Creating safe and inclusive cities that leave no one behind: seven key pathways to actualising the principles of the New Urban Agenda

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Preface

The fact that Habitat III takes place in Quito, Ecuador is highly symbolic for me. Back in 1992, living as an anthropologist in the *suburbios* of Guayaquil, Ecuador's other main city, the local community first cautioned me that 'ubiquitous', everyday violence associated with crime, drugs and gangs increasingly dominated their lives, resulting in endemic fear and insecurity. At the time, working in the World Bank, technocrats, who maintained that urban violence was an issue of individual behaviour, rather than a fundamental development challenge, dismissed my observations. We have come a long way since then in the past two decades. Indeed in Habitat III's New Urban Agenda one of only three commitments with any real potential for gender transformation is 'safety and security' and the call for cities 'without violence and harassment against women and girls in private and public spaces' (paragraph 13c).

The main focus for intervention, as illustrated by the key messages of this paper, is on place making, with an emphasis on investments in safe public spaces. Closely linked is the development of a range of NGOs, such as Slum/Shack Dwellers International (SDI), and local community participatory methodologies for mapping space, with different social actors and constituencies ranging from informal economy workers to children. In co-production partnerships informal settlement organisations, such as WIEGO, and urban planners are collaborating to develop innovative interventions to reduce conflict and increase secure public spaces.

However there are also non-spatial safety issues that have received less attention. For instance, as shown in No One Left Behind, a film produced by SDI and IDS, housing is recognised as a critical urban asset. Yet individual house ownership in newly created spatial settlements in communities without cohesion or social capital can exacerbate lack of trust and insecurity between neighbours. Equally in contexts of global urbanisation where there is a lack of employment opportunities, the emphasis on education as a means to 'leave no-one behind', a key principle behind the New Urban Agenda, may result in greater levels of youth exclusion. This in turn often results in increased violence and insecurity associated with gangs, crime and drugs.

Finally, and most recently, as 20th century rural peasant wars have transitioned to urban areas, cities in conflict contexts have become identified as sites of war. To address this, international humanitarian organisations, such as the International Committee for the Red Cross, are increasingly expanding beyond relief work and focusing on urban violence as an issue of conflict. The so-called 'humanitarianisation' of security, results in interventions with 'responsibility to protect', rather than to manage or contest the structural causes of violence and insecurity. This may have different implications for creating safe and inclusive cities.

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Introduction

Half of humanity now lives in urban areas, and there is little doubt that cities have increasingly become key loci of violence during the past half-century. Such violence severely debilitates development outcomes, particularly for the most marginalised, and stands at odds with the characterisation of cities as engines of growth. [Analysis of city fragility at a global level](#) shows that while a growing number of cities are leading the way in generating global GDP, a vast number of urban areas, both large and small, continue to be left behind. Of the world's 31 most fragile and conflict-affected countries, [23 are projected to be significantly urban in the near future](#). At the same time, fatalities due to armed violence in non-war settings [far outweigh war-related deaths](#), and much of this violence is located in cities. And while homicide is an often-cited metric for death and victimisation in non-conflict settings, it alone is not an adequate indicator to describe the many [socio-political sources of insecurity and violence that are taking a grip on urban centres across the world](#).

This paper serves as a background note for the Habitat III side-event '[Creating Safe and Inclusive Cities That Leave No One Behind](#)'. It brings together research and practice to understand how well-managed urbanisation can revitalise urban spaces that had either been lost to violence or suffered from a lack of access to basic services and neglect. The contributors to this paper consider the various dimensions of urban safety and inclusivity across fragile, non-conflict and post-disaster contexts, and systematise these into three distinct levels: At the *street-level* we ask how safety and inclusivity relate to the lived experiences of city dwellers, particularly the poorest and most marginalised. At the *city-level* we turn our gaze to the city wide socio-political and civic actors and institutions that govern urban security and basic service provision. And, at the *national-level* we look at how the dynamics of security provision in cities relate to the processes of state building and peace building.

Based on ongoing research and a review of best practices, the paper presents seven key messages to emphasise the terms of inclusion needed to adhere to the principles of the New Urban Agenda. Following the discussion at the side event this paper will be translated into a policy brief and its recommendations shared with the architects of the implementation framework for the Global Partnership Initiative on Safer Cities, which is to be adopted at the Special Session on Safer Cities.

