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The Quest for More Sustainability in Urban Planning

The multidimensional concept of sustainability has been integrated as a central aspect of contemporary urban planning and policies in various ways across the Nordic Countries, Europe and beyond. Although a kind of definitional consensus could have been developed in the meantime, emphasising the integration of economic, social and environmental issues in a cross-generation perspective, the concept has so far been translated into rather diverse policy packages in regards to urban planning. In this issue of Nordregio News we look at how sustainable urban planning has been approached during the past two decades.

One reason the concept has a variety of applications is, as with many other social-political constructs (such as territorial cohesion, covered in our last issue), it is challenging to measure the extent to which urban policies contribute to sustainability. This allows some room to use this positively associated concept as a label for various types of programmes, policies and projects in urban planning and beyond.

Apart from these side-effects, the concept of sustainability particularly related to urban planning, has been revitalised and reframed in recent years. An eye-catching reason for this is the discourse on climate change and other related strands, such as making cities more resource efficient, the introduction of electric vehicles for shorter trips within urban areas and planning concepts like compact urban forms and transit-oriented development. These examples claim to identify

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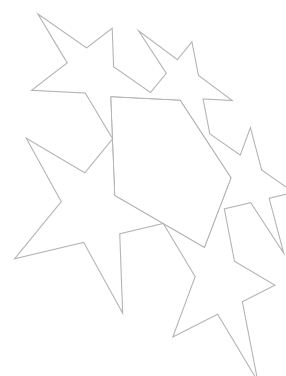
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long-term reconcilable solutions to minimise or better cope with the environmental impacts of social and economic activities in cities.

As a matter of fact, so-called 'adaptation' and 'mitigation' strategies are increasingly framing debates in urban planning for 'more sustainability'. But what are the challenges for developing cities and neighbourhoods under the criteria of this 'reframed' agenda of urban sustainability? In this issue of Nordregio News sustainable urban planning is considered from several perspectives.

Dominic Stead's article **Views on Sustainable Urban Planning from Europe** discusses how the discourse on sustainability in relation to urban planning has permeated EU policy papers over the last twenty years or so. In doing so, he identifies some major thematic strands, specifically the quest for the most sustainable 'urban form' which has been a central issue in this respect.

In his article **A Holistic Approach to Climate Change**, Christian Dymén critically reviews the commonly used 'mitigation-adaptation dichotomy'. By using the illustrative planning approach in one suburb of the Swedish city of Malmö, he calls for more comprehensive notions and practices in developing sustainable neighbourhoods.

Mitchell Reardon's contribution article **A Contemporary Look at Sustainable Urban Planning** reflects critically on the achievements in striving for sustainability in urban planning so far. He identifies some interesting shortcomings and disconnections in the current debate and calls for more context-sensitive approaches towards sustainable urban planning.

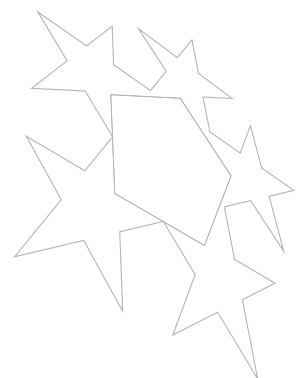
We hope you enjoy reading this issue of Nordregio News!



Peter Schmitt

Senior Research Fellow

and the **Editorial Board of Nordregio News**



Views on Sustainable Urban Planning from Europe

By Dominic Stead

The role of urban form, or the physical arrangement of land uses, in contributing to sustainable development has been recognised for more than two decades in European policy. Soon after the publication of the **Brundtland Report** in 1987, European policy started to call for a stronger role for land-use planning and began to set out a case for denser mixed-use urban development – key elements of the compact city paradigm which began its ascendance around that time. The environmental arguments for denser mixed-use urban development were often most prominent in policy despite the fact that there are also some strong social and economic benefits associated with this type of development.

European policy on sustainable urban form

One of the first references to urban form in European policy can be found in the **Green Paper on the Urban Environment** from 1990, which took the traditional European city as its inspiration and argued for denser, more mixed forms of development. Similar ideas can also be found in the **European Spatial Development Perspective** (ESDP), published in 1999, which explicitly referred to the compact city approach to planning. Subsequently, the European Commission's 2004 **preparatory document on the Urban Thematic Strategy** advocated high density, mixed-use settlements, the reuse of 'brownfield' land and empty property, and planned expansions of urban areas (instead of ad hoc urban sprawl). More recently still, the **Leipzig Charter on Sustainable European Cities** (signed in 2007 by the European Ministers responsible for urban development) highlighted the mixing of urban functions such as housing, employment, education and recreational use in urban neighbourhoods as a desirable and more sustainable approach to urban development, particularly in terms of resource efficiency.

