'Global urbanisation and migration: Megacity governance agenda setting, policy trade offs and commensuration'

UNAM, Mexico City, Metropolis, September 2015

Michael Keith, (University of Oxford Future of Cities, ESRC Urban Transformations Programme)

'Global urbanisation and migration' Megacity governance agenda setting, policy trade offs and commensuration'

1. *What is simple: migration, metropolis, and the future of the city: the city matters*

2. *What complicates: analytical framing and commensuration*

3. *Exemplifications: Delhi, Shenzhen, zones of migrant exception, scale jumping and migrant urbanism*

4. *Policy resolutions, trade offs, conclusions*

Talk based on Michael Keith, 'The Great Migration: Urban Aspirations' World Bank Working Paper 6079, (2014) and chapter in Glaeser, E. and A. Joshi-Ghani (2015)

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THE URBAN IMPERATIVE
TOWARDS COMPETITIVE CITIES

EDITED BY
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ABHA JOSHI-GHANI

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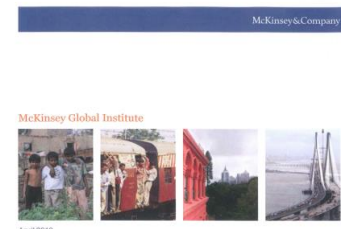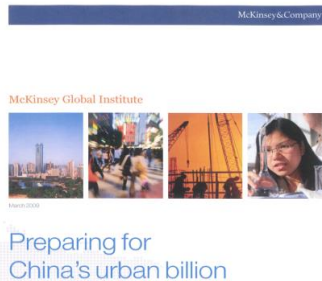transformations

1. What is simple

"What will be remembered about the twenty-first century, more than anything else except perhaps the effects of a changing climate, is the great, and final, shift of human population out of rural, agricultural life and into cities. We will end this century as a wholly urban species." Doug Saunders, 2010

By 2025
- 225 cities in China will have one million people living in them (Europe has 35 today)
- **350 million people will be added to China's urban population – more than the population of today's United States**
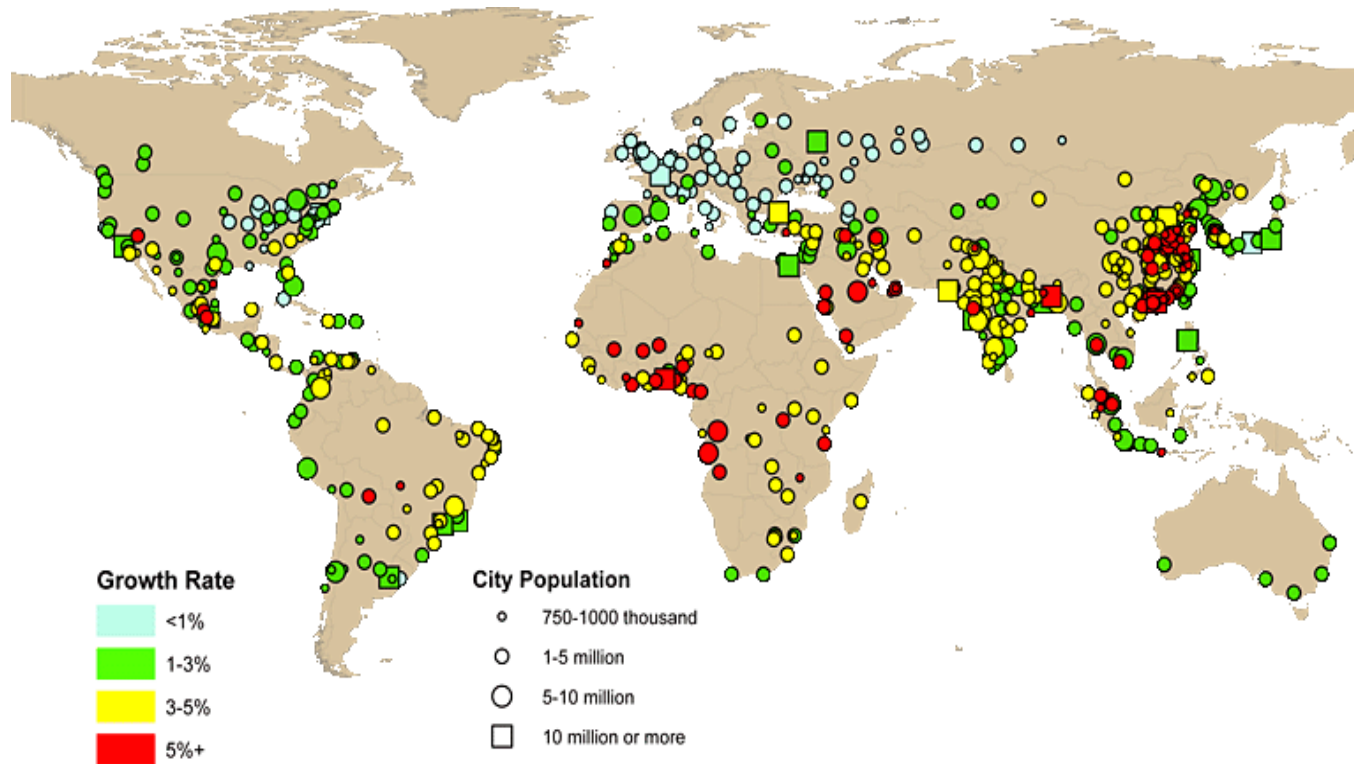
By 2030
- 1 billion people will live in China's cities

