

Report

Urbanisation

Consequences and opportunities for the Netherlands' Directorate-General for International Cooperation

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Cover photo: World Bank: Overlooking the central market in Kusami, Ghana

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Executive summary

By 2050, the world's population will have grown from its 2012 level of 7 billion to over 9bn. Almost three-quarters of these people will live in urban areas. Urban population growth will mainly occur in low- and middle-income countries in Africa and Asia, which are currently among the least urbanised regions. Urban poverty is set to increase, with much of this urban growth expected in poor and informal settlements on the peripheries of cities and towns. Much focus is currently on the rise of megacities of 10 million residents or more. However, it is in the small and medium-sized secondary cities of Africa and Asia that most future urban development will take place. The fact that more people in developing countries will be living in urban areas has profound implications for development cooperation agencies and their policies.

This report, prepared for the Directorate-General for International Cooperation (DGIS), assesses the impacts of urbanisation on the agency's key thematic areas of water management, climate change and disaster risk reduction, sexual and reproductive health rights, food security, emergency aid and peace, security and conflict. It suggests key elements for an urban international cooperation policy for the DGIS. It is clear from this review that business as usual will not be enough. A stronger emphasis on urban development in international cooperation policy will be required. Below we summarise what this report suggests should be key elements of a Dutch urban cooperation policy.

What to work on

Promotion of innovative, productive and sustainable urban development

Cities, if well managed, can be drivers of economic growth and hold significant potential to enable human health, food and energy security, economic activity and livelihoods. Innovative partnerships, not only with large public and private sector partners, but also with small-scale, informal service providers in slums and peri-urban areas, will be key to sustainable urban development. Balancing rural and urban needs – which are often intricately connected – will also be fundamental for productive and sustainable growth, both in rural and urban areas.

Promotion of green, compact and resilient cities

Most of the world's intellectual capital is concentrated in cities, and can be deployed to find novel solutions to the complex problems of climate change.

Cities have existing plans and policy processes that can be used for mainstreaming resilience in a sustainable and comprehensive manner. When it comes to mitigation, due to the fact that emissions are concentrated in cities, small

gains in urban energy efficiency have a massive impact in reducing greenhouse gas emissions.

Focus on inclusive urban development

Almost one billion people currently live in informal settlements – evidence of the kinds of inequalities that growing urbanisation can create. These people often lack adequate services and infrastructure, which affects many aspects of their wellbeing (health, food security, nutrition, physical security). Connecting the urban poor and those on the periphery of cities to the urban economy, its institutions, governance systems and services, will be key to improving livelihoods and ensuring a thriving urban economy. This should not only involve expanding existing 'formal' systems and making them more inclusive, but also supporting existing, often small-scale and informal systems providing services in informal settlements and linking these with more 'formal' arrangements.

Focus on good governance and cooperation between authorities

Urbanisation poses serious challenges to urban governance, especially in peri-urban areas. Supporting good governance and the relationships between multiple levels of government, as well as between formal and informal service providers, will be a key area of opportunity. There is also growing interest in participatory budgeting and social accountability mechanisms.

Where to work

Focus on fast-growing secondary cities

Small and medium-sized cities in Africa and Asia are expected to grow fast over the next decades. These urban areas often have poor service levels and limited infrastructure and resources, as well as a lack of adequate governance arrangements. They offer a unique opportunity for early investment in comprehensive urban planning, including for disaster risk mitigation and climate change adaptation.

Fragile contexts and fragile cities

It will be important to continue the focus on working in fragile settings across the key Dutch development priorities. A sophisticated and nuanced approach to fragility is needed, which focuses not only on fragile states, but also recognises that fragile cities or entities may exist in otherwise stable states or areas.

Urban–rural links and trade-offs

Interventions in urban areas have important trade-offs in both urban and rural areas that need to be carefully considered. Balancing water use for agriculture versus

water use for cities and industries, for example, will be one key issue. Similarly, rural and urban food security cannot be seen as two separate issues; productivity from existing agricultural land, employment (in urban and rural areas) and urban-to-rural remittances are all intricately related.

Focus on urban deltas

The Netherlands boasts world-leading aid and trade expertise on issues of delta management that can be applied in the urban context. Deltas are home to some of the world's largest urban areas, though there is little empirical evidence on what types of reforms and policies work best for managing their water and natural resources. What is appropriate for managing a particular delta, and what benefits can be expected, depends substantially on its hydrology and on the development context of the urban areas that it hosts. Dutch experts are well positioned to support pragmatic dialogue that focuses on managing urban deltas in line with their individual contexts and needs.

How to work

Integrated approaches

Integrated perspectives and approaches to urban development, planning and management that cut across thematic silos and maximise synergies between different sectors will be key. It is important to take into account the people, problems and trade-offs that come with 'nexus' approaches, rather than focusing on integration as a goal in itself. The DGIS can help by convening pragmatic dialogue focused on local contexts and needs, such as with the management of basins and deltas.

Participatory approaches

Dynamic, multi-level approaches involving all key stakeholders in the design and planning of rapidly urbanising cities, rather than working off blueprints that are difficult to implement in real life, is imperative. Close cooperation and engagement with civil society and local communities will be particularly beneficial in urban environments, where information flows between citizens and municipalities may not be well established and local residents often have better information and understanding of existing gaps. There may also be tensions and inconsistencies between supporting what already works well locally and what longer term top-down approaches envisage; these need to be carefully considered.

Partnerships

Partnerships, including making Dutch technical expertise available to municipal and local governments and other public and private sector actors, can play an important role in enhancing urban planning and efficient service delivery and management. Such partnerships can be formed with small scale, innovative providers and initiatives at different

levels, as well as with big entities. The report considers and suggests partnerships at various levels across all the different thematic sections.

Aid and trade

Dutch public and private sector actors have a wealth of experience in areas very much related to integrated urban development. In particular, Dutch expertise in water management, urban planning, architecture and design, food security, risk reduction and logistics could support urban development and planning in developing countries through technical assistance and/or public/private partnerships. Ensuring that urban areas are safe from climate change-induced shocks and stresses is likely to deliver a 'resilience dividend' in the form of a better investment climate and stronger economic growth, both of which will in turn have a positive impact on trade.

Land tenure, informal settlements and livelihoods

Underlying issues, such as insecure or unclear land tenure, are often at the root of inadequate service provision in urban areas and can also be the source of urban conflict. Similarly, more and more people are expected to live in informal settlements on the peripheries of cities in coming decades. This requires interventions that consider integrated support to low-cost housing and land tenure, with service provision and income generation support in informal and unregulated settings.

In addition the report sets out a number of key recommendations for each of the DGIS's thematic areas:

Water management

- Rephrase DGIS's first goal on water to better capture the challenge of balancing water use for agriculture with water for cities and industry by working on multi-sectoral water productivity, not just agricultural water productivity.
- Continue working on river basin and delta management in the context of urbanisation, but focus on the people, problems and trade-offs involved in allocation decisions, rather than integrated 'nexus' approaches for their own sake.
- Move beyond simply providing 'access' to basic WSS services in urban areas and focus instead on enabling improved sustainable services.

Climate change and disaster risk reduction

- Continue to strongly argue the need to ensure that urban adaptation, risk reduction and mitigation issues are front and centre of any international climate agreement signed in Paris.
- Push for the protection and conservation or the sustainable and equitable use of International Public Goods in a way that also delivers mitigation co-benefits

in urban areas, for example by using pollution reduction as an entry point for the mitigation of GHGs.

- Structure innovative collaborations with the private sector to participate in urban adaptation, risk reduction and mitigation to reap a resilience dividend.
- Support programmes on adaptation, risk reduction and mitigation tailored to the opportunities and challenges posed by urban areas (as opposed to generic programmes).
- Back attempts to develop programmes that exploit co-benefits in the empowerment of urban women and adaptation, risk reduction and mitigation actions.

Sexual and reproductive health rights

- More explicitly recognise and address the budgetary implications SRHR-based initiatives in the DGIS strategy – particularly relating to reductions in education and health systems, and rural–urban allocations for SRHR.
- Increase emphasis on composite or integrated interventions framed around women’s and girls’ empowerment, which value the considerable multiplier benefits of SRHR responses.
- Advocate for national data sets, such as Demographic and Health Surveys, which are often the primary source of representative data on SRHR, to develop age- and gender-disaggregated SRHR data within urban contexts.
- Highlight demand-side constraints relating to behavioural or discriminatory social norms. This can be conducted through the mapping of programme M&E indicators, as well as technical capacity assessments relating to Knowledge, Attitudes and Practices (KAP) surveys.

Food security

- Ensuring food security requires investment across the food system, including in the transport infrastructure, storage facilities and, within and on the outskirts of urban areas, in well-designed and managed wholesale and retail markets so that urban consumers have access to safe and nutritious food. There is a role for the private sector in the ‘midstream’ of the supply chain, including processing, packaging and logistics.
- Tackling urban poverty, including through establishing or expanding urban safety nets such as cash transfer schemes, food banks or subsidised food stores, is central to ensuring urban food security, particularly in given the greater volatility of food prices in urban areas. Systems need to

be in place to ensure that these public services and social security systems are also accessible to rural migrants.

- Remittances from urban to rural areas have the potential to stimulate agricultural investment and increase productivity. Ensuring safe and cheap channels for remittances, and making sure that families have the knowledge to use them to make productive investments, could be promising ways forward.

Emergency aid

- Better integrate and coordinate relief, recovery, reconstruction and development assistance and develop humanitarian strategies as part of an overall recovery/reconstruction strategy for urban areas.
- Consider providing technical assistance and surge capacity to affected governments at different levels (national, sub-national, municipal) after disasters in urban areas.
- Encourage innovative engagement and partnerships with a wider range of actors (local, small-scale actors, the private sector) in humanitarian responses.
- Support lesson-learning where disasters, armed violence and conflict overlap, including through funding innovative applied research programmes.

Peace, security and conflict

- Take a broad ‘developmental’ approach, facilitating relations between state and non-state actors, taking advantage of informal models of security that already exist within neighbourhoods.
- Identify and support ‘protective’ factors against insecurity, such as inter-family relations, community associations and productive employment.
- Pay attention to medium and small cities, which may be more at risk of insecurity and violence as they usually have fewer resources, less investment in infrastructure and basic services and less professional capacity for effective governance.
- Support greater coherence within urban governance systems and between different levels of governance.
- With respect to current Dutch priorities for peace and security, it is appropriate that there is a focus on fragile cities, not just states, and a recognition that insecurity is not bounded by a nation state.

1. Introduction

Urbanisation in developing countries is a defining trend of the twenty-first century, with profound economic, social and environmental consequences. While these consequences can be positive or negative depending on how urban services are managed, no country has experienced significant development progress without a major shift of populations to cities (Glaeser, 2011).

Urbanisation is taking place alongside a number of other trends. ICT, for instance, is changing the way we communicate and reducing distances. Together with other technological innovations, it can help to deliver much-needed infrastructure to support the sustainable development of cities, as growing populations put increasing pressure on finite resources.

The fact that more people in developing countries will be living in urban areas has implications for development cooperation agencies. For the most part, development agencies do not target their policies spatially, and when they do their focus has traditionally been on rural areas. Mitlin and Satterthwaite (2013) cite the complexity that characterises urban governance compared to rural areas as a reason why international donors and NGOs often lack a coherent urban policy.

As developing countries' urban populations increase, it is critical to understand how this trend might affect donors' programming, and the adjustments that are needed to respond to this challenge.

This report, prepared for the Directorate-General for International Cooperation (DGIS), assesses the impacts of urbanisation on the agency's key thematic areas of water management, climate change and disaster risk reduction, sexual and reproductive health rights, food security, emergency aid and peace, security and conflict.

It is structured as follows:

- Section 2 describes current urbanisation trends and what makes the urban landscape distinctive.
- Section 3 assesses the opportunities and challenges brought about by urbanisation for each of the key thematic areas.
- Section 4 highlights the implications of urbanisation for two areas that cut across all themes: politics, power and governance, and equity and marginalisation.
- Section 5 concludes by outlining the implications of urbanisation for the policy and practice of the DGIS, with a focus on international cooperation policy.

2. Setting the scene: urbanisation trends

Urban populations are growing rapidly, particularly in low- and middle-income countries. By 2050, the world's population will have grown from its 2012 level of 7 billion to over 9bn, and about 70% of these people will live in urban areas. Virtually all of this global population growth

will occur in urban areas in low- and middle-income countries. With 40% and 48% of the population currently living in urban areas in Africa and Asia, respectively, these are among the least urbanised regions, and the ones expected to experience the fastest urban growth over coming decades (UN DESA, 2014). Urban poverty is set to increase too. While almost 1bn people currently live in slums, this number is expected to grow by nearly 500 million between 2013 and 2020 (World Bank and IMF, 2013).

The scale of change has been remarkable, mainly as a result of the urbanisation of some of the world's largest countries. India and China are expected to add over 400m and 290m urban dwellers, respectively, to the global urban population between 2014 and 2050 (UN DESA, 2014). The rise of mega-cities of 10m residents or more, particularly in Asia, is another striking trend: the number tripled between 1990 and 2014, from ten to 28, and there are expected to be 48 by 2030, most of them in developing regions, particularly Asia (14 in China and India alone). Lagos, Dhaka, Karachi and Kinshasa – plus megacities in China and India – are among the cities of 10m-plus that experienced the fastest population growth over the last five years (UN DESA, 2014).

Despite the fact that megacities get most of the coverage, the majority of people in the world still live in small urban centres with fewer than 500,000 inhabitants. Furthermore, small (500,000 to 1m inhabitants) and medium-sized cities (1–5m) in Africa and Asia are actually growing the fastest. These settlements often have poor services and receive little attention and resources from policymakers (Ghosh, 2012).