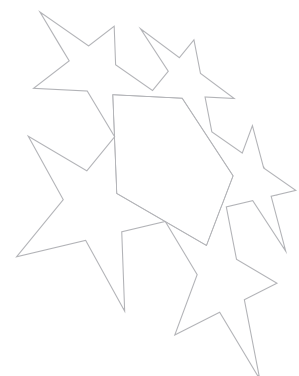
Arguments in support of urban form policies

Various reasons for managing the urban form are identified in these European policy statements. Most often however, managing urban form is justified on environmental grounds, such as reducing green-field or agricultural land consumption or lowering the need for car-based travel (and reducing transport energy consumption). The potential social and economic benefits associated with managing urban form are often surprisingly given less attention in these documents



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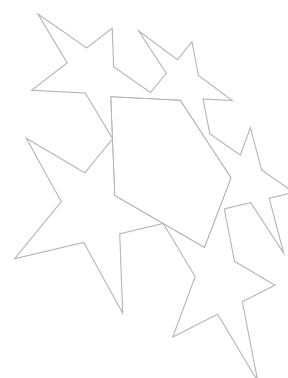
despite the fact that some of the social and economic impacts of urban form can also be very important. Examples of such benefits are increased community safety, greater access to services, lower costs of development and infrastructure provision, and wider employment opportunities.

The 1990 Green Paper on the Urban Environment for example highlighted strategies for dense mixed-use developments as a way of increasing local accessibility to jobs and services, stating that dense mixed-use development is more likely to result in people living close to workplaces and the services they need for everyday life. Meanwhile, the ESDP argued that spatial development policy can make an important contribution to climate protection through energy-saving from traffic-reducing settlement structures and locations, and the 2006 **Thematic Strategy on the Urban Environment** highlighted the need for high-density and mixed-use settlement patterns and the avoidance of urban sprawl as a means to reduce resource-use, such as land consumption and transport and heating requirements.

Urban form can also be used as a means of addressing issues of sprawl and poor urban quality. Several European policy documents mentioned above regard urban sprawl as a key issue to be addressed through urban management and urban form policies. For example, the 2007 **European Green Paper on Urban Mobility** raised the concern that the suburbanisation of development and the resulting dispersal of home, work and leisure facilities have often resulted in increased transport demand, with negative consequences for energy consumption, congestion and environmental pollution. Meanwhile, the European Commission's 2004 preparatory document on the Urban Thematic Strategy argued that environmentally unsustainable and unattractive urban areas are often the result of poor land-use decisions, with the clear implication that planning needs to be improved.

Planning as both problem and solution

Unsustainable patterns of development are not necessarily the consequence of a complete or partial lack of planning. Even strong planning powers can sometimes lead to unsustainable outcomes if the underlying principles are unsound or if planning practice is insufficiently coordinated with other areas of policy-making. This is recognised in the 1990 Green Paper on the Urban Environment, which pointed out that strict zoning policies can often lead to the separation of land uses and thereby increase travel demand and traffic levels, with implications for urban environmental quality. This problem prompted the Green Paper to call for a fundamental review of the principles on which urban planning practice is based. Meanwhile, the Leipzig Charter on Sustainable European Cities of 2007 identified the role of urban planning, and stronger controls of land supply in particular, as an important means of preventing urban sprawl and increasing the efficiency and sustainability of resource use in cities.



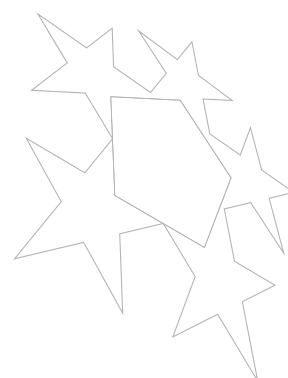
Limits to urban form policies

There are clearly limits to the influence of Europe on urban planning policy, which is primarily a matter for national and sub-national levels of government, rather than the European level. Moreover, implementing urban form policies at any tier of government can pose numerous difficulties. The 2004 preparatory document on the Urban Thematic Strategy for example recognises that there are limits to acceptable urban densities and that some urban areas suffer from poor quality environments due to overcrowding. Reversing urban sprawl and increasing land-use densities is thus no easy task. For reasons of competence and subsidiarity (taking decisions at the lowest appropriate level), European policy is clearly wary of prescribing standard planning solutions for making land-use decisions or defining 'ideal' settlement patterns. As the 2004 preparatory document on the Urban Thematic Strategy recognised, each town and city is unique, which makes the solutions needed to achieve more sustainable urban development very specific to each case.