Background

From the point of view of urban institutions, the socio-political contestation inherent to urban living can be managed peacefully through a range of policies, programmes or governance arrangements. However, when these arrangements break down, situations can 'tip' over into large-scale, chronic violence and instability. In contexts where this has happened, there appears to be a deepening crisis of trust between civilians and the institutions that govern the provision of essential services like housing, water and security. This tends to be more acute for groups that are already marginalised because of their gender, their socio-political identity or even their economic status, particularly when government actions aim to exert the rule of law through coercive measures. As such, the impact urban violence and insecurity has on urban governance institutions can be described in three ways:

- [Destructive](#) – wherein an erosion of the social contract, and the governance institutions that uphold it, mirrors the direct loss of life, livelihood and property.
- [Recursive](#) – where violence becomes ingrained into the fabric of urban life, degrading the functioning of urban institutions and is therefore reproduced.

- Productive – in that protracted violence and insecurity can necessitate the innovation of new norms and institutions.

Planning, policy or design interventions that misinterpret 'ordered cities' as synonymous with 'planned', or 'smart' cities are thus likely to create insecurity, not reduce it. Well-managed urbanisation, on the other hand, can revitalise urban spaces that had either been lost to violence or suffered from a lack of access to basic services and neglect. Implementing effective violence mitigation strategies therefore requires a wide range of stakeholders to:

- Acknowledge that there are many sources of insecurity in cities, and that these can result from many types of urban violence;
- Understand how these sources of insecurity interact with the various socio-political arrangements that govern the provision of services, and in particular, security;
- Bring spatially relevant thinking to the arrangements by which political power is organised and exercised at the street-, city-, and national-level.

Key Messages

1. Foster urban safety through inclusive policies and practices

'Inclusion' is the process of improving the ability, opportunity and dignity of people, disadvantaged on the basis of their identity, or excluded for other structural reasons from markets, services and spaces, to take part in society. Fostering urban safety though inclusive policies and practices involves prioritising the voices of those who are the most marginalised to articulate their own needs, building on their own capacities to create safe and secure spaces, both independently and through collective action, and placing these at the front and centre of a road-map towards fostering urban safety. This also involves supporting the factors that motivate community champions, local thought leaders and social workers to continue to innovate local solutions to prevent violence.

With the number of people living in informal settlements in urban areas increasing, it is paramount to make inclusion *actionable*. This is particularly important for urban areas that are experiencing rapid growth, where charged contestation over rights and space presents a high likelihood of the priorities of the most marginalised groups being undermined by myopic (or patchwork) decision making. Sustainable routes to creating safe and secure urban spaces are built from the bottom up, and constantly updated to reflect on-the-ground realities.

Box 1. The Politics of Inclusion: Public Policy for Security and Coexistence, Municipality of Medellín

The Public Policy on Security and Coexistence of the Municipality of Medellín, approved by Agreement 021 of 2015, is set around the relationships established between its strategic guidelines, the instruments that are used to develop them, and the consecrated scenarios for informed decision-making and evaluation. That relationship is designed to allow the development of strategic guidelines through instruments - action programmes and projects. The latter are the result of a process of informed decision-making that takes place on the same scenarios. These strategic guidelines, tools and scenarios are:

Strategic guidelines:
- Empowerment, accountability and social control
- Knowledge management

- Social transformation for peace building
- Skills, training and education
- Cooperation, advocacy and mainstreaming
- Technology for safety
- Justice

Instruments to develop the guidelines:
- Municipal Development Plan
- Comprehensive Plan for Security and Coexistence
- Prevention Plan
- Territorialising instruments

Scenarios for informed decision-making and evaluation:
- Municipal Security Council
- Territorial Committee for Public Order
- Municipal Committee for Transitional Justice
- Council for Women's Public Security
- Local Government Committee
- Council for Coexistence and Security

The strategic guidelines are formulated 'as thematic units that guide informed decision-making and establish possible ways to achieve the policy objective' (Mayor's Office of Medellín, 2015: 13). Thus, the strategic guideline for empowerment, accountability and social control has three elements for its development, such as the strengthening of local capacity, understanding these as dialogue, the construction of narrative and critical reflection. A second element of inclusion and participation is in which the action, collective efficacy and networking are enhanced between actors (individuals, community organisations and business sector) and finally access to information, accountability and social control. This guideline recognises the importance of community in managing security and coexistence. It seeks to enhance the resources and capabilities of individuals, organisations and communities so that they are able to 'influence, control and demand accountability to institutions responsible for ensuring the security and coexistence' (Mayor of Medellín, 2015: 64).

