

Paper presented at

2009 Amsterdam Conference on the Human Dimensions of Global Environmental Change

2-3 December 2009, Volendam, Netherlands

Urbanization & Human Rights

Assoc. Prof. Dr. Anja Mihr
Netherlands Institute of Human Rights (SIM)
Faculty of Law, Economics and Governance
Utrecht University, Drift 15
NL-3512 BR Utrecht
Ph: +31 (0)30 2538405
Mobile: +31 (0)68 1345346
Fax: +31 (0)30 2537168
Email: A.Mihr@uu.nl
Web: www.anjamih.com

January 2010

Abstract

Climate change, violent non-state conflicts and demography are the challenges of the 21st century. Among other consequences, these environmental and social challenges will lead to massive migration and urban development that can be characterized as urbanization. Megacities and large urban areas with 15-20mio inhabitants will no longer be rare. Alongside urban dwelling, social, political and economic problems such as deprivation, insecurity, exclusion and the rise of voiceless people without citizenship and legal status will emerge.

Urbanization has just begun and the new forms of governance and power sharing will be among international actors, regional levels and local levels. Over the decade to come, the nation state will be less important. It will be replaced with regional or international organizations and other forms of local and urban governance.

In 2009, for the first time in human history, over half of the worlds' population lives in larger cities and urban areas. The majority of the new urban inhabitants are slum dwellers without citizenship rights. They left their homes because of violent conflicts, climate change or oppressive regimes that did not tolerate them or no longer provided enough resources for basic living standards.¹ These people on the move are either classified as migrants or as refugees, but often enjoy no basic human rights because of their unclear status..

The respect and implementation of the multitude of international human rights norms and standards such as for social, economic, cultural, political, civil, women's, children's or migration issues might provide answers to new forms of urban governance. These new forms of governance are notable for their level of adaptiveness, integration and accountability.²

Furthermore, I argue that if these new urban areas and megacities are located in authoritarian states that claim all state power in one central authority, the least likely human rights will be acknowledged and granted to the citizens to solve urban problems. Authoritarian and traditional governance structures will lead to uncontrolled urbanization and new conflict areas.

Urban governance on the basis of human rights can help to set up problem solving mechanisms to guarantee social peace, economic growth and political participation. If states both integrate more in international or regional human rights regime and give more autonomy to urban governments and local authorities, many of these issues of urbanization can be solved. Where people organize themselves on local levels and in neighborhood initiatives, new forms of governance mechanisms evolve. These mechanisms include a wide range of human rights, principles and standards such as equal participation, ethnic and religious tolerance, gender equity, health and education initiatives, access to food supplies, property rights, access to information through the internet and even sexual and reproductive rights. The ability to freely communicate and participate will lead to more transparency, accountability, adaptiveness, integration and equity.

¹ Welzer, Harald (2008), Klimakriege, Wofür im 21. Jahrhundert getötet wird, Frankfurt am Main.

² Biermann, Frank et al (2009) Earth System governance, People, Places, and the Planet, Science and Implementation Plan of the Earth System Governance Project, IHDP Report No.20, Bonn.

Introduction & Background

The first decade of the 21st century has been marked by a number of ‘world records’ such as in terms of urban development, in world population growth, by numbers of international agreements and treaties that manifest human rights and human development, by numbers of international conferences and crisis management, the number of nation states who claim to be democratic, the number of civil society movements, non-governmental organization (NGOs) that go into the millions, the numbers international governmental organizations (IGOs) and/or regimes such as the climate change regime or the human rights regime. Globally and locally figures are increasing both in terms numbers of people with urban needs as well as in terms of international problem solving mechanism.

All these records could either be reason for hope or for disillusion. Taken as a whole, they give us an idea about the development of the next decades in terms of urbanization, human rights and governance.

During the same time these records were achieved, approximately 3,3 billion people moved to the urban areas and over 80% live in slums and under inhuman conditions. Most of them live or will live in megacities of 10 million people or more in less than one generation. They are part of the more than 1/3 of the world’s population that lives in extreme poverty.

There are multiple root causes for mass migration to urban areas. I want to mention only four of them which are closely linked to human rights in this paper: 1) the lack of access to resources and power; 2) the denial to land and labor to the growing young population; 3) climate change and its effects; and 4) uncontrollable non-international wars and armed conflicts.³ 365 violent conflicts have currently been identified across the globe. Over 30 of them are highly violent or war-like conflicts. The majority of them are located in sub-Saharan Africa, the Middle East and Asian regions.⁴ It is no coincidence that at the same time these regions are affected more than others by urban migration. Due to their geography, countries in these regions are more affected by climate change. Rapid demographic growth, authoritarianism, traditional religious dogmatism, and defective democracies or non-

³ For comparison: in 1900 only 20 cities had a population with over 1Mio people, half a century later in 1950 already 30% of worlds population lived in urban areas and now more than half of the worlds populations.

⁴ Heidelberg Institute for International Conflict Research (2009), Conflict Barometer 2009, Crises, Wars, Coups d’État, negotiations, Mediations, Peace Settlement, 18th Annual Conflict Analysis, Department of Political Science, University of Heidelberg.

democratic governance structures are prevalent in these countries. Together they form what some call the conflict belt leading from central Africa through the Middle East to West Asia. Their traditional, dogmatic or non-reformative central governance structures are incapable of adapting to new technological or scientific achievement, modern societal developments, international movements or regimes and demographic growth. The incapability of their governments to adapt locally and integrate internationally has led to an increase of poverty and violent conflicts. The combination of all these developments over the past few decades has made these regions and countries the most unstable and fragile in the world. Some of the main consequences of this are mass migration, urbanization and millions of people who are desperately in seeking better access to resources and opportunities..

Needless to say, this is not the case in the entire region and the kind of human rights abuses vary from country to country and city to city. But, interestingly enough, wherever in the world we find similar factors of bad governance, massive migration and disrespect for human rights, we see the rise of poverty and conflicts.

Thus, regardless of the reasons people move to urban areas, they have one thing in common: They seek more opportunities and an improvement of their standard of living. Rural areas or farmland are no longer an option for most of them. In leaving their homes, they also break with their traditional lifestyles and customs. This again can lead to new conflicts of identity and thus tensions.

Living in urban areas can also mean new forms of identity through access to knowledge, education and professional opportunities. It can mean increasing human rights awareness and access to justice. People are closer to decision making processes, the flow of information is better, personal contacts are closer and ethnic and religious cleavages can more easily be overcome – if addressed in an adequate way through better control and equal distribution of resources to all members of that particular society.⁵ In short, in our modern, knowledge based society, a human rights based approach can be a solution that leads to development and societal peace.

⁵ See the example of the urban policy plan of the state of Kerala in South West India: <http://www.kerala.gov.in/>

Human Rights Regime and Urban Development Theories

In addition to urban development, the last few decades have marked several turning points in the international human rights regime. A record number of international human rights standards, norms and mechanism have been signed and many more are in the pipeline. They all shape the International Human Rights Regime through agreements, such as within the UNO and in particular through the Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights (OHCHR) and the Council of Human Rights, the European Union, the Council of Europe, the African Union or the Organization of American States, among states on the international or regional level. Over decades states have agreed on a growing number of basic human rights treaties and conventions, such as the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights or the International Covenant on Social, Economic and Cultural Rights. Additionally, the Conventions for the Protection of the rights of children, women, people with disabilities and migrants are in force. These are supplemented by political agreements and protocols, for example on the responsibility to protect.

The 1990s were also the era of other emerging regimes in fields such as the climate or trade. The Global Climate Change Regime dates back to the first meeting in 1972 in Stockholm on environmental development. This was later marked – among many others – by the Framework Convention on Climate Change (1994)⁶, by the Kyoto Protocol (1997)⁷ and the Copenhagen Accord in 2009.⁸ Both the Framework Convention and the Copenhagen Accord acknowledge poverty as one of the core consequences of climate change throughout the world.