Complementary packages of policies

Urban form and planning control remain important means of addressing sustainable development in cities and have rightly continued to feature in various European policy statements on the urban environment over the course of more than two decades. The terminology may have changed (and new terms have certainly emerged) over this time, but the basic message remains essentially the same: planning and urban form are crucial to urban sustainability. However, this should not be regarded as a general panacea: planning is only one of a range of different types of policy tools that needs to be used to tackle the problems of unsustainable development in cities. Many other types of policy instruments are also available, and tackling unsustainable urban development in an effective way will usually require combinations of different instruments employed in an integrated manner.

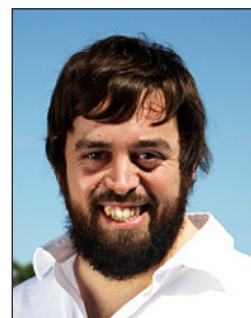
In other words, urban planning policies need to be supported by complementary policies, which might for example address issues such as vehicle technology, energy sources and prices, and building standards. To make significant advances towards more sustainable patterns of urban development, these combinations of policy instruments also need to be accompanied by changes in individual preferences and consumption patterns. After all, urban planning can provide some of the necessary conditions for more sustainable choices but it is ultimately the preferences and behaviour of individuals that will determine the real extent to which cities become more sustainable. In response to the 'open consultation process', a synthesised report including a more narrow definition has not yet been released.●



A Holistic Approach to Climate Change

By Christian Dymén

It is widely accepted that the climate is changing and that actions have to be taken at many different levels of society, especially when it comes to the reduction of greenhouse gas emissions (mitigation) and the adverse impacts of climate change (adaptation). However, can synergies between mitigation and adaptation be obtained? Augustenborg, an eco-friendly neighbourhood in Malmö, Sweden, is an example of such a case.



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What are mitigation and adaptation?

Climate change response is often divided into two main parts, adaptation and mitigation. Adaptation refers to preparations that are made to protect the built environment from the inevitable consequences of global warming. These consequences include flooding, droughts, erosion and sea level rise. The United Nations International Panel for Climate Change (IPCC) defines climate change adaptation as *"Adjustment in natural or human systems in response to actual or expected climatic stimuli or their effects, which moderates harm or exploits beneficial opportunities"*.

Climate change mitigation, on the other hand, refers to reducing the adverse impacts of climate change, mainly by reducing emissions of greenhouse gases (GHGs). The IPCC defines mitigation as *"An anthropogenic intervention to reduce the anthropogenic forcing of the climate system; it includes strategies to reduce greenhouse gas sources and emissions and enhancing greenhouse gas sinks..."*.

Mitigation on the agenda long before adaptation

In general, climate change mitigation efforts were undertaken long before adaptation appeared on the agenda. Sweden, the largest of the Nordic countries, experienced its first wave of climate change response with the implementation of Agenda 21 in 1996. At that time, efforts mainly focused on the economics of energy production and consumption, and then they switched to climate change mitigation. It was no longer only about reducing energy costs, it was also about reducing GHG emissions and the future impacts of climate change. Later, it became evident that reducing GHG emissions was not enough. Our societies have to be able to protect themselves against inevitable impacts of climate change.

The 'adaptation–mitigation dichotomy'

Researchers focusing on climate change and urban planning have attempted to structure and understand the challenges of addressing

both adaptation and mitigation in municipal planning, and to find the synergies of (rather than conflicts between) the two approaches. One possible conflict between adaptation and mitigation can be seen in densely populated cities, which have the potential to reduce GHG emissions on the one hand, while facing serious challenges such as flooding, heavy rains and extreme heat on the other.