The reasons behind urban population growth include natural increase (the difference between births and deaths), annexation (when nearby areas are absorbed into physically expanding towns) and reclassification (when a small rural settlement surpasses the population threshold to become an urban area). However, urbanisation – understood as the increase in the proportion of the population living in urban centres – is overwhelmingly the result of net rural to urban migration. In Western Europe, urbanisation went hand in hand with economic growth and industrialisation. But rural–urban migration can also be associated with conflict, disasters, rural impoverishment or a search for better amenities. The claim that in some poor countries, particularly in Africa, urban population growth is taking place without industrialisation has long been a subject of debate. Some authors challenge the extent to which urbanisation is happening in sub-Saharan Africa due to limited data. For example, Potts (2012) finds evidence of circular migration and de-urbanisation in some African countries and suggests that natural population increase, rather than rural-urban migration, may be behind urban growth in these countries. This underlines the importance of understanding the specific patterns and drivers of urban growth in different countries, as they will require different policy responses.

Box 1: What makes the urban environment distinctive?

Beall et al. (2010) refer to four distinctive features of urban environments: density, diversity, dynamism and complexity. Density refers to the fact that urban centres concentrate a large number of people living and working in close proximity to each other. Economists have long argued that this offers economic advantages as businesses can draw from a wider pool of labour and suppliers. In addition, the concentration of people can foster greater exchange of ideas and innovation. In terms of service delivery, density offers economies of scale, which means that service provision can be more cost-effective. There are of course also negative aspects associated with density. As more people live in cities, transport and housing costs rise and so does congestion and pollution.

Another characteristic of urban centres, particularly larger ones, is diversity, which can again be seen in a positive or negative light. While some interpretations celebrate cultural diversity (Vertovec et al., 2002), others point to residential segregation and the challenges of governing multicultural and divided cities (Bremner, 2004). Urban centres are also dynamic, as populations can change rapidly. New migrants can bring new skills, but also increase demands for services that require quick policy responses. Because of the transient nature of the urban population, it can be particularly difficult to target social programmes to the needs of poor people.

All of these features mean that urban environments are complex (Mitlin and Satterthwaite, 2013; Beall et al., 2010), with a large number of informal and formal actors as well as different levels of government and government agencies involved in policymaking.

3. What does urbanisation mean for Dutch development priorities?

This section explores the implications of urbanisation on the DGIS' six priorities: water management, climate change and disaster risk reduction, sexual and reproductive health rights, food security, emergency aid and peace, security and conflict. Each section discusses the challenges and opportunities posed for development by urbanisation, and makes recommendations for how Dutch development work could respond.

3.1 Water management

Water is life. Its wise management in the urban context holds significant potential to enable human health, food and energy security, economic activity and livelihoods. The world has made progress in managing its water fairly and efficiently, but there is still a long way to go. The DGIS recognises the importance of water management as one of its six policy themes, and water is a priority for Dutch aid and trade engagement in 11 countries.¹ DGIS focuses its activities around three goals: (i) delivering higher water productivity in agriculture; (ii) improving river basin and delta management; and (iii) providing access to safe drinking water and sanitation. Rapid urbanisation is creating new opportunities and challenges for achieving these goals.

3.1.1 Urbanisation and agricultural water productivity

Agriculture has historically been the dominant water user in most countries, but is facing growing competition as a result of urbanisation. The industries and services that are growing alongside urban populations need water to operate. Emerging urban middle classes are changing their food preferences and service-level expectations, shifting

towards more water-intensive diets and higher per capita domestic use (Pingali, 2004). As a result, urban areas are drawing on water resources from far beyond their geographic footprint.

Balancing water for agriculture versus water for cities and industries under rapid urbanisation will be both the biggest opportunity and the biggest challenge in achieving agricultural water productivity (Doczi et al., 2014). Done wrong, the response can exacerbate rural-urban inequalities, drive poor farmers deeper into poverty and threaten food security. Done right, it can drive reform to strengthen water rights and increase investment in technologies that promote the more efficient use of agricultural water to produce 'more crop per drop', without hurting farmers (Mason and Newborne, 2013).

China is a good example of the latter. Since 1990, the country's agricultural water withdrawals per hectare of irrigated land have declined by over 20%, while its total agricultural productivity has increased by over 130% (Doczi et al., 2014). This has freed up water to fuel industrialisation and the economic growth that has lifted nearly 600m people out of poverty. To balance water for agriculture and water for cities and industries, China took a pragmatic, problem-focused approach to reform and investment, experimenting with a variety of technical, economic and regulatory models.

DGIS could use its aid investment to support a pragmatic policy like this in its priority countries. In Rwanda, for example, about 80% of the population still work in agriculture, though this is on the decline with strong rates of economic growth and urbanisation (Nabalamba and Sennoga, 2014). As climate change threatens more droughts, Rwanda will need support to transition to a mixed water economy, which enables

¹ Bangladesh, Benin, Ghana, Indonesia, Kenya, Mali, Mozambique, Palestine, Rwanda, South Sudan and Yemen.

higher-value water use for cities and industry without jeopardising the welfare of water-dependent farmers.

Dutch companies could also support these efforts from a technical and managerial perspective. Dutch agricultural companies operate some of the world's most efficient irrigation systems, as well as other systems for multi-sector water efficiency, such as wastewater reuse, aquifer storage and technologies to reduce water loss in distribution networks. They can support DGIS aid engagement in countries like Rwanda with peer-to-peer mentoring, and can profit by adapting low-cost versions of their systems for sale in these markets.

3.1.2 Urbanisation and river basin/delta management

River basin and delta management spans a range of activities, including water extraction, storage, use and control. How urbanisation will affect these activities is unclear, though the current trajectory is grim. The OECD (2012) suggests that over 40% of the world's population may be living in river basins under severe water stress by 2050. Upstream of a growing city, many options exist for managing its water resources, such as reallocating water from agriculture, building a dam, reforesting degraded slopes, relocating industries or installing flood control measures. Downstream, a city's industrial and sewage pollution can make water unusable without treatment.

Deltas face similar uncertainties. Their rich biodiversity and fertile soil historically made them favourable places to settle, and they are now home to some of the world's largest urban areas. Millions have benefited from exploiting the resources of deltas, but growing populations are placing a major strain on what remains. Bangladesh is an example of a country in urgent need of delta management that the Netherlands' world-leading aid and trade expertise can continue to support (e.g., recent delta planning work led by Deltares (Deltares, 2015)). Its growing and urbanising population is overusing resources and locking-in infrastructure in low-lying areas, increasing vulnerability to floods, typhoons and sea-level rise.

DGIS also aims to promote cooperation in nine transboundary basins.² Urbanisation will probably put additional strain on most transboundary relationships in these basins. For example, countries like Ethiopia and Laos are building large dams on their transboundary rivers to promote urbanisation and industrialisation. These have not been well-received by their downstream neighbours Egypt and Cambodia, respectively, which rely on the rivers for their own growth and urbanisation (e.g. Hussein, 2014; The Economist, 2014).

DGIS could facilitate broader negotiations on transboundary issues. Transboundary agreements should extend beyond raw water allocations and pollution to consider energy flows and trade in water-intensive products.

It is important to help partners to understand this full range of potential trade-offs and benefits, and how urbanisation throughout the basin could affect the flow of resources including, but not limited to, water. If well managed, transboundary agreements can promote regional integration and serve to share the benefits of water development fairly among human users and ecosystem services. If poorly managed, the risk of conflict, inequitable benefit distribution and vulnerability to shocks may increase.

In theory, improving the management of basins and deltas can provide clear benefits. Yet despite many decades of effort, there is still little empirical evidence on what types of reforms and policies work best (Hepworth et al., 2012). What is appropriate for managing a particular basin or delta, and what benefits can be expected, depends substantially on a country's hydrology and broader development priorities. Although 'integrated' or 'nexus' approaches are attractive, too often the focus is on integration and the establishment of management plans as a goal in itself, rather than on the people, problems and trade-offs involved in allocation decisions. DGIS could help by convening pragmatic dialogues focused on local contexts and needs, rather than prescriptive attempts at integration and planning for its own sake.

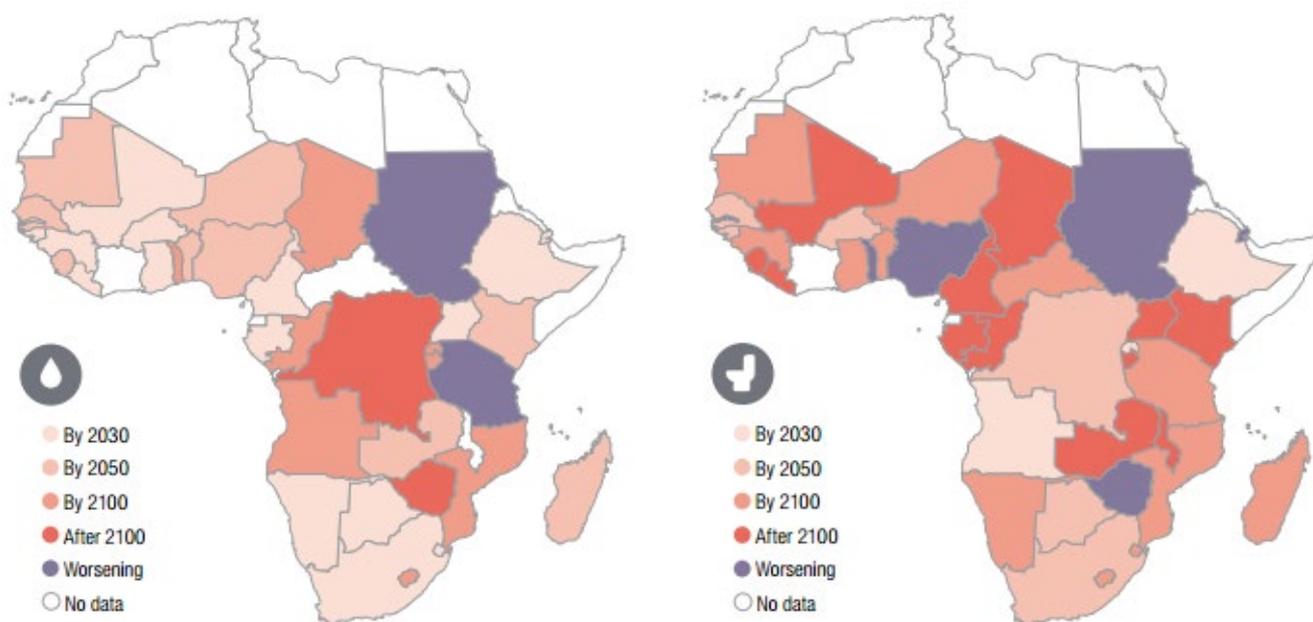
3.1.3 Urbanisation and access to safe drinking water and sanitation

Water supply and sanitation (WSS) providers will struggle to keep pace with urbanisation and demographic change. Global WSS service provision may stay abreast of expected rates of growth, but we expect much less progress on tackling the existing coverage deficit. Given current trends, more than 400m people may still lack access to improved water supply and around 2bn to improved sanitation in 2030 (OECD, 2012). Figure 1 illustrates these trends for Sub-Saharan Africa. Between 2000 and 2012, the proportion of people in the world without access to improved water supply who lived in urban areas grew from about 12% to 17% (WHO and UNICEF, 2014). For improved sanitation the proportion grew from 24% to 30%. These hard to reach populations will continue to represent some of the most disadvantaged nations and social groups, made more visible – though not necessarily better off – through urbanisation.

Expanding cities and towns are seeing a growth in areas within their jurisdiction that lack formal WSS services. In some cases lack of land tenure prevents tenants from investing in WSS improvements (WSUP, 2013a). Other areas may be served, but only for those who can afford a high connection fee, or who are not otherwise excluded due to their age, ethnic group, (dis)ability, gender or religion. Utility companies are rarely willing or able to extend their systems to growing peri-urban settlements and

2 The Ganges/Brahmaputra, Mekong, Nile, Senegal, Zambezi, Incomati, Maputo, Mara and Mono.

Figure 1: Years by which selected countries will achieve 100% coverage of improved water supply (left) and sanitation (right) sources, according to current projections.



Source: Wild et al. 2015

dense urban slums (Parker, 2010). There remains a huge global gap in committed WSS infrastructure finance, which urbanisation threatens to exacerbate (Doczi et al., 2013).

The concentration of people in urban areas also offers economies of scale for Dutch aid and trade investments in terms of the cost of closing these gaps. Providing networked WSS services is cheaper per person in a dense urban slum than in a dispersed rural village (WaterAid, 2011). That said, these economies of scale often fail to materialise if tariff systems lack an appropriate subsidy element to enable the poor to connect to networked WSS services in the first place. There are thus arguments for focusing subsidies on enabling connections for low-income households, rather than subsidising their consumption of these services thereafter (Komives et al., 2005).

Service providers in growing urban areas will need support across numerous fronts. In cities like Chokwe in Mozambique, networked WSS services suffer from water loss, which makes it more difficult to extend services to new customers (UN-Habitat, 2012). Chokwe is receiving ongoing support from the Dutch company Vitens-Evides International through a water operator partnership (WOP). The growth in networked WSS operations with urbanisation will create more opportunities for Dutch companies to invest in these operations and to share their expertise through peer learning activities like WOPs. Where networked systems are absent a variety of local, small-scale private operators have emerged, particularly in slums and peri-urban areas. They need support and regulation

to improve the safety and affordability of their services (WSUP, 2012; WSUP, 2013b).

