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Kristiina Kuvaja

Living the Urban Challenge

Sustainable Development and Social Sustainability in Two Southern Megacities

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UNIVERSITY OF JYVÄSKYLÄ

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ABSTRACT

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This work investigates social sustainability in the large southern cities, namely Lagos and Metro-Manila. Social sustainability is perceived in this work as a comprehensive dimension of sustainable urban development which interlinks the success of sustainable development initiatives to the cities' social contexts. In terms of policy design, this suggests that sectoral interventions addressing sustainable urban development need to be combined into collective efforts under broad frameworks addressing cities' social structures and interactions. The work consists of five articles which examine sustainable urban development through different themes such as human-environment relations, sustainable cities, governance, urban space, the social capital at the grassroots and communication technologies in enhanced participation. The empirical data is based on four community case studies in Lagos and Metro-Manila. The data has been collected through fieldwork periods using participatory methods and several years' personal engagement in the two cities. The results of this work put forward that social sustainability challenges in large southern cities emerge as cumulative and comprehensive social inequalities, grassroots' tendencies for local and autonomous actions and failures of different stakeholders to participate in urban governance. Based on the results the work discusses approaches to sustainable development policy design and claims that policies should focus simultaneously on communities' capacities and preparedness to negotiate for socially just and equal development while building city governments' capacities to mitigate this process. Finally, the work assesses the significance of grassroots level analysis as an entry point for investigating social sustainability and discusses the advantages of the chosen multidisciplinary research approach in this task.

Keywords: sustainable development, social sustainability, megacities, Lagos, Metro-Manila, grassroots, critical ethnography

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1 INTRODUCTION

What comes to our mind when we think about the megacities in the Southern hemisphere? Do we consider them primarily as places of congestion, squatters, misery and hardship or do we perceive them as places of innovation, economic advancement and locations of social change? In other words, do we consider them to be the curse or the protagonists of human civilizations? What about the role of these cities in sustainable development, the main development paradigm of our era: do we believe that achieving equal and environmentally feasible development and healthy human-environment relations in these socially and culturally diverse urban agglomerations is possible in the first place? If the answer is 'yes', on what terms is it possible - is the key accelerated economic growth, radical change in social structures, environmental totalitarianism or the establishment of autonomous ecological communities as the basic unit of cities? If the answer is 'no', should we in this case seek measures to reverse contemporary urbanisation trends taking place in the South?

If we are envisioning sustainable development and the future paradigms to achieve it we are obliged to take a stance on these questions in one form or another. This is not necessary because these cities will hold a special position in the global future. On the contrary, these cities will be some of the most common living environments of coming generations and thus, some of the main locations of sustainable or unsustainable development. According to the predictions, more than 60 per cent of world's total population will live in cities within the next 15 years. Simultaneously, a great majority of this population (85 per cent) will live in low- and middle-income countries and in cities with more than a million inhabitants (UN-Habitat 2004, 24). These figures attest to the fact that the global future is truly an urban future with a southern drive and tendencies of high diversities and large agglomerations.

The emergence of contemporary megacities in the South has resulted in a phenomenon identified as 'primate' cities. These cities are the uncontested growth poles of their respective countries while leaving other cities far behind in population size and economic weight (Montgomery et al. 2004, 87). This has led to high intensities of urbanisation called 'hyper-urbanisation' (see e.g. Douglass 2000) and 'metropolisation' (see e.g. UN-Habitat 2004) creating fast-

growing poly-centred urban regions consisting of millions of inhabitants. As a result, many large cities in the South are platforms of great social and cultural diversities (Simone 2004c), fragmented patterns of urban management (Sivaramakrishnan 1996), segregated urban spaces (Caldeira 2002; 2000) and landscapes of privileges and inequalities (Kong & Law 2002). As urbanisation in the South is increasingly shaping the discourses on sustainable urban development, the issue of producing and maintaining safe and equal living environments which can be carried over to the future generations is increasingly defined and challenged by these phenomena.

Sustainable development discourses often take contradictory positions on the role and character of the southern megacities: they are commonly approached as sources of intensified environmental and social problems such as congestion, pollution and poverty (e.g. Hardoy et al. 2001; McGranahan, Jacobi, Songsore, Surjadi & Kjellén 2001; Satterthwaite 1999a) or as nodes of international trade, i.e. channels through which globalisation penetrates the country while these cities serve as a platform for its interaction with local structures and cultures (e.g. Marcuse & van Kempen 2002; Soja 2000; Borja & Castells 1997). While building on both of these entry points, this work approaches these cities particularly as locations where millions of people are managing their lives. As such, these cities are presented in this work particularly as spaces where constant social interaction and innovation create practices, networks, livelihoods and ways of life that aim to take advantage of the urban environments or to find solutions to the challenges posed by them (see also Simone 2004c). Thus, the immense diversity and complexity of the grassroots that enable or hinder different stakeholders to survive underneath the intensity of macro-level contexts of international trade, environmental challenges and social deficiencies becomes this work's overall platform. This work is not, however, about romanticizing the 'scene of the urban grassroots' and the capacities of urban communities to manage their living environments and survive in any possible condition imposed on them. Instead, it is about analysing the ways the dynamics at the grassroots level of large southern cities define the potentials and obstacles for sustainable development in these cities. As such, the core of this work is on the ways that communities manage their daily lives, the factors that shape their actions and the resources or hindrances communities generate for sustainable development in their practices.

1.1 The Social Nature of Sustainable Urban Development

Sustainable development is commonly understood through the definition introduced by the World Commission on Environment and Development (WCED) in its report 'Our Common Future' (1987). According to the report achieving sustainable development requires economic and social justices focusing, in particular, on the fulfilment of the needs of the poor (ibid, 43).

Materialising these justices, in turn, require structural changes that ensure social equities between and within nations. Since the imperatives formulated in the Agenda 21 by the Earth Summit in Rio (1992), the approaches to these overall targets of sustainable development have been operationalised through economic, environmental and social dimensions (e.g. Hardoy et al. 2001; Brugmann 1994). In this division the 'social dimension' refers to the target of equal access to services (housing, education, health care, environmental services) while the participatory principles of governance ensure that the needs and the views of all stakeholders are mediated in the design and implementation processes (see Agenda 21, Section 3)[1]. Sustainable development literature has also introduced an alternative and broader approach to the 'social dimension' introducing it as an inclusive and comprehensive component which represents both the medium and goal of sustainable development processes (see e.g. Polèse & Stren 2000; Sachs 2000). Identified as 'social sustainability' this approach addresses the social structures in which all human actions, including human-environment relations take place. These two entry points are not entirely contradictory, however, they are perceived in this work as holding a critical difference: while the first focuses on equality as a condition for the design and distribution of 'social goods', the latter addresses the social contexts that either hinder or enforce equality to genuinely take place in the design and distribution of these 'goods'.

The founding argument of this work in studying sustainable development in large southern cities is that sustainable development challenges are primarily social (see e.g. Järvelä & Kuvaja 2001; Järvelä & Kuvaja-Puumalainen 1998). Thus, addressing social structures (e.g. division of labour, relations of production, ownership of land, financial systems) is elemental for understanding the potential of these cities to achieve sustainable development. Through this entry point the work subscribes to the social sustainability approach and argues that deepening social inequalities in these cities are not only results of intense urbanisation rates and sizes of these urban agglomerations, but these cities also contain social structures that hinder equal and broad-based development to emerge. In other words, these structures shape lay-people's opportunities and limitations to participate in the design and enjoyment of development. This, in turn, affects the potential of these cities to pursue the overall sustainable development targets. As such, instead of focusing solely on sectoral targets, sustainable development policies call for collective efforts, identified here as broad social policy design, to address challenges in these cities' overall social sustainability (see e.g. Hall & Midgley 2004, 6-8; see also Kabeer & Cook 2000). When operationalised in policy design this approach, in turn, requires strategies that are able to identify the complex and diverse ways that these challenges are materialised in the lay-people's everyday life.

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1 See Agenda 21 at http://www.un.org/esa/sustdev/documents/agenda21/english/agenda21toc.htm (accessed 20.10.2006)

The main objective of this work is to study the challenges of social sustainability in large southern cities and the ways these challenges affect these cities' preconditions for sustainable development. This objective is identified through acknowledging that contemporary sustainable development literature does not contain uniform perceptions on the content of social sustainability as an approach to address social changes embedded in the concept of sustainable development[2]. The objective of this work is approached by studying two southern megacities, Lagos and Metro-Manila, and four case studies in these cities on the ways different communities manage their daily living environment. Based on its overall objective and the chosen approach the main research question of this work is: 'what elements are important for the understanding of social sustainability challenges in Lagos and Metro-Manila and how do these elements emerge in the grassroots' everyday life?'. By assessing what the results bring about on the social sustainability challenges in these two cities, the overall aim of the work is to contribute to the discourses on the ways social sustainability and sustainable development can be addressed in comprehensive social policy design.

The targets of this work are studied through two different, but interlinked, approaches. Firstly, social sustainability and urban daily life are approached through conceptual tools such as 'ethical core of sustainable development' (Jacob 1996), 'inclusive cities' (UNCHS 2000), 'sustainable livelihoods' (Scoones 1998), 'urban spatial horizons' (Massey 1999) and 'social capital' (Lin 2001; Putnam 2000, 1993; Coleman 1988; Granovetter 1973). The purpose of these concepts is to facilitate the building of an overall framework to capture the linkages between the social nature of sustainable development and the ways the opportunities and limitations for participation in development are materialised in urban everyday life. The second approach is the studying of the materialisation of sustainable urban development in different southern megacities and their grassroots. Here, this research builds upon two different sources of data. Firstly, the research process has consisted of an extensive analysis of secondary documentation, case studies, project reports, policy papers and statistics either focusing on Lagos[3] and Metro-Manila[4] or other large southern cities[5]. Secondly, the research is based on empirical data collected from the two case cities. The main bulk of the data is presented in this work in the form of four case studies on the grassroots' practices and actions in

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2 For different definitions on social sustainability, see e.g. Polèse & Stren (2000) and Sachs (2000). For the critique on the concept of social sustainability, see Hardoy et al. 2001, 351-2.

3 See e.g. Järvelä & Rinne-Koistinen (2005), Rinne-Koistinen (2004), Okeke (2004), Obi (2003), Enabor et al. (1998), Agbola (1997), Gbadegesin (1994), Uduku (1994), Raheem (1993), Peil (1991), NEST (1991), Aina (1990a).

4 See e.g. Porio et al. (2004), Shatkin (2004), Pertierra et al. (2002), Caoili (1999), Connell (1999), Reyes (1998), ADB (1999), Berner (1997), Oreta (1996), Santiago (1996), Tadiar (1995), Pinches (1994), van Naerssen (1993), Serote (1991).

5 See e.g. Falola & Salm (2004), Simone (2004c), Beall et al. (2002), Caldeira (2002), Carley et al. (2001), McGranahan et al. (2001), Myllylä (2001), Polèse & Stren (2000), Cohen et al. (1996).

managing their living environment (see Chapter 6). The data of the case studies has been collected through participatory methods such as participatory observations, interviews, open-ended discussions, group discussions and drawing exercises (see e.g. IFAD, ANGOC & IIRR 2001; Grenier 1998; Chambers 1983). The empirical data also includes other documentation such as personal diaries, secondary interviews, newspaper materials and photos accumulated through years of personal engagement with these two cities (see Chapter 5).

1.2 Assessing Urban Development in the South

Sustainable development is a paradigm that has been vastly debated in the development literature while being a leading theme of the main international development conferences during the past twenty years. The analyses on the foundations of sustainable development, in turn, point out that sustainable development bases on notions of equity and democracy and these aspects should not be perceived only as technicalities of policy implementation (e.g. Jacob 1996, 46-49; see also Castro 2004). These observations have suggested that sustainable development is a concept that implies social transformations that can be achieved combined with political reforms (Carley & Christie 2000, 26; Redclift 1987, 14). *Social sustainability* addresses those social structures (and structural changes) that are preconditions for harmonious development of civil society enabling the success of sustainable development (Polèse & Stren 2000). Thus, social sustainability refers to the social nature of the overall target of preserving the environment: there cannot be environmental sustainability without societies safeguarding broad equality (Sachs 2000, 61-62). The strengthening of social sustainability, in turn, can be pursued through *broad social policy design* perceived here as an approach to collective interventions that affect transformations in overall social welfare, social institutions and social relations (Mkandawire 2001, 1).

The cases presented in this work put forward the importance of governance as one of the main channels to operationalise this policy approach. *Governance* is understood here as management of diversity and complexity instead of enforcement of uniformity (e.g. Ruble et al. 1996, 17-20). In southern megacities' it refers to these cities' capacities to get things done in the face of their vast complexity (see also Kearns & Paddison 2000, 847). This capacity to get things done is no longer based on the city government's authority alone but it requires the engagement of different urban stakeholders. As such, governance is a process of participation through complex social networks and relations. This process, in turn, is affected be the power relations in-between these networks and relations (see also Devas 2004, 23-26). Finally, while studying the social preconditions of sustainable development, this work particularly refers to s*ustainability governance* which places the preservation of the environment for

the future generations as the basic goal of governance (Frickel & Davidson 2004, 90). In sustainability governance, thus, the resources are channelled to actions that mitigate those socioeconomic tendencies in the cities and societies that weaken their overall ecological integrity (ibid).