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2. Use innovative measures to accurately understand people's vulnerabilities

Forms of urban violence and insecurity vary tremendously by virtue of their motivations (e.g. economic, political, criminal), their pathologies (e.g. armed, physical, sexual, or psychological), by the nature of the victims (e.g. gender-based, or youth) as well as the nature of the perpetrators (e.g. by a gang, or a mob). The relative prominence of these characteristics is highly context-specific, with sociocultural norms and prevailing notions of what it means to live well in a city playing as important a role as the locations in which violence is perpetrated (e.g. mega-city versus small towns; inner-city versus periphery).

To account for such variation, more attention and resources are necessary to improve data collection on violence and insecurity in cities, particularly with a focus on informal

settlements. [Data on urban areas, particularly in the developing world, is very limited](): sometimes even basic information such as up-to-date population numbers or spatial planning and zoning information for informal settlements is missing. There is continued reliance on sub-standard crime statistics that are often not available at the local level. When local-level crime statistics are available, they often suffer from a lack of temporal consistency of reporting as well as the methods used for particular statistics. Quality of data is also severely hampered by inconsistencies in the processes of officially registering violent crime, evidenced by the discrepancies between statistics presented in official records and those presented by human rights watch groups. Programming based on sub-standard data is not likely to succeed.

Participatory and bottom-up approaches, at the individual- or community-level, provide insights into the experiences of violence among marginalised groups at a level of granularity required to understand the gender, age, identity, and space dimensions of vulnerability, as well as the risks associated with ['small' incidents](), such as fires, mudslides, local flooding or waste exposure, alongside the more wide-spread vulnerabilities associated with natural disasters. Robust and field-tested methodologies, ranging from [Participatory Urban Appraisals]() to [Wellbeing](), provide a workable set of principles to guide efforts to understand the vulnerabilities to violence and insecurity at the street-, neighbourhood- or city-levels. These methodologies can also be integrated with community driven self-monitoring practices to provide marginalised communities with critical real-time data to meet their own advocacy needs, as well as provide actionable ways to translate participatory data into formats understandable to the relevant municipal and national policy makers. There is also the capacity for using innovative technologies such as '[Map My Community]()', a mobile application co-designed with young people to increase participation in urban planning. Currently being used in Delhi in informal settlements to map basic service provision and identify needs of communities, this method has applicability to everyday experiences of insecurity and vulnerabilities at the street-level. Using a web interface, the data is accessible to a wide range of stakeholders in order to instigate change at the local level.

Box 2. 'Slum panchayat': Community driven policing of marginalised neighbourhoods

Society for the Promotion of Area Resource Centres (SPARC), Mahila Milan and National Slum Dwellers Federation (NSDF) ventured on an interesting programme over a decade ago starting in Pune, India. The process produced a committee of eleven people: seven women from the local Mahila Milan group; three men that the community collectively nominated; and one policeman. Together they created a timetable where they met every week or fortnight or bi-weekly at a particular place where people could come with their complaints, or their fears, or two sets of people having an argument could come to seek arbitration. Regardless of what the problem was both sides would be heard and the group would suggest a solution. If this was accepted, both parties signed-off and the matter ended there with a clear understanding that if there was any breach, the panchayat would look at it again. If for some reason the solution was not acceptable, then the panchayat took both parties to the police station and registered a complaint. By and large, most problems were solved right on site.

The programme was good for both the community and the police. As Commissioner A. N. Roy said to us: 'the police force doesn't become vigilant and accountable by themselves'. The police need relationships with communities that hold them accountable for their procedures, their systems, and this was an important way to socialise policemen to: what was happening in informal settlements; to identify people who were community leaders; and to respect these people when they came to the police station seeking solutions and support.

