 For segregation, see, for example, Goering et al, 1997; Carter et al, 1998; Briggs et al, 1999. Schwemm (1990) and Yinger (1995) offer excellent coverage of fair housing and discrimination. See also the special issue of *Cityscape: Journal of Policy Development and Research* (1999) 4(3), commemorating the 30th anniversary of the Fair Housing Act. Treatment of affordability questions can be found in, for example, Joint Center for Housing Studies, 2000 and the *Journal of Affordable Housing and Community Development*.
 - 19 See UNDP, 1999.
 - 20 Chapter I of this report provides fuller discussion of trends in inequality.
 - 21 Adopted and opened for signature, ratification and accession by General Assembly resolution 2200A (XXI) of 16 December 1966; entry into force: 3 January 1976, in accordance with article 27. Ratified by 142 states as of 15 May 2000. See www.unhcr.ch/html/menu3/b/a_ceschr.htm.
 - 22 This was a reaffirmation of article 25(1) of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights adopted in 1948.
 - 23 See www.unhcs.org/unchs/english/hagenda/ist-dec.htm.
 - 24 See www.unhcs.org/unchs/english/hagenda/haghome.htm.
 - 25 The Habitat Agenda is discussed in Chapter 3 of this report, which also examines related policy platforms that have resulted from other United Nations summits. Chapter 16 reviews the human right to housing.
 - 26 See, for example, Axtmann, 1998; Cosgrove-Sacks, 1999; Schuurman, 2000; Simmons, 1999; UNDP, 1999; World Bank, 1999a.
 - 27 In the Spring of 2000, a six-week long internet-based discussion (www.worldbank.org/devforum/forum_poverty.html) of the pre-publication draft of the 1999/2000 World Development Report, 'Attacking Poverty' (World Bank, 1999a) (www.worldbank.org/html/extpb/wdr99.htm) attracted more than 1500 subscribers and participants from many countries, who frequently commented on aspects of globalization. A subsequent electronic forum on 'Globalization and Poverty', (www.worldbank.org/devforum/forum_globalization.html) held in May 2000, under the joint auspices of the World Bank (www.worldbank.org) and the Panos Institute (www.oneworld.org/panos/home/homepage.html), involved over 4200 participants from more than 120 countries, an estimated 30 per cent of them from the developing world. As well, the UK Department for International Development (DFID), jointly with OneWorld, conducted in Spring, 2000, an electronic consultation (www.oneworld.net/consultation/dfid/) to obtain feedback on the draft of a White Paper on the changes resulting from globalization and the opportunities and challenges this presents for faster progress in reducing poverty and promoting sustainable development in the poorest countries. This six-week forum solicited input from NGOs, academics, DFID staff, development workers, ICT and knowledge specialists, media and interested members of the public, in particular on information and communication technologies.
 - 28 For example, see Burgers, 1996, for a study showing how national welfare state arrangements and specific urban histories are important mediating variables in the particular local outcomes of international economic restructuring.
 - 29 For example, Structural Adjustment Policies have led to the growing of exportable products to substitute for subsistence farming, as in Ghana where cocoa has taken the place of plantain on a large portion of available arable land. Consequently, food now accounts for one-third of its imports, which has not helped that country's farmers (for a grassroots generated, sustainable alternative to help address problems related to imposed cocoa cultivation, found widely in West Africa, see work by the Lend-a-Hand-Foundation in Cameroon (www.lend-a-hand.org/index.htm). Globalization has also affected