The title of this work 'Living the Urban Challenge' expresses its entry point when assessing challenges in social sustainability: the daily life at the grassroots. The title refers, in particular, to the ways challenges or opportunities in social sustainability are materialised and produced in the communities' practices and it studies these processes through observations on communities' management of their daily living environment. As such, the work is predominantly focusing on the relational nature of grassroots' actions, practices and their outcomes vis-à-vis urban environment. Thus, the work emphasises that these grassroots' daily practices do not only reflect communities' capacity to act *per se,* but they are also constructed through the opportunities and limitations imposed on the grassroots by wider societal contexts. Here, the work will use grassroots and communities as synonyms when referring to various urban agencies, but with a slightly differing scope.

In the sociological literature, the notion of a *community* usually refers to two different factors as the main foundations of communities: to the spatial proximity or to the interaction between people (Lehtonen 1990, 16-17). In terms of interaction, in turn, communities can be categorised broadly into acting and symbolic communities (ibid, 24-28). These categories, however, may not appear in their pure forms and are often overlapping. The case communities of this work provide examples of spatial communities like Ebute-Ilaje community and Shomolu compounds in Lagos or interaction between people like the Bantay Usok project in Metro-Manila. While the cases of Ebute-Ilaje and Shomolu in Lagos represent particularly acting communities, the case communities of the Bantay Usok project as well as the gated communities of Alabang Hills and San Lorenzo in Metro-Manila can be characterised as both - acting and symbolic communities.

Grassroots is a term commonly used to address different non-profit and non-governmental movements and organisations acting at the level of the lay-people (see e.g. Mitlin 2004, 123-144; Castells 1997, 187-188). In this work the notion of grassroots refers to the overall level of the urban lay-people and to their different communities. Thus, grassroots has an overarching scope as a concept and it refers to the totality of non-state actors at this level. Both concepts of community and grassroots, in turn, are equated here with the notion of agency referring particularly to the lay-people as capable of taking action as members of different social networks (Giddens 1984, 9). Consequently, the lay-people's daily routines are not just flows of unconscious acts, but they are materialisations of accounted activities which, in turn, are a vital part of our social life. Lay-people's ability to act and to have an impact, in turn, reflects their communities' positions in collective social systems (ibid, 24). Thus, the notion of agency is relational and daily practices, in turn, expose the position communities have in wider urban networks and hierarchies.

As the title of the work indicates, the focus of this work is in the sustainable urban development taking place in the South. The terms *'the South'* or 'the Southern' are used in this work as synonyms for the terms 'developing countries' or the 'Third World'. Although 'the South' and 'the Southern' are generalisations of regions of wide cultural, economic and geographical diversity, they are perceived here as more neutral and suitable than the term 'developing countries'[6]. The term 'developing countries' carries the connotation that these countries are in a process of defined and dynamic development. However, most of the countries that the term wishes to refer to have not experienced positive overall development during the past decades and they have not been able to establish comprehensive policy frameworks to stimulate this development (see also Hardoy et al. 2001, 18). Furthermore, the term refers to this group of countries as 'developing countries' and, as such, inferior to those countries that are already 'developed countries'. Secondly, this work focuses on the social aspects of sustainable development challenges particularly in the *large cities,* often referred to as megacities. In the contemporary urban literature, the term refers to cities with more than 10 million inhabitants (see e.g. Montgomery et al. 2004, 84). However, the term also addresses the increasingly discontinuous, fragmented, polycentric and almost kaleidoscopic socio-spatial structure of these cities (Soja 2000, 235). In addition, these cities have become spaces where First and Third Worlds are 'wrapped' into one (ibid, 153). The existence of these simultaneous realities is enforced by *globalisation* that does not only affect the economics of these cities but it also has an impact on their social and spatial configurations. Globalisation can be perceived as an 'intensification of worldwide social relations which links distant localities in such a way that local happenings are shaped by events occurring many miles away and vice versa' (Giddens 1990, 64). Defined as such, globalisation is an empirical condition of complex connectivity evident in people's everyday lives in these cities. Complex connectivity refers here to different modalities, through which the connectivity is created - social-institutional relationships, 'flow' of goods, people and practices as well as the concrete means of being connected provided by technological developments (Tomlinson 1999, 2).

1.3 Lagos and Metro-Manila as Multidisciplinary Sites

The geographic focus of this study is in two cities - Lagos, Nigeria and Metro-Manila, the Philippines. Including these two cities under the framework of single research process is not meant to indicate that these cities are similar or that they should apply uniform approaches to sustainable development. On the

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6 Notion of the 'South' has been used as a similar attempt of neutral approach for example in the contributions on social policy in development context. In these contributions 'the South' refers to new and diverse societal environments that require new definitions for policy sectors that are commonly perceived as part of the 'northern' societies' tradition (see e.g. Hall & Midgley 2005; Kabeer & Cook 2000).

contrary, this work subscribes to the view that all cities are unique and they require location-specific approaches to address their specific challenges[7]. However, various data included in this research suggests that there is certain convergence in these cities' state of development[8]. Firstly, both of them are primate cities carrying uncontested economic weight in their respective countries. As such, they contain large shares on domestic economic establishments and they serve as national nodes to global networks of trade. Both of these cities also confirm the slogan 'bigger cities mean bigger income' as their average income levels are considerable higher than the national average and incidences of poverty respectively lower. Secondly, despite their role as the national economic 'front-runners', a great number of their inhabitants are marginalised from the direct benefits of the created economic opportunities. The majority of these people also live outside any formal services relying on self-help and private service provisions in unhealthy and increasingly scarce living environments. These observations indicate that the positive effects of these developments seem to be accumulating for certain people while the negative effects are causing vicious cycles for the others.

Finally, large southern cities hold vast diversities of social, cultural, physical, administrative and political structures shaping the everyday life in them. Thus, any research process aiming to grasp the essence of this dynamics needs to hold inherently a multidisciplinary approach (see e.g. Myllylä 2001, 10-11). This particular research links to the tradition of multidisciplinary urban development studies. It has taken advantage of various approaches and is based on open inquiries and multiple engagements by using several techniques of data collection (for similar approaches, see also Simone 2004c; Myllylä 2001). The disciplinary 'anchor' of the research process has been in the field of international social policy as the main target of the research is to contribute to policy designs approaches targeting sustainable development. The theme of the work, in turn, is located in two different disciplinary fields. Firstly, the investigations on the concept of sustainable development and the notion of social sustainability belong to the field of development studies and their theoretical 'wing' that has focused on the contents, preconditions and implications of sustainable development concept (see e.g. Bigg 2004; Carley & Christie 2000; Sachs 2000; Kenny & Meadowcroft 1999; Redclift 1987). Secondly, while focusing on the grassroots, the work has also benefited from the contributions of urban anthropology, particularly from their ways of interpreting daily life as well as their methodologies in doing so (e.g. Zhang 2001; Caldeira 2000; Berner 1997; Davis 1992). Moreover, the theoretical foundation of this work is particularly based on two disciplines - sociology and human geography. In the field of sociology, the work has benefited particularly from the contributions of social theory focusing on agencies, social structures and the interaction between the two (see e.g. Long 2001; Smith 2001; Thrift 1996; Giddens 1984; 1979). In this assessment the work has particularly used the

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7 For a similar approach see also Cohen et al. (1996).

8 For convergence in urban development, see e.g. Cohen (1996).

contributions on social capital as a relational entity (see e.g. Lin 2001; Putnam 2000, 1993; Coleman 1988; Granovetter 1973). Finally, human geography has provided theoretical entry points to study the tensions in urban space (e.g. Soja 2000; Lefebvre 1991; Castells 1983; Harvey 1973). In addition, the analysis on the ways urban space shapes and expresses structural inequalities in the core of sustainable development challenges has greatly benefited from those contributions of human geography that have particularly focused on the organisation of space in large cities (e.g. Caldeira 2002, 2000; Davis 1992).

1.4 From Global Discourses to Everyday Life

The two founding pillars of this research - sustainable development and southern megacities - are approached in this work, firstly, from the level of international declarations and plans of action and, secondly, from the city-wide sustainable development trends in two megacities Lagos and Metro-Manila and, finally, from the daily realities of different urban communities in these cities. The different chapters in this work have the following roles in this multi-levelled approach: Chapter 2 focuses on the international frameworks on sustainable development, particularly on the sustainable development definition presented by the World Commission of Environment and Development (WCED). Here the work assess the approaches to operationalise social sustainability and it subscribes to 'social sustainability' as an alternative approach to the narrow interpretations on the 'social dimension' of sustainable development. Furthermore, the chapter discusses the operationalisation of social sustainability in cities through social policy design. Chapter 3, in turn, provides an overview of Lagos and Metro-Manila by addressing some of the city-specific dimensions crucial for sustainable development. Questions asked in this chapter are 'How does the primacy of Lagos and Metro-Manila materialise in the state of the development in these two cities?', 'What kinds of locations of sustainable development are Lagos and Metro-Manila? and 'How do grassroots benefit from these cities' development potential?'.

Theoretical approaches to the analysis of the grassroots' actions as an indicator of the social sustainability are introduced in Chapter 4. These approaches focus particularly on the relational nature of grassroots' practices. The specific point in the chapter is to assess the ways these practices reflect urban contexts and communities' positions vis-à-vis them and, furthermore, these practices' capacity to express the structural nature of urban inequalities and privileges. Here, also the role of urban space is discussed as a vital dimension of the structuration of daily life. The chapter asks 'What kinds of everyday spaces do southern megacities create at the grassroots?' and 'How are the daily practices structured at the urban grassroots?'.

Chapter 5 goes on to provide details about the research process which consisted of multiple personal engagements with the field. It also discusses

commitment to social change as an overall research approach in this process. Chapter 6 moves to the level of urban grassroots and it presents four case studies on the ways different communities in these cities manage their living environment. The focus of the presentations is, in particular, on the communities' resources, institutional arrangements, operational solutions and their outcomes vis-à-vis the urban environment. The synthesis of the case studies is discussed in Chapter 7. In this chapter the results are presented by highlighting what the cases tell about these two southern megacities as locations for communities' equal participation and enjoyment of development. The synthesis presents the contributions of this work to the overall understanding of the content of social sustainability challenges in these cities. This chapter also discusses the advantages of the chosen research approach in this task. Chapter 8, in turn, discusses the ways the results of this work contribute to the current discourses on comprehensive social policy design and urban governance in strengthening social sustainability and sustainable development. Finally, Chapter 9 will wrap up the work with concluding remarks on its outcomes.

2 TOWARDS SUSTAINABLE URBAN DEVELOPMENT

The concept of sustainable development has been an integral part of international development discourse for two decades. It has also been linked to contemporary discourses on urban development particularly after the Habitat II Conference in Istanbul (1996). In this work the inquiry about the concept's founding discourse focuses particularly on the sustainable development concept as defined by the World Commission of Environment and Development (WCED; known also as the Brundtland Commission). However, the discussion presented here does not focus on the much discussed ambiguity or contested nature of the concept (see e.g. Barraclough 2001). Instead, the focus of the analysis is on the social content of sustainable development and the ways to operationalise it.

Sustainable development is generally constructed through the three dimensions introduced by Agenda 21 in Rio (1992): environmental, economic, social (and cultural) dimensions that target the preservation of the overall environment (see e.g. Elliot 1998, 25-26; Uurtimo 1994, 279). Equity, democratic participation and equal redistribution of resources are, in turn, perceived as its central operational elements. However, when outlining different policy instruments, sustainable development is often reduced to the problematic of development and environment solvable through more efficient service provision[9]. This chapter will assess the potential limitations of the service-oriented 'social' dimension of sustainable development vis-à-vis the overall social nature of sustainable development challenges. As an alternative to the 'social' dimension of sustainable development, the chapter analyses the notion of 'social sustainability' as a comprehensive component of sustainable development.

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9 For this approach in the two case study countries, see e.g. Aina & Salau (1992) (Nigeria) and Soriano, Claudio & Fansler (1994) (the Philippines).

2.1 International Frameworks of Sustainable Development

The notions of environmental preservation in relation to our societies' activities were presented for the first times in international forums in the Conference on Human Environment (Stockholm, 1972) and in the World Conservation Strategy published in 1980. However, the first attempt to analytically combine economic development and environmental conservation with the aspirations of a peaceful and equal future for all was carried out by the World Commission on Environment and Development (WCED) (see e.g. National Research Council 2000). In its report 'Our Common Future' (1987), the commission combined all these three aspirations under the notion of 'sustainable development'. While it gave an impetus to a large amount of literary contributions on the concept and its implications, this document had also a major impact on the international conferences at the turn of the millennium - namely the Earth Summit in Rio de Janeiro in 1992, the Habitat II Summit in Istanbul in 1996 and the World Summit on Sustainable Development in Johannesburg in 2002. While 'Our Common Future' provided the founding principles of sustainable development [10] the international conferences aimed to operationalise the concept at the local, national and international levels.