The connection between climate change, urbanization and human rights, in particular social, economic and political rights, is evident. Poverty is considered both a root cause for human rights abuses and a consequence of human rights violations. Climatic change is one of the causes of poverty and thus to migration and urban dwelling. Other consequences, such as competing justice claims between human rights and climate harms, are just beginning to occur and no international treaty or framework is adequately dealing with it so far.⁹ Economic policy decisions of the International Trade Regime by the WTO and the G20 are additional reasons that millions of people live in poverty.

⁶ UN Framework Convention on Climate Change, 1992 (<http://unfccc.int/resource/docs/convkp/conveng.pdf>)

⁷ Kyoto Protocol 1997 (http://unfccc.int/kyoto_protocol/items/2830.php)

⁸ UN Climate Change Conference, Decision CP.15, Copenhagen Accord, 18 December 2009.

⁹ See compilation articles by Humphreys, Stephen (Ed.) (2009) Human Rights and Climate Change, Cambridge University Press.

Because these regimes are at different levels, reconciling the Climate Change Regime with the Human Rights Regime is unlikely to be successful. The former is a “root cause” regime that has many outcomes (e.g. migration, poverty, urbanization, armed conflicts, etc) whereas, the latter is a “consequence” regime that aims at managing and regulating the consequences of root causes in the best possible way.

The international community has already reacted to the global changes with a significant number of treaties and agreements. Formally, almost all UN member state have joint the idea of a human rights based approach. Today, it is almost impossible to pass an international agreement or to ratify a treaty without a reference to human rights. The UN Human Settlements Program (HABITAT) together with the UN Population Fund (UNFPA) and the UN Development Program (UNDP) has urged its member states to pass even more legally and politically binding instruments. The international community and thus those head of states who have joint these agreements are in the process of merging issues of urbanization and human rights. By creating political frameworks and giving guidance states attempt to fill the gap left by bad governance and the incapability of traditional power structures to manage current challenges of urban planning and population growth. However, if these agreements are not taken up both by governments and local authorities, their impact will remain nil.

All UN agencies regularly report on both urban and population developments. Other international agreements under the guidance of the UNESCO and other agencies will follow. Many countries have, for example, signed the 2006 World Charter on the Rights of People living in Cities.

With more international governmental organizations and agencies being involved in the Human Rights regime, constructivists have largely taken over the rationalist approach to regime theories after the end of the cold war. Neither the erosion of international human rights standards nor the “exceptionalist” approach to human rights taken by states after 9/11, nor the UN focus on poverty eradication has weakened the Human Rights Regime. The current record number of legal and political binding agreements will be exceeded in the years to come. All those who speak of increasing human rights awareness and compliance were proven right when the EU Charter of Fundamental Rights, which is the most elaborate and cohesive human rights document, became legally binding when the EU Lisbon Reform Treaty came into force in December 2009. In addition, modern communication technologies such as internet and mobile phones speed up the dissemination of the idea of human rights. It is important to keep

in mind that increasing knowledge and awareness about human rights are some of the reasons why people accuse their governments of the abuses. People can only claim what they know; thus, the increasing number of claims at the domestic and international level is a sign of growing human rights awareness. One could even state that the International Human Rights Regime has never been as alive as today.¹⁰ Almost every government and increasing numbers of experts and NGOs feed the regime by drafting new agreements to act locally and to report and advise at all levels. NGOs and development corporations fill niches of human rights compliance around the world. Needless to say, the extent to which states implement or comply with these norms and standards is always open for debate. NGOs continue to fulfill the role of watch dogs and reporters on human rights abuses and have become an intrinsic part of the whole regime. To a large extent they have also taken over state responsibilities to implement human rights. Many governments tend to outsource the state responsibilities to protect and promote human rights to NGOs and humanitarian agencies in order to be less accountable and responsible for human rights violations.¹¹

Urban development theorists have long been divided between structuralistic and socialistic views. The latter stresses the singularity of the socialist experience of urbanization while the latter, characterized as neo-Weberian, looks at the universal nature of modernization.¹² Modern theorists emphasize sustainable development and combine planning, governance and efficiency in urban areas as the core basis to analyze urban development.¹³ Others approach it from an anthropological or ethical angle and come to similar results.¹⁴ Distribution of resources, equity and access to basic human rights such as development, education, and health are part of these theorists theoretical framework.¹⁵ Planning and governance remain a challenge for these development theories. To what extent should and ought central governments intervene, to be held accountable for and guide urban development and governance? The difference today is no longer between socialist or non-socialist states, but

¹⁰ David P. Forsythe, 'Human Rights in International Relations', Cambridge University Press, 2000, Part I: Introduction: human rights in international relations & Establishing human rights standards, pp. 3-52; and: Stephen D. Krasner (Ed.), *International Regimes*, Cornell University Press, 1995, pp.1-21

¹¹ View latest developments on UN level about the Responsibility to Protect by state and non-state actors and the claim by UN Secretary General Ban Ki Moon: <http://www.un.org/News/Press/docs/2009/sgsm12374.doc.htm> and <http://www.responsibilitytoprotect.org/>

¹² Enyedi, Gyoergy (1990) Specific urbanization in east-central Europe, in: *Geoform*, Vol. 21, pp.163-172.

¹³ Sjoeborg, Oerjan (1999) Shortage, Priority and Urban Growth: Towards a Theory of Urbanisation under Central Planning, in: *Urban Studies*, Vol. 36, No. 13, pp. 2217-2236.

¹⁴ Chaudhuri Buddhadeb, Sumita (2007) *Iuaes Inter Congress On Mega Urbanization, Multi-ethnic Society Human Rights And Development*, Inter-India publications, New Dehli.

¹⁵ Basiago, Andrew D. (1999) Economic, social, and environmental sustainability in development theory and urban planning practice, in: *The Environmentalist* 19, Kluwer Academic Publishers, Boston, pp. 145-161.

between authoritarian and democratic states; this is to say, between central and delegative governance models. The latter tend to give cities and urban areas more autonomy along with the rights to self-governance and development.

21st Century Mantra: Think Global, Act Local

Clearly, the above mentioned dramatic changes will affect everybody's life in the next decades. They will change traditions and customs, language and behavior, power and governance structures. Neither authoritarian nor democratic governments deny these developments but many traditional leadership models are at stake. Classic issues of urban governance are at stake when traditional leadership models are evaluated through the lens of distribution of resources and equity, for example, when considering basic human rights such as access to health, food or education. The level of participation of its citizens, the inclusion or exclusion of religious or ethnic minorities and the peaceful co-existence between these groups, working conditions and availability of jobs and careers are also under scrutiny. Whatever system megacities like Shanghai, London, Caracas, Mumbai and Lagos ultimately favor, they will all face sharper protest by their citizens and slum dwellers in favor of greater democracy, representation and distribution of resources.¹⁶

This ought to be, as some argue, a chance for the enhancement and enforcement of human rights. With the implementation of and respect for basic human rights standards and access to resources, these developments may enjoy a peaceful evolution. For human rights and urbanization that means to overcome:

- Denials of citizenship rights for migrants or refugees
- Discrimination based on one's opinion and denials of freedom of expression to claim rights
- Denial of participation and assembly rights that are necessary in order to express human needs
- Limited access to property rights

¹⁶ Drakakis-Smith, David (1997) Third World Cities: Sustainable Urban Development III-Basic Needs and Human Rights, in: Urban Studies, Vol. 34, p. 816.

- Inaccessibility of adequate housing (shelter) and healthy living environments
- Increase of social insecurity due to expensive access to health care, clean water and alimentation
- Exclusion from or denial of the right to education and opportunities for professional development
- No enjoyment to the right to marriage, reproductive rights and the right of funding a family
- Discrimination on the basis of one's religion or personal conviction, sexual orientation or gender.