In the scientific community, the phrase 'adaptation–mitigation dichotomy' is used to capture the essential challenges associated with adaptation and mitigation. One of the main reasons adaptation and mitigation have been kept apart in research and policy-making for so long is the so-called dichotomy between them, which Biesbroek et al. (2008) have summarized in *The mitigation–adaptation dichotomy and the role of spatial planning*. The dichotomy has three dimensions.

The first dimension is time. Climate change adaptations, such as strategies and investments to reduce the effects of flooding and sea level increases, are often done in the short to medium long term to address the unavoidable impacts of climate change in the not too distant future. On the other hand, mitigation efforts reflect a long-term perspective, as the results of these actions may not be manifest for perhaps 20 years or more.

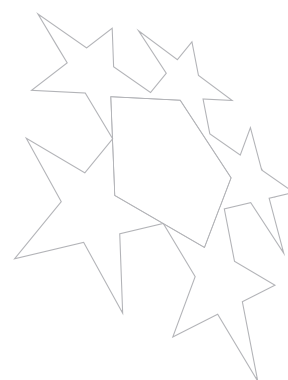
The second and third dimensions refer, respectively, to the administrative level at which decisions are made and the stakeholders involved. The main difference between adaptation and mitigation is that mitigation decisions and investments often involve national and international decisions and stakeholders, because emissions in one region influence both nearby and more distant regions. Adaptation primarily involves a local level decision-making process and mostly local and regional governments and stakeholders. Investments and decisions made at the local level will predominantly have local impacts.

Examination of the adaptation–mitigation dichotomy shows that there are potential and relevant differences in time, administrative level and stakeholders. At the same time, it is important not to reinforce dualistic thinking, because reality is much more complex than simple dichotomies.

The example of Augustenborg

In June 2011, Nordregio arranged a seminar on climate change adaptation on behalf of the Nordic Council of Ministers. The purpose of the seminar was for practitioners in the Nordic countries to share knowledge about how to deal with the unavoidable impacts of climate change, such as flooding and sea level increases.

During a workshop session on the challenges of climate change adaptation, local, regional and national level practitioners recognized that long-term political thinking must be encouraged to avoid focusing on short-term economic profit alone. Long-term thinking has the potential to overcome potential conflicts between adaptation



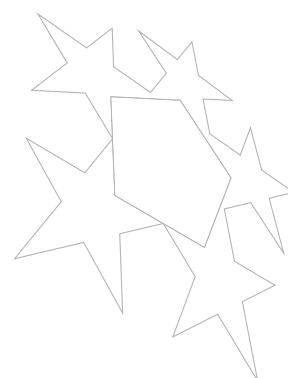


Views from Augustenborg. Photos: Malmö stad, malmo.se/miljo

and mitigation, but it can also overcome conflicts between climate change responses and other social and economic dimensions of sustainability.

One example presented during the seminar of how climate change could be addressed was Eco-City Augustenborg, which has managed to find synergies between climate change adaptation and mitigation, as well as with other economic and social dimensions of sustainability. Eco-City Augustenborg is one of Sweden's largest urban sustainability projects. Construction of the area started in 1948 by the housing company MKB. The underlying idea was that it should not only consist of apartments, but also schools, shops, working opportunities and community centres.

For decades, Augustenborg was forgotten, often mentioned only in negative terms, until 1998, when it received national funding reinvestment in the area. The plan was to create a socially, environmentally and economically sustainable neighbourhood. Today, Augustenborg is a flagship model of eco-friendly development, with a thousand visitors every year, green outdoor environments, green roofs, electric trams, safer traffic environments, citizen participation, local employment opportunities and local handling of storm water and waste recycling.



The challenge of developing a sustainable neighbourhood

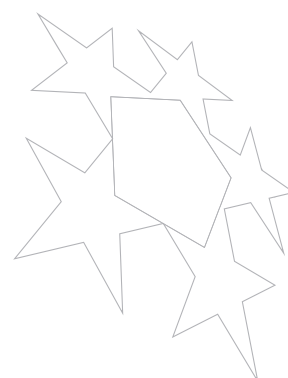
Considering the Biesbroek et al. (2008) adaptation–mitigation dichotomy, it is obvious that the comprehensive approach to sustainability taken in Augustenborg generates challenges. The example of Augustenborg is used here to discuss more general challenges that authorities can face when responding to climate change. This is not an analysis of what the stakeholders in Augustenborg reported, but rather Augustenborg is an inspiration for further discussions of the challenge of finding synergies between mitigation, adaptation and other dimensions of sustainability. Discussion of Augustenborg is limited to what was presented during the seminar at Nordregio.