More support is also needed to develop alternatives to large-scale networked systems for urban areas. Promising models include Sanergy’s system of public toilet franchises in Nairobi and BORDA’s work on decentralised wastewater treatment systems (DEWATS) in Southeast Asia. Service providers of all types need new models of marketing and public communication for WSS-related behaviour change that work in urban contexts. Models of WSS behaviour change communication that were developed for tight-knit rural communities, such as community-led total sanitation (CLTS) to reduce rates of open defecation, are not easily transferred to less cohesive urban communities. Social marketing models are increasingly popular, such as WSP’s FOAM framework (Coombes and Devine, 2010), though more evidence of their impact on urban populations is needed.

Overcoming these challenges requires a holistic and multi-stakeholder approach to service delivery – best practices for which are still debated among practitioners. DGIS can help advance this debate by supporting and documenting new models of WSS service provision for growing urban areas. In Bangladesh, for example, DGIS support to BRAC has been instrumental in providing access to safe sanitation for 25m people in rural areas. Rapid urbanisation means that the country now needs similar support in urban and peri-urban areas.

3.1.4 Recommendations

DGIS has maintained a consistent focus on water management through its three main goals. To remain effective in the context of rapid urbanisation, we recommend that DGIS considers modifying these goals in two ways:

- DGIS should rephrase its first goal to better capture the challenge of balancing water for agriculture and water for cities and industry by encouraging multi-sectoral water productivity, not just agricultural water productivity

Examining the goal on agricultural water productivity, we recommend a wider focus to include water productivity in urban areas. As countries urbanise, their industrial and service sectors will demand more water from agriculture. Promoting agricultural water productivity is important and should continue, but DGIS also has an opportunity to take a more holistic approach by promoting industrial water productivity and cross-sectoral water productivity at the river basin level. The former activity could target emerging, water-intensive industries in partner countries with technology transfer initiatives from Dutch companies and regulatory reform. The latter could involve working with governments to design water rights and trading regimes that span both the agricultural and urban (industrial/ services) sectors, and that promote fair sharing of water risks and benefits.

- DGIS should move beyond simply providing ‘access’ to basic WSS services in urban areas and focus instead on enabling improved sustainable services

We recognise the leadership of DGIS on WASH sustainability, particularly its use of a sustainability clause in its contracts with implementers and the types of funded work that these implementers carry out (e.g. the Triple-S project of IRC). That said, there is still room to look at the strategic balance between providing new access versus supporting the sustainability of existing services. Stated WASH targets and the reported distribution of funding by the Netherlands for WASH emphasise new access, (only a reported 10–20% of funding goes to sustaining and enhancing service levels to those already served (WHO, 2014)).

Data from the WHO/UNICEF Joint Monitoring Programme (JMP) affirm that rates of access to basic WSS facilities are already high in urban areas compared to rural ones. Even in 1990, only 5.9% of the world’s urban dwellers practiced open defecation, compared to 38% of rural dwellers (WHO and UNICEF, 2014). Yet access to a basic pit latrine or hand pump is insufficient for growing urban areas. Economies of scale make higher levels of

service more efficient, both for delivering clean water and for avoiding the damage caused by dirty water.

We recommend that DGIS focuses more explicitly on the potential of these economies of scale for its urban work.³ For example, it could increase support to WSS service providers – including informal providers – to connect more people to its networks and to improve their financial and operational capacities. In particular, wastewater and faecal sludge management are suffering from critically low levels of attention and investment in many urban areas and will benefit from the recent DGIS commitment for more support (WHO, 2014). Across the water management priority in general, we also recommend that DGIS retains its strong aid focus on fragile states, whose urban areas will be in most need of assistance.

3.2 Climate change and risk reduction

The impacts of climate change on urban areas have received relatively little attention as compared to rural contexts (Bul-Kamanga et al., 2003). However, things are changing and there is now increasing emphasis on the study of climate impacts in towns and cities. The concentration of people, infrastructure and assets in towns and cities means that urban areas are major contributors to greenhouse gas (GHG) emissions, and there is increasing consensus that the battle against climate change will largely be won or lost in cities. Urban areas occupy just 2% of global land area, but account for a staggering 70% of all emissions (UNHABITAT, 2011). They also account for a disproportionate amount of a nation’s emissions; for example, China’s 35 largest cities (with 18% of the population) account for 40% of energy-related CO₂ emissions, and the Thai capital Bangkok (with 9% of the country’s population) emitted 26% of the nation’s CO₂ from energy use in 2005 (Phdungsilp, 2010). While 33 global megacities will account for a tenth of emissions growth out to 2030, small urban areas with populations of less than half a million will account for around a sixth of GHG emissions growth over the same period (*ibid.*). Cities also consume a vast amount of materials produced elsewhere and are therefore responsible for emissions that are ‘embedded’ in goods and services (Dhakai, 2010).

DGIS is engaging with climate change in a number of ways, including by working towards a more robust climate agreement in Paris in December 2015; ensuring that the climate is considered as an international public good; and formulating partnerships with a diverse range of stakeholders on various aspects of climate change. However, there is scope for DGIS to better engage with climate change in the context of urbanisation. Although urban areas are prime contributors to climate change, they also offer ready opportunities for mitigating it.

3 Note that this recommendation does not suggest that DGIS ignore those who lack access to basic WSS services in urban areas – who are usually among the poorest and most marginalised. However, we argue that a sole focus on access for this minority of urban dwellers would miss the economy of scale available to improve services for the majority of low- and middle-income residents in these contexts.

Box 2: Organisations, networks and service delivery models relevant to water management

Many of the well-known organisations and networks on water management are Dutch and will be familiar to DGIS, such as IRC, Deltares, UNESCO-IHE and Vitens-Evides International (VEI). In particular, IRC has published high-quality reports on urban WRM and WSS issues. Here, we highlight a few other promising models of urban water engagement.

Water and Sanitation for the Urban Poor (WSUP)

WSUP is a leading UK-based WSS organisation and network that works to strengthen WSS service provision in urban and peri-urban areas. It focuses on urban areas in Bangladesh, Ghana, Kenya, Madagascar, Mozambique and Zambia. WSUP has published high-quality papers on urban WSS issues, including three cited in this report.
www.wsup.com

Alliance for Global Water Adaptation (AGWA)

AGWA is an extensive network of WRM and WSS professionals. Although its focus is on climate change, the network's roster of key thought and practice leaders is probably the most extensive in the water sector. DGIS could use the network to source urban WRM and WSS experts.
<http://alliance4water.org>

Sanergy

Sanergy designs and manufactures low-cost, high-quality public toilets for urban slums in Kenya, which they then franchise out to local entrepreneurs to manage. Uniquely, waste from these toilets (contained in removable cartridges) is collected on a daily basis, and brought to a treatment facility to convert into fertilizer and biogas. The model has attracted a lot of attention and is growing rapidly.
<http://saner.gy>

The Bremen Overseas Research and Development Association (BORDA)

BORDA leads in the use of another type of urban sanitation system called DEWATS – decentralised wastewater treatment system – tailored to areas where networked sewerage is unfeasible or unaffordable. Most modules focus on low-maintenance treatment technologies, such as anaerobic baffled reactors, biogas plants and constructed wetlands. BORDA operates as a business and provides maintenance and follow-up support. It has been particularly active in Southeast Asia, building hundreds of DEWATS units for facilities such as slaughterhouses, schools and public markets.
<http://www.borda-net.org/>

3.2.1 Climate change adaptation and risk reduction

Climate change and urban contexts interact in a number of complex ways. First, cities, especially in low- and middle-income countries, are predominantly located along coasts and rivers (Dodman and Satterthwaite, 2008). Historically this was to facilitate trade, but in the context of climate change it leads to heightened exposure to hydrometeorological shocks and stresses. When combined with the high inherent vulnerability of urban areas in the developing world, the exposed locations of towns and cities put a large number of urban citizens at increased risk (*ibid.*). Cities often tend to attract a steady flow of poor migrants in search of economic opportunity who form informal settlements on cheaper/unused but more hazardous land (e.g. flood plains). In this way, 33% of all urban citizens reside in informal settlements with poor services, weak regulation and fractured planning (UNHABITAT 2013).

Second, urbanisation is synonymous with urban sprawl, infrastructure development, the generation of housing stock and an expansion of the built environment. This construction, especially in developing countries, often leads to the destruction of the natural environment, the degradation of ecosystems and disruption to vital ecological services (Alberti et al., 2004) that are widely seen as playing a critical role in buffering against a variety of shocks and stresses. For instance, mangrove forests reduce the impact of storm surges and hurricanes and urban water bodies accommodate excess runoff during high intensity rainfall events, reducing the likelihood of flooding (McIvor et al., 2012).⁴ Third, the density of settlement patterns in urban areas means that small perturbations can snowball into major disasters and unforeseen, concatenate events (Bahadur and Tanner, 2014). For instance, low-level flooding in a densely populated informal settlement can lead to a major cholera

4 <http://www.wetlands.org/Portals/0/publications/Report/storm-surge-reduction-by-mangroves-report.pdf>

epidemic, or a bush fire in peri-urban scrublands can lead to massive damage due to the highly concentrated economic assets in urban areas.

Cities also present unique opportunities to tackle climate-induced shocks and stresses. First, the concentration of intellectual capital in cities offers substantial possibilities for developing new and innovative approaches for climate change adaptation, disaster risk reduction and resilience (Leichenko's, 2011). Urban areas have a prevalence of expertise and numerous universities and research centres, and a lot more needs to be done to mobilise this intellectual capital. A good example is the Asian Cities Climate Change Resilience Network initiative, which engages local researchers to enhance urban resilience to a range of hazards across Asia. In Gorakhpur, India, researchers from the Geography Department of the local university are studying geo-hydrological dynamics such as drainage patterns to reduce the risk from low-level, high-frequency flooding (also known as water-logging).

Second, most urban areas, including in low-income countries, have systems for urban planning and are therefore inherently primed to launch sustained efforts to tackle the shocks and stresses induced by climate change. However, many of these systems are weak, and more needs to be done to harness urban planning regimes so that they also help reduce vulnerability. This includes building the capacity of planners (perhaps by drawing on city-based experts and research centres), investment of increased authority in city governments to effect major changes in planning processes (through the decentralisation of governance and its alignment with territorial dimensions of planning) and ensuring the participation of cities' most vulnerable citizens in policy processes. One urban DRR initiative in South Asia worked with governments in 11 cities to amend building by-laws with a view to enhancing structural safety in hazard-prone areas (UNDP, 2010). Similarly, the cities of Manizales, Medellin and Bogota in Colombia have developed local DRR systems that ensure that disaster prevention is factored into planning processes. In the case of Manizales, the disaster risk management plan is integrated into the city's environmental policy, and in Medellin this is integrated with the city's development plan (Ella, n.d.).

Third, urban areas have a plethora of constituencies including the private sector, civil society organisations and government actors, all of whom can play a constructive role in enhancing climate resilience. The potential for the private sector to help with adaptation/resilience is immense, from small actions such as the adoption of green building techniques to more structural approaches, such as building redundancies in supply chains to ensure the continued flow of vital goods during disasters (Terpstra and McGray, 2013). In India, UNDP is partnering with the private sector to train 2,500 engineers, 4,500 masons and 900 architects on disaster-resistant construction technology (UNDP, 2010). Engagement with the private sector is a clear entry point for the emphasis on 'Aid for Trade' within

the DGIS. This could take multiple forms, but Dutch investment in risk reduction and adaptation could be aimed at harnessing a 'resilience dividend' (Tanner et al., 2014). This means that strategic investments to ensure that urban areas are better able to deal with climate extremes and disasters would not only lead to avoided losses but also attract investment, jobs and experience for enhanced economic growth (*ibid.*). This is because enterprise and trade is likely to flourish in an environment that is protected from the likelihood of shocks and stresses (*ibid.*). There is growing recognition of the contribution civil society can make, including supporting action to engage with climate impacts and disaster risk. For instance, there are many examples of federations formed by residents of informal settlements 'upgrading' existing houses to make them more resistant to climate-induced shocks and stresses (Satterthwaite, 2007). It is also easier to gauge biophysical risks in urban areas as most cities have high-resolution maps (including GIS maps) that provide data on elevation, slopes and soil quality that can be factored into urban risk reduction plans and policies.

3.2.3 Climate change mitigation

As well as major contributors to global GHG emissions, cities also offer the potential for large reductions in emissions. There is growing consensus that even relatively small improvements in energy and transport efficiency in towns and cities can lead to major gains (Dhakal, 2010). For example, transit-oriented cities (where people may commute from suburbs to a downtown area) could reduce annual GHG emissions by 1.8bn tonnes of CO₂ by 2050 by promoting the use of public transport. Overall, 10% of the total emissions reductions needed by 2050 to ensure that global temperatures do not rise by more than 2 degrees can come from using energy-saving retrofits, efficient appliances, new lighting standards, better insulation in buildings and more energy-efficient transit technologies in towns and cities (C40, 2014). The fact that cities, especially in the developing world, are still growing – roughly 40% of urban housing to be occupied in 2030 is yet to be built – provides a clear opportunity for mitigation (UNDP, 2010).

Similarly, ensuring that the expansion of the built environment in urban areas supports the mitigation of GHGs is another important pathway to positive action on tackling climate change. This can include exploiting the sequestration potential of urban areas, for instance through using soils rich in calcium around newly constructed parks or roof gardens, or by planting certain kinds of woody plants in open urban spaces; in the Australian capital Canberra this led to sequestration that could otherwise have cost up to \$67m (*ibid.*). These approaches, combined with spatial planning policies that promote compact-form development approaches (where homes and offices are located close together rather than sprawling over vast stretches) could reduce transport GHG emissions by 20–50% in 2050, compared to baseline (IPCC, 2014).

There are numerous co-benefits to GHG abatement, making it possible to rally political will to ensure policy change. For instance, mitigation approaches can be closely aligned with efforts to reduce air pollution, which usually yield political dividends. In cities such as Beijing, the total social costs of motorised transport, including air pollution and congestion, are estimated at 7.5–15% of the GDP (New Climate Economy, 2014). Much can be achieved by adjusting or tweaking strategic planning and land use regulations, devising appropriate taxes and levies, structuring the right development finance instruments and building effective and accountable institutions. As urban areas account for a high proportion of all emissions, these actions will go a long way in curtailing global climate change.