In sum, to overcome denials of rights and discrimination, equitable access to resources and opportunities has to be provided.¹⁷ People whose basic human rights are denied or abridged will at some stage stand up, protest and even act violently against whatever political system denies their rights. Because urbanization and the growth of megacities is more common in less democratic countries, human rights are more likely to be abused or violated than in more democratic countries. Thus, if governments make concessions and urban dwellers claim their rights, the respect, promotion and claim of these human rights could be seen a tool for conflict resolution. At the end of the day, this means power sharing by giving poor and stateless people a voice. It is often not so much an issue whether the state has officially ratified international human rights treaties or formally adheres to international human rights law – which is often the case – but rather the issue is whether the state has the political will to create mechanisms, such as an independent judiciary, police, ombudsmen and others, to operationalize these rights for their citizens. In any positive correlation between the level of urbanization and support for human rights, there is also a correlation between the rate of urban growth and human rights abuse.¹⁸

In addition to these observations, we can note two main developments: 1) the worldwide awareness of human rights is growing; and 2) more people will move to urban areas because they expect solutions to their problems including access to resources and decent living conditions, jobs, health, economic and social wealth, education and freedom from want. These

¹⁷ Some of these aspects can be found in: Khan, Irene (2009) *The Unheard Truth, Poverty and Human Rights*, Amnesty International, London.

¹⁸ Drakakis-Smith, David (1997) *Third World Cities: Sustainable Urban Development III-Basic Needs and Human Rights*, in: *Urban Studies*, Vol. 34, p. 816.

developments will occur regardless of whether a country has ratified or agreed to a treaty or not.

The growing numbers of young and poor people in these countries will have different demands in the future. They will want work, status, marriage, children and power. These demands are closely interlinked, and only if we see them in the context of the full spectrum of the international human rights law and the hundreds of human rights documents can adequate measure to guarantee these rights be undertaken.

I assume that due to the fact that we face widespread global human rights awareness today, in particular among young people, human rights claims will lead to major cleavages and conflicts where they meet old style authoritarian governance that want to only govern in traditional and customary ways. Younger generations will question the traditional social and political systems, the values and cultures. They will seek ownership and access to resources and chances. The majority of them are already living in urban areas where they have access to even more information and means to claim their rights. Their needs and demands will further shape the human rights agenda and thus urban governance and development. If governance concepts do not adapt and include these people in their decision making processes, there will be no peaceful governance model.

Urban Development as a Human Right

Urban life is different from rural life. One example is that people no longer act and plan according to nature cycles.¹⁹ In particular for millions of uprooted people, migrants and refugees who reluctantly left their traditional environments, new rhythms and rules of urban social life cause major confusion and tension.

Most of these migration movements from rural to urban areas will take part in the global South and the BRIC countries (Brazil, Russia, India, China) and many others such as Nigeria and the United Arab Emirates. 2/3 of the affected cities and population will be in Asia and the Middle East. Due to the demographic development, migration and urbanization in these

¹⁹ Merklen, Denis (2001) Urban Development Projects: Neighborhood, State and NGOs, Final Evaluation of the MOST Cities Project, Discussion Paper No. 54, UNESCO, Paris.

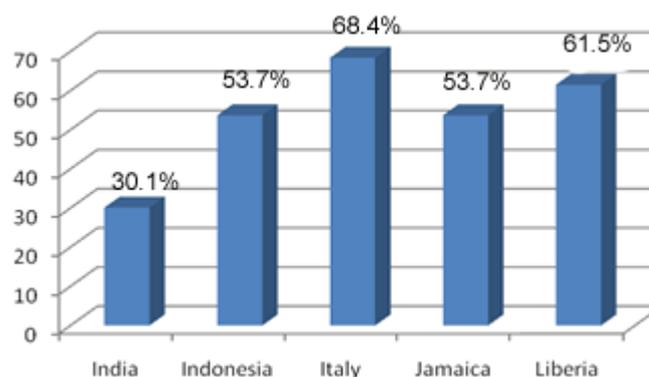
regions as well as their high percentage of young people, many of the above mentioned human rights are currently at stake.²⁰

Nevertheless, in the so called developed world in Europe, Australia and North America, urbanization is growing too. In one generation, by 2030, the UN HABITAT program estimates that the most densely populated countries with large urban areas will be in the Northern hemisphere including Denmark (90%), the Netherlands (88%), Germany (78%) and Italy (74%) (Table1). Their urban density will increase by 10% by 2020. Whilst those countries face a rather democratic and planned urbanization development, states in the global South often don't have the capacity either because of governance structures, economically or due to the fact that basic human rights are restricted to adequately plan for urbanization.

Their (far too slow) adaptation of reforms compete with the (far too rapid) population growth of young people, with waves of migration as well as with the increasing number of non-state armed conflicts and high level of poverty. Additionally, we will see more and more megacities of 10Mio people over the next decade. Although these cities are rapidly growing, the urbanization rate in China (60%) and in India (41%) will still be below the average rate of western countries. Nevertheless, it is in the global South where urbanization reaches a critical threshold. One third of the urban population in China and India are and will be living in slums. In the rich Gulf countries such as the United Arab Emirates (82%) and the very small island countries like Qatar (97%) and Bahrain (90%) where Sheikhs promise jobs and wealth for millions of Asian migrants, the urbanization rates will reach new record numbers.²¹

Table 1

Example of population in urban areas in 2009 (% of total population)



²⁰ For this see also: Henderson, Vernon (2002), Urbanization in Developing Countries, in: The World Bank Research Observer, Vol. 17, No. 1, pp. 89-112.

²¹ UN HABITAT (2009) Urban Indicators <http://www.unhabitat.org/stats/Default.aspx>

Source: UN HABITAT, 2009

Not surprisingly, we find the least controlled urbanization developments in countries with repressive regimes. By “least controlled” I don’t mean countries in which poor people are living in shacks, but countries in which people cannot enjoy citizen or human rights. People who are excluded from the decision making process or from seeking higher education or professional development because they are of different ethnic origin or nationality, as is the case in many of the Arab countries. The more repressive a regime is the higher the rate of urbanization and slum dwellers. The Gulf States strictly control migration through their borders. But these migrants don’t necessarily enjoy freedom rights. They can be expelled from the country at any moments. Exclusion, isolation, abuse and exploitation are a daily practice. Here the matter of equity and access to resources and opportunities are at stake which can easily lead to tensions and conflicts as living under the poverty line can do.

Although there is a clear correlation between demographic growth and urbanization, the fact that these processes are not well governed impacts urban development. Repressive policies and governments restrict human rights and can thus exacerbate poverty and/or social exclusion, injustice and corruption.²²

When, by 2030, over 5 billion people, that is to say, 80% of worlds population, live in urban areas, the world community and local governments have to be ready to face one of the most drastic challenges, namely how to organize, manage and govern millions of people in a small territory who are not self-sustainable in terms of food or water. They depend on resources outside their urban areas and thus sustainable economic development and careful resource management becomes vital.²³ More then 60% of these urban dwellers will be under 18 years of age.²⁴ This age groups stands for ambitious people who seek opportunities, professions, power and family. They seek their human rights to education, to professional development and work, to marriage, and to set up a family. Thus, social human rights, health issues and reproductive rights motivated through family planning will be prioritized.

²² Global Charter-Agenda for Human Rights in the City (2005), Ajuntament de Barcelona, Comision de Inclusion Social y Democracia Participativa, CGLU, Barcelona. Or: The World Charter-Agenda on Human Rights in the City (2005) Secrétariat International Permanent de droits de l’homme et gouvernements locaux nates payes de la loire, France, Commission Inclusion Sociale et Démocratie Participative, CGLU. Or: The World Charter for the Right to the City (2004), Social Forum of the Americas, Quito, World Urban Forum, Barcelona.

²³ UN-Millennium Development Goal Report 2009. Slums are defined as lacking at least one of four basic amenities: clean water, improved sanitation, durable housing and adequate living space.

²⁴ UNFPA (2007) State of the World Population.

State, local authorities, NGOs and neighborhood initiatives can jointly tackle human rights issues. The record number of NGOs worldwide of more than 1Mio is growing steadily. One of their efforts is the worldwide and UN supported Human Rights City in which city councils have to make a commitment to promote human rights on a local levels.²⁵ International Courts, tribunals and other international monitoring bodies add to these enforcement mechanisms, but they are less likely to be as effective as local or state owned mechanisms and legal instruments.