- peri-urban development; see, for example, Briggs and Mwamfuye, 2000, for a case study of an African city (Dar es Salaam). Losada et al (1998) review a Latin American city (Mexico City). Box 2.6 describes recent developments in the peri-urban zone of an Asian city, Manila. As another example of how globalization influences rural areas, modern information and communication technologies are increasingly harnessed in agricultural production and marketing (O'Meara, 2000). Farmers in Sri Lanka are using the internet to get information about produce prices in Colombo to negotiate better rates with brokers, increasing their income by as much as 50 per cent. In Papua New Guinea, the internet is being used to disseminate the knowledge of village elders, who can forecast storms weeks in advance by observing physical changes in plants and animals. In Africa, the internet is helping to avert famine by making farmers aware of the state of crops throughout particular regions or countries (Schenker, 1999). In Pondicherry, India, project staff of the Swaminathan Foundation distribute highly practical information in the local language (Tamil) through a village computer network, from the visiting dates of mobile medical clinics to warnings about wave height and wind direction for fishers in the Bay of Bengal, downloaded from a US Navy site (Dugger, 2000).
- 30 Although the focus in this report is primarily on cities, it is important to bear in mind that the rural-urban distinction is a fuzzy one and that there exist numerous economic, social and environmental connections; for example, through food production, migratory flows, kinship networks, wage remittances, production externalities, media and institutional infrastructure. Globalization tends to reinforce this functional integration, further illustrating earlier notions of the rural-urban continuum (Dewey, 1960; Duncan, 1957; Pahl, 1966) and the 'urban field' (Friedmann and Miller, 1965). The extent and the ways that globalization operates through a *hierarchical* urban pattern remains a largely empirical question (see, eg Douglass, 2000).
- 31 See for example UNDP, 1999, Chapter 2.
- 32 Globalization is not an autonomous process. It does not mechanically 'run its course', as some have written. The literature is replete with obfuscatory phrasing, denoting globalization as an independent variable and obscuring the significance of human agency. The following passage is characteristic:
- 'Imagine a wondrous new machine ... a machine that reaps as it destroys. It is huge and mobile, something like the machines of modern agriculture, but vastly more complicated and powerful. Think of this awesome machine running over open terrain and ignoring familiar boundaries. It plows across fields and fencerows with fierce momentum that is exhilarating to behold and also frightening. As it goes, the machine throws off enormous mows of wealth and bounty while it leaves behind great furrows of wreckage ... no one is at the wheel. In fact, this machine has no wheel, nor any internal governor to control the speed and direction. It is sustained by its own forward motion ... and it is accelerating.'* (Greider, 1997, p 11).
- Most misleading is wording that inverts causality – for example, 'globalization unleashes forces' – found among proponents as well as detractors of globalization.
- 33 See www.imf.org/
- 34 See www.wto.org/
- 35 Barry Coates, Director of the World Development Movement. May 1, 2000. 'Globalisation, Development and Poverty: What Do We Know?' Introduction to the on-line debate on Globalization and Poverty organized by the Panos Institute and the World Bank Institute.
- 36 See Sen, 1999 and Evans et al, 2001 for compelling reasoning in support of this argument. Relatedly, in a historical examination of worldwide trade patterns, Chase-Dunn et al, 2000 have argued that 'economic globalization creates a demand for political globalization because markets are unable to resolve the problems of distributive justice and uneven development that they create', leading to a consideration of the role of hegemonic legitimacy (p 93). Fortunately, there is nothing deterministic about the ideological content of globalization or the aspiration(s) it serves. In principle, the same technologies TNCs use to further their private interests can also be used to advance public welfare. This point is eloquently argued by Falk, 1999. For a similar view, see Dirlík, 1998; Marris, 1998.
- 37 The proposed Multilateral Agreement on Investment (MAI), for example, seeks to override social and environmental regulatory mechanisms where they may become barriers to commerce. For an analysis of the campaign against the MAI, including the role of the internet in mobilizing global opposition, see Wood, 2000.
- 38 See, for example, Booth, 1892; Engels, 1872; Riis, 1891; Veiller, 1910.
- 39 This is recognized even by proponents of classical liberalism, who see a minimalist role for national governments, upholding property and contract rules to provide a framework within which private actors interact freely on the basis of a decentralized world price mechanism (Sally, 2000).