Regarding the first dimension of the dichotomy, time, the question is whether the challenge of engaging citizens, politicians and other local stakeholders to protect the neighbourhood from heavy rains differs from motivating them to invest in electric trams, for instance. Protecting the area from flooding has a direct economic impact for stakeholders. House and apartment owners do not have to worry that their properties will be inundated. The short-term economic profit and safety precautions for households and businesses do not interfere with a short-term climate change approach. On the other hand, investing in mass transit that is less polluting, as well as motivating citizens to walk and use bicycles more often, probably requires efforts to change attitudes and behaviour, because the benefits of these policies will not be apparent for many decades.

In the case of Augustenborg, however, many of the efforts to reduce GHG emissions, such as waste recycling, resource savings and cleaner transportation solutions, have incorporated a short-term economic benefit by creating employment opportunities. It is likely that finding the synergy between long-term impacts and short-term impacts was an important factor in motivating the community to reduce emissions.

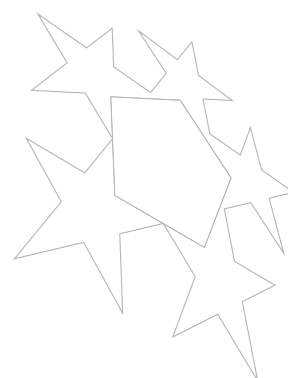
Furthermore, the government and EU investment in redevelopment of the area, as well as national and local politicians' enthusiastic promotion of redevelopment, have contributed to a positive image of the area as being sustainable - as both an area where people are happy and safe and an area where GHG emissions are low. A prominent characteristic of the makeover of Augustenborg was citizen involvement. Using citizens as experts on their everyday lives helped to create a neighbourhood that is not only protected against flooding, but also creates employment opportunities and is safe for the residents.

Investments from the government and the EU are also relevant when examining the second and third dimensions of the dichotomy, the administrative and stakeholder aspects. Because decisions related to GHG emissions are often made at national and international levels (and thus may not have explicit local benefits), it is relevant to ask whether strong contributions from the national and international



levels are necessary to complete a project such as Augustenborg. From Nordregio's previous research on Swedish municipalities and their climate change response strategies, we have found that the municipalities working intensively to reduce GHG emissions have often received national funding through a variety of programmes. Furthermore, these municipalities had already been investing in lower energy consumption for a long time. Their motivation, then, was to reduce energy costs. This indicates that synergies can be found between long-term climate change responses and more short-term economic gains. The same was true for Augustenborg, where a long-term climate change focus also contributed to safer environments, energy savings and employment opportunities in the short term.

In conclusion, it is tempting to argue that investments in climate change mitigation are harder to obtain than investments in climate change adaptations at the local level. The benefits of mitigation are typically not manifest for many decades. Furthermore, they often depend on the actions of others, such as neighbouring communities and municipalities, and other regions and countries. In Augustenborg, however, the efforts to reduce emissions also had the short-term local benefits of increasing comfort and safety, and creating employment opportunities. Finding short-term local benefits of climate change mitigation is probably an important factor in the success of such efforts.●



A Contemporary Look at Sustainable Urban Planning

Thoughts from the SUME Project & the 47th ISOCARP Congress

By Mitchell Reardon

Our Common Future has just been released. The term 'sustainable development' has entered the public discourse. There is a growing awareness about the negative effects humanity is having on the environment. Around the world, urbanisation continues to increase. The first hints of a renewed interest in cities are beginning to manifest themselves amongst the public, planners and politicians. Now fast forward a quarter century. It's almost 2012. What does sustainable urban development mean today? How is it applied? And what challenges remain?

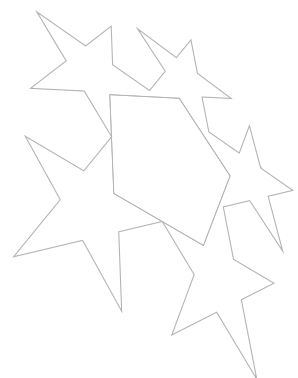
During this 25 year period, a global tipping point was reached; more than half the world's population now lives in an urban setting – with forecasts that this will increase to 70% by 2050. The causes of climate change have been established and some steps have been taken to reduce their impacts. There is a global interconnectedness that is unparalleled at any time in human history which offers individuals the opportunity to keep up on what is taking place on the other side of the world in almost real-time; creating a virtual global village. Yet, there is an ever-growing disparity between the rich and poor, within nations and around the world. A severe economic crisis has hindered current development opportunities. Widespread environmental degradation continues. And many of the urban regions experiencing the most rapid growth are those that have the fewest resources to handle it.