- India: By 2030
  - 68 cities with population more than 1 million, up from 42 today (Europe has 35)
  - 590 million people will live in India's cities
  - **Infrastructure scale: $1.2 trillion capital investment necessary to meet projected demand**

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Preparing for China's urban billion

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India's urban awakening: Building inclusive cities, sustaining economic growth

World Urbanization Prospects, the 2011 Revision

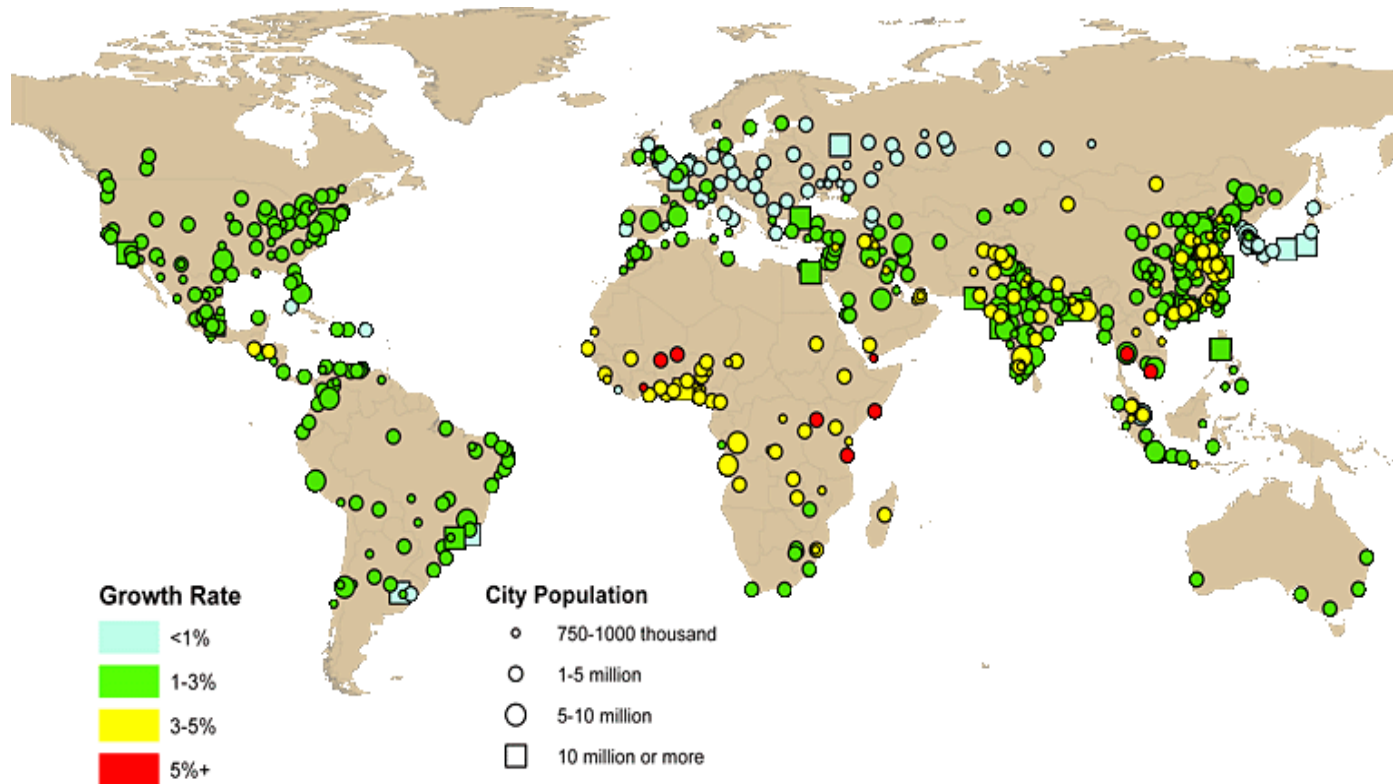**Map 5: Growth rates of urban agglomerations, 1970-2011**