In 2005, Commissioner A. N. Roy came to Mumbai and we started the same programme there. Today, in Mumbai, there are about 200 such police panchayats. There are

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competitions and awards for those that produce outstanding results, and there is a yearly celebration where the police force, the Home Minister, and community leaders from all the neighbourhoods come and share their stories, their challenges, and make requests to each other – the police to the communities and the communities to the police – to produce a demonstrated, scalable strategy of how within informal settlements, which are rarely policed by the city, there can be a sense of safety.

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3. **Support evidence gathering from small- and medium-sized towns alongside the larger cities; and analyse safe and resilient urban spaces alongside more fragile ones**

As concerns over urban crime and violence have grown over the past decade, larger, more stable, cities have ironically been more successful in attracting the resources necessary to monitor and evaluate crime data. In countries like India, the most violent cities are not the mega-cities, but rather smaller cities of between one million and three million people that remain relatively hidden from view from the perspective of available data. And yet, the bulk of future urbanisation will take place in small- and medium-sized cities that feature disproportionately large populations of unemployed and under-educated youth, and exhibit severely under-resourced services, including in public police forces. Equally, evidence continues to be limited on the nature of everyday crime, and the best practices of providing safe public spaces and basic services in cities and towns experiencing humanitarian conditions or protracted armed conflict.

At the same time, the growing amount of evidence on innovations leading to violence prevention has tended to emerge from cities in non-conflict settings, where violence is nevertheless excessively prevalent. Much less is known about the dynamics of successful security provision, and how these outcomes have been sustained, in cities where violent crime is less prominent but other, more hidden, forms of vulnerabilities, oppression and marginalisation are nevertheless prevalent. Evidence gathering efforts should therefore be focussed on these blind spots.

Box 3. Evidence gathering and innovations under conditions of protracted violence and armed conflict

The collection of evidence in humanitarian action during urban armed conflict is difficult but essential. The work of the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) in assistance and protection depends on gathering accurate data about people's needs and risks. ICRC teams also need to understand the results of what they do and so must gather information for programme monitoring and evaluation.

Direct and indirect damage to urban infrastructure for clean water, electricity supply and sewerage systems is a major feature of today's armed conflict. Military activities can damage infrastructure directly by destroying or disabling key parts of the many interconnected systems which support basic urban services. More indirectly, the lack of key supplies, spare parts and vital skilled staff can cause a major deterioration in life-saving infrastructure. Teams from the ICRC's Water and Habitat Unit (WATHAB) and their operating partners in local authorities and national Red Cross or Red Crescent Societies need constantly to assess people's needs, levels of damage, supply shortages and staff deficits and capabilities. Only with the right information can the ICRC and its partners plug gaps in

existing systems and ensure some safe level of resilience and service continuity in the provision of basic services.

The ICRC's protection work also depends on an accurate assessment of people's needs and risks. The ICRC's protection teams work closely with conflict affected communities to understand the many factors determining their safety in urban areas affected by armed conflict. These risks may include a vulnerability to specific forms of attack, the risks of exposure to sexual violence or the search for missing family members. The ICRC also needs to gather important information after protection failures to understand what happened in specific incidents. The ICRC uses this important information in confidential dialogues with the parties to the conflict to influence the conduct of hostilities and increase respect for international humanitarian law (IHL). The ICRC can also use protection related information to work with vulnerable communities to improve community-based measures they can take to increase their levels of safety by adapting their behaviour and understanding their risks more clearly.

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4. Prioritise securing, not securitising, urban spaces

Militaristic responses, including weaponising city police forces, to situations of urban violence have had limited success, and are prone to creating long-term instability. Such approaches tend to view everyday urban spaces, the infrastructures of cities, as well as urban civilian populations, either as primary targets or as threats, and generally manifest as the increased deployment of armed police, particularly at checkpoints and roadblocks, acquisition of new weaponry or surveillance technology, and in some instances, adoption of stringent legal apparatuses that provide expanded policing powers. These types of interventions are prone to failure in developing country contexts that are characterised by a lack of efficient, well-functioning and non-partisan police and judicial systems, as well as a lack adequate provisioning for training and maintenance, required for the effective use of new weapons systems. A strong and articulate stand in opposition to strategies that rely on heightened militarisation or weaponisation of urban police forces is therefore required.