Although only realized to a limited extent in practice, the capacity for sustainable urban development has expanded considerably during this period. Select eco-friendly projects have appeared in a number of countries, such as Norra Djurgårdsstaden in Stockholm, Sweden; Vauban in Freiburg, Germany; and Dockside Green in Victoria, Canada. Even more inspiring; new projects that are building on the lessons learned from these pioneering developments continue to evolve and rapidly developing countries such as China are investing vast resources to encourage greener living patterns. At the building level, technological advancements abound, as illustrated by more energy efficient materials, advanced systems for the reuse of waste and advances in photovoltaic energy, to name a few. On a wider scale, new models for the urban form are promoting a reduction in material and resource consumption, such as transit oriented development,



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brownfield regeneration and balanced urban structures, and have been adopted in urban regions the world over. Finally, a growing body of research surveys the advancements that have been made and continues to inject valuable new ideas into the debate.

The SUME perspective

The recently completed EU FP-7 project **Sustainable Urban Metabolism for Europe** (SUME), which Nordregio was a partner on, is one project that sought to contribute to the greater understanding and promotion of sustainable urban development. The SUME project considered how future urban systems could be designed to be consistently less damaging to the environment. In doing so, the concept of urban metabolism was used to understand how resources such as energy and land are consumed. Using the urban metabolic approach, the flows of resources, energy and waste – in, through and out – of the urban system were explored with a focus on the built environment, transport and the spatial qualities of the urban form.

The project produced outcomes that were relevant at varied scales. At the local level, this included the importance of creating viable alternatives to the private car for complex daily trips in reducing energy consumption and the technological potential of new buildings in promoting resource efficiency. A series of Metabolic Impact Assessments (MIA)s were used to evaluate the extent to which a select number of large-scale urban development projects, including Norra Djurgårdss-taden in Stockholm, were influencing the resource and energy flows of their respective cities. They also served as a measuring stick for the commitments that these cities have made to fostering a more sustainable future.

At the regional scale, two scenarios were developed for seven cities, including Stockholm, Newcastle and Marseille. These scenarios evaluated the development potentials of each city based on official population, economic and demographic estimates between 2000 and 2050. A BASE scenario accepted the continuation of a status quo approach to planning that is unique to each city, while the SUME scenario saw each city adopt a more resource efficient planning approach that led to reduced land consumption, and sprawl. In doing so, one aspect of sustainable urban development that the SUME approach illustrated was how higher densities in specific areas could reduce urban expansion, without necessarily requiring greater building heights. Further, the value of considering cities as functional urban regions as a means of realizing greater resource efficiency was underlined.

At the policy level, institutional frameworks, policy packages, regulatory frameworks and positive incentives were explored to create practical mechanisms that helped to motivate sustainable resource use. Here, the need for a strong regional governance system that fostered cooperation between otherwise competing municipalities became apparent for reducing sprawl and ensuring a cohesive regional vision.



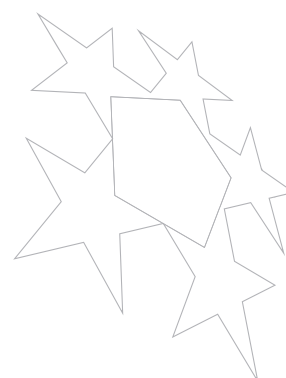
Left: Marseille - A northward view of the inner city, including Vieux Port and the Euromediterranean development area. Buildings continue to be added to the city's dense urban fabric as it develops over time, contributing to its resource efficiency.

Right: Stockholm - Great demand for property located in the urban core ensures that densities remain high and in some cases are increased, as is the case with the planned Västra City project.

Broadening horizons

The SUME project served to underline the importance of considering the unique development situations that exist in different urban regions. As such, it is impossible to separate an urban region from the distinct planning context that has developed their as a result of an enormous range of variables. In this sense, lessons and ideas from one situation can be applied from situation to another; however there is no 'one size fits all' solution for sustainable urban development.