All aspects of human life in urban areas are connected to international human rights standards. Nevertheless, their implementation and governance compliance are under scrutiny. Today, more than 300 regional and global human rights treaties define human rights norms and set up implementation mechanisms that shape national and local legislation and human rights frameworks.²⁶ In addition to these legally binding mechanisms comes an increasing number of international agreements and reports like the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), the UN-Decade for Human Rights Education (1995-2004), the UN Reports on Climate Change and Human Rights from 2008 or the NGO based Charter on Rights of people living in cities. MDG targets, such as improving the lives of at least 100 million slum dwellers by the year 2020, are very ambitious.²⁷

The NGO based World Social Forum in Brazil has been taking place on an annual basis since 2001. The UN Copenhagen Climate Change Accord in 2009 emphasizes again the urge to fight poverty. Each time international accords, agreements or resolutions are more visionary, more urgent and more demanding.²⁸ But the question remains: who will take the first step to

²⁵ For Human Rights Cities and Communities see: <http://www.pdhre.org/projects/hrcommun.html>

²⁶ To name a few treaties and legal binding instruments on the UN and Regional level: Global UN-human rights regime: International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR); International Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of Apartheid (ICSPCA); International Covenant on Economic, Social, and Cultural Rights (ICESCR); Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees and Protocol Relating to the Status of Refugees; Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC); Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination (ICERD); Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) ; International Convention on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Members of Their Families; Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities; International Convention for the Protection of All Persons from Enforced Disappearance; The Regional African human rights regime: African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights; Maputo Protocol; The Regional Inter-American human right regime: American Convention on Human Rights Inter-American Convention on the Prevention, Punishment, and Eradication of Violence against Women; The Regional European human rights regime: European Convention on Human Rights ; European Convention on Torture ; European Social Charter.

²⁷ UN-Millennium Development Goals Report 2009, p. 47.

²⁸ See arguments by: Steiner, Henry J./Alston, Philip/Goodman, Ryan (2007) *International Human Rights in Context, Law, Politics, Morals*; Oxford University Press', third edition, Part D, Chapter 8: International Human Rights Organizations, Design and Functions of International Institutions and Issues of Sovereignty, pp. 669-708.

implement necessary changes? The incentives and the knowledge are there; what is missing are responsible, brave, non-corrupt and powerful state governments to adapt to these changes.

Most international human rights agreements, regardless whether they are legally or politically binding, are no older than 20 years. All of them aim at a civil and peaceful coexistence of people with different social, religious, ethnic, professional, age and gender backgrounds in urban areas. The tendency to have more of these rules and guidelines is growing – but at the same time questionable.

The likelihood that most of these human rights, for example women's rights, children's rights, rights of the disabled or the right to education and health care can be provided and thus fulfilled in cities is higher than in rural areas. More enforcement mechanisms and solutions will be developed on the local, state and regional levels. The internet and other communication tools, such as mobile phones, radio and TV, play a crucial role in disseminating the idea of human rights across borders. More than one fifth of the world's population have access to internet, although the majority are in developed countries. More than 70% of the world population in developed regions is using the internet and 20% in the developing and poor regions – but with a large growing tendency toward internet use.²⁹ It seems irreversible that the state is no longer the only provider of information. Thus, its sphere of influence diminishes.

Migration

We can not think of urbanization without taking a closer look at migration. The Convention on the Protection of the Rights of all Migrant Workers, which was ratified in 1990, defined the rights of migrants as human rights.³⁰ ~~But~~ Qua definition, migrants are not the same as refugees or asylum seekers. European states made this particularly clear when drafting the convention. The convention has not been ratified by any of the European or Western countries because they fear to be the main destination countries for migrants. They do not want to commit themselves to grant migrants more rights than they have already. This exclusive attitude to this worldwide phenomenon makes it difficult to categorize and claim human rights

²⁹ UN-Millennium Development Goals Report 2009, p. 52.

³⁰ International Convention on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Members of Their Families, 1990, UN Doc A/Res/45/158, 69th plenary meeting General Assembly.

for the millions of so called “climate-refugees” or “poverty-refugees” that also qualify as working migrants.³¹ Even though refugees and asylum seekers do enjoy basic human rights under the Geneva Conventions for Refugees and other human rights conventions, these treaties do not include the right to work, professional development, education, political participation, property or family rights. Thus, if a government categorizes its urban dwellers as refugees instead of in terms of migrants, many political and economic human rights cannot be guaranteed to them. The distinction between the two definitions is often only politically motivated.

Globalization and liberal economic systems accelerates migration to urban areas. Thus, urbanization is both a symptom and, at the same time, a consequence of the world’s changing economic structures as well as climate change, wars and inequal distribution of wealth, resources and power. In the megacities of Lagos, Mumbai and Mexico City, the denial of citizenship, religious tolerance and freedom and access to health, education and housing are explosive issues. The word “citizenship” will reach its original meaning namely for all those people who seek their ‘right to live in a city’.

As mentioned earlier, strengthening local and urban governance structures will be one of the answers, but inter-regional and inter-state governance agreements and governance structures will also be part of the solution. Most of the slum dwellers and migrants are not intra-state as in China or India, but inter-state migrants such as in the United Arab Emirates in Nigeria and even London. As long as states are reluctant to give up sovereignty and state power to solve migration and urbanization issues jointly, traditional governance structures can only do so much.

Regional conflicts are predictable. So far all efforts in the direction of an Asian or Middle Eastern Human Rights Regime come from NGOs and local movements. The lack of a regional regime will be one of the obstacles to solving emerging intra-state urban conflicts in the future. But regime theorists might argue that the need to solve migration problems is pressing. Only then will governments join the common cause and look for problem solving mechanisms which can result in a regime.³²

³¹ See latest report by “Stand Up for Your Rights”: The Human Side of Climate Change; Human Rights violation and Climate Refugees (2009) Amsterdam.

³² Donnelly, Jack (2003) Universal Human Rights, In Theory & Practice, Cornell University Press, 2nd edition.

Terrorist acts and armed conflicts are unfortunately another symptom of the failing of local organization and conflict solving mechanisms. And unsurprisingly, terrorist groups are fed by young men who have little to lose and did not succeed in the hostile human rights denying environment of urban areas.³³ With these developments ahead of us and less than one generation to go, human rights adherence and good governance are at stake. It means that if more than half of the world's population is under the age of 25, without proper jobs, no health insurance, inadequate housing, low education, largely without citizenship rights; they have no adequate possibilities to start a family or to own property. They cannot participate in elections and will largely be excluded from the rule of law and human rights protection mechanism. Many of them have to live in urban cities together with people of other nations, ethnicities and religions. Globalization is occurring at a fast pace and the question is whether it will carry with it enough resources and tools to give these people opportunities to adapt and integrate in these new social surroundings. Communication and transportation might be faster than ever before, but human minds work at the same pace as ever and often need generations to adapt to new societal environments – not to mention if these environments are composed of many different ethnic, religious or language groups. Some of these conflicts may lead to new forms of apartheid, persecution, racism, discrimination and even genocide and thus will switch the priorities on the international human rights agenda.³⁴

State and Local Governance

Sovereignty in the 21st century will slowly shift from state control to what is often called global citizenship and governance control. On the other hand, the shift to more local governance is already happening. These local and regional enforcement mechanisms erode classical and authoritarian power models for the benefit of individual people in need. Asia, the Middle East and Africa are in particular need of developing local and regional mechanisms such as courts, ombudspersons, policing and commissions to monitor, safeguard and, if needed, punish infringement of human rights in urban areas.

Governance in urban development is twofold. On the one side there is the responsibility of a sovereign state and governmental authorities to promote and protect the human rights of their

³³ Heinsohn, Gunnar (2006) *Soehne und Weltmacht: Terror im Aufstieg und Fall der Nation*, Orell Fuessli Verlag.