Growth Rate
- <1%
- 1-3%
- 3-5%
- 5%+

City Population
- 750-1000 thousand
- 1-5 million
- 5-10 million
- 10 million or more

Select year: 1970-2011 2011-2-25

World Urbanization Prospects, the 2011 Revision

Growth rates of urban agglomerations, 2011-2025

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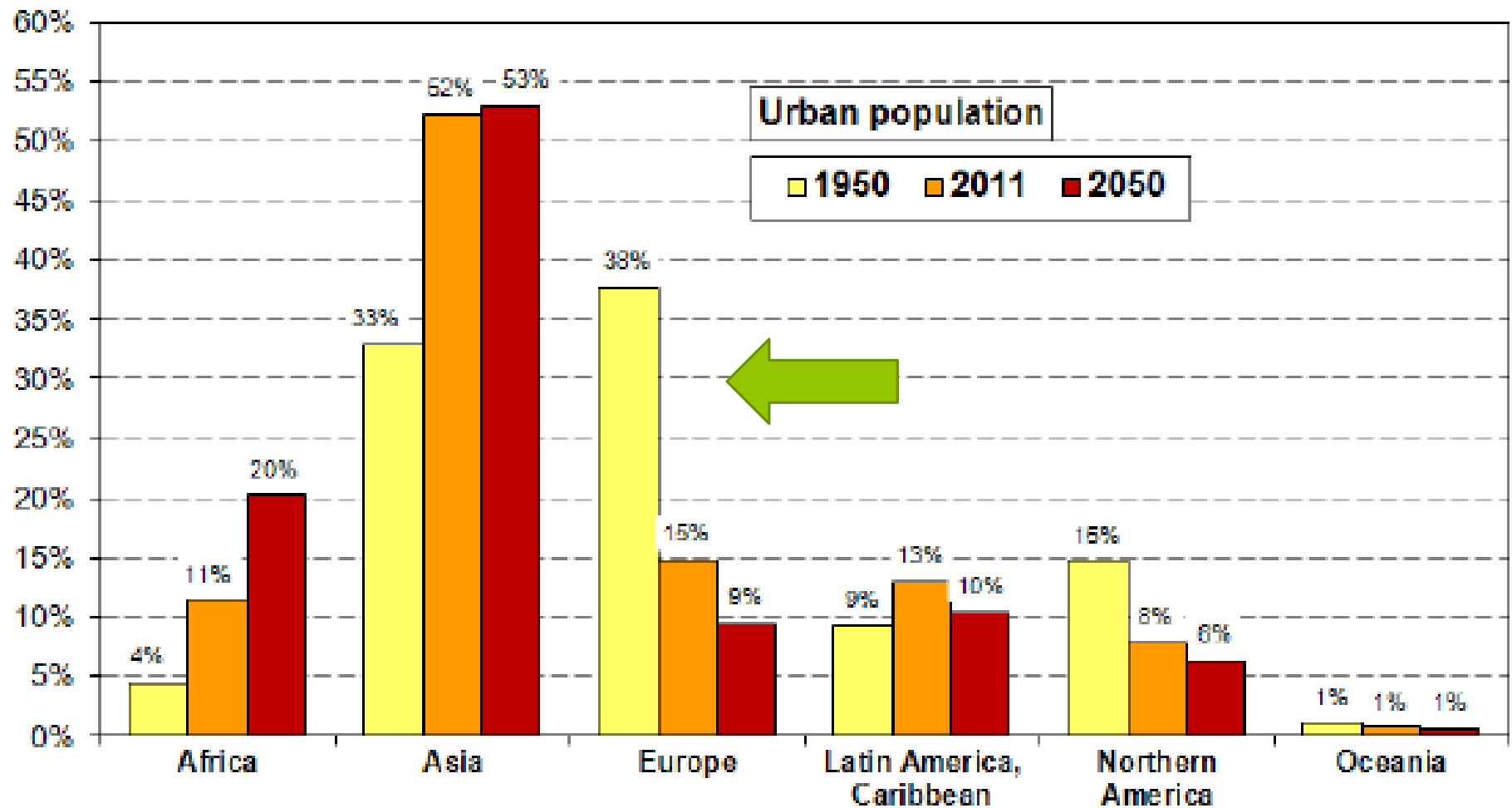- 5-10 million
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Overview