The Earth Summit in Rio (1992) was the first international forum focusing on sustainable development after the publication of the Brundtland Commission's report. While doing so, the Rio declaration referred explicitly to the three different dimensions of sustainable development, economic and social development as well as environmental protection. The plan of action, Agenda 21[11], presented the overall operational framework of these dimensions. In addition, Agenda 21 placed local governments at the core of implementation and it also identified the roles of other local stakeholders crucial to the success of various sustainable development initiatives. As a result, countries both in the North and the South developed their own national Agenda 21s, in which they identified national sustainable development priorities[12]. In addition, local governments and organisations initiated the implementation of different sectoral Agenda 21 initiatives under national programme umbrellas.

The heritage of 'Our Common Future' and Earth Summit (with Agenda 21) was carried over to the World Summit on Sustainable Development (WSSD) held in Johannesburg in 2002 that re-emphasised the eradication of poverty as the core of sustainable development efforts[13]. The WSSD recognised the

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10 See WCED (1987, 43). For more detailed discussion on the principles, see section 2.2.

11 See Agenda 21 at http://www.un.org/esa/sustdev/documents/agenda21/english/agenda21toc.htm (accessed 20.10.2006)

12 See for example details of the Philippine Agenda 21 and its formulation process at http://pcsd.neda.gov.ph/pcsd.htm (accessed 20.10.2006).

13 See Johannesburg Declaration at http://www.un.org/esa/sustdev/documents/WSSD_POI_PD/English/POI_PD.htm and Plan of Implementation at

interdependence of the three (economic, social and environmental) dimensions of sustainable development (see Johannesburg declaration, para. 5) and, as such, provided a more integrated approach to these dimensions and stated new global commitments towards sustainable development goals (see e.g. Bigg 2004, 6). Following the path set by the Brundtland Report, it placed good governance, sound policies, democratic institutions, the rule of law and anti-corruption measures into the core of sustainable development (see Plan of Implementation para. 4).

When outlining the future challenges of sustainable development, 'Our Common Future' also presents its imperatives to urban development (WCED 1987, 235-258). The report emphasises large southern cities as places of congestion, poverty, slums, poor health and increased environmental burdens. Simultaneously, it identifies fast urban growth and the limited capacities of urban authorities in service provision as the main reasons for these conditions (ibid, 238). This fairly limited interpretation on urban development was enlarged to more positive connotations in Habitat II held in Istanbul (1996), which identified cities as the centres of civilisation and economic growth. In line with the Brundtland report, the Summit's main concern was the continuously deteriorating conditions in large southern cities. In addition, these cities were recognised as places of great social and cultural diversity placing new demands on human solidarity[14]. While building on the experiences of Habitat I (Vancouver, 1976) this Summit grounded its conceptual foundations on the sustainable development interpretations made in Rio. In Istanbul, the sustainable development goals were operationalised through an Agenda that had two different targets, namely 'Adequate Shelter for All' and 'Sustainable Human Settlements Development in an Urbanizing World'. The implementation strategy followed the logic of Agenda 21 placing broad-based civil participation at the heart of Habitat initiatives.

2.2 The 'Social Dimension' of Sustainable Development or Social Sustainability?

'Our Common Future' and its definition on sustainable development have been widely criticised for providing an ambiguous, analytically vague and 'slogan-like' approach to tackle the development disparities of the South (see e.g. Barraclough 2001; Marcuse 1998; Palmer, Cooper & van der Vorst 1997; Jacob 1996; Redclift 1987). However, this document has remained as the main source of defining sustainable development by referring to it as development 'that

http://www.un.org/esa/sustdev/documents/WSSD_POI_PD/English/POIToc.htm (accessed 20.10.2006).

[14] See Istanbul declaration at: http://ww2.unhabitat.org/declarations/istanbul.asp and Habitat Agenda at: http://ww2.unhabitat.org/declarations/habitat_agenda.asp (accessed 20.10.2006).

meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs' (WCED 1987, 43). Here the document provides two integral principles of sustainable development: fulfilling human needs and respecting the planet's ecological limitations. Focusing on the needs, the document emphasises particularly the fulfilment of the needs of the poor. Ecological limitations, in turn, refer to the restrictions of our actions according to the carrying capacity of the planet's environment so that future generations have similar opportunities to fulfil their needs within the four mentioned dimensions. Looking at the international frameworks after the two main sustainable development conferences of Rio and WWSD, the Agenda 21 remains as the main operational framework to operationalise the two principles of sustainable development at national and local levels and through its three dimensions - economic, social and environmental[15]. The social dimension in Agenda 21 is constructed through the overall goal of poverty eradication focusing on the access of employment and service provision[16]. The processes pursuing them in this framework, in turn, are the consultative and multi-stakeholder negotiations through which different sectoral policies are to be designed and conducted.

According to Haughton (1999), sustainable development's principle on equity refers to intergenerational equity between present and future generations, intragenerational equity within contemporary societies, geographical equity referring to environment cost transfers between areas and regions, procedural equity referring to the capacity of legal and political systems to treat all members of society equally. It also includes interspecies equity referring to the importance of biodiversity (ibid). In her analysis on the Brundtland report, Jacob (1996, 46-49) points out that the principle of equity (together with democratic participation, human-human and human-biosphere interdependence) forms the hard or the ethical core of sustainable development. By the term ethical core she refers to the principles, ideas and values that serve as a foundation for the spheres of development (including activities and policies) and indicators assessing them. The relationship between these different layers is a dynamic one and together they produce practical approaches to sustainable development while the ethical core serves as the normative centre that guides the two other layers. The interactive relationship between these different layers implies that the sphere of development has to take a stand on the ethical principles of sustainable development and relate its processes to them. Here, the different interpretations on the contents of sustainable development pose an acute challenge and agreements on the ethical core may not be automatically reached in the sphere of activities and policies (Jacob 1996, 49). Therefore, principles such as equity or democratic participation can remain a technicality: for example, consultative processes may not become integral parts of development processes to share decision-making power or

15 Another important framework is Habitat Agenda. However, it bases its contents on the outcomes of Rio and Agenda 21 (see Habitat Agenda, Chapter 1).

16 See Agenda 21, Section One: Social and Economic Dimensions.

other vital resources but they may remain as platforms of formalities that have to be fulfilled to comply with administrative regulations.

'Our Common Future' suggests that the necessity of social transformations and political reforms enabling them are embedded in the very core of sustainable development (see e.g. Carley & Christie 2000, 32-33; Redclift 1987, 12-14). This means that the 'social dimension' of sustainable development as a service-oriented approach may not be enough to address the overall social character of sustainable development and the potential transformations needed to reach the equity target. This critical role of social sustainability has been increasingly addressed in sustainable urban literature (see e.g. Polèse & Stren 2000; Sachs 2000; Borja & Castells 1997). One of the most comprehensive contributions to the 'social sustainability' in the urban sustainable development have been provided by Polèse and Stren (2000) who have based their analysis on the UNESCO's MOST (Management of Social Transformation) Programme. Polèse and Stren (2000, 15) argue that that social sustainability provides a foundation for sustainable development and successful urban management: cities cannot achieve environmental sustainability if they are not socially sustainable. Here the notion of social sustainability goes beyond sectoral service provision emphasising policies and societal settings conducive for equality:

> 'Social sustainability for a city (…) is compatible with the harmonious evolution of civil society, fostering an environment conducive to the compatible cohabitation of culturally and socially diverse groups while at the same time encouraging social integration, with improvements in the quality of life for all segments of the population' (ibid, 15-16).

A similar interpretation of the contents and the role of social sustainability has been presented by Sachs (2000, 58-62) who considers sustainable development as a 'multidimensional, open-ended and evolutionary construct' in which each dimension has to be fulfilled in order to achieve 'whole development'. In his approach Sachs refers social sustainability to the equitable income distribution, a fair degree of social homogeneity, equal access to livelihoods, resources and services. Social sustainability combines with cultural sustainability that refers to cultural continuity (balance with change and tradition) and self-reliance. Political sustainability, in turn, refers to national democracy and social cohesion (and a balanced international political system). Sachs emphasises that political sustainability has an instrumental value in achieving sustainable development while social sustainability serves both as a medium and as a goal for sustainable development: social justice and equity are imperatives without which sustainable development cannot be achieved or maintained.

The critics of social sustainability have pointed out that the concept may not provide an adequate analytical tool to assess the structural changes implied by sustainable development (see e.g. Hardoy et al. 2001, 351). These critics have pointed out that interpretations on social sustainability remain somewhat vague on what is to be sustained - social relations, costumes or structures? Here the critics, however, limit the notion of social sustainability particularly to that of a technical concept instead of focusing on its capacity to address the social

contexts of our actions. Thus, it is essential that social sustainability is not perceived as a concept that focuses on the configurations of relations or structures themselves, but instead, as an approach that addresses the ways the contents of these relations and structures relate to the target of sustainable development. As such, social sustainability can address the societal preconditions of sustainable development, for example access to livelihoods, services and other societal resources, division of power and participation in decision-making, social integration and cohesion, and the impact of the policies shaping them. As such, it holds the potential of providing an overarching approach to sustainable development and it facilitates addressing those societal structures and institutions that enforce conditions such as poverty, exclusion and marginalisation. Focusing on these processes, in turn, is linked to the target of enforcing healthy human-environment relations and, thus, to the overall goal of preserving the environment.

Agenda 21, the main international framework of sustainable development places its operational focus on 'social dimension' of sustainable development. However, focusing on the 'social dimension' instead of 'social sustainability' may limit the analytical and operational power of Agenda 21's framework (and sustainable development literature in general as commented on by Hardoy et al. [2001]). While focusing on equity and social justice in the deliverance of services by bringing people to the 'negotiation table' and enhancing their capacities to negotiate, the 'social dimension' approach may lack structural analysis on the factors that have hindered their participation in the first place. Thus, this approach holds the danger of reducing participation to an unproblematic mechanism that is expected to produce desired results as soon as they are implemented. As pointed out earlier in this chapter, the Agenda 21 framework has been able to recognise inequality as the main challenge of sustainable development, but the analysis of the structural nature of this inequality is missing. As such, Agenda 21 and the local agendas derived from it may inherently take a passive stance in enforcing structural changes (e.g. transformations in governance structures, land ownership or financing systems) which are fundamental for the success of the initiatives themselves[17]. This, in turn, has led to 'business-as-usual' solutions for sustainable development without an adequate social and political agenda (see also Castro 2004, 220).

2.3 Assessing Social Sustainability for Sustainable Cities

The focus of sustainable city discourses has been on the frameworks of providing a safe living environment for the increasing amount of urban residents (particularly in the South) while safeguarding the ecological limits of urban environment. These overarching goals have served as common

17 See e.g. McGranahan et al. (2004, 123-129) on the importance of structural changes resulted from political reforms to the success of local Agenda 21 initiatives.

denominators in the interpretations on sustainable cities. However, contributions in sustainable development literature have contained variations in their emphasis on how to approach these goals: much of the sustainable cities discourses have concentrated on urban environmental problems (e.g. Hardoy et al. 2001; 1997; 1992; McGranahan et al. 2001; IIED 2001). In addition to policy implications, these contributions have reviewed the overall ecological challenges and limits of cities through 'green' and 'brown' agendas (e.g. McGranahan & Satterthwaite 2000; Leitmann 1999; Williams 1997) as well as cities 'ecological footprints' (Rees 1995, 1992). Analyses on environmental problems have also reviewed urban sectoral programmes and their imperatives to achieve sustainable development (e.g. Satterthwaite 1999a; Pugh 1996a). Since Habitat II, sustainable cities discourses have provided a vast number of process descriptions of programmes and initiatives related to Agenda 21 and local conceptualisations on sustainable development (e.g. Environment & Urbanization 1992; 1998; 1999; 2000). Several contributions have also emphasised the overall management (e.g. Cohen 2001; Borja & Castells 1997) and governance (e.g. Evans et al. 2005; Tostensen et al. 2001) of sustainable cities. Finally, an increasing amount of literature has focused on the social and cultural diversities within the cities and the ways these forces could be used for the quest of urban sustainability (e.g. Carley et al. 2001; Cohen et al. 1996).