3.2.4 Recommendations

DGIS clearly recognises the importance of engaging with climate change and has outlined key issues and themes that it plans to tackle. First, DGIS is supporting the consolidation of an international climate agreement in 2015. As part of this, it can support efforts to ensure that towns and cities are front and centre in any global framework. This is critical as there is very little mention currently of how urban issues interact with the key points of negotiation. Key issues to take forward could include a focused look at the dynamics around loss and damage specifically in towns and cities, a push for disaggregating Intended Nationally Determined Contributions in a way that sets out the nature of action in urban contexts and earmarking financial instruments for mitigation accessible to city governments.

Second, DGIS clearly views climate as an international public good.⁵ This provides a clear entry point to push for the protection, conservation and sustainable and equitable use of public goods in a way that also delivers mitigation co-benefits in urban areas. An obvious example would be the promotion of effective air pollution control, which would also yield positive spin-offs for GHG emissions. This could be done by restructuring urban development to reduce pollution and emissions; a recent analysis of 311 cities (containing about a billion people) shows that patterns of urban development are responsible for 86% of these cities exceeding World Health Organisation (WHO) air quality guidelines for outdoor air pollution.⁶

Third, the Dutch government ‘plans to enter into partnerships with the business community, civil society organisations and research institutions in order to strengthen public support for its ambitious climate policies’.⁷ As discussed above, most of these actors are in urban settings, and so getting them to participate

in programmatic/policy initiatives on climate change resilience and mitigation in their neighbourhoods would be a potential quick win. There are emerging examples of such programming, for instance the Public Private People Partnerships for Climate Compatible Development initiative in Maputo, Mozambique, which demonstrate how business, city governments and poor urban communities can work together to address climate change. The Dutch private sector is perhaps one of the most advanced in the world in developing and deploying new technologies for adaptation and risk reduction, and new cities in China, the Middle East and India could prove a strong and ready market for these highly specialised skills. Arguments for harnessing the ‘resilience dividend’, where reducing the risk of climate extremes and disasters helps propel trade and economic growth, provide a further impetus for considering the private sector as a key actor in this sphere of activity.

Fourth, while Disaster Risk Reduction is listed as a key issue for DGIS there is no explicit mention of the specific challenges and opportunities that urban contexts may present. As discussed, urban areas in developing countries are inherently exposed, have a large and poor population and suffer from concatenate disasters. At the same time, they have technical and financial resources and planning and governance regimes that provide openings for mainstreaming risk reduction, adaptation and mitigation, and a plethora of actors (private sector, civil society and government) that can all help in reducing disaster risk. DGIS must acknowledge these dynamics to design suitable policy/programmatic responses. A key point that needs further attention is technical expertise in conducting urban risk assessments. Assessing risk in urban areas is complex because populations change, leading to changing vulnerability profiles among urban residents, and rapid changes in the built environment lead to changes in the degree to which urban residents are exposed. Moreover, undertaking participatory risk assessments (in line with global best practice) is notoriously difficult in urban areas because urban livelihood patterns and the lack of social cohesion make established protocols for participatory data collection less effective. The DGIS, with its proven experience in disaster risk reduction, can help plug this gap in knowledge which is vital for enhancing the ability of urban areas to deal with climate-induced shocks and stresses.

Fifth, ensuring women’s equality and empowerment in the context of adaptation is another priority of DGIS. Much of the considerable research into how climate change impacts on women looks at rural contexts, and understanding how climate change interacts with the

5 <http://www.government.nl/issues/development-cooperation/international-public-goods>

6 <http://newclimateeconomy.report/cities/>

7 <http://www.government.nl/issues/development-cooperation/climate-and-development-cooperation>

Box 3: Organisations and networks relevant to climate change and risk reduction

Asian Cities Climate Change Resilience Network

Pioneered by the Rockefeller Foundation, the Asian Cities Climate Change Resilience Network (ACCCRN) is built on a multi-year initiative to strengthen the capacity of over 50 rapidly urbanising cities in Bangladesh, India, Indonesia, the Philippines, Thailand and Vietnam to survive, adapt and transform in the face of climate-related stress and shocks. Currently led by Mercy Corps, with the engagement of institutions and experts who have been leaders within ACCCRN, the network focuses on helping individuals and organisations build climate change resilience for poor and vulnerable people by fostering partnerships and collaboration.

<http://accrn.net/about-accrn>

100 Resilient Cities

100 Resilient Cities (pioneered by the Rockefeller Foundation) is working to help cities around the world become more resilient to the physical, social and economic challenges. 100RC supports the adoption and incorporation of a view of resilience that includes not just the shocks – earthquakes, fires, floods, etc. – but also the stresses that weaken the fabric of a city on a day to day or cyclical basis, such as unemployment, violence and water shortages.

http://www.100resilientcities.org/pages/about-us#/-/_/

C40

C40 is a network of megacities taking action to reduce greenhouse gas emissions. It works with participating cities to address climate risks and impacts locally and globally. Its field staff work with city governments, supported by technical experts across a range of programme areas, to facilitate active exchange and collaboration on mitigation.

<http://www.c40.org/about>

ICLEI

ICLEI supports cities and local governments in working towards sustainability. ICLEI's overarching programme on urban resilience, Climate Resilient Cities, covers issues such as climate adaptation, disaster risk reduction, food security, policy-making and financing, producing a range of conferences, seminars, networks, tools and guidebooks to help local leaders build resilience at all levels of governance. ICLEI also helps cities to mitigate climate change by offering standards and guidelines for accounting and reporting greenhouse gas emissions, and planning for future local climate actions.

<http://www.iclei.org/our-activities/our-agendas/low-carbon-city.html>

lives of women in cities is a major gap in knowledge, as are insights on activities that can serve the twin purpose of supporting adaptation and women's empowerment. Initiatives such as the Climate and Development Knowledge Network⁸ (partly supported by the Dutch government) are running research programmes on this theme. DGIS should support such initiatives, be receptive to the findings from such exercises and support the scaling up of models that have proven successful.

3.3 Sexual and reproductive health rights

Urban population growth (particularly within informal settlements (Pick and Obermeyer, 1996)), combined with large pre-existing urban populations, will place increasing pressure on SRHR interventions and associated health facilities, as well as support structures. However, addressing these challenges many not only bring short-term impacts to urban populations, but also broader social, economic and environmental outcomes. For instance, SRHR interventions not only serve to address obvious

issues relating to voluntary, timely and well-spaced births and other family planning outcomes, but also longer-term early childhood development outcomes, women's empowerment and protection issues, environmental stability (through reduced resource consumption), higher and more egalitarian household distribution of resources, and wider population stabilisation.

The current DGIS priorities in relation to SRHR do not formally or explicitly refer to urbanisation, but nevertheless provide four intervention areas which offer opportunities to distil urban-specific lessons: sex education and services for young people; better access to contraceptives, anti-retrovirals and other medicines; sexual and reproductive health care as part of an accessible, affordable basic healthcare system; and more respect for the sexual health and rights of groups that are discriminated against and vulnerable, such as lesbians and gays, drug users, prostitutes and child brides. What urbanisation means for each of these objectives is discussed in further detail below.

8 <http://cdkn.org/wp-content/uploads/2014/08/CDKN-CIRF-ToR-FINAL-CLEAN.pdf>

3.3.1 Sex education and services for young people

Addressing the SRHR needs of young people in urban environments brings different challenges than in rural settings. Urban communities comprise much more dynamic and complex populations, and house a much more diverse mix of young people, in turn requiring more tailored approaches to sex education and services. The ‘youth bulge’ in urban and peri-urban areas creates higher demand for services from a young migrating population in its prime reproductive phase (women who have been in urban areas for longer than ten years have a total fertility rate (TFR) of 2.5, while those in urban areas for less than ten years have a TFR of 5.8 (Pick and Obermeyer, 1996)). Younger people – being more sexually active – also have higher prevalence rates of HIV/AIDS and lower exposure to sensitisation and awareness campaigns – particularly rural migrants (UN, 2005). Recent research in Uganda has shown that urban adolescents exercise limited protective behaviours regarding contraception and sexually transmitted infections, as well as negative coping strategies, such as engaging in transactional sexual relationships (Walker et al., 2014). While the magnitude of these risks is broadly similar to rural environments, in cities their core drivers are more complex because they include elements relating to aspirations to be ‘modern’, as well as increased peer pressure.

The concentration of populations in urban settings also offers opportunities to disseminate messages relating to SRHR sensitisation, access to information and broader empowerment (Allden, 2009). There are notable ‘easy wins’ when addressing specific age cohorts that are spatially concentrated – such as youth in informal settlements – which are relatively efficient in terms of resource outlay and which also address more immediate ‘costs of inaction’ issues by reducing expenditure on medical supplies and health worker capacity.

3.3.2 Access to contraceptives, anti-retrovirals and other medicines

SRHR interventions focused on contraceptives and other medical supplies in urban environments face particular challenges, as well as offering opportunities for enhanced impact compared to rural settings. While urban settings are largely seen as having a negative effect on total fertility rates,⁹ there are many exceptions to this rule; Trinidad and Tobago, for instance, has low urbanisation and low fertility, whereas Angola exhibits high urbanisation and high fertility. Part of this complex picture is explained by migration patterns, as well as the growth in informal settlements. For example, in Nairobi the fertility rate in informal settlements was higher than the city average (TFR 4.7 vs. 2.6) (Mberu, 2014). Fertility-oriented initiatives accordingly require a thorough evaluation of the

context, using up-to-date and reliable datasets, which may not always be readily available.

Urbanisation also poses challenges with regard to anti-retroviral provision and monitoring. Partly due to the ‘youth bulge’ and adult-to-adult and mother-to-child transmission, there are higher rates of infection and HIV/AIDS prevalence in cities. In Sub-Saharan Africa, HIV/AIDS prevalence is 1.7 times higher in urban settings than in rural settings (Ambert et al., 2007). In some instances municipalities may introduce policies that contravene international rights frameworks. A ban on contraceptives in Manila, for instance, violates the Cairo principles (Seneviratne and Thanenthiran, 2004). On the plus side there is larger demand for contraceptives among urban residents interested in maintaining smaller family sizes than in rural areas (Mberu et al., 2014).

3.3.3 Sexual and reproductive health care as part of an accessible, affordable basic healthcare system

Sexual and reproductive health comprises several sub-sectors that cater for a variety of potential complications, which often overlap. High rates of unwanted pregnancies and associated pressures on prenatal and antenatal care, reduced birth spacing, sexually transmitted diseases, maternal health and early childhood development combine to put intense pressure on health systems. At the same time, however, the density of cities offers advantages in terms of unit production delivery costs of pharma-goods relating to SRHR, as well as efficiency gains due to the greater number of communities of practice and the proximity of referral networks (Baqui, 2009). Increased access and lower transport costs in urban environments make it easier for people to attend health centres, although spatial poverty traps – characterised by low-quality services – are a persistent concern (Grant, 2010).

3.3.4 Greater respect for the sexual health and rights of groups that are discriminated against and vulnerable

Cities can increase the vulnerability of specific at-risk groups, including street children, the disabled, refugees, internally displaced people and cross-border migrants, by increasing their exposure to risks and because such groups have limited coping mechanisms and informal support networks to fall back on. These populations are highly mobile and subject to forces that are idiosyncratic rather than generalizable. Research on street children and migrants, for example, shows that SRHR programmes need to be highly flexible and decentralised, for instance delivered through strategically located one-stop centres (Walker et al., 2013; Hidiyati, 2013). Further challenges centre around the fact that gender-based violence is also increasingly framed as both a public health issue and a rights issue, with

⁹ Urbanisation is a critical factor in fertility decline: the increased independence and economic empowerment of women in cities as well as surrounding social norms in cities combine to encourage more proactive family planning (Satterthwaite, 2007; UNFPA, 2007; World Bank, 2009).

implications for SRHR policies and programmes. While cities are not seen as generating gender-based violence (GBV) per se, they do provide triggers and intensifiers of risks associated with the urban landscape, including types of occupation, fragmented social relations and higher levels of alcohol and substance abuse (McIlwaine, 2013). Associated SRHR-related outcomes can include STIs (including HIV/AIDs), unwanted pregnancies (due to restrictions in birth control), dangerous abortions, female genital mutilation/cutting (and subsequent complications) and chronic pain syndrome (*ibid.*). These issues arise because GBV itself restricts choices and decision-making for individuals (ARROW, 2011). At the same time, however, the relatively vibrant and active nature of civil society, grassroots and membership organisations in urban centres affords opportunities for practitioners not only to find these vulnerable populations and support inclusive policy processes and rights movements, but also to target them for preventative interventions (Walker et al., 2014c).

3.3.5 Recommendations

Examining the four core SRHR priorities outlined above, as well as recent DGIS outputs,¹⁰ suggests four notable gaps that would benefit from further investigation in forthcoming DGIS efforts to address SRHR.

First, economic empowerment and composite interventions are not highlighted as key focus areas that may have either direct or spill-over effects on SRHR – despite a strong interest within DGIS in prevention issues. Women’s empowerment appears on a handful of occasions in recent review documents, but is not disaggregated to include adolescents or youth (both key demographics relating to SRHR). Productive dimensions, such as vocational training, micro-credit and business skills development, through which women and girls might find pathways into stronger or more autonomous decision-making positions in households, are also not clearly brought to the fore. The benefits of composite or integrated interventions, though off the DGIS agenda, nevertheless provide considerable multiplier benefits if appropriately applied in SRHR responses (Ringheim et al., 2011). DGIS could consider addressing adolescent girls through a holistic approach that clearly links pregnancy and safe birth support, prevention of violence against women and girls and economic asset-building (such an approach is promoted by DFID in the UK). The explicit focus on the lynchpin demographic of adolescent girls also aims to ensure they have fewer, better-spaced and therefore healthier children.