Source: United Nations, Department of Economic and Social Affairs, Population Division: *World Urbanization Prospects, the 2011 Revision*. New York 2012

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World Urbanization Prospects, the 2011 Revision

Distribution of the world urban and rural population by major area

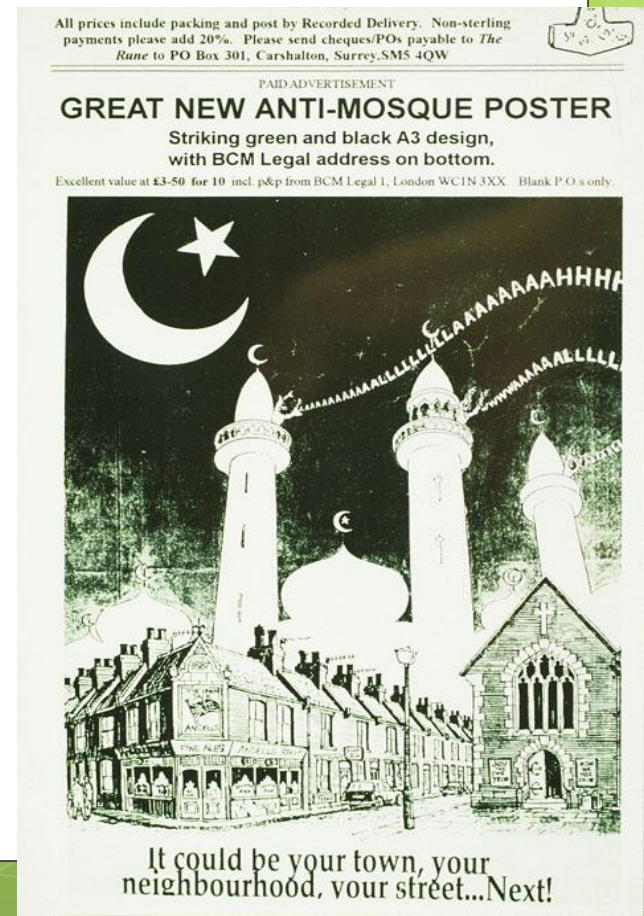# *Migration, metropolis, and the future of the city*

- Economic imperatives of migration
- Economic costs of migration: migration externalities
- 40% of Fortune 500 companies started by migrants or their children
- Managing inclusive urban change: competitiveness, liveability, resiliency, and social inclusion
- The problems of populist opposition

European Islamophobia

Welfare externalities, migration, city governance

- Spatial mismatch of migration externalities
- Temporal mismatch of migration externalities
- The normative dimension of externalities

"Are you willing to pay one million HK dollars every 18 minutes to take care of mainland children born in Hong Kong?"