There is no agreement in the contemporary literature on the definition of sustainable cities, however, post-WCED contributions widely agree on them as spaces that deliver equitable social, political and economic development while respecting the limitations set by the environment. While the majority of the literature has refrained from defining sustainable cities, the most analytical attempts have been presented by Hardoy, Mitlin and Satterthwaite (e.g. Hardoy et al. 1992; 1997; 2001; Satterthwaite 1999b; Mitlin & Satterthwaite 1996). Based on their analysis of sustainable urban development literature, these authors argue that 'sustainable city' remains a distorted concept because it does not provide clarifications on the needed prerequisites of these cities. Secondly, they claim that the concept leads to approaches that perceive cities as isolated social, economic and ecological systems when targeting sustainable development goals (Satterthwaite 1999b, 97; Mitlin & Satterthwaite 1996, 35; see also Myllylä & Kuvaja 2005)[18]. These two observations are valuable but they do not necessarily have to lead to the abandonment of the concept itself. On the contrary, they call for further attempts to define the actual focus of a 'sustainable city'. Surprisingly enough, the critical reviews themselves provide a fruitful ground to sharpen the contents of the concept. While discussing his critique on 'sustainable city' further, Satterthwaite (1999b, 97) defines that sustainable development seeks to

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[18] The critique of Hardoy, Mitlin and Satterthwaite on the concept of sustainable cities also includes observations on the notions of 'sustainability'. These points will be discussed more in detail in the next section when discussing the 'social dimension' of sustainable development.

> 'meet human needs in settlements of all sizes without depleting environmental capital. This means seeking the institutional and regulatory framework in which democratic and accountable city and municipal authorities ensure that the needs of the people within their boundaries are addressed while minimizing and transferring of environmental costs to other people and ecosystems or into the future.'

Here, sustainable development refers particularly to laws and policies implementing sustainable development while putting the processes of governance and city authorities into its centre (see also Hardoy et al. 2001, 361-364). This definition, however, does not take a stance on the equity as a fundamental aspect of sustainable development (see also section 2.2.). Based on the formulations of Satterthwaite, with this modification of equity, sustainable cities are referred to in this work as

> 'cities that meet human needs *and provide all members the equal opportunity to fulfil their potential* without depleting environmental capital. This implies seeking the institutional and regulatory framework in which democratic and accountable city authorities ensure that the needs of the people within their boundaries are addressed *equally* while minimizing and transferring of environmental costs to other people and ecosystems or into the future'.

Social sustainability in the context of sustainable cities, in turn, has been conceptualised in the approaches as 'inclusive cities' (e.g. UNCHS 2000). The aim of these approaches has been to focus on the physical, social and economic conditions of exclusion and, thus, to address those structures and institutions that hinder equal participation in decision-making and in the enjoyment of various opportunities. UNCHS (ibid, 200) has identified the normative goals of 'inclusive cities' as decentralisation and local participatory democracy, efficiency, equity and security. Empowerment of the people is a fundamental component of these goals. Empowerment, in turn, requires simultaneous structural changes to open social and political spaces to facilitate the inclusion of various groups at the negotiation table (Pieterse 2005; Fainstein 2005). Thus, actions are needed at micro- and macro-levels to address both of these challenges.

The view that various policy sectors hold the potential of enhancing social sustainability in a development context represents an approach that can be referred to as broad social policy design (Hall & Midgley 2004, 6-8). Here, social policy does not refer to a single sector that provides a set of activities (e.g. social services and safety networks), but it is perceived as an approach for collective interventions that affect transformations in overall social welfare, social institutions and social relations (Mkandawire 2001)[19]. As such, the notion of broad social policy aims to address the structural focus of policies important for 'inclusive city' targets and it consists of strategies that are embedded in different sectoral policies. For example, urban sectors such as basic services,

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[19] Social welfare refers here to access to adequate livelihoods and income, and social relations refer to a wide range of social interaction from household to global levels (Mkandawire 2001, 1). Social institutions, in turn, refer to regularised practices that are structured by the rules and norms of society (Giddens 1979). Social institutions can be both formal and informal.

urban land and housing as well as transportation can have an impact beyond their sectoral focus if their respective policies are designed and implemented as part of a collective strategy. Polèse and Stren (2000, 16-34) have pointed out that these sectoral policies may seem uninteresting vis-à-vis the goals of social sustainability. However, they may play an important role in an overall approach to enhanced participation and enabling structures as aspects of strengthened social sustainability.

Aiming at concerted and feasible efforts to enforce wider social transformations capable of producing equal opportunities at the grassroots requires policy design that is combined with a comprehensive analysis on daily life in different segments of the grassroots. Thus, broad social policy approach requires analysis that does not only focus on the urban communities' needs and assets, but also on the macro-level opportunities and constraints that shape these needs, assets and their outcomes. This two-way approach to policy analysis can be anchored to the concept of 'sustainable livelihoods' that has been developed to facilitate multilayered analysis related to opportunities and constraints at the community level (Farrington et al. 1999; Scoones 1998). The concept of livelihoods is understood here as the totality of capabilities and assets (material and social) and activities required for a means of living (Farrington et al. 1999, 2). Sustainable livelihoods framework has been used particularly in rural contexts, but the division of 'rural' and 'urban' in the use of this framework is somewhat artificial as urban livelihoods expose the same intertwined nature of contexts, resources, strategies and outcomes as the rural ones (Scoones 1998, 17). The concept underlines the two-layered nature of communities' actions: on one hand communities' investments to their asset-building are driven by their own needs and priorities, while options, as well as the outcomes of these assets, are determined by wider structural factors. In the policy analysis the concept of sustainable livelihoods operationalises this interrelated nature of micro- and macro-levels, their impact on various community resources and the materialisation of livelihood strategies and, finally, the outcomes of communities' actions (ibid, 3-5). These reviews therefore provide opportunities to assess the ways wider social relationships and institutions shaping them affect social differences and distributions of control over resources at the urban grassroots. This, in turn, provides insights for the design of interventions targeting transformations towards inclusion, i.e. equity in participation and enjoyment of development.

This work subscribes to the view embedded in the sustainable livelihoods approach on grassroots as an active resource for policy design. As such, the significance of grassroots is perceived particularly as a dimension in policy analysis. In Chapter 4 I will discuss more in detail the theoretical foundations of grassroots' practices and activities through the concept of 'social capital' and the relational nature of grassroots' actions embedded in this concept. In addition Chapter 6 will use a modified 'sustainable livelihoods' approach to provide case studies on grassroots' practices and activities when encountering the challenge of producing adequate living environment. Finally, in Chapter 7 I

will present the synthesis on how these cases highlight social sustainability challenges in the two large southern cities. However, before turning to the discussion in more detail, the following chapter will have a closer look at the case cities Lagos and Metro-Manila as specific locations of sustainable development.

3 UNIQUE LOCATIONS OF SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT: LARGE CITIES IN THE SOUTH

Visiting almost any southern megacity leaves one with two key observations. Firstly, the overall physical features of these cities seem to have resemblances contrary to their geographical and cultural differences. This is particularly exposed in these cities' business and financial districts which contain highly uniform architecture, organisation of space and variety of amenities. These areas do not only resemble each other, but they are also similar to the business quarters of their northern counterparts. Furthermore, all southern megacities also contain areas where urban problems pronounce themselves in striking and very analogous ways - these are the numerous squatters and low-income neighbourhoods where the production of the daily living environment is based on self-help and meagre resources. Simultaneously, the upper-class areas of these cities follow their respective consistent patterns of generous spaces, quietness and seclusion. The second observation, in turn, is the simultaneity of these different realities. In effect, while moving around in a southern megacity and confronting these disparities, one finds it difficult to comprehend that all these stark contrasts exist basically in the same geographic space.

Large cities in the South are commonly perceived as nodes or new spatial materialisations of globalisation (Marcuse & van Kempen 2002; 3-10; Soja 2000, 189-232; Castells 2000, 434-440). Although globalisation is not the only 'force' or 'process' shaping large cities in the South, it is considered to be one of the fundamental denominators of the urbanisation process (e.g. Devas 2004, 27-30). Globalisation as an international connectedness and as flow of people, goods, money and symbols is not a new phenomenon. However, its impact is increasingly intensifying and its scope in the urban South is enlarging from economic to social, political, cultural and spatial dimensions (UN-Habitat 2004, 10-30). Globalisation also enforces increasingly complex intra-city, domestic, regional and international networks and relations creating new dependencies and alliances.

Globalisation is not only a process of convergence despite the observations of some similar features within large (southern) cities (Cohen 1996, 26).

Furthermore, to perceive globalisation as a one-way domination of the West is too limited to explain the new complexities arising in different parts of the world (Giddens 1994, 96). Consequently, cities (or societies) are not just passive receivers of global influences. Although the underlying economic and technological patterns of globalisation might be uniform, each city has its distinct political, societal and cultural structures that result in unique ways of how global interacts with local forces (see Borja & Castells 1997, 16-44). This creates location-specific materialisations of globalisation while cities themselves become more diverse, complex and multifaceted than ever.

Here, globalisation is perceived as an inherently uneven process based on intensified accumulation of capital while enforcing traditional inequalities and at the same time creating new ones (Giddens 2003; Hines 2000; Tomlinson 1999). Just as cities themselves are competing for the positions of power in the global network (see e.g. Sassen 2001), various players within the cities are able to take advantage of the opportunities brought by globalisation in an uneven way. However, even those marginalised from these opportunities are affected by the process and the impact of the globalisation is in many cases felt more concretely by them. This is the paradigmatic experience of globalisation as by staying in one place lay-people face the 'displacement' that globalisation brings to them (Tomlinson 1999, 9). As pointed out in the beginning of this chapter, southern cities contain spatial 'global pockets' that are highly connected to international economic and informational networks while being disconnected from their immediate social and physical surroundings (Borja & Castells 1997, 28). Disconnectedness does not mean, however, that these pockets would not have an impact on the surrounding city - on the contrary. The effects of these global nodes are dualistic: while producing a trickle-down-effect by providing livelihood opportunities to the growing number of urban dwellers, they also enforce marginalisation and urban vulnerabilities as intensified competition and increased prices of land leave an increasing number of people unable to satisfy their basic needs[20].This twofold impact has been often described as a 'dual city' phenomenon (Berner & Korff 1995; Castells 1989; see also Susser 2002). Although the concept is quite simplistic in describing the multiplicity in the materialisation of various realities in these cities, it is able to grasp the simultaneity of growth and decline in them.

Due to its tendency to enforce local complexities as well as inequalities, globalisation is a process that also reshapes some of the core aspects of sustainable development and social sustainability in these cities. Social justice is particularly challenged by economic disparities and an increasingly scarce urban environment while governance, as a management process to produce equality, is becoming more fragmented and pressured. The purpose of this chapter is to give an overall picture of some of these dimensions in Lagos and Metro-Manila. The purpose is not to construct a uniform picture of the two

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20 The dual impact of globalisation has been widely argued particularly in the context of Asian cities. For some of the recent contributions on Asia and Metro-Manila, see Shatkin (2004), Douglass (2000) and Berner & Korff (1995).

cities because it is not, in any terms, possible. Furthermore, the 'level' of globalisation in African cities, in general, is different compared to those of Southeast Asia (e.g. van der Merve 2004, 38-43). While recognising fundamental differences in the development and organisation of these cities, the aim of this chapter is to highlight some of the aspects within these cities in order to provide city-specific insights for the theoretical framework and presented case studies.

3.1 Lagos – A Fast Growing African Megacity

Lagos started to develop in the fifteenth century as a small fisherman village called 'Eko' and has held an uncontested position in post-colonial Nigeria as the country's socio-economic hub. Lagos served as a federal capital until 1992 when the government was removed to Abuja. Despite this shift, Lagos still remains as the country's economic and even political centre.

Metropolitan Lagos contains 17 local government areas (LGAs) out of the total 20 in the Lagos State[21]. Metropolitan Lagos occupies a land area of 1088 km², which is approximately 32 per cent of the entire State while it holds more than 80 per cent of state's inhabitants (Lagos State Handbook 1995). Uncontested demographic figures on the current size of city's population are difficult to find. However, it is currently estimated to have close to 15 million inhabitants (Okunlola 2004, 56). UN-Habitat (2004, 70) has forecasted that with the current growth Metropolitan Lagos is going to be the world's 11th largest urban system by 2015 with more than 16 million inhabitants.

[21] According to Okunlola (2004) local governments in the State were subdivided in 2002 resulting in a total of 57 local government areas. However, this division has been contested and the original number of local government areas remains in effect (personal communication with Cyril Obi, Nordic Africa Institute).