Policies and programmes that stand to have sustained success over the long run view urban violence and insecurity as a public health issues, and promote preventative frameworks that support a sense of shared ownership over public spaces. These have, for example proven to be far more successful in revitalising neighbourhoods lost to violence and neglect by increasing the visibility, validity and voice of street traders to inform legal, design, and planning frameworks to co-produce safe and secure workspaces in the city. Other successful approaches have sought to reorient interventions to focus on the structural, physical and behavioural factors that cause 'everyday' hurt and injuries, like traffic accidents and workplace injuries. Vulnerability to these types of injury and death tends to be associated with other forms of exclusion in the city, and the resulting impacts are therefore magnified. For example, these risks are far greater for those working or living in the precarious conditions in many informal industries or informal settlements, for whom even the seemingly small injuries can lead to a direct loss of income from regular day-wage labour. High-risk groups are also less likely to have the financial resources to seek the appropriate medical treatments or safe-guard against repeat injuries. Collective-action that relies on the agency and capacities of those who are themselves at high-risk is key not only in articulating the exact nature of the risks, but also in designing and implementing intervention strategies.

Box 4. Street vendors and market traders revitalising urban public spaces

Nearly half a million pedestrians, along with thousands of buses, cars, and public transport users, pass through Warwick Junction in central Durban, South Africa, every day. This vibrant natural market area is home to eight smaller markets where several thousand traders sell fresh produce, traditional medicine, garments, music, cooked food and other basic necessities. But in the mid-1990s, the area was poorly planned, racially and economically divided, overly congested, and rife with crime. Over a three-year period in the late 1990s and early 2000s, the Warwick Junction Urban Renewal Project turned the area around by approaching renewal from a standpoint of collaboration, consultation, and co-production of clean, safe public space between street traders' organisations, support organisations, and local government departments.

The success of the project stemmed from its commitment to several principles. First, city policy shifted towards acknowledging traders as a permanent part of the city, and as key contributors to the local economy. Second, local authorities committed to working with, not against, the traders, at the same time that traders became better organised. Both sides formed committees to work on specific issues or in specific areas of the market, which facilitated coordination. Third, the city opened a project centre in the market, where project staff could be available to traders on a day-to-day basis. Above all, the project was managed in a way that enabled both sides to build trust and jointly solve problems along the way. As one trader said, 'The most important thing is communication. The council doesn't come and tell us what to do—at least not in the area I trade. We talk about things. When I raise issues the council respects that.' Said one project official, 'You have to be humble enough to learn from the traders and from the logic of existing activities there.'

The renewal project set a precedent for public space management that still resonates at Warwick Junction today—for example, in the recent Phephanathi (Be Safe With Us) project to reduce fire hazards in the market. The non-profit organisation formed out of the Warwick experience, Asiye eTafuleni, developed a Participatory Hazard Mapping Tool for Informal Markets involving joint walkabouts, training, infrastructure improvements, and the development of fire safety equipment and first aid stands that are appropriate for markets. Improved collaboration between traders and local government authorities has again been key in the joint production of safer, healthier public spaces.

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5. Think inclusive when it comes to infrastructure

Infrastructure investment is critical to growing urban centres. The quantity and quality of urban infrastructure affects sustainable development generally, and the wellbeing and safety of urban populations in particular. Though recent work in India, for example, children and families experiences of urban transformation highlights the importance of material and social connections between diverse urban spaces, crucial for social and economic prosperity, belonging, cohesion, safety and inclusion, the impacts of newly built infrastructure on the everyday lives of those who are already marginalised remains poorly understood. New urban spaces, whether they are entirely new cities or cites of urban change should not be visioned, designed and built without considering the everyday lives, needs and desires of children, young people and their families. Planning practices which are inclusive in their approach are more likely to lead to safe and inclusive cities for all. There is however a continuing risk that,

partly as a result of poorly understanding the relationship between infrastructure and wellbeing, divisive investment strategies serving narrow sets of interests are being favoured over inclusive and unifying investment strategies.