"Hong Kongers have had enough!"

2. What complicates

- *Megacities complicate the geographical scales of policy intervention*
- *Megacity growth pluralises the temporal horizons of urban policy intervention*
- *The economic governance of cities needs to be considered in terms of the diversity of institutional forms, path dependencies, infrasructure lock-in,market formation and regimes of governance*

City governance, megacity realities, multi dimensional policy agendas, trade offs and migration

- **'The right to the city'**: UN Habitat, World Charter of the Right to the City – institutions and 'rights', weak institutuions
- **(Re)shaping the city** Governance by change: the reshaping metropolis
- **Agenda setting and politicisation**: agenda setting in part arbitrary
- **Informality:** The scale and the reality of informality in the contemporary city
- **Dwelling**: slum upgrading, the paradoxes and beneficiaries of formalisation
- **The city commons:** reshaping the city commons and ecological challenges
- **Property rights** and housing new demographics
- **Hidden priors, normative realities** and analytical shortcomings: gendered flows, migrant divisions of labour and racialised states
- **Trade offs** and rationing scarce public goods
- **Commensuration**: market rationalities and ethical demands: the limits of Pigouvian / Coasian pricing of externalities
- **Diversity and variation of migration flows** and consequences: variations of status, temporality and scale

Variations in migration type and city governance challenges

- **Forced migration** …. And Joburg; 2011 450k migrants, 3-3.5 million met pop
- **Skilled migration**, global cities, capital flows and localised housing markets – the race to to attract human capital: Santiago, Chile
- **Unskilled migration**, urban transition and social mobility
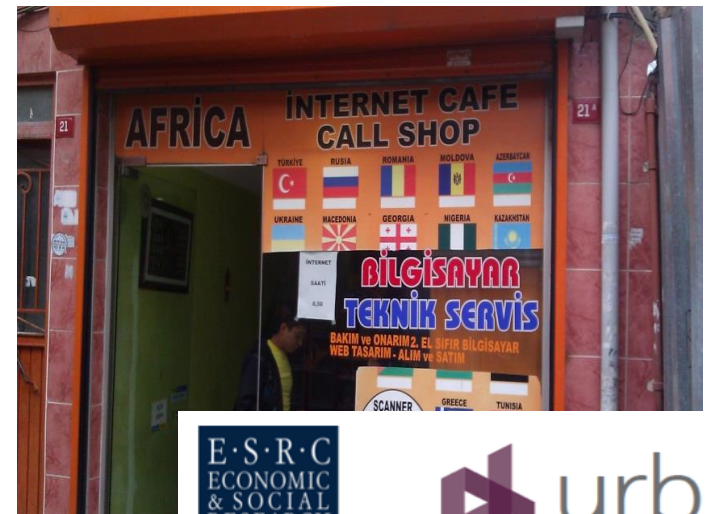- **Family migration** – positive and negative externalities

Governance challenges and temporalities of migration settlement

- Challenging static / dynamic or synchronic / diachronic ways of thinking
- Transnational and translocal links: Bangladesh in London
- Transition from source to destination – Istanbul, Cairo

Variations in geographical scale differences and metropolitan governance challenges

- Neighbourhood level and churn eg Kumkapi, Istanbul
- District level, functions of government, (and property markets, Wenzhou migrants in Beijing)
- Metropolis / city regionand strategic planning absent governance – eg Mumbai v Maharashtra, the planning of megacities