³⁴ Collier, Paul (2007), *The Bottom Billion, Why the poorest countries are failing and what can be done about it*, Oxford, New York.

citizens. There, legitimacy can be added but not replaced through local organized groups such as neighborhood initiatives, urban NGOs or police. On the other side there is the international donor community and organizations, such as UNO, UNESCO, UNICEF, the EU or development agencies from western countries, who provide knowledge, expertise, resources, empowerment, aid and, last but not least, money for the development of urban areas. On both sides the decision makers and state authorities have to cooperate. On the one side the international community and its member states have expertise that they share with other countries and regions; on the other side NGOs and local authorities also exchange and share expertise. However, many of these co-operations can lead to conflicts and tensions. These are caused by the pressure from the citizens and urban dwellers on state authorities to fulfill their obligations to implement, safeguard and enforce human rights and thus guarantee the development of urban space. The state is currently and will remain for the near future, the main legitimate actor in this sphere. On the other side, state authorities are often under pressure from the international donor community who far too often fill in the gaps of state responsibility. Many states simply fail in fulfilling their obligation to protect their citizens from human rights abuses. In particular in fragile states or abandoned urban areas where the state has withdrawn from its responsibilities, NGOs and international organizations fill in but can not replace the state. They provide health care, education and even food service. Even though they help the people, their authority is questioned, since at the same time they undermine state authority and control. Tensions turn into conflicts when NGOs or donor agencies overtake tasks that implicate security, legislation such as community laws, or other state-owned power structures.³⁵

At this stage it also becomes evident that in order to implement international and national human rights norms and standards as part of the local and urban problem solving process, state or state-like agencies have to intervene by assisting in setting up community law and security at local levels. NGOs or international organization, even though monitoring international human rights norms, can only add to state power when implementing human rights. NGOs have no jurisdiction or sovereignty over state or urban developments as states do.

³⁵ Merklen, Denis (2001) Urban Development Projects: Neighborhood, State and NGOs, Final Evaluation of the MOST Cities Project, Discussion Paper No. 54, UNESCO, Paris.

Local Governance

Urban development will lead to more micro societies within suburbs and dwelling areas. These societies can be based on religion, clan, family or ethnicity. People will take multiple identities, and join their past identities with those of new developments according to their age or profession. The citizen of the future will have affiliations to as many clusters as possible. This, by the way, is a major change to traditional rural rhythm and way of life that was guided through nature and seasonal changes.³⁶

To adapt to these challenges, good governance needs to address large uncertainties, surprises and shifting priorities, knowledge and interests.³⁷ But adaptiveness can be jeopardized when the scope of flexibility of key institutions and state authorities is exceeded by the challenges they face.³⁸ That can easily be the case in authoritarian societies or young democracies in transition.

Slum dwellers, citizens and migrants alike will agree on new terms, rules and regulations which could later be urban or community human rights law. What is important is combination of basic human rights principles relating to status and gender equality and access to justice. These are:

- Equal access to resources, opportunities and power,
- Equity before the law;

...and human rights norms and standards such as:

- Social rights (e.g. to health care, education, housing, food, water),
- Economic rights (e.g. to professional development, property),
- Cultural rights (e.g. to marriage, religion, family),
- Political rights (e.g. to election, participation, assembly),

³⁶ Merklen, Denis (2001) Urban Development Projects: Neighborhood, State and NGOs, Final Evaluation of the MOST Cities Project, Discussion Paper No. 54, UNESCO, Paris.

³⁷ Schusler, T.M./ Decker, DJ/ Pfeffer, M.J (2003) Social learning for collaborative natural resource management, in: Society and Natural Resources, No. 15, pp. 309-326.

³⁸ Biermann, Frank et al (2009) Earth System Governance, People, Places, and the Planet, Science and Implementation Plan of the Earth System Governance Project, IHDP Report No. 20, Bonn, p. 50.

- Civic rights (e.g. of expression, opinion, freedom from want, physical integrity and dignity).

Including these basic human rights principles and standards can help when setting up new rules for an adaptive community human rights law e.g. in Lagos, Shanghai or Dubai. Such community human rights law will be under community control mechanisms which by guaranteeing equity and equal access could be more democratic and participatory than traditional governance structures.

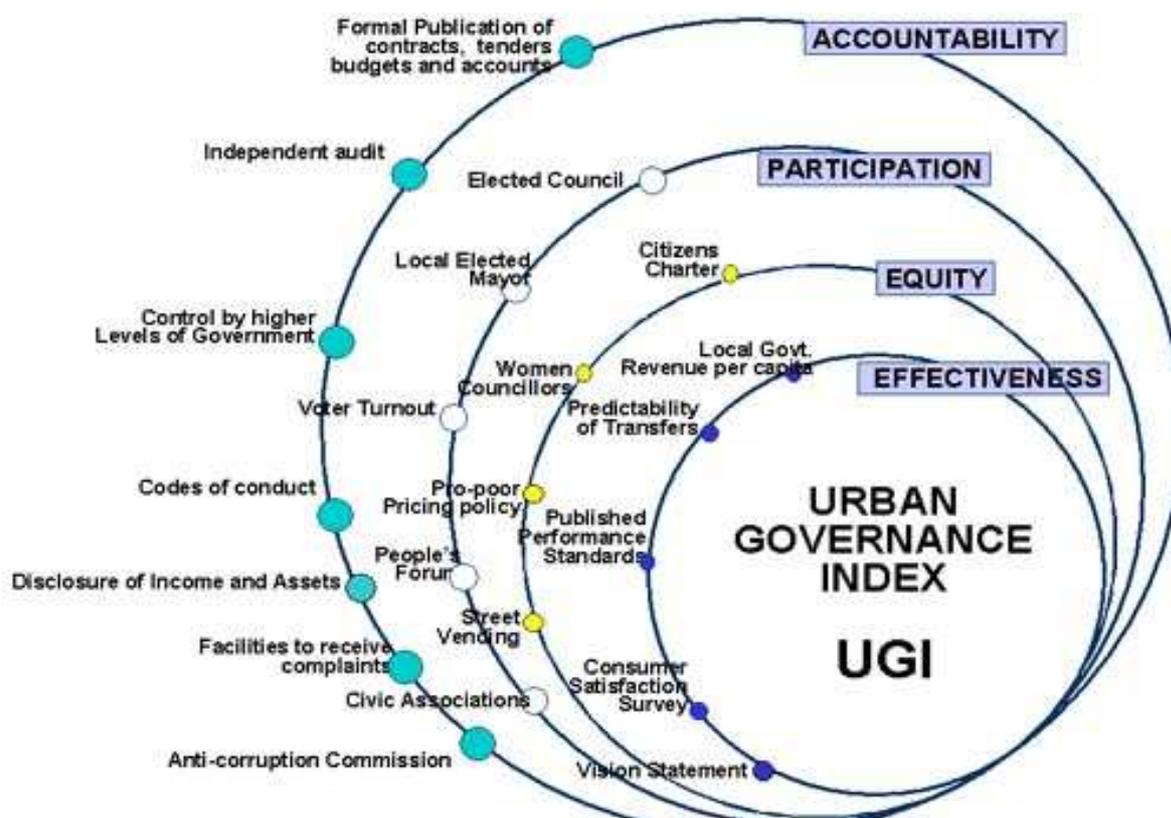
In reality many of these newly developed democratic and/or human rights based structures are weak if not fragile and often less than one generation old. Thus, quality indicators for urban governance include human rights aspects (Table 2). Indicators were developed for the UN HABITAT program. According to them, the human rights based approach to reach good or best governance in urban areas can be successful if the following indicators enjoy high levels of respect and implementation:

- effectiveness (efficiency in financial management, delivery of services and responsiveness to citizens concerns)
- equity (including unbiased access to the basic necessities of urban life and pro-poor policy for vulnerable populations)
- participation (through strong local representative democracies, free and fair municipal elections and participatory decision-making processes)
- accountability (transparency in operation of local government, responsiveness to central government and citizens and promotion of integrity).³⁹

³⁹ Taylor, Paul (2006) The Urban Governance Index: A tool to measure the quality of urban governance, Presentation to UNESCO UN-HABITAT meeting, Paris, December 2006. Also see: Schmitter, Philippe C. (2003) The Quality of Democracy: The Ambiguous Virtues of Accountability, Instituto Universitario Europeo, September 2003 (online published paper).