- 40 See www.imf.org/.
- 41 See World Bank, 1999a.
- 42 See, for example, Sassen, 1999.
- 43 For example, labour unions seek protection against unfettered global competition that may threaten existing wage levels and global corporations lobby to prevent rival companies from cutting into their profit margins, while environmental interest groups press for regulations to safeguard natural ecosystems.
- 44 See Hudson and Williams, 1999, for a well-documented treatment of uneven development in the European Union and a persuasive case for the continuing relevance of national governments. See also Rodriguez-Pose, 1999. In a recent examination of the relationship between European economic integration and urban inequalities in Western Europe, McCarthy (2000) concludes that the prospects for reducing the already high income inequalities between cities by means of economic growth are not promising because many situational characteristics that are important for urban competitiveness and growth cannot be improved through the policy efforts of poorer local and national governments alone and the level of EU-funding is insufficient.
- 45 See Chapman and Murie, 1996; European Commission, 2000.
- 46 Further, while research has found a correlation between open markets and economic growth, the causality of this relationship has not been established. Successful economies may open themselves up to external trade, but open economies are not necessarily successful. Indeed, some of the better-performing countries have imposed their own terms on their participation in globalization processes (eg China, Singapore, South Korea).
- 47 For a good discussion of these points, see Hardoy, Mitlin and Satterthwaite (2001), especially Chapters 5 and 8. See also Haughton, 1999, for a discussion of principles and policy approaches in support of environmental justice and the sustainable development of cities, and Wirth, 2000.
- 48 For a fuller discussion of this point, see Evans et al, 2001, Chapter 1.
- 49 See Polanyi, 1957.
- 50 This, in turn, may force those seeking an affordable place to live and work to 'sprawl' into peripheral areas where land is generally cheaper.
- 51 See Douglass, forthcoming.
- 52 See Douglass, 1998.
- 53 See, for example, Cheru, 2000; Friedmann, 1998; Evans, 2000; Pile and Keith, 1997.
- 54 The following paragraphs draw on 'Urban Governance And Politics In A Global Context: The Growing Importance Of The Local', a paper by Richard Stren, University of Toronto, November 1998.
- 55 This is particularly seen through the environmental, women and human rights movements.
- 56 For example, it is at the local level that anxieties over unregulated toxic emissions are confronted by community groups attempting to influence municipal by-laws and regulations. This is the case in the developing as well as the more developed economies. See, eg Douglass and Friedmann, 1998; and Evans et al, 2001. In the US, Good Neighbor Agreements (GNAs) have emerged as a non-litigious method of dispute resolution among companies, their workers, environmentalists and local communities in the face of declining governmental power and rising corporate power. Facilitated by Right-to-Know legislation and databases (see www.rtk.net/), dozens of GNAs have been proposed and signed. For an analysis of the establishment of an enforceable, legally binding agreement that holds a transnational corporation accountable to a local community, see Pellow, 2000. Urban sprawl has also become a divisive issue in many local communities, producing a spate of citizen initiatives and counter-reactions by developers and builders. See, for example, the web site of the Sierra Club (www.sierraclub.org/sprawl/) and the Initiative and Referendum Institute (www.ballotwatch.org/).
- 57 Chapter 4 reviews newly emerging approaches to metropolitan government and the

challenges of democratization. Chapter 13 focuses on decentralized provision and management of urban infrastructure and services.

58 Veltz, 1996.

59 Barcelo, 1999.

60 Social welfare systems came about as attempts to address poverty through compensatory systems of distribution tied closely to employment status.

They are based on *individual* rights and take no account of community. Planning has become identified with place-based advocacy. See Marris, 1998.

61 See Douglass and Friedmann, 1998.

62 See Douglass, 1998.

63 On aspects of method and measurement, see, for example, Razavi, 1999a; Ruspini, 1999. The UNCHS (Habitat) has an

ongoing Women and Habitat Programme, which recently published a synthesis of individual country reports from Africa, Latin America and Asia on women's situation in human settlements development; see Mirafab, 2000. On women's roles in urban governance and democratization, see Razavi, 2000; Beal, 1996. On gendered impacts of globalization on

employment, population policy and exclusion, see Perrons, 1999; Pathak, 1995; Kuumba, 1999; Gray and Kevane, 1999. FEANTSA (Brussels, 2000) produced a series of country reports detailing homelessness among women in the European Union.