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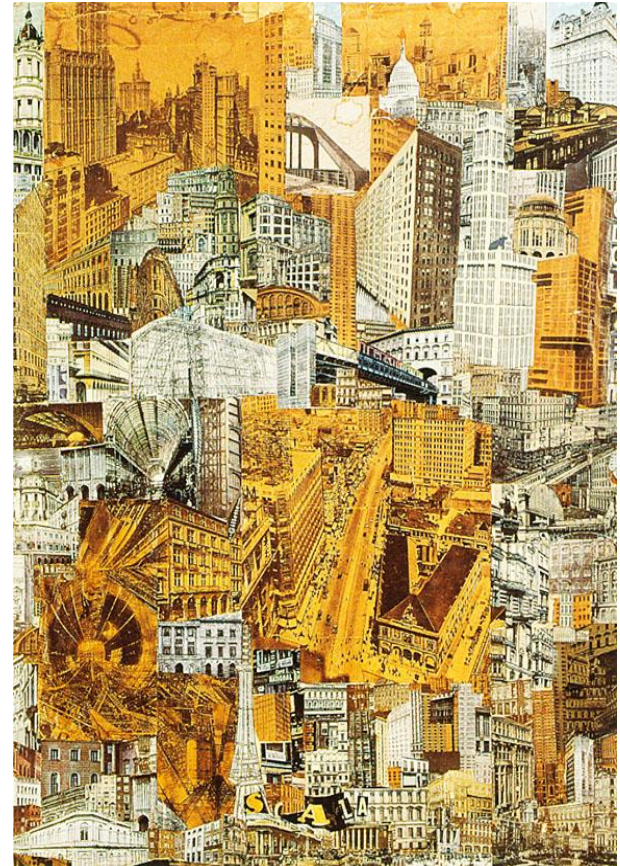RESEARCH
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The governance of future cities: incommensurable disciplines and governance problematics

- Governance by disciplines of future thinking and megacity building
- Architecture, land use planning, real estate, economy,
- Urban renaissance policy dilemmas of densification, eminent domain, rent control, stability, expansion,

And so …

- Balance between state, market and governance statecraft in face of weak institutional forms
- The ethics of the absent
- The trade off of migrant rights and freedoms at the level of the city?

3. *Exemplifications*

Exemplificatons 1: Rationalising the cities of the south and Delhi informalities

- Modernisation and late 20th century urbanisms
- Albert Mayer 1947 Delhi masterplan and rationalising the city
- Untitled land as state land – rational hierarchy of work, production, residence
- Planned growth and dwelling in the city – the triumph of the unplanned city – and its permeability ('a quiet encroachment of the ordinary' Asef Bayat)

Informality and late 20th century realities

- Migrants, squatters and the invisible city
- Tenure v title, cash v legal banking
- East Delhi - Viswas Nagar, of Northern India's largest producers of electronic components in the 1980s
- Implicit open source model, six month innovation cycle
- Policy dilemmas of absorption v formalisation and electronic records; Unique Identification Authority of India, Mission Convergence in Delhi - Samajik Suvidha Sangam (criteria of 'vulnerability' v 'economic criteria'

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The realities of informality

- Shortcomings of 'rights' based (Habitat / ICMR) and market based models
- Informality and presence
- Creativity, combination, economy
- 'People as infrastructure'

Exemplifications 2: The 'floating population' and urban China: upskilling

- The nature of the hukou,
- The floating population liudong renkou 流动人口
- At least two circuits of migration,
- Geographical ranges of migration
- Rural and urban property rights

迁移人口	qianyi renkou	moving population
流动人口	liudong renkou	floating population
农民工	nongmingong	peasant workers
外来人口	wailai renkou	population arriving from outside
外出务工者/员	waichu wugongzhe/yuan	people leaving to work for others
进城务工者/员	jincheng wugongzhe/yuan	people entering the city to work for others
打工妹/仔	dagongmei/zai	working girls/boys
暂住人口	zanzhu renkou	temporary population
边缘人	bianyuan ren	marginal figure

Shenzhen speed and the demons of density?