Second, there is negligible discussion of urban–rural links in the reviewed documentation. Understanding the migration drivers that lead to rapid unplanned urbanisation, as well as the potential best practice policy

and programme lessons that can be extracted from rural SRHR interventions, appears to be a missed opportunity. A well-structured SRHR policy should recognise the impacts that SRHR responses might have on rural communities when intervening primarily in urban environments (Cleland, 2001; Lindstrom et al., 2005). DGIS might consider a more thorough desk-based review on both the pull and push factors related to migration, particularly for both younger and female populations.

Third, the DGIS strategic reviews recognise that there has been limited clarification and investment in research and M&E relating to SRHR. Both IOB studies (2013) to some extent recognise the need for more and better-quality evaluations of SRHR interventions, as well as rigorous methodological approaches such as RCTs, that provide comparative baselines for cost assessments. However, while these gaps are noted, broader geographic (regional areas of specialism versus capacity challenges) and thematic (inadequate care, informal support systems) research gaps are not considered. A mapping of country and regional strengths and weaknesses in data acquisition and evaluation methods relating to SRHR could be conducted at relatively low cost in order to design appropriate learning responses – including south–south learning opportunities. At a global level, it is also worth investigating why national data sets, such as the demographic and health surveys which are often the primary source of representative data on SRHR, do not allow for usefully disaggregated data within urban contexts.

Fourth, there is limited discussion of demand-side constraints relating to the behavioural or discriminatory social norms that prevent individuals, either through their own volition or via the control of others, from accessing SRHR services. Behavioural issues are briefly mentioned in relation to FGM, but are not addressed systematically as a core and tenacious barrier to the use of SRHR services. Consequently, via the mapping of M&E procedures suggested above, DGIS could include a review of its human and technical resources with respect to Knowledge, Attitudes and Practices surveys, as well as programming to address social sensitisation and associated communication strategies.

Fifth, an important shift that has limited cross-sectoral capabilities of the SRHR component in the DGIS strategy are the budgetary support reductions in education and health systems (MoFA, 2015). These reductions are not disaggregated with regard to rural-urban dimensions, and the MoFA report finds that the links between reduced health expenditure and the retained focus on SRHR objectives are not made clear - largely due to the complexity and broad nature of SRHR interventions. Reductions in education expenditure are also a critical concern not only because increased educational attainments for children and

10 ‘Synthesis of multilateral contribution to advancing sexual and reproductive health and rights (2006–2012)’ and ‘Policy evaluation of Dutch involvement in sexual and reproductive health and rights 2007–2012’.

Box 4: Organisations and networks relevant to SRHR

The DGIS-IOB (2013) study sought to evaluate Dutch support for SRHR interventions implemented via multilateral channels over the period 2006–2012, in particular those conducted in partnership with the United Nations Children’s Fund (UNICEF), the United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA), the Global Fund to Fight AIDS, TB and Malaria (GFATM, hereafter the Global Fund), the Joint United Nations Programme on HIV/AIDS (UNAIDS) and the World Health Organisation (WHO). The study showed that UNFPA, UNAIDS and GFATM were closely aligned with DGIS priorities in SRHR, although certain areas remained neglected, including family planning, unsafe abortions and sexual health. The review also found that a greater focus is required on protection and prevention programmes to address adolescent SRHR, such as youth-friendly approaches and life skills programmes. While the IOB study reviews a range of bilateral, multilateral and NGO performance issues in relation to SRHR, there appears to be a gap regarding scales and roles in the assessments: neither review analyses the campaigns and advocacy relationships that the DGIS has with actors working on rights or implementation agendas at sub-national, national, regional or global levels. The post-2015 or ICPD+20 agendas, with their corresponding components on SRHR issues, gender equality and the ‘data revolution’, appear to be absent in the discussions.

youth have several positive effects on SRHR outcomes, but also because awareness and sensitisation campaigns relating to SRHR are largely focused on schools. DGIS should therefore clarify how reduced health expenditure will directly or indirectly impact on SRHR objectives, and adjust priorities accordingly.

Finally, disasters and climate change are likely to increase migration rates (Bierman and Boas, 2010). This will have a knock-on effect on both SRHR service demand and supply. Effective SRHR interventions are crucial in developing a suite of ‘climate-proofed’ responses in urban planning.

3.4 Food security

Food security exists when ‘all people, at all times, have physical, social and economic access to sufficient, safe and nutritious food, which meets their dietary needs and food preferences for an active and healthy life’ (FAO, 2009). The emphasis is thus not only on food supply and production, but also on physical access and affordability, safety and nutritional balance, as well as socially and culturally determined preferences.

Urbanisation is often used to describe the processes of urban population growth, urban expansion, income growth and cultural change. But conflating all these

dimensions can be problematic and of little help in understanding the role of urbanisation in food security (Tacoli et al., 2013). However, it is clear that all these trends, whether on their own or together, along with overall increases in a country’s population, will drive profound transformations in food systems (the production, distribution and delivery of food) (Tschirley et al., 2014). Urbanisation poses a challenge for food security in rural as well as urban areas because many people, especially the young, are migrating from rural areas to urban ones. Rural and urban food security cannot be seen as two separate realms; rather, there is a continuum between them.

Currently DGIS approaches to food security include initiatives to facilitate international trade and business as well as boosting agricultural productivity. While they do not specifically refer to urban dynamics they offer opportunities for discussing the implications of urbanisation on food systems and food security in urban areas.

3.4.1 Urbanisation and food systems

Urbanisation is often conflated with the expansion of built-up areas and the loss of agricultural land. To some extent this is inevitable: most cities tend to be located in areas with fertile soils, and in many cases it is precisely such fertility and the availability of fresh water that determine the location of urban centres. Even in Africa there is limited potential for expansion into new lands (Chamberlin et al., 2014), while climate change could undermine the incipient increases in agricultural productivity which have been seen over the past decade (Tschirley et al., 2014). Increasing productivity from existing agricultural land is therefore a key component of ensuring food security, and this may need to be achieved in the context of an increasingly elderly rural population.

Urbanisation also poses challenges to systems for producing, processing, distributing and regulating food. Increased pressure on inefficient urban distribution systems will exacerbate issues of access and utilisation of food. At each stage in the food system food is wasted, and the challenges of safely getting food to consumers are only likely to increase in a more urban world. Reducing food losses in low- and middle-income countries requires investment in improving transport infrastructure and storage facilities. Food safety is a real concern and storage may be affected both by damage to the storage structures themselves or by damage to services such as electricity for refrigeration. Commercial buildings such as warehouses are often in areas that may be prone to flooding, electricity systems are vulnerable to storms and storage facilities often rely on water for cooling systems, and so are exposed to the risk of drought (Tacoli et al., 2013). There therefore needs to be a focus on productivity growth and food safety across the whole supply chain, not just on agricultural productivity.

There is a need for new systems to deliver the type, and variety, of food that will be demanded in the future by wealthier and more urbanised households (*ibid.*). With

rising incomes and urbanisation middle-class households tend to eat more of some types of food (meat, dairy, some fresh produce items, wheat and wheat products, many highly processed items), and less of more 'traditional' food groups (maize and other coarse grains, roots and tubers). Urbanisation also drives up demand for convenience and the quality and, eventually, safety of the foods being consumed (Tschirley et al., 2014).

Urban planning often gives only limited consideration to food storage and distribution systems, and urban actors often do not consider the food system an important issue when designing, planning and managing cities. Authorities must ensure that wholesale and retail markets are properly planned and managed, with parking, unloading, weighing, packaging and storage facilities. They can also promote farmers' markets with logistical support (Cohen and Garrett, 2010). Urban planning that addresses food-related transport and storage, access to clean water and sanitation can greatly improve food security.

Urbanisation can present opportunities to reduce rural poverty through employment on large farms and the growth of farmers' co-operatives. The 'supermarket revolution' is partly a response to changing consumer demand (as well as globalisation on the supply-side). The requirement of supermarkets for standardised, reliable, quality foodstuffs can disadvantage small-scale farmers. One response to this is the emergence of farmers' co-operatives, with contract farming becoming more widespread in both Africa and Asia (Will, 2013 in Cities Conference, 2013), and large-scale farms, including 'super farms' (Trebbin, 2014 in Cities Conference 2013).

Another potential opportunity from urbanisation is the productive investment of urban-rural remittances. Remittances from urban migrant relatives are often a main source of cash for investment in agricultural production (Tacoli et al., 2013), and so ensuring safe and cheap channels for remittances, and making sure that families have the knowledge to use these to make productive investments, could be promising ways forward.

3.4.2 Urbanisation and food security

Food security in urban areas is qualitatively different to rural areas. In particular, despite the seeming 'urban advantage' of concentrated populations, lack of access to food, and particularly safe and nutritious food, is a real problem for the poorest people living in informal settlements. The root cause of urban food insecurity is income poverty. Food competes with the cost of other essentials including housing and water. Achieving urban food security is highly dependent on household purchasing power, which, as in rural areas, is also linked to seasonality, with rain preventing many labourers from working and factories requiring fewer workers during seasonal slack periods. Urban dwellers can also be affected by seasonal changes in rural areas. When rural work disappears, for example following harvests, people may migrate to towns

and cities, increasing competition for jobs (Cohen and Garrett, 2010). Meanwhile, the cereals that are the basis of the urban diet, such as rice, wheat and maize, tend to be internationally traded, unlike foods like cassava. This leaves urban poor people vulnerable to global price fluctuations (Cohen and Garrett, 2010).

Continued shocks to world commodity prices could threaten the food security of urban residents and raise the cost of social protection (Tschirley et al., 2014). Food banks or subsidised food stores could be appropriate in urban settings, but are not widespread in low- and middle-income countries (Cohen and Garrett, 2010). Targeting could be done through means-testing, which can be easier in cities, where income is mostly wage- or salary-based, or via self-targeting, for instance the provision of culturally inferior foods such as broken rice. Geographical targeting is more difficult in urban areas, where the same neighbourhood may house relatively wealthy and poor families (Cohen and Garrett, 2010). A key challenge is ensuring that internal migrants are able to access existing public services and social security systems. For example, Sabates-Wheeler and MacAuslan (2007) show that internal migrants in India are often not able to access the public distribution system (PDS) in urban areas, despite being eligible for it.

Inequality in access is another key challenge posed by urbanisation. The current predominant focus on production, with little attention to consumption, has rightly been criticised for overlooking the importance of food access in urban areas (Crush, 2012). Urban food tends to be more expensive than food in rural areas, while prices vary dramatically across a city. Slum areas less likely to have wholesale markets and food is mainly purchased in small shops, neighbourhood kiosks and from street vendors, but supplies are usually bought through intermediaries, which increases prices (Tacoli et al., 2013). In Africa, multinational supermarket chains have yet to reach poor urban neighbourhoods and poor people cannot afford the transport costs to reach them, nor do they have sufficient cash to make purchases in bulk. A purchasing pattern similar to that in some developed countries may emerge, with upper- and middle-income consumers shopping at chains, getting better prices and quality, and lower-income consumers purchasing daily at small stores that may offer credit (Cohen and Garrett, 2010). To reduce urban food insecurity, local governments need better information on the priorities of the residents of low-income settlements, and work in partnership with them to find solutions (Tacoli et al., 2013).

The availability of safe and nutritious food in poorer neighbourhoods is often limited. Street vendors are exposed to the same food safety hazards as their clients: limited storage facilities, inadequate water and sanitation infrastructure and lack of solid waste collection. Recognising the important role of street vendors and helping them to improve the safety and quality of their products would be a major step in increasing urban food

security (Tacoli et al., 2013). Given the importance of street foods, municipal authorities could train vendors in hygiene, adequately and consistently enforce regulations and improve basic infrastructure. Collaborating with vendor associations can help facilitate training and regulatory compliance (Cohen and Garrett 2010).

Urban agriculture has emerged as one response to the limited availability of and access to safe and nutritious foods. However, available land in many urban centres is limited (Tacoli et al., 2013), and there are concerns about contaminated land yielding unhealthy produce, the lack of adequately protected spaces and a dearth of sufficient clean water (Crush and Frayne, 2011). Where urbanisation occurs in a decentralised fashion, for instance through secondary town development, this can increase market access to frontier lands currently isolated from input and output markets, and so stimulate market-oriented production (Chamberlin et al. 2014). Meanwhile, in urban and peri-urban areas where land values are rising rapidly, agricultural use is often replaced by other forms of land use and land zoning. Enforcing tenure and the existence of institutional structures to deter land grabbing is extremely important (Holden and Otsuka, 2014).

3.4.3 Recommendations

Urbanisation, by increasing travel times and distances from production to the final consumer, challenges national food systems to deliver safe, nutritious food to the consumer. There is a role for the private sector in the ‘midstream’ of the supply chain, including processing, packaging and logistics, and potential for public–private partnerships for supply chain investments, including in retail and wholesale markets on the edges of, and within, urban areas. But the role of public goods, including rural feeder roads, energy and higher agricultural education, should also not be underestimated. As the distance between producers and consumers increases so traders may play a more important role, particularly in terms of information and logistics. It is important that producers maintain diverse marketing channels through connections to different trading networks. There could be a role for donors in supporting innovations in this area. Ultimately, tackling urban poverty, including through establishing or expanding urban safety nets, is central to ensuring urban food security, particularly in the context of the more volatile food prices in urban areas.

3.5 Emergency aid

Urban growth will continue to be overwhelmingly concentrated in poor and informal settlements on the peripheries of cities and towns. This means increased vulnerability to disasters in urban areas, given that disasters typically affect people already in places with chronic poverty or elevated levels of political or criminal violence most (Carpenter, 2013).