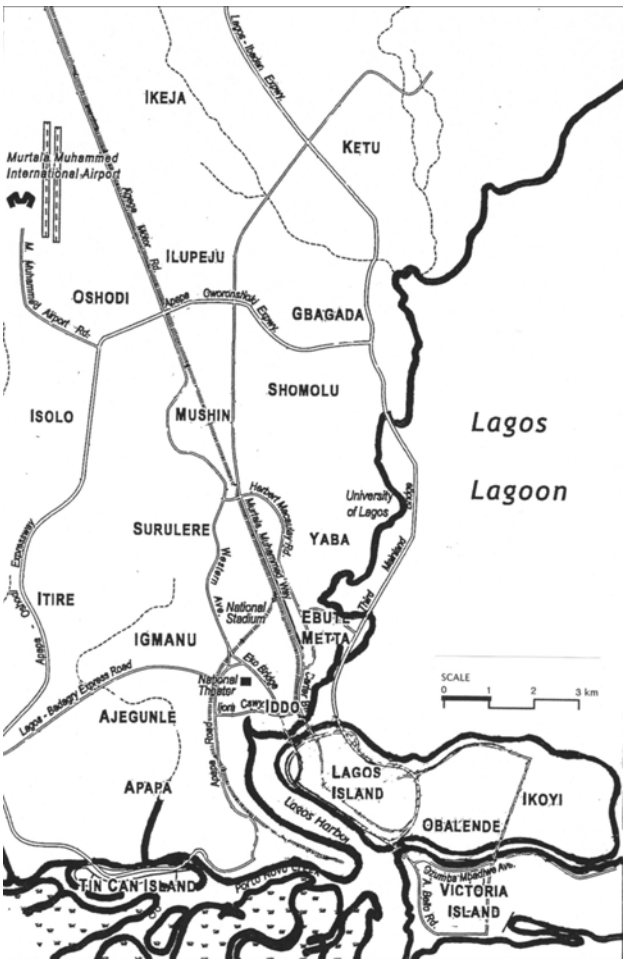

FIGURE 1 Map of Lagos[22]

FIGURE 2 A view of Lagos towards Lagos Island (Uuve Södor)

22 Modified from Falola & Salm (2004).

The street life of Lagos reveals the whole array of urban life: people, trade stalls, repair shops, cars, bicycles, food providers, garbage are mixed together exposing all the different elements of the urban life. The city is packed with residential buildings and commercial areas and only less than 3 per cent of the city's space is considered as 'open' (NEST 1991, 226-228). The population density varies from 4000 to 20 000 habitants per square kilometre depending on the areas' eco-social profiles (Okunlola 2004, 56). The highest densities are found in the mainland's low-income areas like Shomolu[23]. Consequently, the lowest densities exist in the tip of Lagos Island (Ikoyi) and Victoria Island which both cater to the urban upper-class with green and spacious housing estates or contemporary condominium buildings. While business districts with high-glass towers and luxury amenities are factually missing in Lagos, these two areas represent the city's global nodes by providing spaces for local elites, international companies and containing little 'pockets' of amenities where 'the North' is present.

FIGURE 3 A typical view of a Lagosian street (Bidemi Coker)

23 Shomolu is the Local Government Area where the cases studies of this research were conducted (see Chapter 6).

FIGURE 4 High residential densities of Lagos Mainland (Kristiina Kuvaja)

The spatial structure of Lagos holds a dualistic character: while experiencing new spatial and social mixtures through emerging wealth and intense migration, the city also contains structures that are deeply rooted in kinship, ethnic homogeneity and communal land tenure (Agbola 1997; Peil 1991). This has resulted in a city where inhabitants are not segregated only based on wealth, but the residential localities are also determined by ethnicity or profession creating variations in the city's spatial organisation. Overall, the public body responsible for the physical planning of Metro Lagos is Lagos State Development and Property Corporation (LSDPC). However, the role of urban planners in Lagos has remained somewhat marginal and the implementation of the overall development plans has been perceived a failure (Makinde 2002; Uduku 1994; Peil 1991). The effects of this failure can be observed throughout the city as privately organised solutions for a deteriorating infrastructure. Hence, management of the daily living environment in Lagos is primarily about self-help and networking, private innovation and survival throughout the whole urban array from the street levels to city-wide management.

3.1.1 State of the Environment

Environmental policies and planning were absent in Nigerian legal framework until the early 1980s when the Fourth National Development plan (1980-1985) recognised environmental planning as part of the framework (Okeke 2004, 192; Rinne-Koistinen 2004, 50). However, in the beginning the focus was on the War Against Indiscipline (WAI) that aimed to control environmental degradation through control and punishment. Its most visible element is the so-called Environmental Sanitation Programme that is still operational in Metropolitan Lagos. The specific purpose of the programme is to enforce environmental management at the grassroots level. However, communities have remained

highly critical of the programme due its negative atmosphere (Rinne-Koistinen 2004, 53-54; see also Obi 2003)[24].

Since WAI the Nigerian legal environmental framework is based on the Urban and Regional Planning Degree (1992) and Environmental Impact Assessment Act (1992). In addition, their implementation has been enforced by the National Policy on the Environment (1999). Urban development, in turn, is guided through National Urban Development Policy (1993) and National Housing Policy (1991)[25]. The purpose of these policies has been to provide a framework for the provision of sustainable living environment and decent housing for all within the foreseeable future. However, the laws have been criticised as enforcing a top-down approach to environmental challenges and they are not seen as encouraging the participation as well as the identification of the communities' needs (see e.g. Ali-Akpajiak & Pyke 2003; FEPA 1999). Thus, Metropolitan Lagos remains as one of the megacities struggling with living environment that hierarchical administration and colonial heritage in policy design have not been able to address.

Lagos has been referred to as one of the dirtiest or unhealthiest cities in the world in various international comparisons (see e.g. Makinde 2002; 129-131; Peil 1991, 188). However, accurate data on the state of the city's environment is difficult to find. Firstly, in terms of air quality, the legislative framework or set standards for the emission monitoring are lacking and the air quality of Lagos is not measured systematically. The air quality is confronted particularly by the high level of vehicle emissions: an average of a million vehicles are on the city's roads on a daily basis using leaded petrol. This results in a daily lead injection of 3 tonnes into the air of Lagos (Taiwo 2005). This is considered high compared to the land area occupied by the city. Secondly, water is the most dominant environmental element in Lagos as the city has developed along the Lagos lagoon and water as well as wetlands cover over 40 per cent of the State's area. One of the main environmental concerns in Lagos is the inadequate collection, treatment and disposal of sewage and related wastewater. Much of the wastewater is discharged into the lagoon resulting in high quantities of harmful organisms as well as heavy metals in the water (Iwugo et al. 2003). Furthermore, the severely blocked drainage system has made Lagos a 'flooding city' and during the rainy season the flood water runs into the wells and lagoon bringing masses of household waste, human excreta and industrial waste into them (ibid). In addition to the direct negative impact on humans, the pollution is affecting the bio-diversity of the lagoon as well as the fishery stocks critical for the livelihoods of many poor communities residing along the lagoon. For example, the members of the Ebute-Ilaje community (see cases in Chapter 6)

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24 For observations of communities' negative reactions to the sanitation programme in other cities, see e.g. Gbadegesin (1994).

25 Two earlier pieces of legislation are also crucial for urban development, namely The Land Use Degree (1978) and Building Adoptive Bye Law (1960). For short descriptions of the legal and policy frameworks see e.g. Okeke (2004) and Ali-Akpajiak & Pyke (2003).

had experienced a decrease in the fish catch and this, in turn, challenged the basis of their traditional livelihood.

3.1.2 Urban Services

According to regional estimates, more than 70 per cent of the African urban population live in squatters or slums (UN-Habitat 2004, 70). Lack of adequate housing is a prevalent need also in Lagos and the landscape in many parts of the city is dominated by temporary and illegal housing. However official figures on squatters are difficult to avail. More than ten years ago the number of illegally residing residents was estimated to be hundreds of thousands (NEST 1991, 215). The growth trends of the city suggest that the current number may run in seven digits. In addition to illegal areas, the city has vast residential areas that are degrading due to management negligence while becoming increasingly dense because of continuous migration. One of the results is that the majority of the households in Lagos live in single-room dwellings, for example in face-me-face-you -houses[26]. For example, this is the case in the Shomolu local government area, which is the location of the two case studies presented.

While Metropolitan Lagos grows, also the amount of waste produced in absolute terms is on the increase. The projected numbers of generated waste in the city in the year 2000 were close to a million tons (NEST 1991, 231). For comparison, the same year the Metropolitan Helsinki area with a population of 1.3 million dumped the same amount of waste into its dumpsites[27]. Although the absolute amount of waste may still be modest in Lagos compared to northern cities, the challenge relies on the segregation, recycling and adequate disposal of this waste[28]. According to the official estimates more than a third of the waste in Lagos is disposed illegally or it is not disposed at all (FOS 1997, 66). While government facilities are lacking, self-help and innovation is the major resource and close to 90 per cent of waste collections in Lagos are channelled through private or other means (FOS 2004, 99; see also Kuvaja 2001). Furthermore, the city is not equal in terms of waste collection services: streets in areas such as Ikoyi and Victoria Island tend to be freer from waste than the streets of lower-class areas[29].

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26 Average household size in both rural and urban areas is five persons (FOS 2004, 25).

27 Source Uusimaa Regional Environment Center: www.ymparisto.fi (accessed 20.10.2006).

28 The process of waste collection in Lagos is taken care of by a specialised agency Lagos State Waste Management Authority (LAWMA).

29 This argument is based on my own observations in Lagos during the years 1996-1999. Similar observations on the favouring of the elite areas in waste management has been made also by NEST (1991, 232).

FIGURE 5 A typical state of sewage system in Lagos (Bidemi Coker)

The coverage of the pipe borne water in Lagos is close to 35 per cent (FOS 2004, 100). The second main sources of water are bore holes. Although official statistics claim that the majority of Lagosians are provided with a safe source of water, several observations indicate that the provision of a regular and safe water supply is still beyond the reach of many residents (see e.g. Järvelä & Rinne-Koistinen 2005; Kuvaja 2001; NEST 1991). Electricity coverage in Lagos, in turn, is estimated over 96 per cent. However, the efficiency of the high coverage can be contested when making transcent walks in any parts of the city: due to erratic provision of electricity most of the affluent houses have a generator in their backyards while kerosene is the main source of lighting and cooking in poorer areas. The reputation of the erratic power supply is reflected in the phrase Lagosians use for the acronym of National Electronic Power Authority (NEPA): 'Never Electricity, Power Anywhere!'[30]

3.1.3 Economic Development

Lagos is the economic centre of Nigeria: it contains 60 per cent of the nation's financial and commercial establishments, takes up 90 per cent of the nation's foreign trade and 80 per cent of the total value of national imports (Lagos State Handbook 1995; Aina et al. 1994, 205).

'Bigger cities mean better income' is somewhat true also in the case of Lagos as the mean income in the city is twice as high as the national average (FOS 2004, 54). The main sources of male income vary from industrial production to sales and clerking while the main female income (68 %) comes

30 This riddle with the NEPA's acronym is commonly used to express people's feelings about the constant power cuts in the city. The riddle, however, may find new forms in the future as NEPA was changed to PHCN (Power Holding Company of Nigeria) in May 2005.

from trading (FOS 1994). The unemployment rates in Lagos, and the whole country, are difficult to determine due to the versatile base of income generation. However, the official estimates in the beginning of 2000 have varied from 20 to 50 per cent (EIU 2005, 29). In addition, innovativeness in income generation is a rule as close to 60 per cent of the urban population is self-employed (FOS 2004, 39). Finally, there are no accurate numbers to determine the actual size of the informal sector in the city. However, at the national level the informal sector is estimated to comprise half of the economy and the self-employment figures indicate that the same share of the economy in Metropolitan Lagos is operated outside the formal structures.

In 2004, only 11 per cent of the Lagosian population was considered as poor according to official poverty threshold measures. However, at the same time more than 70 per cent of the residents rated themselves as poor in the self-assessed poverty measures (FOS 2004, 20). Thus, although the income level in Lagos is double the national average, it does not necessarily reveal the real purchasing power of Lagosian salaries nor does it reveal other aspects of poverty such as experiences of inadequate service provision, social exclusion, powerlessness or vulnerability.

3.2 Metro-Manila – A Globalising Asian Metropolitan Region

Manila was founded in 1571 as a seat of the Spanish colonial government. The city grew steadily due to galleon trade and gradually developed into a centre of domestic industrial production. As a seat of the government and as the location of the biggest harbour and growing domestic production, Metro-Manila become a primate city in size and economic weight that is unique in the world[31]. As a leading city of the country, Metro-Manila attracts migrants at an annual rate of 100 000 people (van Naerssen 2003, 437). Presently, more than a third of the country's urban population lives in Metro-Manila[32].

Metro-Manila consists of 13 cities and four municipalities comprising of a total area of 636 square kilometres. Metro-Manila's population is currently estimated at 10 million and it is growing at an annual rate of 1.06 per cent[33]. At the current growth rate Metro-Manila is expected to join the extensive Asian urban agglomerations called Metropolitan Urban Regions (MURs) comprising

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31 Metro-Manila holds up to a quarter of Gross National Production (GNP) and is ten times bigger than Davao, which is the second biggest city in the Philippines (see Caoili 1999, 65).