On one hand, the fear of violence can prompt the infrastructural separation of high-violence neighbourhoods from surrounding areas, and can force women, men and children to adapt their daily life to avoid areas prone to violence on their way to work, around their homes, or when they play. Beyond the psychological impacts of such circumstances, adapting one's way of living in this manner usually also has a direct financial cost resulting from the need to build barriers, take longer routes to work, or forego livelihood opportunities due to safety concerns. On the other hand, the provision of affordable housing in the cities of the developing world continues to be driven by out-dated approaches that disregard the lessons learned from failed attempts at building large-scale affordable housing estates that are otherwise disconnected from the city. Such schemes stand at odds with an agenda towards building safe, inclusive and sustainable cities.

Therefore, planning, policy or design interventions that misinterpret 'ordered cities' as synonymous with 'planned' or 'smart' are likely to create insecurity, not reduce it. Underground or above ground, infrastructure that makes urban flows possible promises opportunity. But it can also threaten those who may be excluded, evicted or, worse, criminalised. As populations that are displaced and imprisoned expand, there is a danger that violence in the form of expulsions is becoming inherent in how the state articulates or enforces its infrastructural regime. As such, 'order and security for whom?' should continue to be the operative question used to orient interventions to enable the inclusion of the most marginalised sections of society.

Box 5. Inner-city regeneration in Belfast and Derry City and Strabane

Responsibility for planning in Northern Ireland is shared between the 11 local councils and the Department for Infrastructure. New powers for local government reform include land use planning, community planning, regeneration and tourism. This includes community planning which requires views from all levels of society to be taken into account. This means that public services will work together with communities to deliver real improvements for local people. Local council will lead the community planning process and work with a wide range of partners, including representatives from the statutory, business, higher education, community and voluntary sectors, to develop a long-term plan to help improve the social, economic and environmental wellbeing of their areas. It is hoped that community planning will provide a form of partnership governance which is evidence and place-based. It will help ensure that by working together and by pooling resources, social, economic and environmental wellbeing for all citizens and businesses will be improved. All community plans are required to be updated every four years.

In Belfast, the community plan is known as the Belfast Agenda - it will provide a clear framework for a wide range of plans and strategies which will be taken forward at both a city and local area level with partner organisations. Social issues, spatial planning and place-shaping will be addressed as a part of these duties to improve the wellbeing of residents throughout the area. This includes regeneration and infrastructure investment. In 2015, Belfast City Council launched its City Centre Regeneration and Investment Strategy. The aim is to transform the city by creating more jobs, increasing the population, attracting new retail offerings, and further developing the burgeoning tourism industry. It will also support innovation and learning, develop city centre green areas for cyclists and walkers, connect outlying areas to the centre and enhance shared spaces. There is currently £1 billion of current and planned investment across the city including Ulster University's relocation, City Quays, Belfast rapid Transit, York Street Interchange, Titanic Quarter, Belfast Streets Ahead

and the Strategic Drainage Infrastructure programme. The City Centre Regeneration and Investment Strategy is significant as it is the result of an extensive consultation process during the past year and will help shape development during the next 10 to 15 years. Belfast's Local Development Plan will complement the key objectives of the Belfast Agenda, and represent the spatial expression of the Community Plan.

In Derry, investment totals over £800,000 for three projects in the Waterside area. This also includes the refurbishment of the Clooney Community Centre and two play parks. These projects demonstrate good examples of partnership working between the Department for Infrastructure, Derry City & Strabane District Council and local people. The provision of quality and accessible play parks has meant that these are being used by local families in the area which in turn is helping young children to adopt a healthier and more active lifestyle.

A further example in reconnecting cities after a turbulent history is the Peace Bridge and Ebrington Military Barracks regeneration constructed in 2011 in Derry. The project team reflected collaboration with planners, engineers, architects and heritage specialists. This landmark 235 metre pedestrian and cycling bridge, completed in 2011, links formerly divided communities on the east bank of the River Foyle with the city centre and the major regeneration site of the former Ebrington Military Barracks. Many complex planning issues, heritage and environmental constraints were resolved in this project, including protecting bird and fish species. Planners took a collaborative and engaging role to ensure the successful delivery of the project. The project won a planning award from the Irish Planning Institute; and has obtained numerous national and international awards. It also features in the RTPI's 'Delivering Better Development' guide which featured at Habitat III.