Dutch emergency assistance currently covers a range of interventions in health, education, food, protection,

Box 5: Organisations and networks relevant to food security

FAO’s multidisciplinary initiative ‘Food for Cities’

The Food for Cities initiative aims to address the challenges that urbanisation brings to urban and rural populations, as well as the environment, by building more sustainable and resilient food systems. This includes bringing together a range of stakeholders around the concept of a ‘city region food system’ to provide practical solutions through strengthening rural–urban linkages.

<http://www.fao.org/fcit/fcit-home/en/>

University of Oxford – Martin Programme on the Future of Food

This interdisciplinary research programme investigates the future of food systems in the context of income growth, urbanisation, globalisation and environmental change.

<http://www.oxfordmartin.ox.ac.uk/research/programmes/future-food>

Michigan State University – Global Centre for Food Systems Innovation

This centre works on improving food systems in the face of shrinking natural resources, changing climate, rapidly increasing demand and rapid technological change.

<http://gcfsi.isp.msu.edu/>

African Food Security Urban Network (AFSUN)

AFSUN is a network of African universities and NGOs. Its aim is to improve knowledge of the dimensions and causes of urban food insecurity in Africa and to develop and advocate for international, national and local policies to enhance food and nutrition security.

<http://www.afsun.org/>

water and sanitation and shelter. Assistance is provided through international and local NGOs, the UN and the International Federation of the Red Cross. Given the range of areas that emergency aid can cover, we focus here on broader challenges and the opportunities that changing approaches to emergency aid could deliver.

3.5.1 Urban displacement

Displacement as a result of conflict, violence and natural disasters (*to* cities, as well as *within* cities) is a key factor fuelling urbanisation, particularly in fragile states. More than half of the world’s refugees and IDPs now live in urban areas (Zetter, 2013). Most displacement for both refugees and IDPs is now protracted (Loescher and Milner, 2009; Crawford, 2015), with profound implications for host populations and urban systems as a whole. Once

populations are displaced to urban areas for prolonged periods, they rarely go back to rural areas (Haysom, 2013; Pantuliano et al., 2012). Like many urban poor, displaced people suffer from urban under-development in informal settlements or slums on the outskirts of cities, without secure land tenure and inadequate basic services and infrastructure, and are often disproportionately exposed to natural disasters, hazards and disease. They also face significant protection threats and have limited access to the justice system (Haysom, 2013).

Although displaced people often rely heavily on host populations and their (often inadequate) urban settings for protection, access to basic services, infrastructure, housing and livelihoods (Zetter and Deikun, 2011), current humanitarian responses in urban areas rarely engage with pre-existing urban infrastructure, systems and local actors, such as local and municipal authorities. Interventions are often ad hoc, short-term and sectorally focused. As such, they can weaken or even undermine longer-term urban planning and development. Similarly, local governments and urban policymakers and planners often do not take into account displaced populations in planning, making it more difficult for them to integrate into their host city's social and economic life (Haysom, 2013).

Displaced people can offer enormous opportunities for their host cities: they often bring new assets and skills, and can make a significant contribution to the urban economy. Recent research by the University of Oxford's Refugee Studies Centre on refugee economies (Betts et al., 2014) seeks to highlight these contributions and develop the evidence base around the potential – rather than the burden – that the displaced represent for their hosts, and how these contributions could best be harnessed. Urban shelter programmes are a case in point: land tenure issues can often undermine shelter programming in urban areas such as Port-au-Prince, where only 40% of plots are officially registered (Carpenter, 2013; Levine et al., 2012). Displaced people's demand for housing can overstretch and destabilise the housing market, yet if well-understood and managed this demand can present a significant developmental opportunity with an important multiplier effect on property development and the construction industry, which can benefit the city as a whole (Zetter, 2013). Similarly, cash transfers for urban refugees and IDPs can boost urban markets (*ibid.*).

3.5.2 Linking development and humanitarian assistance

One of the biggest challenges in urban responses to conflict and natural disasters is to better integrate and coordinate relief, recovery, reconstruction and development assistance.

Since chronic vulnerabilities can rarely be separated from acute ones in urban contexts, humanitarian strategies should be developed as part of an overall recovery/reconstruction strategy.¹¹ There are many opportunities for closer cooperation between humanitarian and development actors, local governments, urban planners and other local formal and informal institutions and actors, including the private sector. Such collaboration should start with multi-sectoral, multi-level assessments that also invest in thorough context analysis and understanding of wider urban socio-economic and political systems and vulnerabilities. Assessments should involve development, humanitarian and local government actors (DFID, 2014).

3.5.3 Formal and informal governance in urban areas

Aid actors in urban areas must engage with a wide variety of stakeholders. On the 'formal' institutional side, there are various levels of government and municipal authorities in cities with different mandates and responsibilities. Although often disjointed and not easy to engage with, these are often key actors responsible for overall disaster policy and planning, as well as coordination and implementation.¹² Government capacity can be severely diminished following a disaster: in Haiti, for example, local and national government agencies struggled to meet the additional administrative and technical burden that the earthquake response put on them. Depending on the type of disaster and the size of the city, working with different levels of government (municipal, sub-national or national) may be required (though this is often not something humanitarian actors are necessarily either good at or willing to do (DFID, 2014)). For example, technical expertise and additional personnel could be seconded to local governments under pressure through a disaster (*ibid.*).

Increasing numbers of urban poor live in informal settlements on the outskirts of cities, with very limited interaction with formal governance structures. Instead they rely on a plethora of informal and community actors, ranging from local neighbourhood committees to community-based organisations, religious actors, alternative security structures, such as gangs, and business associations. In many cases these actors are the first responders in cases of crisis or need. Grunewald (2013) shows how, in cities in active conflict such as Aleppo, much of the assistance was delivered through small-scale, very mobile and discreet Syrian entities and networks.

Engaging with such a range of public and private actors and forming partnerships outside the realm of what is traditionally considered humanitarian territory will be increasingly important in urban responses. Area- or community-based approaches, rather than current

11 A number of recent policy documents recognise this, such as the 2009 UNHCR statement on urban displacement and the Inter-Agency Standing Committee (IASC) Task Force 2010 strategy on Meeting Humanitarian Challenges.

12 For example, in Peshawar, Pakistan, there were seven different municipal agencies responsible for different parts of the city (Mosel and Jackson, 2012).

sector-based programming and methods of coordination, would enable more inclusive coordination and targeting and might improve understanding of the range of actors out there. Other humanitarian tools for assessment, programming, coordination and monitoring may also have to be adjusted. In urban areas, ‘enabling’ and supporting people’s own strategies for survival (even if these are not based on formal city policies), rather than simply providing relief and other inputs, as in camp settings, can have greater impact (DFID, 2014). Critical issues such as protection and livelihoods, which do not rely on direct inputs of material assistance, need to be prioritised, alongside market-based approaches to food, service delivery and housing that stimulate urban cash-based economies. In Lebanon and Jordan, where access to credit for housing construction is often highly expensive and houses are often left unfinished, the Norwegian Refugee Council (NRC) offered homeowners finance to finish their houses if they allowed refugee families to stay in the house rent-free for 12–18 months. This not only increased the availability of housing, but also encouraged interaction between refugees and the host community (DFID, 2014). In the Philippines during Typhoon Ketsana, a private company supported an interesting integrated approach to disaster reconstruction by relocation those that could afford to pay modest rents through the construction of low-cost, medium-rise apartments (Zetter and Deikun, 2011).

3.5.4 Urbanisation, urban violence and inequality

Traditionally often seen as distinct phenomena by humanitarian actors, conflict, natural disasters and urban violence are increasingly converging in urban areas. Natural disasters more often affect poor urban dwellers living in informal settlements on the peripheries than wealthier neighbourhoods, and many of these neighbourhoods are also the territories of criminal gangs and insurgent groups (Ferris, 2011). However, the relationship between urbanisation, urban violence and humanitarian action remains poorly understood and only cautiously addressed by humanitarian actors (Savage and Muggah, 2012). In some cities violence not associated with armed conflict exceeds thresholds that would justify their classification as an ‘armed conflict-like situation’ with serious humanitarian consequences (Lucchi, 2013).

The nexus between urbanisation, conflict, urban violence and disasters will require a rethinking of the way humanitarian and development aid is provided in cities in the context of chronic or acute fragility. It is still unclear how humanitarian aid should or could engage in these circumstances, or what added value it might bring (Reid-Henry and Sending, 2014). Although some initial lessons are emerging from humanitarian interventions in urban settings (Lucchi, 2013), there is much more scope for analysis of the potential challenges and opportunities of engagement in cities where disasters, armed violence

and conflict overlap, and how best to adapt humanitarian responses to these complex environments.

3.5.5 Recommendations

As discussed throughout this section, urban humanitarian responses – whether to displacement, disasters, conflict or violence – require significantly different approaches and ways of engagement, not just different tools. DGIS should ensure that the humanitarian responses it supports, either directly or through partners, integrate emergency aid into longer-term recovery plans. This will require early and sustained dialogue between humanitarian and development actors, as well as engagement with local and municipal governments, local neighbourhood committees and informal actors, as well as urban planners and private sector actors, to develop longer-term, sustainable urban recovery strategies.

There is growing evidence to attest to the positive contributions that displaced people can bring to their host economies, such as the work currently being done on refugee economics by the Refugee Studies Centre. DGIS could consider supporting similar innovative research efforts, both to develop understanding of the kinds of benefits the displaced can bring, and to find ways to harness them.

After disasters, the capacities of state and municipal governments can be severely overstretched and overburdened. DGIS should consider providing technical assistance and surge capacity to affected governments at different levels (national, sub-national, municipal), both in the immediate aftermath of a disaster and in longer-term recovery and urban planning.

Apart from governments, urban environments contain a wide variety of diverse stakeholders – both formal and informal – that play key roles during disasters and recovery. DGIS should encourage innovative engagements and partnerships with a wider range of actors in the humanitarian responses it supports. This may involve engaging with more local, small-scale actors, as well as partnerships with the private sector.

Lastly, as humanitarian actors become increasingly engaged in cities where disasters, armed violence and conflict overlap, there are opportunities to shape this engagement and support lesson-learning for the sector. DGIS could support emerging learning on challenges and opportunities in these settings through funding innovative applied research programmes.

3.6 Peace, security and conflict

Large-scale and rapid urbanisation is creating paradoxical effects for human security and development. Described as the ‘urban dilemma’, while urbanisation may create opportunities for human development, it may also increase many forms of insecurity, especially for the urban poor. Insecurity in cities may be experienced in diverse ways, such as direct harm to a person’s health or lower social capital and worse employment opportunities as a result

Box 6: Organisations, networks and studies relevant to emergency aid

ALNAP's Urban Humanitarian Response Portal

This is a global practitioner resource to share knowledge on urban humanitarian crises <http://www.urban-response.org/>

HASOW

HASOW is a project on humanitarian action in situations other than war <http://www.hasow.org/>

The Cities Alliance

The Cities Alliance is a global partnership for urban poverty reduction and the promotion of the role of cities in sustainable development.

<http://www.citiesalliance.org/node/3750>

IBM's Smarter Cities Initiative

http://www.ibm.com/smarterplanet/us/en/smarter_cities/overview/

Harvard Humanitarian Initiative's Urbanisation and Emergency project

This project looks at humanitarian approaches best suited for urban environments

<http://hhi.harvard.edu/programs-and-research/urbanization-and-humanitarian-emergencies>

of disrupted social networks, population churn, and fragmented urban governance (Muggah, 2012).

At the same time, cities also present opportunities for fostering greater security which do not exist in rural areas. The close proximity of a range of actors sharing a common need for greater security may enable partnerships whereby power, information and resources can be shared to create more inclusive and equitable urban societies (Moser and McIlwaine, 2014). Cities may also have greater capacity to deliver security initiatives at scale in ways in which more dispersed, rural populations cannot (Muggah, 2012). There are also examples where cities have created formal international collaborative initiatives to share knowledge and experience of promoting security, as well as economic development (*ibid.*).

3.6.1 Urbanisation, violence and conflict

As described in the previous section on emergency aid, a strong link is emerging between urbanisation, violence and insecurity and many of the fastest expanding cities are experiencing rapidly rising rates of violence and worsening forms of violence (Muggah, 2012). This is most notable in cities in Latin America, the Caribbean and Sub-Saharan Africa, but also the case for growing urban areas in South and Central Asia too. Drivers of urban violence include limited access to economic opportunities, basic services, housing, land and state security protection. Statistical analysis suggests violent conflict is more likely in countries which have rapidly growing urban populations (*ibid.*), and social and income inequality is commonly associated with urban violence (whereas per capita income seems to be less of a factor). Urban density (as opposed to urban population growth) and high numbers of young people are not necessarily associated with higher rates of violence,

but may create other problems for the urban poor (*ibid.*). Urban conflicts may occur when an area urbanises rapidly without an equally rapid increase in the access to basic services, income opportunities and housing. State failures to ensure an inclusive economy and access to basic services may lead to weak state-citizen relationships as government authorities are blamed for situations of deprivation and inequality. The reactive violence which may result is therefore often political as much as criminal and the structural causes are closely related (Beall, Goodfellow and Rodgers, 2011). While the literature tends to focus on the challenges facing the largest cities, medium and small cities may be more at risk of insecurity and violence as they usually have fewer resources, less investment in infrastructure and basic services and less professional capacity for effective governance.