- From 200-300,000 in villages in 1978 to city of 18 million or so today

- By the year 2000, Shenzhen was ranked nationally in China: fourth in gross domestic product (GDP) among Chinese large and medium size cities, third in local fiscal income, first in total export and import value, first in per capita GDP, first in per capita productivity

- From *sanlai yibu* (three imports and one compensation) to moving upmarket

Migrant dwelling – the *cheng zhong cun*

- Villages in City (*cheng zhong cun*)
- Residential handshake apartments
- Nascent democratic arrangements
- The cuns as joint stock company,

Chengzhongcun 'villages in the city' migrant 'handshake apartments' woshou fang 握手房

Special economic zones and the Shenzhen *cheng zhong cun*

- "Their main livelihood, as a villager puts it, has shifted from cultivating crops (gengtian) to to cultivating real estate (genguru)"

  Siu, 2007, 331

Da Fen Cun

Zhou xue chun professinal figure embassy of portrait

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Chengzhongcun specialisation, stock companies differential migrant integration and mediating welfare externalities

- **Guan Lan** – FDI negotiations
- **Da Fen** – oil panting city
- **Xia Sha** – specialism moving up value chain, up market
- Scale, rule and czc: future planning in Shenzhen
- Urban dynamics and city, district (*qu*), *cheng zhong cun* relations
- Differential incorporation
- Metropolitan markets and hierarchies
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FLEXIBLE CITY

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Exemplifications 3: Inclusive exceptionalism and migrant incorporation: city zoning experiments

- Texas colonias and borders of the informal zone
- 1980s-90s Brazil's Special Zones of Social Interest: Belo Horizonte success/failure?
- Legalization, legitimacy, upgrading: Cities Alliance, Slum Dwellers International
- BUT …. slum upgrading: from the informal to the formal; the informal to the known

Exemplifications 4: Geographical scale jumping and migration

- Scale jumping, migration and communications: International Institute for the Environment and Development has recommended that development organizations promote the "creation of channels" to community-based organizations and federations, built mostly around community savings groups and often managed by women

- In India, the National Slum Dwellers Federation, in combination with Mahila Milan and the Society for the Promotion of Area Resource Centers, has organized more than 2 million slum dwellers and settlement for some 20,000 households. These resettlement schemes have been directed partly by the World Bank as a condition for transportation loans to the government of Mumbai

- More recently, in Phnom Penh, Cambodia, where the Solidarity for the Urban Poor Federation has been active since 1994, a new wave of evictions from Boeung Kak Lake in 2011 led the World Bank to withhold its $50–$70 million annual loan to the country

- Scale jumping and the hidden normativities of state, civil society and markets

"Solving Poor People's Housing Problem is Difficult"

Economy Housing;
"Solving Poor People's Housing Problem is Difficult. I, Du Pu, Have Thought About It for Over One Thousand Years. Today, Finally It Will Come True. This is Great!"

(Yuan Meng, 2006-08-15, *China News Network*)

Conclusion 1: Megacity development disrupts north /south and national/international typologies of migration

- **Travelling theory** and urbanism – talks and thoughts about cities – the creative city, the dual city, the competitive city
- **Informality:** the informal city's creativities and forms of self organisation (informal New York or London cf Beijing, Rio)
- **Market diversity** as a combination of historical realities and economic orthodoxies (megacity variations Asia, Africa, Latin America, Europe)
- **Technology**: data gathering, GPS, smart infrastructure (*Uber* in Mexico City or Jo'burg v London or Paris)
- The propensity of things and **the agency of infrastructure** (Istanbul, Beijing, Rio)

Conclusion 2: Research findings: possible trade offs and new combinations in migrant urbanism

Trade Offs

- Migrant rights and labour market flexibilities: selective incorporation
- Neighbourhood solidarity and permeability
- Land zoning, closure and paradoxes of slum upgrading
- Incommensurable measure of public goods – welfare nets, contributory programmes and social needs

Combinations

- Scale: synthesising imperatives of metropolis, city neighbourhood; multi-scale
- Skill: realising density through skill combinations
- Scope: normative and priced externalities; CPR rules

Sixth Urban Research and Knowledge

Megacities for migration:

- Experiments in multi-scalar governance
- Relaxing zoning, special zoning (inclusive exceptionalism) and realising density
- Eminent domain and the propensity of the city
- Mediating scale disparities and temporal mismatch
- The chimera of title, the pragmatics of deliberation
- Inter city learning

Towards the flexible city