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6. **Police reform remains a key intervention route for national and city governments as well as aid agencies**

Though violent crime and insecurity have an increasingly critical urban dimension, most contemporary approaches to police reform have not responded to current trends. Efforts at police reform have also been frequently stalled by political obstacles, and have fallen out of favour of national as well as bilateral donor priorities. This is despite very significant concerns being raised over police capacities, resources and willingness with city police forces, with emerging evidence showing grossly overworked, physically debilitated and disgruntled police forces providing security in cities. It is clear that urban security provision can no longer simply be reactionary in its application of force, and that it is an integrated challenge that involves more actors than the police.

Successful intervention strategies simultaneously need to support building long-term credibility and legitimacy of the police, and promote community-police collaborations. Critically, efforts at reforming police functioning need to be supported through the horizontal and vertical integration of the police across all aspects of urban planning, including the incorporation of the principles of safety and security across all aspects of urban design, and in particularly those interventions aimed at providing affordable housing. Working relationships between the police and elected city representatives and administrators should be supported through formally mandated platforms for consultation. Simultaneously, steps should also be taken to explicitly de-link police functioning from being usurped by political agendas. This is relatively straightforward in cities that have already established strong traditions of deliberative democracy, a healthy judicial system and a well-resourced police

force that is committed to the broader principles of inclusive development, and not simply focused on crime prevention. In many cities of the developing world however, this implies dialoguing with armed non-state groups, and informal providers of security, and creating the space for dialogue with vigilantes, gangs, and youth groups, who are often the source of the most credible and accessible modes of security city dwellers have access to.

Box 6. Police are vital stakeholders, and mayors are key to bringing them to the discussion table

Honiara, the capital city and a melting pot of the diverse ethnic groups that are the Solomon Islands, has faced unique instability and insecurity challenges over the past twenty years. From 1998 to 2001 ethnic tensions resulted in a breakdown of law and order and collapse of the institutions of government, including the Honiara City Council (HCC).

Despite a range of peace building interventions, the fragility was revealed in 2006 when frustrations boiled over again with riots in the city. Even today wounds from the tensions remain, often fuelled by national issues that inevitably manifest within the capital city.

The responsibilities of HCC in achieving a safe and secure city became clear following the tensions, particularly as one identified contributing factor to the unrest was the perceived inequality in public services between the different community settlements. A proactive approach was taken by the Mayor and Council, with the support of Commonwealth Local Government Forum (CLGF) and New Zealand Aid, to improving local governance and institutional and basic service delivery capacity. An effective and accountable HCC organisation was one of the first reforms to reduce frustrations and facilitate more equitable urban development. Other key initiatives included:

- Safety and security being mainstreamed in strategic plans and budgets,
- Strengthening the HCC Law Enforcement Department,
- Representation of different communities ensured by ward demarcations, and
- A rapid employment project which provided temporary work and training for over 4,500 vulnerable unemployed citizens which helped to reduce tension.

The 63 strong HCC Law Enforcement Department works twenty-four-seven on bylaw compliance and crime prevention, also promoting inclusive development through engagement across different settlements to deliver community education on conflict resolution, peace building and community cohesion. There is also strong cooperation with the national police in resource sharing and crime response.

At the height of the tensions women's groups took a stand against the continued violence, mobilising support for children and other vulnerable groups. HCC recognised the role of women in reducing insecurity and strengthening social cohesion by integrating gender into policies, programmes and service delivery, including promoting economic development opportunities via informal trading markets.

The past insecurity has resulted in HCC focusing more on its relationship with people, particularly partnerships with civil society organisations. Citizen involvement in Council activities has increased and the process of building trust and institutional legitimacy is proceeding. Safety and security is now embedded into city operations with urban violence levels slowly decreasing.