Informal settlements and the peri-urban areas of cities are particularly vulnerable to violence. Davis (2012) describes how municipal governments typically perceive informal and peri-urban areas to be a source of problems and accordingly adopt a repressive form of security provision. In turn, people living in these areas depend on informal local leaders to mediate between them and the state, and so provide an alternative form of governance and security. Criminal violence may be structured according to social groups and geographical boundaries, where clashes between rival groups may be along both political and communal lines (Jutersonke et al., 2007). Gang violence in this context can be a way for marginalised urban inhabitants to establish their identity within their social group (Briceño-León and Zubillaga, 2002), and can thus be understood as a reflection of broader social problems (Moser and McIlwaine, 2014).

A post-conflict environment poses particular risks to security in urban areas as extended conflict, reduced social cohesion, weakened security and justice systems and organised armed networks may enable the emergence of new forms of violence. Examples from Guatemala, El Salvador and Nicaragua have shown how violence has continued, and in some cases intensified, in urban areas after the national conflict was resolved (Goodfellow and Smith, 2013). In Liberia, people living in urban centres had a higher fear of crime in their locality than those in rural areas, and data on armed violence in Liberia confirmed that the majority of incidents between 2011 and 2012 occurred in the capital city (LAVO, 2012, cited in Barnes Robinson and Valters, 2015). Similarly, in Timor Leste, the capital city Dili has been the ‘amphitheatre’ of violent contestation since the country’s independence and has the highest crime to population ratio (Valters et al., 2015:37). Land in particular is found to be a cause of conflict in urban areas as this is a highly scarce and valuable resource which is fought over by different social groups. For example, in Juba, South Sudan, the national level conflict has turned to conflict over land as internally displaced people and ex-combatants struggle to find space to live and work in the city (Moser and McIlwaine, 2014). Consequently, cities may be prioritised in peacebuilding efforts given the tendency for violence to persist or even increase in urban areas after a conflict has formally ended (Hills, 2008).

States which are considered stable may still have urban areas which are deemed fragile. The concept of the ‘fragile city’ reflects a change in discourse from ‘fragile states’ to an understanding of how cities may be the major places in which both conflict and development occurs (Moser and McIlwaine, 2014).

An additional important consideration is that, while cities may be sites of chronic violence and conflict, the causes of this insecurity may lie in wider socio-economic inequalities beyond the city’s boundary (Moser and Rogers, 2005). As such, while a focus on the specific nature of insecurity in developing urban areas is important, cities should be understood as sites in which national and international processes play out (Davis and de Duren, 2010).

3.6.2 Interventions for urban security

State responses to urban insecurity typically perceive it in terms of physical violence, and use increased force as a way of maintaining state control. In India, Pakistan and Nepal, for example, the authorities tend to regard urban spaces and populations as either targets for violence or threats to security, and adopt ‘militaristic’ policing strategies as a result (Gupte, 2014:1). Less formal security arrangements, such as community policing, may be important in building security more broadly (Commins, 2012), though evidence

to support this is distinctly mixed (Denny, 2015). Non-state actors, such as gangs and women’s groups, can provide their own forms of security, some of which are effective and inclusive (Gupte, 2014).

Interventions for urban security need to take a broad ‘developmental’ approach, facilitating relations between state and non-state actors, working on community-level issues and taking advantage of informal models of security that already exist within neighbourhoods (Denny, 2015; Albrecht and Kyed, 2011; Baker, 2009; Scheye, 2009). Case studies by Davis (2012) suggest that involving citizens in designing and providing security is important for strengthening a city’s resilience to violence.¹³ Local residents usually have the most detailed understanding of how a security intervention can be integrated into their community without risking greater conflict, and involving citizens in knowledge-sharing and working to foster positive state–community relations has been found to be valuable for urban security (*ibid.*).

Theories around building urban resilience to violence suggest identifying and supporting ‘protective’ factors against insecurity, such as social relations in the family, proactive community associations and productive employment opportunities (Muggah, 2012). Proactive policies that aim to bridge divides in income generation and political power can be particularly important (Davis, 2012). For example, policies in Mexico City and Medellin that aimed to support low-income communities to participate in the formal economy contributed to greater cohesion and better state–community relations (*ibid.*). Social capital within low-income communities is often considered an asset for urban resilience as it may enable residents to fight sources of violence. However, strong community networks may also have been created due to a sense of being ignored by the state, or networks may be weak, particularly in informal settlements, due to high population churn (*ibid.*).

In addition to public policy for addressing security and fragility, it is important to recognise the influence of domestic and international private sector activities. As noted above, access to productive employment, adequate services and land all contribute to greater stability. Therefore, the type and quality of employment provided by the private sector, its involvement in service provision and how competing demands for land are managed are all important considerations in relation to urban security. While local or foreign investment in a city’s private sector has the potential to contribute to improved security, the perceived fragility of a city may be a deterrent to investors that could otherwise have been a positive driver of the city’s development.

13 Urban resilience can be defined as ‘an ongoing process of adaptation/coping of territorially bounded units, including a city’s formal as well as informal social, political, and economic institutions and its members and affiliates to exogenous and endogenous stress’ (Muggah, 2012: 52). This emphasises the importance of networks between different groups of actors within a city, especially between formal and informal actors.

3.6.3 Recommendations

With respect to current Dutch priorities for peace and security, it is appropriate that there is a focus on fragile cities, not just states, and a recognition that insecurity is not bounded to a nation state. Furthermore, while the literature tends to focus on the challenges facing the largest cities, other work suggests that medium and small cities may be more at risk of insecurity and violence as they usually have fewer resources, less investment in infrastructure and basic services, and less professional capacity for effective governance.

However, whether an intervention is focused on a capital or secondary city, a key challenge is identifying a suitable scale for support and understanding the connections between a problem at the community level and wider networks and socio-economic trends. Current work by the DGIS on understanding the relation between inequality and exclusion and conflict will be relevant to any intervention intending to strengthen security in an urban area.

A further current focus of Dutch development work is on gender, supporting the UN Security Council Resolution 1325 for women's participation in peace building and political decision-making. This may be very valuable when considering approaches to urban security and governance, since gender is often absent from this work despite women experiencing and negotiating insecurity in significantly different ways in urban environments (Gupte, 2014).

Important areas for the Dutch government to consider with regard to urbanisation and security include: relations between insecurity and socio-economic inequalities and political institutions; the coherence of urban governance systems and relations between different levels of governance; and how social networks at the local and global level may be strengthened to increase the resilience of a city to insecurity. It is commonly the case that a number of development organisations as well as foreign investors work in the same community or city. It is therefore important that the Dutch government coordinates its urban development activities with the activities of Dutch companies working in foreign cities, so as to maximise the benefits of economic investment for peace and security outcomes. Working in coordination with other development actors, whether private, social or public sector, in order to strengthen, not disrupt, positive social relations should be a central concern in any intervention (Davis, 2012).

4. Key cross-cutting issues

4.1 Politics, power and governance

Urban governance structures and processes are a critical influence on the development trajectory of an urban area, the services provided to its inhabitants and the resilience of an urban population to threats, natural disasters and conflicts. The form which urban governance takes is specific to each metropolitan area, and each city's

Box 7: Organisations, networks and studies relevant to peace, security and conflict

Alianza de Ciudades por la Seguridad Ciudadana

The Alliance consists of over 40 cities across Latin American and the Caribbean. It aims to initiate dialogue and share experiences in violence prevention and reduction activities. <http://www.iadb.org/es/noticias/comunicados-de-prensa/2010-04-16/alcaldes-america-latina-y-el-caribe-alianza-seguridad-ciudadana-bid,6993.html>

Mayors Against Illegal Guns

The US-based MAIG coalition began in 2006 and has since grown from 15 to 600 mayors dedicated to developing strategies to reduce gun violence in their cities.

<http://www.mayorsagainstilllegalguns.org/>

African Centre for Cities

Based at the University of Cape Town, the ACC is a multidisciplinary centre devoted to reversing urban inequality, environmental degradation and social conflict in African cities. <http://africancentreforcities.net/> (Cape Town)

Informal Settlements Research

ISR is a small-scale field-based research effort to examine the relationships between urban regeneration schemes and urban violence in Ciudad Juarez, Medellin and Rio.

<http://informalsettlements.blogspot.com/2011/06/urban-regeneration-in-context-of.html>

Urban Resilience in Situations of Chronic Violence

This project was launched in 2009 as a collaborative initiative between the Graduate Institute and MIT to examine dimensions of coping and adaptation in violent cities.

Site: <http://www.urcvproject.org/Research.html>

Urban Tipping Points

This project was launched in 2010 by the University of Manchester to examine four cities in Asia, Africa and Latin America to study why they did not experience high rates of violence.

Site: <http://www.urbantippingpoint.org/>

resources, authority and autonomy vary greatly. The ability of a municipal government to secure resources through local taxation, manage local services and obtain resources from elsewhere is especially important (Jones et al., 2015). Within this variation, two key dimensions of urban governance stand out.

The first is that urban governance concerns not only the city itself, but also the larger system in which it operates. Specific patterns of national decentralisation have an influence on this, as the quality of urban governance can be determined as much by the nature and quality of intergovernmental relations and national institutions as by institutions at the municipal level (Muggah, 2012). Intergovernmental relationships are identified frequently in the thematic sections as important factors in ensuring cohesive and coordinated policies. For example, policy addressing urban insecurity may be more effective if it is connected through vertical levels of government since the causes of insecurity may be embedded in wider socio-economic inequalities not limited to the boundary of a city (Moser and Rogers, 2005). Similarly, policies managing water productivity in urban areas need to strike a balance between national and local needs, for example between agriculture and urban demand, which requires coordination between different levels of government (c.f. water section). This interdependence can also be important for urban resilience to climate change as the effectiveness of the decentralisation of both political and financial authority to the city level can increase a city's ability to cope with climate change (c.f. climate change section). A critical factor may also be whether a city's political leadership is aligned with or in opposition to the national political leadership, since political factors can greatly shape the interests, resources and authority of a municipal government (Resnick, 2014). Cities also do not operate in isolation from other cities or from rural areas, and urban governance may be influenced by larger-scale economic and political processes. For example, urban food security is affected by transport and energy infrastructure enabling the safe transportation of food from rural areas of production to storage places and markets in urban centres (c.f. food security section).

Second, as discussed briefly in the thematic sections, coherence between urban governance structures and the territorial dimensions of key services and social issues is a critical mediating factor in how effectively these are managed. The process of urbanisation poses serious challenges to urban governance, especially in the peri-urban areas where formal government responsibility may be fragmented and boundaries and populations are shifting rapidly. If government responsibilities for planning and service provision are overlapping or unclear across different government levels and bodies, regulating and monitoring urban development and service provision and ensuring coherent and coordinated policy is likely to be difficult (Jones et al., 2015). The creation of coherent governance institutions that are aligned with territorial realities can therefore be a crucial determinant of successful urban development, but it is also rare due to the complexity of the urban political and social landscape.

Urban governance also refers to wider political processes and the formal and informal relations between

government and civil society. Power relations and networks between many different actors are often emphasised in urban governance research (Keivani and Mattingly, 2007). For example, systems of political patronage within a city may result in public goods or services benefiting one group of inhabitants more than others, political gains may be made from investing in certain elements of a city's development more than others and opportunities for rent-seeking may distort how procurement contracts and other public goods are managed (Jones et al., 2015). At the same time, urban environments offer particular advantages in terms of promoting civil society and developing social movements (Walker et al., 2014c) – particularly for strongly youth-affected issues such as SRHR.

The nature of a city's population, the associations and relations between different groups and the way in which they interact with government, is an important element of urban governance. Cities are typically densely populated, which generally results in higher demand for goods and services, and cities may have a more educated and wealthier population than rural areas. This may mean inhabitants can engage more effectively with formal government to ensure greater downward accountability (Jones et al., 2014). Likewise, services such as water are more likely to be networked in urban areas, which may facilitate collective action for service improvements. However, urban populations are also often highly polarised and mobile, and this can limit the potential for collective action and co-production (*ibid.*).

A key area of opportunity is the growing interest in participatory budgeting and social accountability mechanisms, including community scorecards and citizen report cards, as well as citizen juries. These mechanisms speak to broader public policy debates and enhance accountability to service users across multiple sectors, together with community empowerment approaches, rights-based knowledge and coordinated planning. Research and programming activities relating to social accountability mechanisms are fragmented and focus on basic services such as primary education and health centres, rather than other questions such as security or SRHR issues.

Rapid urban population growth almost always occurs alongside the emergence of informal settlements and slum sites (Junkersonke et al., 2007). The multitude of informal service providers and coping strategies which often exist in informal urban settlements can present a challenge for municipal governments. For example, coordinating and monitoring water provision in informal settlements can be hindered by the plethora of small-scale water providers in these areas, even though they may provide water where state provision is lacking (Sansom, 2006). Yet there are also examples where communities in informal settlements have mobilised around a shared need to develop their own solutions, sometimes engaging with formal government to solve an urban development problem (Mitlin, 2008).

While urban governance in developing countries is often perceived as chaotic and problematic, it does have potential to drive development too. Cities often carry greater political importance than rural areas and this can mean greater political incentives to improve services and infrastructure and invest in development. If a city's political structures are coherent and accountable at the municipal level, and if the city's leadership has developmental priorities and sufficient administrative and financial power within national structures, a city can be an important driver for development (Jones et al., 2014).