(Table 2)

Source: UN HABITAT Urban Governance Index <http://www.unhabitat.org/>



From a human rights standpoint, the principle of equity and the right to participate are key in this index. Governance structures have to be transparent and the main actors have to be held accountable to their stakeholders. That is to say to the slum dwellers, migrants and citizens of urban areas. Ultimately, the effectiveness of local and urban governance depends on a balanced combination of these aspects. This effectiveness follows the vision of “inclusive city” that was emphasized by HABITAT in its compilation on International Legal Instruments Addressing Good Governance. The compilation analyzed all major human rights treaties to determine whether and to what extent they are in accordance with good urban governance. They came to the conclusion that

“One test of good governance depends largely on the degree to which it delivers on the promise of human rights (civil, cultural, economic, political and social rights).”

Therefore, the focus of this report is on international human rights law, with a specific focus on the good urban governance principles of equity, civic engagement, transparency and accountability.”⁴⁰

Because the experience and knowledge of stakeholders in decision making processes is growing at a far slower pace than urban dwelling, tensions will remain. Turning a thousands year’s of cleavages between casts, ethnicities or minorities into equity and equal participation is a challenge and often beyond many people’s scope of imagination. Leaders who have full heartedly practiced religious intolerance, ethnic animosity, clan rivalry or traditional cast system don’t easily allow these groups to suddenly enjoy the basic human rights of equality and dignity.

The above mentioned traditional structure often leads to corruption that counteracts the efficient management and responsiveness of citizens concerns by decision makers and political actors. Property rights, the rights to health, education and access to jobs are denied. Accountability and transparency of local authorities, NGOs and even IGOs are often spoiled because freedom of press and expression is either not guaranteed or suppressed. In the majority of the world the idea of equal rights for all fights the traditional thinking of selective rights for specific casts and social classes, again, in particular for those that live in the growing urban areas. Many people in the developing world had no “good experience” with what was told to them was democracy. They are suspicious about democratic orders and even fear the negative consequences of a chaotic democracy. Urban dwellers often grew up in rural areas where obedience, immaturity, fear and self censorship were the only ways to respond to hierarchies and power structures.

The number of problems and potential conflicts in megacities of 10 or more millions of people might lead to the urge to solve the problems peacefully and in accordance with all human rights standards. This is an inclusive approach that combines good governance with human rights. However, governments still have to set the legal, financial and political frameworks for it. It has to delegate the implementation on local levels, provide

⁴⁰ UN HABITAT (2002) International Legal Instruments Addressing Good Governance
http://www.unhabitat.org/downloads/docs/2107_72061_Intl%20legal%20instruments%20good%20gov%20publication.pdf

administrative, fiscal, political and programmatic powers, and make regional and international agreements to solve the global challenges that cause urban migration across borders.

People drawn by the opportunities that megacities offer, will seek their “right to the city”. This concept was developed in 1968 and claims that cities are public heterogenic places that accept people from all different backgrounds. The development of the city benefits from it, if in exchange the “new citizen” exercises his/her right to participation and to appropriation. That is to say, everybody has to contribute to peaceful and democratic conflict resolution and should seek ownership over material and/or intellectual property and resources.⁴¹ These local movements are often developed in cooperation with international donor NGOs but as long as they are not government or state driven they will have only limited success. NGOs and international development agencies are not strong enough to establish a supranational and regional human rights regime. What is needed are international, regional, domestic and local monitoring bodies and standard setting mechanisms. This would need states with a minimum of democratic structures and a political commitment to solve problems internationally rather than domestically. According to international regime theory, the states first have to realize and understand that the issue of urbanization is exceeding their domestic and traditional problem solving mechanisms. Governments ought to understand that by committing to inter-regional human rights mechanisms, they can lower political and human costs in the future and solve problems to their own benefit.⁴² Additionally, both the international and domestic pressure has to be larger than the (mostly authoritarian) current power structures in these regions can bear.⁴³

If urban migrants, such as Hindus from India or Pakistani migrants in Dubai, are not granted any citizenship rights, their children’s futures will be threatened. Many second and third generation urban migrants have no access to higher education and face religious discrimination and restriction of family and marriage rights. They cannot own property, their labor rights and insurance are not guaranteed and they have no other means of protest then to boycott work or to leave the country. They are denied citizenship. Predictably, this will lead to conflicts, which in turn, will lead to discrimination, suppression, imprisonment, ill-treatment and deprivation of housing and food. Without legal status, an entire generation will

⁴¹ United Nations Habitat (2009) *Urban Policies and the Right to the City, Rights, Responsibilities and Citizenship*, Cardiff University and Danish Institute for Human Rights, Copenhagen, p. 14.

⁴² Forsythe, David P (2000), *Human Rights in International Relations*, Cambridge University Press.

⁴³ For good and bad governance see: *Stiftung Entwicklung und Frieden (2006), Globale Trends 2007*, Frankfurt am Main, pp. 225ff.

be at stake. Regardless of how poor and uneducated these people might be, they will have access to information technology, either through internet, television or radio. Many urban dwellers will not have finished primary school but they will know how to use computers or the 21st century world's lingua franca, English, to communicate across borders. This should not be underestimated. And, in reverse, they will be exposed to information and will hear about their rights and observe governance models elsewhere in the world. They will compare their systems with those of regions in the West and will define their daily needs accordingly: housing, work conditions, education, citizenship rights, participation and others. Women will first hear about their reproductive rights, and then want to claim them. Illegal abortion, one of the main causes for female mortality in these countries regardless of strict religious restrictions, will be disputed; access to education for all, for migrants and the poor alike, will be in demand.⁴⁴ And if there are no state mechanisms or agencies to listen to these people, improve their situation and govern them in a peaceful, problem solving way, there will a clash of generations and social groups mostly between migrants and locals even if they carry the same citizenship.⁴⁵

Asia and the Middle East

In no other regions will climate change, globalization, migration and new communication technologies impact the human and urban development so strongly as in Asia, Africa and the Middle East. Asia and the Middle East are the regions with the fastest growing economies and an increasing young population. Although many of their slum dwellers and migrants have no citizenship rights, the fast economic growth and the development of megacities like Shanghai, Mumbai and Dubai will further attract migrants by the millions.⁴⁶

These developments will have immense impact on human rights norms and standard setting. Some of the power countries of tomorrow in Asia and the Middle East will dominate the discourse on human rights may they be political, civil, economic, women's, social or cultural rights. Whereas the current human rights settings and regime were dominated by the world power's interpretation of the cold war period till 1990, the future human rights regime will

⁴⁴ For example see: UN Women Watch (2009) Gender Equality and Sustainable Urbanisation, Fact Sheet <http://www.un.org/womenwatch>.

⁴⁵ Korten, David C. (1996) Civic engagement in creating future cities, in: Environment and Urbanization, Vol. 8, No. 1, Sage Publications.

⁴⁶ Kernig, Claus D. (2006) Und mehret euch? Deutschland und die Weltbevölkerung im 21. Jahrhundert, Bonn, pp.109ff.

pay tribute to the new ways of interpretation of human rights by states in Asia and the Middle East. Some people fear that this will cause a deep erosion of current human rights standards. Others see a chance for finally building a bridge between so called Western and Eastern human rights values without jeopardizing basic human rights principles. Bearing in mind that many of these countries are mostly governed by dictatorial or authoritarian leadership, many of the worries are justified. The more prominent question is whether the current international human rights regime meets the needs of predominately young people in this part of the world.

Shanghai hosts 4 million “illegal” Chinese migrant workers who are abused and officially excluded in their own country. They have to work “illegally” in their own country and receive no health care and their children don’t go to school. In Shanghai urban areas, many grassroots movements, such as private schools run by migrants with help of international NGOs have grown up over the last few years in order to try to improve living conditions. They not only change the status quo, but they also do it in a participatory, solidarity-enhancing way and set up a de facto democratic system.

In the ghettos and slums of Mumbai, the growing population organizes itself in neighborhood initiatives. Through these initiatives, democratization is forced upon governmental institutions. More importantly, many of these urban dwellers experience democracy and fair distribution for the first time, although only on a local level. Kerala is a good example of an urban area where principles of equity and equal access have created significant improvement in urban development. Doubtlessly, human rights norms will be re-interpreted and adapted, but it is unlikely that they will be abolished as such. Basic human rights, such as the right to health, water, food, work, education, participation, assembly, marriage, physical integrity and religious freedom, will be disputed but not abolished. What becomes more evident is that part of the implementation process of these rights is the growing human rights awareness and empowerment of people through human rights education and information. Knowing what and how to claim is the beginning of major societal changes. The number of people who know their human rights is growing. Strong demands will follow in Saudi Arabia as well as in China and India.