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7. Inclusive cities and towns need to be welcoming of migrants and forcibly displaced persons, and be assured that others will do the same

Every year there are around three to four million more international migrants in the world. Most international migrants end up in cities, and while unauthorised migrants often become part of an underclass, many migrants are very successful. There is a natural tendency for the migration to be from poorer to wealthier parts of the world, and it takes some wealth to make the journey, though crisis and displacement can be important drivers. Despite various benefits, wealthier areas are often not very welcoming. For many European countries, incoming international migration has itself come to be seen as a crisis. The European Union (EU) has scrambled unsuccessfully to reach an agreement on accommodating the migrants in an organised fashion. But anti-migration politics have become increasingly influential in many countries, and have played an important role – not least because poorly managed in-migration and austerity had adverse consequences for certain domestic populations. BREXIT – Britain's exit from the EU – was promoted in part as a means of curbing migration. The promise to build a wall to keep out Mexicans has become part of the US election rhetoric, along with the threat to send millions of unauthorised immigrants home. But migrant politics tend to be hotly contested and conflict-ridden.

Meanwhile, (net) rural-urban migration and urban expansion adds on the order of 30 to 40 million people to the world's urban population, mostly in Asia and Sub-Saharan Africa. This is a far less visible, but somewhat analogous migratory process. Again, it is largely driven by the movement of people from poorer to wealthier places. Again, crisis and displacement can be important drivers, but wealth makes it easier to migrate. And again there is resistance in the receiving locations, at least in the passive form of an absence of planning for known population growth (although most of the urban population growth, particularly in Africa, comes from natural growth). While those who work in the informal economies and live in the informal settlements of the cities of the Global South are not all recent migrants, at least indirectly the politics of migration loom large, and can easily reinforce pathologies of informality or more overt forms of exclusion. And in both cases, a more inclusive approach is needed, including measures to protect not just the migrants but those who might be adversely affected by the pressures and reactions to migration.

Refugees and internally displaced persons, who have been forcibly displaced from their homes by conflict and persecution, are also increasingly drawn to cities. Cities host an estimated 60 per cent of refugees globally, which sets, for many cities the particular challenge of dealing with displacement, which can be triggered very rapidly by conflict, and last for unpredictable periods of time. Part of the challenge is coordinating and supporting inclusive policies so that the cities or countries that agree to become more inclusive do not thereby attract a disproportionate share of migrants and forcibly displaced persons, or subsidise those who migrate to cities over those who, in the case of rural-urban migration, remain in rural areas. This needs to be recognised as a big challenge, but not nearly as big as dealing with the divisions and conflicts that can otherwise result.

Box 7. Inclusive cities minimise the risk that refugees face

Cities do not automatically offer the protection needed by people who have been forced to flee. Access to essential services such as health care and education is often defined by people's purchasing power – which varies widely amongst displaced populations. Housing is almost entirely rent-based, causing stress on incomes that are often low and irregular. Families that have lost productive capital or were living in poverty before being displaced are particularly vulnerable to falling into a poverty trap. They are likely to further decapitalise (selling remaining assets), become reliant on underpaid and dangerous work, and adopt

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harmful coping strategies such as keeping children out of education or cutting expenditure on essential goods or decent housing, and to accumulate debt. In such adverse conditions refugees and asylum-seekers are at greater risk of human trafficking, sexual and gender-based violence, arrest and detention, exploitation, harassment and discrimination. These multiple layers of hardships can be compounded by exclusionary national policies in host countries.

Inclusive and welcoming cities minimise the risk that refugees face in urban areas by extending access to public services and economic opportunities to displaced populations – this is demonstrated across much of the Americas and the Middle East, where refugees and hosting communities learn, live, work and play side-by-side. An enabling legal framework grants both refuge along with freedom of movement that allows people to avail of the services they need including the specific support that might be extended to them on the basis of their status as refugees. To be sustainable however, these freedoms need to be combined with an enabling environment for economic participation, which encourages refugee entrepreneurs to invest and to thrive in local markets, and helps local industry and employers to absorb a diverse workforce. In recognising the diversity in people's vulnerabilities and capacities, and the carrying capacity of existing services and institutions, humanitarian responses can help transform the contribution that refugees can have on a city's economic, cultural and social fabric.

UNHCR is committed to ensuring that cities are safe, inclusive and leave no-one behind. To achieve safer cities, UNHCR is working with the private sector, community based organisations, international *humanitarian and development* partners, and host governments. The *2009 Urban Policy* and the *Policy on Alternatives to Camps* are two examples of initiatives aimed to achieve this end.

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