4.2 Equity and marginalisation

Issues of equity and marginalisation cut across all the thematic areas discussed in Section 3. Depending on the drivers of urbanisation and how urban expansion is managed, urbanisation can have negative or positive impacts on poverty and inequality. Urbanisation is commonly associated with the creation of new and more productive economic opportunities, which can have a positive impact on poverty reduction. In terms of the relationship between urbanisation and income inequality, Kutnetz (1955) argues that inequality rises as a country develops, and labour moves from low-income, low-inequality rural areas to high-income, high-inequality urban areas, until reaching a country's development reaches a turning-point and inequality starts to decline.¹⁴

A few studies have looked at the links between urbanisation and income poverty. For instance, Ravallion et al. (2008) found that an increase in urbanisation between 1993 and 2002 was associated with a net decline in income poverty of 100 million (using a \$1 a day poverty-line measure adjusted to produce urban/rural splits). While rural poverty declined by 150 million, urban poverty increased by 50 million. The share of poor people living in urban areas increased from 19% in 1993 to 24% in 2002, and urbanisation rose from 38% to 42% in the same period. This is consistent with the view that urbanisation can help reduce aggregate poverty by generating new and more productive job opportunities. At the same time it suggests that this very same process can slow down the pace of poverty reduction in urban areas. Other empirical studies have explored the relationship between urbanisation and income inequality and found it to be highly context specific (e.g. it contributed to a high increase in overall inequality in the Philippines, but reduced it in China) (Kanbur and Zhuang, 2013).

Urbanisation can also have positive and negative effects on poverty and inequality beyond income. Even if, on average, urban areas fare better than rural ones on access to basic services, the fact that almost a billion people currently live in informal settlements is itself evidence of

inequalities in access to basic services. Similarly, in the case of sexual and reproductive health and rights, inadequate services and lack of infrastructure can affect not only reproductive health, but also a range of related health issues. Ill-health, for example in the form of parasitic diseases, leads to susceptibility to HIV and accelerated progression towards AIDS, while mothers infected with worms are seven times more likely to transmit HIV to their children (Ambert et al., 2007). In the food security sector, the urban poor are much more reliant on buying food, and low incomes reduce their capacity to access adequate, nutritious food.

In the case of climate change, it is now well recognised that socially and economically marginalised urban populations are highly vulnerable and very exposed to the impacts of climate change (UN Habitat, 2013). Urban residents with fewer means are disproportionately affected, and may also be unfairly included in climate change mitigation strategies. For instance, poorer socio-economic groups are usually responsible for fewer GHG emissions than wealthier groups, but policies and regulations designed to limit climate change, such as higher taxes on fossil fuels, which can raise the price of essential goods, may affect everyone equally.

Urbanisation can also intensify inequalities between urban and rural areas. In the specific case of water productivity, rural farmers could be marginalised if demand for water from urban industry and residents is prioritised over the needs of rural farmers and communities.

On a more positive note, urbanisation can also help to reduce poverty and inequality. The density and economies of scale that characterise cities can provide opportunities for more and varied job opportunities and for more cost-effective service delivery. For example, in the case of SRHR increased proximity and lower transport costs in urban environments make it easier to attend health centres. There can also be gains from the greater number of communities of practice and the relative proximity of referral networks (Baqui, 2009). In some cases economies of scale may not be enough in and of themselves to improve access to certain services (e.g. WSS) as there may be physical or cultural barriers preventing equitable access (e.g. exclusion of women or physical disabilities preventing access). In these cases, the density of urban environments could make it easier to spark large-scale cultural shifts via strong behaviour change communication (BCC) messaging.

There are also examples of policies that have successfully tackled inequalities for specific marginalised groups. Some SRHR interventions take into account broader issues relating to women's empowerment in cities, including land tenure and security. In Rwanda, the Land Tenure Regularization process guarantees married women

14 This assumes that urban-rural income gaps and within urban and rural inequalities are kept constant.

50% ownership of land holdings as well as mandatory participation in consultations on land use (Rurangwa, 2013).¹⁵ This shows that, with the right enabling environment, rapid adjustments in gendered power inequalities are possible.

The thematic discussions also show that the challenges posed by trade-offs between the needs of urban and rural areas can stimulate innovative new initiatives. In the case of water and the competing water needs of agriculture and cities, there are examples where this tension has led to reform, strengthening water rights and increasing investment in technologies that promote the more efficient use of agricultural water (Mason and Newborne, 2013).

Finally, across the themes evidence gaps on how urbanisation impacts the most marginalised groups were also identified. For instance, understanding how climate change interacts with the lives of women living in cities is a major gap in knowledge, as are insights on activities that can serve the twin purpose of supporting adaptation and women's empowerment. Similarly, gender is often absent from approaches to urban security and governance (Gupte, 2014). It is important that the way in which urbanisation processes affect different minority groups is understood in detail, and that their needs inform the design of urban development interventions. Likewise, the possible spatial implications of interventions (e.g. impact on urban and rural areas) and the impact of interventions on marginalised groups should be an important concern in the design and implementation of urban development interventions.

5. Conclusions

In this review, we have discussed what urbanisation means for DGIS's key priorities, and have outlined a series of recommendations, including new areas that could be explored as part of these priorities. To conclude we provide a set of recommendations on where and how to work, as well as identifying other themes that deserve greater prominence, namely land tenure, informal settlements and livelihoods.

5.1 Where to work

- **Take into account the spatial dimension of interventions.** When focusing on interventions in urban contexts it is tempting to concentrate on the impact of policies on urban areas. However, in many cases interventions may have impacts (trade-offs, costs, benefits) on both urban and rural areas. For example, Section 3.1 showed how important it is to manage the supply of water to rural agriculture and urban industry to ensure both areas of need are met fairly. Similarly, a well-structured SRHR policy should recognise the

potential impact on rural communities when intervening primarily in urban environments because many within the targeted population are migrants (Cleland, 2001; Lindstrom et al., 2005).

- **Consider fast-growing secondary cities.** While much focus continues to be on larger cities or megacities, it is in small and medium-sized cities in Africa and Asia that most future urban development will take place. This presents huge opportunities for early investment in urban development and planning. Many of these small and medium size urban agglomerations currently have poor service levels, little investment in infrastructure and resources and limited governance capacities. Comprehensive urban planning, including for disaster risk mitigation and climate change adaptation, in these cities and towns can provide clear benefits. For example, as discussed in the climate change section, around a sixth of GHG emissions growth until 2030 will take place in small cities, towns and peripheral industrial zones. Similarly, roughly 40% of urban housing to be occupied in 2030 is yet to be built, providing clear opportunities to ensure adequate mitigation to future climate-induced shocks and stresses through urban planning design (*ibid.*)
- **Continue work in fragile contexts, including 'fragile' cities.** A key theme cutting across the different sections is the importance of a continued focus on working in fragile settings. As discussed in the peace and security section, it is important that the focus of the DGIS is not just on fragile states, but also on fragile cities, with a recognition that these may not be in countries that are otherwise fragile. Working in rapidly urbanising fragile states and cities will require a carefully calibrated approach: donors that work with the state in these environments may exacerbate conflicts or inequalities, while those that work independently may undermine state legitimacy (Pavanello and Darcy, 2008). There is a need to think through the different implications and trade-offs in terms of how to approach service provision and how this can affect community and state–society relations in these fragile settings.

5.2 How to work

Integrated approaches

Rapid urbanisation requires integrated perspectives and approaches to urban development, planning and management that cut across thematic silos, maximise synergies between different sectors and minimise the harmful effects of one sector on another. As discussed in the SRHR section, for example, approaches that not only

¹⁵ Note that gender-sensitive land titling should be treated with care. While access to credit and entrepreneurial investments have been closely associated with land collateral, these results are mixed given customary practices and the reallocation of resources within the household (often in favour of men) (Williamson, 2011; Englert & Daley, 2009).

consider sexual and reproductive health, but also integrate economic empowerment and reproductive dimensions are likely to be more successful in achieving women's empowerment. Similarly, urban emergency responses that are part of longer-term recovery plans are more likely to lead to sustainable urban development and less likely to undermine existing urban plans and structures. Yet 'integrated' or 'nexus' approaches may fail if they just focus on integration as a goal in itself, rather than a process, and do not sufficiently engage with people, their problems and the often highly political trade-offs that need to be addressed (cf water section). The DGIS project in Beira, Mozambique, may be a good example of a project that grew organically and took a flexible and integrated approach, while responding to expressed preferences and local priorities with a long-term commitment. The project started with a water angle but, over time, has been drawn more towards a planning angle. The project helped to develop a 2035 vision for the city whose main priority is land development issues. It is also working towards establishing a land development company, to help physically raise land (against floods) and ensure that development actions on one plot do not adversely affect others (e.g. via flood risk), while addressing issues of land titling/governance and balancing economic interests with social needs.

Go with the grain

When working in urban areas, a likely tension will be how to balance support to longer-term top-down approaches with support for what works already locally, informally and innovatively. There may also be inconsistencies between what municipalities might implement locally versus national or regional policies. In some instances (cf water section) these alternative providers may be functioning well, and providing affordable and efficient services in slums and informal areas. In other instances they may need help to become more efficient, to expand or to link up to more formal service systems. Given the challenges that expanding existing services usually presents in the context of rapid urbanisation, a comprehensive, multi-level approach that engages at the community level, takes advantage of informal models where they already exist and facilitates relationships and connections between formal and informal service providers may be most effective.

Bottom-up approaches

Close engagement with civil society and local communities can be particularly beneficial in urban environments where targeting particularly vulnerable groups may be difficult, or where connections and information flows between municipalities and citizens (for example in informal settlements) may not be well established. For example, slum upgrading projects or projects designed to 'upgrade' existing houses with better protection against climate-induced shocks undertaken by, or in close consultation with, residents are often more successful than those

Box 7: Research gaps

Through the research we also identified evidence gaps. First, better data is needed for better policies. Information on urbanisation trends and the urban poor, particularly those residing in informal settlements, is extremely limited. While there are internationally comparable estimates and projections of urban populations, the definitions of urban areas used vary by country and in many cases estimates are based on data that is out of date. Data on informal settlements and residents' living conditions are fraught with limitations (e.g. these populations may be undercounted for political reasons or due to limitations of data collection methods (Lucci and Bhatkal, 2014)). In addition, common indicators – international \$1.25 poverty line, common measures of access to water and sanitation – may be inadequate for urban contexts and hence underestimate the extent of the challenge facing urban poor people.

Second, as many of the sections have highlighted, while there is considerable theoretical/secondary research and literature on the causes and consequences of urbanisation, there remain considerable gaps in knowledge around what kinds of programmes really work in which settings, why and with what kind of partnerships/stakeholders. In particular, more action-oriented research documenting the results and impacts of particular programmes/partnerships on the ground and over time would be very valuable.

imposed from outside (cf climate change section). Similarly, involving citizens in providing security can be an important way to strengthen a city's resilience to violence, as people often have a better understanding of existing gaps in their areas. Community policing initiatives may strengthen the links between citizens and formal security providers, while increasing levels of trust and information flow (cf peace and security section).

Technical assistance

Technical assistance, not only to municipal or local governments but also to public and private sector actors, can play an important role in enhancing urban planning and efficient service delivery and management. For example, as the water section has shown, many piped water networks in low-income countries suffer from water loss. Technical assistance can help tackle this, thereby increasing the water company's profits and helping it to expand. Such assistance could also help companies to design more equitable tariffs and connection fees. It will be important to focus on small-scale initiatives and providers as well as big ones. Similarly, municipal governments often lack comprehensive urban planning and management specialists and may only be able to carry out very particular

Box 8: Urban financing

One of the major challenges facing municipal authorities in developing cities is how to finance vastly expensive but urgently needed infrastructure to keep pace with urban growth. While the intergovernmental context and national economy will greatly determine the possibilities a city has to access finance, studies present general conclusions regarding options which developing cities may have to raise their revenues:

- Intergovernmental transfers can be an effective form of finance but can be undermined by instability within the central government, incoherent decentralisation processes, or an intergovernmental framework that is not clearly defined.
- The collection of local taxes can be an important source of revenue but there may be various political as well as administrative barriers to the expansion of tax collection. Considering different ways in which tax can be collected, such as area-based property valuations, may enable gradual improvements in the local system of tax collection. Attention should also be paid to widening the tax base, considering taxes on consumption or income.
- The ability of a city to borrow is largely determined by the regulatory environment and a city's creditworthiness. Examining how a city can improve its creditworthiness, for example by demonstrating effective systems for financial management, is important in improving access to loans for large investments.

The current evidence base suggests that strengthening basic governance functions at the municipal level is an important first step for any intervention supporting a city's access to finance. For example, support to improve the intergovernmental environment and the coherence and efficacy of core administrative functions may be valuable initial activities to strengthen the base from which a city can improve its access to and use of greater resources.

Source: Nixon, H., Chambers, V., Hadley, S. and Hart, T. (2015)

tasks (rubbish collection, road construction), rather than addressing overall issues of urban service provision and planning. In emergencies, government capacity can be decimated, hampering the response and jeopardising longer-term recovery (cf emergency section). As such the DDC could play a crucial role in supporting government and public/private sector capacity at different levels across a number of urban planning and management tasks.

5.3. Other issues to address: land tenure, informal settlements and livelihoods

Although donors often shy away from fundamental political issues such as land reform, insecure or unclear land tenure is commonly at the heart of a lack of provision of basic services. It can also be a significant cause of conflict in cities (Moser and McIlwaine, 2014). Access to land also has implications for gender equality (Rurangwa 2013). Second, and linked to this, by 2020 an additional 500m slum dwellers are likely to join the billion already living in informal settlements (World Bank and IMF, 2013), which means that supporting interventions to

provide quality, affordable housing for the urban poor will become increasingly important. It is useful to think of housing in association with, rather than in isolation from, income-generating opportunities, access to transport and basic services. Third, urban low-income households, many of them residing in informal settlements, are much more dependent on cash than poor rural households. As such, a good understanding of best practice in supporting livelihood strategies and the wider context in which these are undertaken would be beneficial (e.g. supporting infrastructure investments in urban areas that might contribute to job generation and structural transformation, including opportunities for low-skilled workers). While DGIS is supporting a number of private sector interventions, it would be useful to further consider the spatial implications of such programmes. This is particularly relevant given that, in many cases, rural to urban migration and urban population growth is taking place without improvements in the quality of employment opportunities for those with lower skills.

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