32 If taking into account the whole Metropolitan Urban Region (see also note no. 49), areas' share of national urban population is more than 50 per cent (ADB 2004, 12)

33 The population growth in Metro-Manila has been on the decrease in the last years and is less than half of the national population growth. See census at www.census.gov.ph (accessed 20.10.2006)

of several cities over the CALABARZON region[34]. UN-Habitat (2004, 63) estimates that Metro-Manila MUR will consist of a total of 30 million inhabitants by 2020.

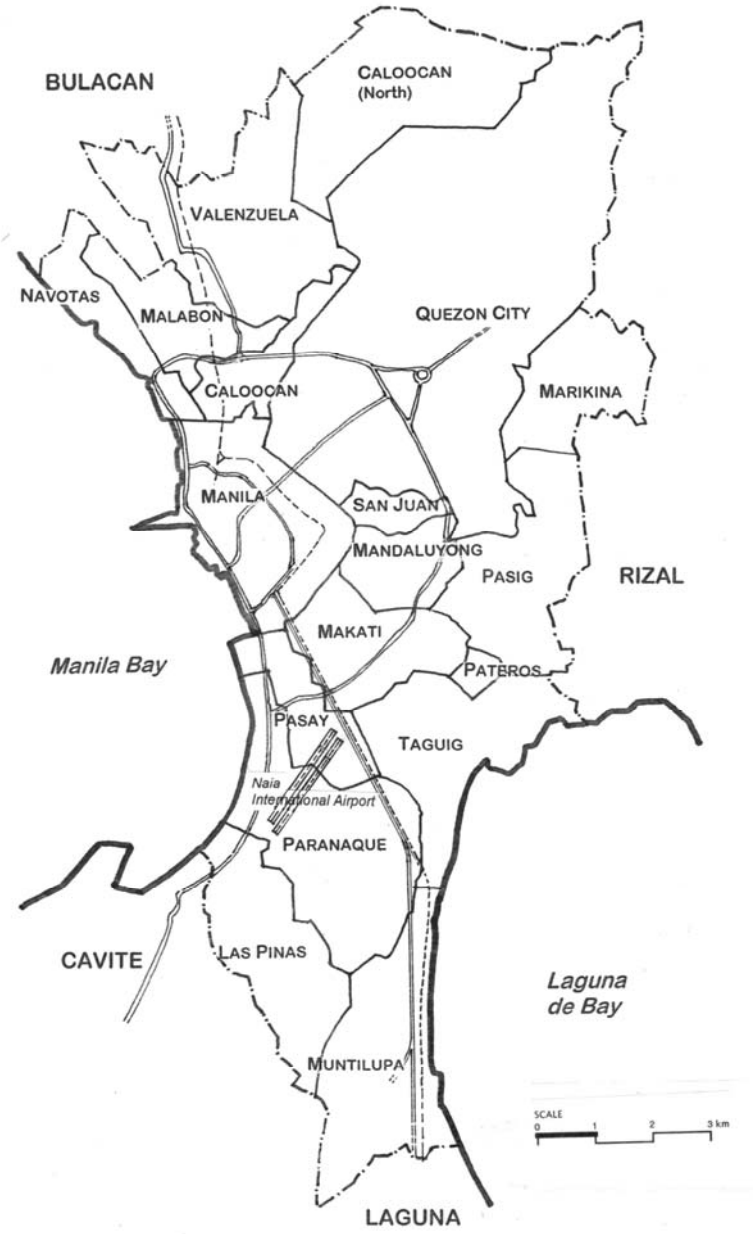

FIGURE 6 Map of Metro-Manila[35]

[34] CALABARZON is an abbreviation widely used on the provinces surrounding (and partly overlapping) with Metro-Manila, i.e. Cavite-Laguna-Batangas-Rizal-Quezon.

[35] Modified from World Wide Web Find. See at www.webenglish.com.tw/encyclopedia/m/me/metro_manila.html (accessed 20.10.2006).

FIGURE 7 A view from Manila City to Makati City (Kristiina Kuvaja)

A high population growth has resulted in a constant increase in the city's population densities. The average density is close to 15 000 inhabitants per square kilometre, however, the highest density is in the municipality of Navotas where close to 90 000 people live in a square kilometre (ADB 2004, 12). In the elite areas like Forbes Park in Makati, the same area can hardly accommodate 300 households[36]. On the whole, 65 per cent of the city's land is used for residential purposes and the figure has been growing steadily (Oreta 1996, 156). A large part of the growth has been taken by the middle- and upper-class housing estate developments leaving significant shortages in low-income housing. Open spaces, in turn, comprise of a total of eight per cent of the city's area while one per cent is left for parks, etc (ibid). As Metro-Manila has a very limited amount of space for recreation, the inhabitants have adjusted their way of life to other types of 'public' spaces: those who can afford, spend their leisure time in shopping centres by 'malling', while those with less means have 'taken over' streets as places of socialising, shopping or dining out.

[36] The average size of a housing lot in Forbes Park is 3500 m² (van Naerssen 1993).

FIGURE 8 A view of a low-income area in Manila City (Kristiina Kuvaja)

FIGURE 9 A view of an upper-class gated community in Makati City (Kristiina Kuvaja)

Metro-Manila's physical features reflect to a large extent those of any southern megacity in the global urban network. Metro-Manila's business centres like Makati and Mandaluyong are leading business districts in Asia with sky scrapers, upper-class shopping centres and top international hotels. However, the local 'reach' of these amenities remains restricted and they have become 'pockets' of the global trade and wealth in an urban environment that has severe deficiencies in its basic infrastructure. These big spatial differences are not only a result of global trade as Metro-Manila has been a spatially segregated city from its very foundation. In the beginning, the walled city '*Intramuros*' was

constructed for the ruling elite to isolate them from the Chinese, Japanese and native Filipino population (e.g. Joaquin 1999; Reyes 1998; Serote 1991). During the centuries, ethnicity gave way to wealth as a basis of residential segregation. As a result, Metro-Manila has been perceived as the 'Los Angeles of the tropics' where the economic and political elite segregates itself into gated communities creating exclusive one-class havens with luxury amenities (e.g. Connell 1999). The continued emergence of spacious upper-class areas simultaneously with dramatic shortages of low-cost housing has been made possible by an influential land-owning elite and the local government's inefficient land management (see e.g. Kuvaja forthcoming). These developments have made inclusion and exclusion some of the dominant characteristics of Metro-Manila.

3.2.1 State of the Environment

Citizens' right to a healthy environment is declared in the Constitution of the Philippines. In addition, the number of separate pieces of environmental legislation and authorities implementing them is impressive[37]. The basic environmental legislation was put in place in the 1970s (under the Martial Law). However, the latest years have particularly witnessed the enactment of central pieces of legislation, namely the Clean Air Act (1999), Ecological Solid Waste Management Act (2000) and Clean Water Act (2004). The main ethos of the environmental legislation in the Philippines is command-and-control and Philippine environmental legislation does not entail provisions for market-based initiatives nor does it encourage voluntary compliance of targeted objectives (ADB 2001).

There is a variety of policies in the Philippines that regulate the development of the urban environment. However, the most vital national development policy, Medium-Term Development Plan (MTDP; currently 2005-2010) provides the policy objectives for urban development and lays down measures for infrastructure, services, housing and finance while also containing a special development module for Metro-Manila[38]. The overarching development goals have also been stipulated in the national sustainable development strategy, the Agenda 21[39]. The MTDP and the National Agenda 21 provide an overall strategy for urban development and it is the Local Government Code (1991) that provides Local Governments Units (LGUs) the main responsibility and high autonomy in the provision of the environmental management and land use. The spirit of the legislation has been efficiency through decentralisation. However, several observations (ADB 2001; Shatkin 2000; Santiago 1996) point out that management of environmental and land use still face many shortcomings due to the lack of institutional coherence,

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37 For more detailed information on the structure of the environmental legislation and implementing bodies, see World Bank (2002) and ADB (2001).

38 See current MTDP at http://www.neda.gov.ph (accessed 20.10.2006).

39 Philippine Agenda 21 was acted by President Ramos in 1995 and the national strategy was published by Philippine Council for Sustainable Development in 1997 (PCSD 1997).

resources and capacities at the local level. In addition, LGUs are reluctant to make politically sensitive decisions on environmental resources and land use. While LGUs are responsible for the development of their respective areas, Metro Manila Development Authority (MMDA) is assigned to oversee the metropolis-wide development. However, the role of MMDA is often contested by LGUs and central government authorities making MMDA an agency conducting *ad hoc* initiatives instead of pursuing a comprehensive plan for the metropolis.

One of the most pronounced environmental challenges of Metro-Manila is the air pollution and the city has been rated as one of the most polluted cities in the world (Oreta 1996, 161; see also Kuvaja 2003)[40]. Up to 60 per cent of the pollution comes from the vehicles roaming on Metro-Manila's roads (ibid). In addition to the government's efforts (e.g. Clean Air Act) civil society has reacted to the air pollution challenge through initiatives like Bantay Usok (see case studies in Chapter 6)[41]. The living environment in Metro-Manila has been dominated by the presence of water: the city is located on the shores of Manila Bay and the rivers of the Pasig river system form a network of little rivers or *esteros* throughout various parts. Both domestic and industrial wastes (their direct discharge to rivers and the leachate water generated in open dumpsites) burden heavily the water quality in Metro-Manila. As a result, the five rivers of Pasig River System extending to Metro-Manila have been classified as 'biologically dead' (World Bank 2004, 31). Despite the government's rehabilitation efforts in the beginning of the decade, the monitoring report in 2003 indicated worsened water quality in the river (see also Kuvaja 2003). In addition, Manila Bay contains high level of contaminants such as human excreta, lead and mercury as well as pesticides, some of them brought into the sea by the river system (ibid). The Pasig River - 'the river of life' - that used to be the source of livelihood and well-being to the inhabitants of the city, has become a green and smelly monument of the unequal and even parasitic urban growth.

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40 There are indications that the incidence of Total Suspended Particles (TSP) in Metro-Manila's air is on the decline. However, the level of TSP in Metro-Manila's air shed is beyond the WHO standards. See e.g. Republic of the Philippines (2005, 93) and World Bank (2004, 24).

41 According to a survey conducted in January 2005, the majority of Metro-Manila's residents are concerned about the air pollution in the city. See survey results at www.cleanairnet.org (accessed 20.10.2006).

FIGURE 10 Traffic in EDSA Avenue is one of the biggest polluters in Metro-Manila (Kristiina Kuvaja)

3.2.2 Urban Services

Official estimates on the illegal settlers or squatters in Metro-Manila vary between 30 to 40 per cent of the total population while the number of different squatter areas is counted in the hundreds (e.g. Republic of the Philippines 2005, 104; Oreta 1996, 159). Although there is no accurate data on the number of families living in unsatisfactory conditions, there is general agreement that the numerous government initiatives to provide adequate housing and financing for the poor have not been successful either due to the concentration of land resources or the lack of coherence (and political will) in the policy design[42]. A highly speculative land sector has not only affected the most disadvantaged, but also those with regular income are faced with dominance of the market and expensive housing projects (van den Muijzenberg & van Naerssen 2005, 163). As a result, half of the households in Metro-Manila live in homes with less than 30 square metres[43]. Furthermore, those with less purchasing power are forced to move to the fringes (or degrading and less valuable areas) in the city enforcing one of the most distinct features of city's daily life: the increasing travelling distances resulting in further congestion, pollution and higher transport expenses.

The latest estimations on the daily waste generation widely differ while the highest numbers indicate a daily waste volume of 6.7 million tons (World Bank 2004, 16). The waste generation is on the increase and it is estimated to

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42 For more detailed accounts on the housing programmes for the poor, see e.g. Porio (2003) and Santiago (1996).

43 According to the census of 2000, the average household size in the Philippines is 5 persons. See census results at http://www.cencus.gov.ph (accessed 20.10.2006).

grow from 40 to 100 per cent by year 2010[44]. In principle, local governments are responsible for waste collection in their respective areas. However, approximately one-third of the generated waste remains uncollected. Out of the uncollected waste one-third is dumped anywhere, particularly into the river network. A positive sign is the increasing trend of recycling and, at the moment, 13 per cent of the generated waste in the city is recycled (ibid). Although waste management is the responsibility of the public sector, many upper-class residential areas have organised their own waste management by buying services from private companies (see e.g. the case of gated communities of Alabang Hills and San Lorenzo in Chapter 6). The ability to pay for services such as waste management provides a privileged position and although the rest of the city suffers time to time from mounting waste on the streets due to dysfunction of the collection system, the upper-class gated communities and condominium areas have their garbage collected and their streets remain spotlessly clean.