The prevailing current impression is that the common standards of Asian and Middle Eastern governments restrict human and even citizen rights across borders. Inter-state systems, rules and mechanisms such as the European Human Rights Regime are seen as a blueprint to the self-imposed control system by European governments that is hindering any type of

authoritarian development. But, in the larger Asian region, including the Pacific and the Middle East, there is not one dominant power that could lead the region in a similar direction. Furthermore, those powers who claim to be a leader in their region like China, Saudi Arabia or Egypt, are highly authoritarian. As of yet, they have no interest in setting up supranational (democratic) power structures, but that is necessary if they want to face the challenges of urbanization and migration effectively in the future. Furthermore, India, Japan, China, Australia or any of the Arab countries like the United Arab Emirates, Egypt or Pakistan are seriously willing to unite their countries' interests in order to solve the common problems that lie ahead – whilst their population is growing and migration waves and urbanization are reaching new peaks and records each year. And since this region is more heterogeneous in terms of economic and social development, traditions, religions, political system than others like Europe or the Americas, the solution can not be one state that dominates the region. A regional union like ASEAN and the Arab League – although in many senses politically flawed – are the only attempts to maneuver and govern the region peacefully in the future.

Even though Asia and the Middle East do not have a human rights regime, some of these countries will without doubt be among the dominate powers of the 21st Century. The International Human Rights System of the UNO and the growing NGO community of young people within their societies might be the strongest forces to lead necessary shifts and changes in this region.

Concluding Urbanization and Human Rights

The human rights based urbanization development can be dealt with best if global and international structures are extended and at the same time more power and decision making is transferred to local levels. Thus, I conclude that the international community, organizations and regimes on the one side and local grass root organizations, NGOs, movements and communities on the other side will have to jointly create new governance structures to face the challenges of urbanization.⁴⁷ If they are based on human rights, these local governance structures will most likely enhance democratic governance structures and thus solve the major challenges of sustainable urban human development.

⁴⁷ Van Vliet, Willem (2002), Cities in a globalizing world: from engines of growth to agents of change, in: Environment and Urbanization, Vol. 14, No. 1, Sage Publication.

Urbanization has many benefits such as better infrastructures, shorter distances to education and health facilities, access to information through internet and TV, to local and community facilities and to legal and political institutions such as lawyers, parliaments or courts. These advantages can make a difference in human behavior and conflict solving mechanisms. They can lead not only to better dissemination of the idea of human rights and making their principles and functions practical, but it also means that urban areas can provide better infrastructure and institutions to implement, safeguard and guarantee these human rights. Education, health care, access to professional development, property in terms of business establishment and family planning are better guaranteed in urban areas than in rural areas. In urban areas, women tend to have fewer children because gender and reproductive rights are among their priorities. Closer distances to work are better for health and better for the environment. Social and economic rights, such as the right to choose ones own work according to skills and background, social security and education are more easily implemented than outside the cities. Access to justice and political power is also easier in urban areas than in rural areas.

People living in tight urban areas, either in slums or in middle class districts, tend to solve their conflicts among themselves on local levels in a more harmonic and grassroots orientated way. Effectiveness, equity, participation and accountability of leaders and facilities in their neighborhood become important criteria to measure for themselves the quality of their local community.⁴⁸

Conflict solving mechanisms will not always be free of violence or corruption but neighbors who live 20 meters apart are less likely to kill and bribe each other than neighbors who are 200km apart and have never meet before. More respect for different ethnic backgrounds, religions and traditions can be the consequence of physical proximity. All this will also lead to changes in the way these people govern themselves. The more diverse these groups of urban dwellers are, the more likely they will see the problems that might occur. If they apply a human rights based approach, they can govern themselves in a more participatory and sustainable way. Adaptiveness and accountability of urban leaders and governments to their stakeholders' needs and demands will be a crucial element of these new governance structures.

⁴⁸ Urban Governance Index in: United Nations Habitat (2009) Urban Policies and the Right to the City, Rights, Responsibilities and Citizenship, Cardiff University and Danish Institute for Human Rights, Copenhagen, p. 27-28.

References

- Basiago, Andrew D. (1999) Economic, social, and environmental sustainability in development theory and urban planning practice, in: *The Environmentalist* 19, Kluwer Academic Publishers, Boston, pp. 145-161
- Biermann, Frank et al (2009) *Earth System governance, People, Places, and the Planet, Science and Implementation Plan of the Earth System Governance Project*, IHDP Report No.20, Bonn.
- Chaudhuri Buddhadeb, Sumita (2007) *Iuaes Inter Congress On Mega Urbanization, Multi-ethnic Society Human Rights And Development*, Inter-India publications, New Dehli.
- Collier, Paul (2007), *The Bottom Billion, Why the poorest countries are failing and what can be done about it?*, Oxford, New York.
- Drakakis-Smith, David (1997) *Third World Cities: Sustainable Urban Development III-Basic Needs and Human Rights*, in: *Urban Studies*, Vol. 34, 797-815.
- Donnelly, Jack (2003) *Universal Human Rights, In Theory & Practice*, Cornell University Press, 2nd edition.
- Enyedi, Gyoergy (1990) *Specific urbanization in east-central Europe*, in: *Geoform*, Vol. 21, pp.163-172.
- Forsythe, David P (2000), *'Human Rights in International Relations'*, Cambridge University Press.
- Heidelberg Institute for International Conflict Research (2009), *Conflict Barometer 2009, Crises, Wars, Coups d'État, negotiations, Mediations, Peace Settlement*, 18th Annual Conflict Analysis, Department of Political Science, University of Heidelberg.
- Heinsohn, Gunnar (2006) *Soehne und Weltmacht: Terror im Aufstieg und Fall der Nation*, Orell Fuessli Verlag.
- Henderson, Vernon (2002), *Urbanization in Developing Countries*, in: *The World Bank Research Observer*, Vol. 17, No. 1, pp. 89-112.

- Humphreys, Stephen (Ed.) (2009) *Human Rights and Climate Change*, Cambridge University Press.
- Kernig, Claus D. (2006), *Und mehret euch? Deutschland und die Weltbevölkerung im 21. Jahrhundert*, Bonn.
- Khan, Irene (2009) *The Unheard Truth, Poverty and Human Rights*, Amnesty International, London.
- Korten, David C. (1996), *Civic engagement in creating future cities*, in: *Environment and Urbanization*, Vol. 8, No. 1, Sage Publications.
- Krasner, Stephen D. (Ed.) (1995), *International Regimes*, Cornell University Press, pp.1-21
- Merklen, Denis (2001) *Urban Development Projects: Neighbourhood, State and NGOs, Final Evaluation of the MOST Cities Project*, Discussion Paper No. 54, UNESCO, Paris.
- Michaels, Guy/ Rauch, Ferdinand/ Redding, Stephen J. (2008) *Urbanization and Structural Transformation*, CEP Discussion Paper No. 892, Center for Economic Performance, London School of Economics, London.
- Pillay, Navanethem (2009) *Human Rights and climate change*, United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights, Geneva.
- Schmitter, Philippe C. (2003) *The Quality of Democracy: The Ambiguous Virtues of Accountability*, Instituto Universitario Europeo, September 2003 (online published paper).
- Schusler, T.M./ Decker, D.J./ Pfeffer, M..J. (2003) *Social learning for collaborative natural resource management*, in: *Society and Natural Resources*, No. 15, pp. 309-326.
- Steiner, Henry J./Alston, Philip/Goodman, Ryan (2007) *International Human Rights in Context, Law, Politics, Morals*; Oxford University Press', third edition, Part D, Chapter 8: *International Human Rights Organizations, Design and Functions of International Institutions and Issues of Sovereignty*, pp. 669-708.
- Stiftung Entwicklung und Frieden (2006), *Globale Trends 2007*, Frankfurt am Main.