This was something that arose again and again at the **47th ISO-CARP Congress in Wuhan, China**. At the congress, participants from around the world presented a wide range of projects under the expansive theme of 'Liveable Cities'. Many inspiring and thought provoking projects were discussed and it slowly became evident that although efforts have been made, a considerable gap exists between how sustainable urban development is perceived in developed and developing countries. This was underlined in a presentation on efforts at sustainable development in Côte d'Ivoire, where the national Minister of Cities and Urban Sanitation created an eco-



logical greenspace in an attempt to promote environmental sustainability in the city of Abidjan.[1] The effort earned him widespread criticism and the nickname 'the gardener of Indénié' (the crossroad where the park was created). The city's residents felt that the money for the project could have been better spent on something more practical, like schools. This presentation underlined a pervasive theme amongst participants from developing countries: achieving environmental sustainability remains a luxury in many developing cities.

In reflecting on sustainable urban development from a global perspective, combining affordability and sustainability remains an enormous challenge. It is also particularly important when considering that the majority of the world's urban population growth is taking places in urban regions that are grappling with this issue.

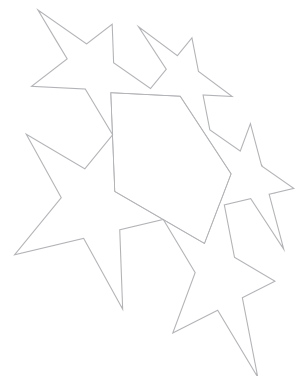


In many Chinese cities, including Wuhan, environmental challenges are one challenge amongst many in the pursuit of sustainable urban planning.

The environment, economics & people

Amongst developed countries, the scope and meaning of sustainable urban development is also open to debate. Here, an obvious challenge is in cases where 'sustainability' merely serves an attractive marketing ploy; however even in cases where real efforts are made, certain aspects of sustainability are frequently emphasized, often to the detriment of others.

An environmental focus is central to nearly every contemporary sustainable urban planning project. Given the serious repercussions of climate change, this is an important area to consider. Beyond area-specific advancements, such projects serve to foster ideas and inspiration elsewhere and can thus have a wider impact on sustainable urban



planning. The economic sustainability of a project remains a given. Sustainable urban planning requires investment; public, private or both. Without a viable long-term economic plan, sustainable urban planning simply does not take place in many regions.

Now we arrive at social sustainability. The vast majority of efforts aimed at sustainable urban planning discuss the importance of promoting this aspect, but how frequently is it realized to the same extent as the other pillars? This is well illustrated in flagship urban sustainability projects, whereby 'social sustainability' is frequently translated to 'mixed-use'. Mixed-use living patterns are important in creating safe, liveable spaces; however this in itself does not ensure the resolution of wider social challenges. To this end, mixed-use is to social sustainability what green space is to environmental sustainability: one piece in a larger puzzle. It also requires the recognition of the needs of all people regardless of income, background, age or gender; whether this pertains to housing, transport, economics or otherwise. Efforts to meet these needs frequently conflict with economic dynamics of a project, and can fall to the wayside as a result; something that has been exasperated during the economic crisis. Yet it is precisely during an era where such inequalities are becoming more pronounced that the realization of social sustainability is most important.

Sustainable urban development, what's next?

Sustainable urban development has evolved into a central aspect of urban planning over the past quarter century, but as illustrated in the SUME project, more can be accomplished. One way of looking at the remaining challenges is as an issue of perception. In an effort to promote resource efficiency, the SUME project demonstrated the value of viewing cities as functional urban regions rather than political entities; numerous presentations at the 47th ISOCARP Congress underlined the importance of adopting a wider perspective of sustainable urban development when considering the issue at a global level; and in achieving sustainable urban development that balances the overarching aims of sustainability in developed countries, the need to for a more holistic perspective was underlined. As "the age of the city"[2] unfolds, a sense of optimism towards sustainable urban development is justified by the advancements that have been made during the past 25 years. In looking forwards, a more flexible understanding of what sustainable urban development means to different people in different places can help to ensure that such advancements benefit all of the world's urban dwellers in ways that are best tailored to their respective needs.●

[1] Ahmed Sangare. *Environment Has Little Chance to be the Priority in Sub-Saharan African Cities*.

[2] Peter Hall. *World Cities: Achieving Liveability and Vibrancy*. Eds. Giok Ling Ooi & Belinda Yuen, 2009.