FIGURE 11 Most of waste recycling in Metro-Manila is done by scavenger communities living next to the dumpsites (Kristiina Kuvaja)

Metro-Manila runs on a constant water deficit as the privatised Metropolitan Waterworks and Sewerage System (MWSS) is not able to supply enough water to the growing needs of the city. Although water distribution was allocated to two business families, namely Ayala (Manila Water) and Lopez (Maynilad), to enhance the efficiency of the system, only 65 per cent of the water demand is covered and nearly a third of the city's population does not have access to piped water (World Bank 2004, 28; Spreitzhofer 2002, 260). In addition to the

44 As there is discrepancy in the estimated amounts generated in Metro-Manila, also the growth rate is highly speculative. However, there is a uniform tendency of intense growth of waste in these estimates. See e.g. World Bank (2004, 16-17) and the Republic of the Philippines (2005, 94).

low coverage, the water distribution system itself is inefficient delivering only half of the produced water to the consumers (Oreta 1996, 159). The access to sewerage, in turn, remains low and the latest estimates show that less than 5 per cent of the city's inhabitants are covered by a sewerage system while more than half have no access to any sanitation services (World Bank 2004, 34). Finally, according to the estimates in the late 90s, virtually all urban households have access to power supply (ADB 1999, 9). The power supply in Metro-Manila has been privatised to a Lopez family -owned company, Meralco. Although the coverage of the power supply may reach the entire city, there are considerable deficiencies in its overall reliability. There are also considerable losses in the power distribution: the prices of electricity are beyond the purchasing power of many people and illegal connections flourish in many parts of the city. This has created a vicious cycle as in 2001 already high electricity bills were increased with an additional cost called PPA (Price Power Adjustment) through which consumers are expected to cover losses in the system.

3.2.3 Economic Development

Metro-Manila is the main location of domestic production in the Philippines as well as the country's channel to the global trade network. The economic weight of the city is highlighted in its share of national economy: while Metro-Manila comprises approximately 12 per cent of the total population in the country, its share of the Gross National Production is more than double, i.e. 25 per cent (UN-Habitat 2004, 16). Consequently, 70 per cent of the country's industrial establishments are located in the capital region (Oreta 1996, 158).

Poverty incidence in Metro-Manila is considerably lower that in the Philippines as a whole: while in 2000 a total of 33 per cent of the national population was considered to be poor, in Metro-Manila the incidence was estimated at 7.6 per cent (Republic of the Philippines 2005, 34). This figure indicates that Metro-Manila is able to provide more adequate income opportunities compared to other areas in the country. However, looking at the poverty incidence figures in the long term, one notices that the poverty incidence in Metro-Manila has been on the increase together with the whole country (HDN &UNDP 2002, 57). In line with the lower poverty incidence, also the average incomes in the capital (and the surrounding provinces) are considerably higher than in the rest of the country. In 1997, it was estimated that the per capita incomes in Metro-Manila are on average two times higher than in the growing business city of Cebu or four times higher than in the lowest earning province of Sulu (ibid). The main income in the Metro-Manila comes from the service sector followed by industries - both for male and female workers. However, despite the higher average income and its potential livelihood opportunities, Metro-Manila fails to take advantage of the labour force in the city and one-third of the labour force is either un- or underemployed.

FIGURE 12 A squatter area in the shore of Pasay river (Kristiina Kuvaja)

These economic figures indicate that Metro-Manila is not, by any means, a poor city. The question is more on the ways wealth and economic opportunities are divided among the city's inhabitants. According to some accounts, income distribution within the city is highly unequal and the poorest half of the inhabitants earn less than a fifth of the city's total income (Storey 1998, 268). Another indicator is the share of consumption among the inhabitants. According to UN estimates the richest 20 per cent of Metro-Manila's inhabitants account for more than half of the city's consumption while the consumption share of the poorest 30 per cent is seven per cent (HDN & UNDP 2002, 88). The self-assessed poverty in Metro-Manila - like in Lagos - indicates that poverty in these megacities is experienced in more versatile ways. In December 2005, more than half of Metro-Manila's inhabitants found themselves poor, this figure being far higher that the official poverty figure[45].

3.3 Challenges and Opportunities for Sustainable Urban Development in Lagos and Metro-Manila

As the short descriptions of this chapter point out, both Metropolitan Lagos and Metro-Manila are showcases of national growth poles and nodes of intensified global trade. Due to their role in the national (and international) economy these cities mean higher economic capacities at all levels and, therefore, they hold the potential to perform as resourceful environments for

[45] Self-assessed poverty was surveyed by Social Weather Stations, see at http://www.sws.org.ph (accessed 20.10.2006). For similar findings see also ADB (2004, 12).

poverty alleviation and to stimulate investments for sustainable development. However, the cases also show that the management of intense urban growth towards sustainable development in these megacities has become impossible through conventional bureaucratic structures and policy frameworks. The failure of urban management can be explained by globalisation itself: some of the implications of globalisation at the local level are liberalisation, privatisation and deregulation as cities and countries are trying to compete for the advantages of globalisation. This, in turn, narrows down the resources of cities to build so-called 'inclusive cities' that require not only policy frameworks, but also resources to enhance structures of inclusion for those who are not directly profitable in the globalisation process (Beall 2002, 50). Furthermore, observations in both Lagos and Metro-Manila indicate that city administrations are reluctant to take politically sensitive decisions to redistribute resources or wealth and invest in urban amenities in areas that are inhabited by the urban poor[46]. The reliance on the trickle-down-effect, the impact of globalisation on the increased prices and the absence of active state interventions has led to what Smith (2002) calls a 'crisis of social reproduction'. This refers to the two-sided effect of globalisation: while the wealth of these cities is increasingly dependent on globalisation, this very process inherently marginalises those citizens who are in most urgent need of the opportunities created by these developments.

While being continuously pressured by their growing populations, both Lagos and Metro-Manila have pools of the most diverse and qualified human resources in their use. Furthermore, both cities contain a versatile civil society where different organisations from informal neighbourhood networks to national NGO alliances are actively working to resist the adverse impact of globalisation and to mobilise local resources for daily survival and an adequate living environment[47]. There is little evidence, however, that these practices or initiatives are able to influence the management of these cities through genuine participation in strategic decision-making[48]. I consider this negligence of the grassroots as one of the main challenges and opportunities for strengthening social sustainability in large southern cities.

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46 For the Nigeria, see Dibie (2003) and Raheem (1993). For Metro-Manila see Shatkin (2000) and Santiago (1996).

47 For observations on neighbourhood networks in Lagos see e.g. Kuvaja (2001) and Aina (1990a) and for NGO initiatives in Metro-Manila see e.g. Yu & Karaos (2004), Kuvaja & Mursu (2003).

48 For some experiences on the civil society's impact on city administration, see Porio et al. (2004) in Metro-Manila.

4 THE PRODUCTION OF URBAN EVERYDAY LIFE

Daily life in the southern megacities is one of the most multifaceted urban phenomena to grasp and describe. Perhaps its most pronounced aspect is the urban residents' persistence to produce and reproduce their daily livelihoods and immediate living environments. This shared urban identity builds on self-responsibility to manage and survive, which is based on innovations derived from the opportunities and challenges placed by the urbanity itself.

The purpose of this chapter is to assess the grounds for the ways daily life at the urban grassroots expresses the opportunities and limitations of social sustainability. While choosing the approach of the lay-people, I acknowledge the structuring effects of such societal institutions as economy, bureaucratic traditions, political systems and hierarchies of power on the everyday life. However, the importance of these factors does not relinquish the impact of the grassroots agencies[49] themselves on the structuration of their daily actions and practices. The twofold nature of this structuration is considered here as a fundamental process that shapes the premises for grassroots to act and participate in the urban development processes. Furthermore, it highlights the potential of the grassroots to have a 'say' in wider societal interaction, networks and institutions. The following sections of this chapter will review some aspects of the agency-structure (or micro-macro) interaction and the organisation of urban space to analyse in greater detail the societal factors behind grassroots' daily actions.

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[49] Agencies refer here to lay-people as members of social configurations such as neighbourhoods, community-based organisations etc. The notion refers also to the lay-people and their communities as capable of taking action (Giddens 1984, 9). Lay-people's ability to act and to have an impact, in turn, reflects their communities' positions in collective social systems (ibid, 24). See also Chapter 1.2.

4.1 The Diversity of Urban Everyday Life

Southern megacities and their daily life consist of an indefinite number of diverse social spaces. Diversity may refer to the use of urban physical spaces or cities' cultural and ethnical variety (Fainstein 2005), their fragmented modes of governance or increased importance of localities (UN-Habitat 2004). Diversity may also refer to new identities and ways of life[50] that are created in everyday life (see e.g. Simone 2004a; Smith 2001). These often represent communities' functional strategies that are based on the priorities and values of residents themselves while reflecting the opportunities and limitations of the urban environment. The diversity of everyday life is challenged and shaped by the simultaneous existence of scarcity as many urban dwellers base their daily survival on increasingly thinner resources: while urban resources become more valuable and the competition on them is harder, alternative livelihoods are more difficult to find (see e.g. Simone 2004c). As a result, large parts of the diverse fabric of the daily urban life become highly vulnerable.

One of the most visible aspects of daily urban life is its immense dynamism - urban dwellers organise, innovate, act and network holding different positions (such as family member, neighbour or community organisers) in different spheres of their daily life. These dynamics are built to maximise the opportunities provided by the environment and these processes are fluid as well as flexible - ready to adapt to the changes in the environment (see e.g. Pinches 1994, 37). Although urban space is dynamic and innovative, it remains confused - without a clear and shared objective (Simone 2004b, 67-70). While a lot of energy is used in the daily organisation of life, 'getting ahead' remains an experience of the privileged few. Thus, for many residents, these cities remain as *'dynamic spaces that do not move'*.

The southern megacities' daily life is highly visible in the national policy interventions as policies prioritise the needs of these cities in global competition (Beall 2002, 41) and their service provision is usually well beyond the average of their respective countries (Montgomery et al. 2004, 167-180). While megacities are in the focus of the national policy making, the daily life of the urban majority may remain largely invisible in these policies. Firstly, many urban dwellers live in 'self-sustained' environments which are not, by definition, present in urban policy design. These environments rely often heavily on informal service provision and livelihoods burdening the family and neighbourhood resources to their maximum (Simone 2004a, 17). While this 'invisibility' remains the main source of urban survival, its interaction with formal policies and activities may be problematic: the needs of the 'invisible daily life' may not be recognised in sectoral policies, their solutions remain idle

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50 Way of life is defined here as a process of everyday life which is based on its essential social conditions and people's perspectives. People's perspectives refer to the subjective goals, aspirations and visions attached to people's actions (see Ahponen & Järvelä 1987, 71).

and they may even be sanctioned by policies designed for the visible structures of urban life (see e.g. Obi 2003, 46). As such, the invisibility of daily life in these cities entails an *'urban paradox of responsibilities'*: are the communities responsible for the 'invisible' and, thus, often illegal practices or does the responsibility rest on the 'visible', but absent urban administration?

Finally, the daily life in the southern megacities' is shaped by global connectedness in ways that diminish the dichotomies of global and local or vernacular and modern (Järvelä et al. 2003). Being connected to the global networks (and competing for a more profitable position in them) shapes many elements of daily urban life at the grassroots level even if communities' are not directly connected to these global networks (Tomlinson 1999, 135-137). Participation in these processes may happen haphazardly producing novel and unexpected outcomes in communities' daily lives through new identities, practices and their interpretations (Smith 2001, 140-142). While being a platform of the global forces, daily urban life is also rooted in the local, even the rural ways of life[51]. Hence, grassroots' level daily life in these cities becomes a true intersection of a great variety of social 'ingredients' that are combined according to the availability of resources and assets forming a *'tensioned mixture'* that is ready for its next transformations.

The above dichotomies may be to a certain extent artificial as they may not appear in these 'pure' or 'contradicting' forms. On the contrary, the structuration of daily urban life is creating increasingly diverse and even hybrid forms of identities, practices and interactions with social structures and institutions (Rosaldo 1995; see also Pieterse 1994). Hybridity, in fact, has become one of the themes in the discourses related to the emergence of new social, cultural and even economic practices at the urban grassroots' level (Smith 2001, 16). In southern megacities hybridity has been referred to as the emergence of novel and innovative ways of life (Järvelä et al. 2003), patterns of authority (Simone 2004c), practices of livelihood and businesses (Lyons & Snoxell 2005) as well as new local definitions of transformed practices and technologies (Kuvaja 2006; Aina 1990b)[52]. The importance of these various innovations is in their role in serving as spaces where old practices and skills are transformed into new daily arrangements and livelihood strategies in both formal and informal sectors. Thus, these hybrids hold the potential to contest the dichotomies of urban life (ibid, 140). However, their impact depends on the ways urban structures 'allow' these new configurations to intervene and participate. For example, the case of Bantay Usok project (see Chapter 6) shows that hybrids expanding towards new networks and shared spaces can face obstacles imposed by urban contexts and structures themselves. Thus, the transformative power of these hybrid innovations and networks may remain limited.

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51 An example of integrating rural elements to urban ways of life is urban agriculture that is widely practiced in many African cities. See e.g. Mlozi, Lupanga & Mvena (1992) and Gefu (1992).