Sjoberg, Oerjan (1999) Shortage, Priority and Urban Growth: Towards a Theory of Urbanisation under Central Planning, in: *Urban Studies*, Vol. 36, No. 13, pp. 2217-2236.

United Nations (2009) *The Millennium Development Goals Report*, New York 2009.

United Nations Habitat (2009) *Urban Policies and the Right to the City, Rights, Responsibilities and Citizenship*, Cardiff University and Danish Institute for Human Rights, Copenhagen.

UNFPA (2007) *State of the World Population*

Van Vliet, Willem (2002), *Cities in a globalizing world: from engines of growth to agents of change*, in: *Environment and Urbanization*, Vol. 14, No. 1, Sage Publication

Documents

Copenhagen Accord (2009) UN Climate Change Conference, 18 December 2009.

Global Charter-Agenda For Human Rights in the City (2005), Ajuntament de Barcelona, Comision de Inclusion Social y Democracia Participativa, CGLU, Barcelona.

UN Framework Convention on Climate Change, 1992

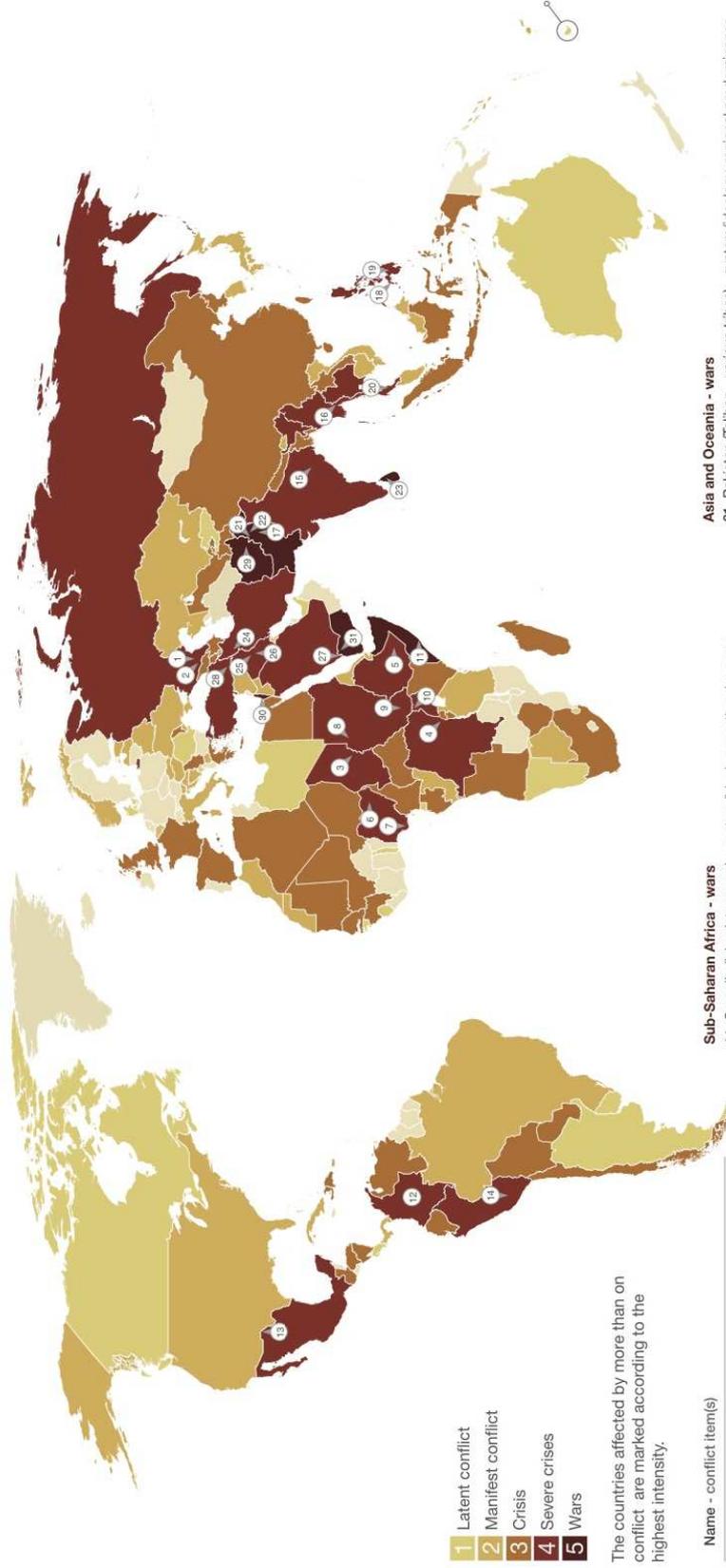
UN HABITAT (2002) *International Legal Instruments Addressing Good Governance*.

The World Charter-Agenda on Human Rights in the City (2005) Secrétariat International Permanent de droits de l'homme et gouvernements locaux nates payes de la loire, France, Commission Inclusion Sociale et Démocratie Participative, CGLU.

The World Charter for the Right to the City (2004), Social Forum of the Americas, Quito, World Urban Forum, Barcelona.

ANNEX

Political Conflicts in 2009



- 1 Latent conflict
- 2 Manifest conflict
- 3 Crisis
- 4 Severe crises
- 5 Wars

The countries affected by more than on conflict are marked according to the highest intensity.

Name - conflict item(s)

- Europe - severe crises**
- 1 Russia (Islamist rebels/Chechnya) - secession, system/ideology
 - 2 Russia (Islamist rebels/Ingushetia) - secession, system/ideology

- Sub-Saharan Africa - severe crises**
- 3 Chad (various rebel groups) - national power, resources
 - 4 DR Congo (FDLR) - regional predominance, resources
 - 5 Ethiopia (ONLF/Ogaden) - secession, resources
 - 6 Nigeria (Boko Haram) - system/ideology
 - 7 Nigeria (MEND, Ijaw/Niger Delta) - autonomy, resources
 - 8 Sudan (Darfur) - regional predominance, resources
 - 9 Sudan (various ethnic groups) - regional predominance
 - 10 Uganda (LRA) - national power, resources

Sub-Saharan Africa - wars

- 11 Somalia (Islamist groups) - system/ideology, national power
- The Americas - severe crises**
- 12 Colombia (FARC) - system/ideology, regional predominance, resources
 - 13 Mexico (drug cartels) - regional predominance, resources
 - 14 Peru (Shining Path) - system/ideology, regional predominance, resources

- Asia and Oceania - severe crises**
- 15 India (Naxalites) - system/ideology
 - 16 Myanmar (KNU, KNLA/Karen State, Kayah State) - secession
 - 17 Pakistan (Sunmites - Shites) - system/ideology, regional predominance
 - 18 Philippines (Abu Sayyaf/Mindanao) - secession, system/ideology
 - 19 Philippines (MLF/Mindanao) - autonomy, system/ideology, resources
 - 20 Thailand (Muslim separatists/southern border provinces) - secession, system/ideology

Asia and Oceania - wars

- 21 Pakistan (Taliban - various tribes) - system/ideology, regional predominance
- 22 Pakistan (various Islamist militants) - system/ideology, national power
- 23 Sri Lanka (LTTE/northern and eastern Sri Lanka) - secession

The Middle East and Maghreb - severe crises

- 24 Iran (PJAK/Kurdish areas) - autonomy
- 25 Iraq (AQI) - system/ideology, national power
- 26 Iraq (insurgents) - system/ideology, national power
- 27 Saudi Arabia (al-Houthi rebels) - system/ideology, regional predominance
- 28 Turkey (PKK/KONGRA-GEL/Kurdish areas) - autonomy

The Middle East and Maghreb - wars

- 29 Afghanistan (Taliban) - system/ideology, national power
- 30 Israel (Hamas/Palestine) - secession, system/ideology
- 31 Yemen (al-Houthi rebels) - system/ideology, regional predominance

Source: Heidelberg Institute for Conflict Research, e.V.

http://hiik.de/de/downloads/data/maps/worldmap_2009_allIntLeg.jpg