52 For theoretical considerations on transformative and contextual hybridizations, see Frank & Stollberg (2004).

4.2 Spatial Horizons and Social Differences

As indicated in the descriptions on Lagos and Metro-Manila urban spaces and their organisation are critical dimensions of development as they shape and express the potential of different communities to produce their daily life. Furthermore, they articulate the position each locality holds in the urban hierarchy (Fainstein quoted in Low 2002, 18). As such, urban spaces are linked to the emergence of different social arrangements at the grassroots level. This section provides some approaches to the ways organisation of urban spaces reflects and produces potential social mobilities[53] in southern megacities as structural dimension of social sustainability.

4.2.1 Power and Urban Space

The city space is not a neutral stage where events and peoples' actions just happen to take place (Soja 2000, 3-18; Borja & Castells 1997, 27). On the contrary, landscapes of contemporary large southern cities are excellent examples of the division of power and its spatial manifestations: it is easy to spot the locations of economic or political power when moving around in these cities. Consequently, it is not difficult to point out spaces that are left out from the processes of decision-making and overall development. These divisions in the organisation of space express the weakening basis of social reproduction of the entire city (Kearns & Forrest 2000, 1008). Their intensity, in turn, can be traced to the changes in the logic of international capitalist dynamics (Borja & Castells 1997, 27-44). In addition, the increasing influence of global networks in cities' spaces may enforce the potential disconnection within these divisions as the rational of the dominant 'spaces of flows' becomes increasingly preoccupied by the needs of international networks while the needs of 'local spaces' are perceived as subordinates to this logic. For example, one of the most distinct results of the changes in cities' spatial forms has been the dramatic increase in the value of land. This has resulted in the 'commodification' of the city itself making space into an increasingly valued resource (e.g. Castells 1983, 312). While urban spaces are developed to enhance cities' connectedness to the global network, 'local spaces' are pushed to the 'in-between' and 'non-places' (see e.g. Berner 1997, xvi). The tension in the binary-positioned urban space eventually raises the question of who has the right to the city (Lefebvre quoted in Soja 1996, 35-36). In addition, it raises the issue of whose 'voice' and needs are heard when decisions are made on the development of urban spaces.

Kong and Law (2002, 1504-1505) have pointed out that urban landscapes are a medium and a result of the relational nature of space providing an avenue for the reproduction of power. As such, built landscapes do not only articulate

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53 Mobility refers here to the individuals' ability to 'break away from their social circle of shared interests and resources in order to gain more and better resources in the social system' (Lin 2001, 140).

these power relations but they also institutionalise these relations by putting them into the concrete form of buildings and physical areas while contributing to the social structuration of the city. One of the growing ways to express power relations in southern cities is residential segregation (see e.g. Beall et al. 2002; Caldeira 2002, 2000; Connell 1999). As a result, urban spaces in these cities have increasingly become spaces of rigid physical divisions based on wealth and their visible demarcations (Caldeira 2002, 2000; Davis 1992), disappearance of public places as spaces of 'free encounters' (ibid) and increased 'social distance'[54] between those within the dominant spaces and those outside them. While emphasising exclusion and avoidance urban space does not only express perceptions of the dominant groups on the city around them, but urban spatial structures also assume the role of shaping the actions and perceptions of the lay-people[55].

4.2.2 Spatial Disconnectedness of Cities

The paradoxical nature of the emerging spatial structures based on exclusion and avoidance is that while dominant groups may perceive social differences in a more rigid way (Caldeira 2002, 103) and the rights of the outsiders' as relative ones (Marcuse & van Kempen 2002, 8), these attitudes hinder the opportunities of the actors at the grassroots level to contest these interpretations (e.g. Castells 1983; Harvey 1973). This does not imply a purely deterministic approach to the construction of urban spaces. On the contrary, grassroots contest and shape cities' spatial structure and its meanings continuously through individual practices, shared actions and networks (Kong & Law 2002, 1506; Smith 2001, 6-8). However, their impact may remain highly local due to the scarcity of 'shared spaces' and loyalties (e.g. Kuvaja forthcoming). This spiral of *'spatial disconnectedness'* enforces narrow interpretations on urban spaces, their developments and on those who are eligible to make decisions on them.

As city's societal relations become more expressively pronounced by spatial segregation based on wealth and avoidance, there is a tendency for the cities' governmentality to change. While the status of dominant spaces as 'normal' spaces is legitimised, official agendas are easily bound to perceive others as their contradictions (Soja 2000, 298-322). While perceiving certain physical places (and their social spaces) as 'normal' and others as their problems, also urban governance may become spatialised (Rodgers 2004, 14). This results in processes of governance as the 'protection' of some while 'eradicating' others instead of focusing on the causes of inequalities between different areas and spaces within the city. Cities like Metro-Manila showcase

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54 'Social distance' refers here to situations where different social classes may exist in physical proximity without an equal. It also refers to the co-existence of individuals in the same space (e.g. domestic helpers in Metro-Manila's gated communities) where the roles of 'outsiders' are highly regulated. See Kuvaja (forthcoming).

55 Here urban dwellers and their communities are perceived as spatial agencies and their 'spatiality' reflects the two-way interaction between them and space: while shaping their environment (spaces), urban dwellers become also shaped by it (Soja 2000; Kuvaja forthcoming).

that the spatial modes of urban governmentality may lead to management of urban space without an agenda for social integration or change (see Kuvaja, forthcoming). Thus, urban spaces end up containing 'pockets of good urban planning' that do not, however, aim towards inclusion of the rest of the city while inherently denouncing the value of different areas as legitimate parts of urban fabric.

Overall, large cities do not only bring together differences in history, but they also connect social differences in a contemporary space. As such, urban spaces are also expressions of the potential extent of trust, networks and reciprocity within the society. According to Massey (1999, 122) cities' success is largely based on the ways these differences can be bound together as 'open intensities' that do not only tolerate variety, but also draw energies and dynamisms from differences to enable openness, new engagements as well as a further mixture of differences. These open intensities refer to the spatial preconditions of 'weak ties' within the society, which according to Granovetter (1973) are the very foundations for the flows of novel information and innovation within the society. Thus, spatial horizons represent opportunities for these open intensities (Pieterse 2005, 142-143) and they either hinder or encourage these ties and, therefore, contribute to the strengthening of the preconditions for social sustainability. However, southern megacities hold a risk of closing their spatial horizons due to rigid distinctions that shape and express communities' positions in urban hierarchies and, thus, their overall 'value' in the city. The current spatial developments in southern megacities, therefore, can be perceived as a sign of failure in producing inclusive cities aiming towards tolerance and coalition building beyond the social boundaries of different groups. As such, contemporary urban segregation can be perceived as an indicator of hindered social sustainability.

4.3 The Relational Nature of Daily Practices

In this work the concept of 'social capital' is introduced as a tool to analyse the daily mediation process between communities and wider urban contexts. The justification of using this theoretical tool lies in the observation that social capital provides a potential opening to study different societal phenomena at the same time (see e.g. Cattell 2004, 947). As such, it provides an avenue to increase our understanding of the agency-structure dynamics in two ways: firstly, it allows the assessment of the ways this dynamics shapes the emergence (the type and nature) of actions and practices in different communities. Secondly, it provides a tool to evaluate the potential impact of grassroots' actions and practices at wider societal levels (see also Coleman 1988, 101). This, in turn, presents an insightful entry point for the analysis on the ways the opportunities and limitations of social sustainability are materialised at the grassroots.

4.3.1 Social Capital at the Grassroots

Social theory has accommodated a great variety of contributions on the significance of social capital in contemporary societies. Writers such as Jacobs (1961), Bourdieu (1986), Coleman (1988) and Putnam (1993; 2000) have defined social capital particularly as a relational entity at the grassroots: for Putnam social capital is inseparable from the associational life of civil society. Coleman, in turn, sees it as an inherent part of the structure of relations between actors. While Jacobs perceives urban streets as places of cross-cutting networks providing a basis for social capital, Bourdieu considers social capital as one dimension of capital, together with economic and cultural dimensions, that is collectively shared and enjoyed by an exclusively defined group. Theoretical formulations on social capital have also connected grassroots' capacities to wider social frameworks. According to Brown and Lauder (2000, 233-238) 'capacity of intelligence' refers to the overall capacities of the society to produce knowledge while 'relations of trust' describes the ways society encourages development and pooling of this knowledge between different groups and societal institutions. Based on these interpretations, social capital is considered in this work particularly as those associational and community structures, networks as well as (social) assets (e.g. norms, values, trust) that enable individuals to act together more effectively for mutual benefit (see also Montgomery et al. 2004, 40; Evans et al. 2005, 14; Putnam 1993, 167). It can be also perceived as a fundamental component in sustainable development with its potential role of providing enlarged opportunities for people's choices and capabilities through networking and collaboration (Banuri et al. 1994, 17-21). The operationalisation of social capital in collective action, in turn, is based on the needs and assets of the given community.

Collective action is perceived here of consisting of two different features: it refers either to participation in associational life or to communities that do not form organisations *per se,* but whose members co-operate based on shared objectives (see also Cattell 2004, 946). This collaboration is based on the reciprocity and willingness of individuals to give their own capacities for the benefit of the others. According to Lin (2001, 136-137) this reciprocity is stabilised through routines which provide the basis for social relations within collaborating individuals. The emergence of 'collectivity', in turn, is based on the establishment and maintenance of these relations (ibid). The strength of the 'collectivity' is in its capacity to further produce resources and benefits that go beyond individual actors and belong to all members of the community.

Social capital, thus, emphasises the relational nature of grassroots' actions: agencies and their actions are effective only through social relations and the positions (and identities) individuals hold in these relations (Long 2001, 17). These relations create social spaces, which, in turn, shape the intended content and 'reach' of each network and action. While communities are active subjects in creating social capital, its content and operationalisation are shaped also by wider economic and social structures as well as the power each community holds towards them (Bourdieu 1986; see also Fine 2001, 54-59). As such,

communities are not acting in a social 'vacuum' and but their actions and networks interact differently with the rest of the society. Putnam (2000, 22-24) has identified two types of social capital in respect of their relational character vis-à-vis the rest of the society. 'Bonding' social capital refers to networks and practices that are intended to provide social benefits for a restricted group of people in their attempts of daily management. The cases of Ebute-Ilaje community and Shomolu compounds as well as San Lorenzo and Alabang Hills gated communities (see cases in Chapters 6 and 7) are examples of this kind of exclusive social capital. 'Bridging' capital, in turn, describes networks, actions and practices that aim to build new links and social spaces at different levels of the society for common goods targeted at the wider community. The case of Bantay Usok project, in turn, provides an example of an attempt to operationalise this type of inclusive social capital.

Cities have been perceived as the very spaces where social capital is created through the encounters of aliens on the streets (see e.g. Jacobs 1961). The advantage of cities in the production of 'bridging' social capital is in the tendency of urban spaces to contain a great variety of overlapping communities, networks and identities. Thus, cities enforce the co-existence of aliens within the same urban space (Fukuyama 2001, 9-10). Granovetter (1973) has identified this social capacity of urban spaces as the emergence of 'weak ties', i.e. flexible interpersonal networks that allow interactions at the grassroots to be translated into wider societal levels while also permitting the feedback to the grassroots. In the early contributions of urban studies, the decrease of personal face-to-face interaction and increasing dominance of alien encounters was perceived as the origin of alienation (see e.g. Wirth 1938/1964). However, according to Granovetter (1973, 1373), these 'weak ties' are an important 'glue' creating trust in cities (and societies). They not only allow transfer of information and innovation but they are also essential for enlarged opportunities for individuals' social mobility[56]. Here 'weak ties' is analogous to the essence of 'bridging' social capital as 'weak ties' reflect the capacity of social configurations to allow flexible, innovative and unpredicted social encounters and networks to emerge through which social innovation and benefits may be transferred.

4.3.2 The Interaction between Grassroots and Wider Societal Structures

The agency-structure dynamics holds a twofold nature in the communities' daily life: structures have an impact on the actions of the agencies by limiting or enabling them while agencies, in turn, hold power to mediate, reproduce or contest these structures (Long 2001; Giddens 1984; 1979). Some of the main critiques of the concept of social capital as grassroots' capacity to act have

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[56] Putnam (2000, 134-147) speaks about 'thin trust' when referring to similar social relations between acquaintances as Granovetter's notion of 'weak ties'. According to Putnam 'thin trust' that expands to encounters with alien co-residents is getting rarer, but is more fundamental to social capital than 'thick trust' that is based on strong personal relations.

focused on the notion's embedded tendency to romanticise communities as actors while disregarding the role of wider societal structures (e.g. modes of economy, politics, bureaucracy) in this action (e.g. Silverman 2001; Levi 1996; for cities in the South see e.g. Beall et al. 2002). These observations are valid and should be taken into consideration when using social capital as a tool for grassroots level analysis. However, the pointed limitations may not be embedded in the concept itself, but in the ways it has been applied. The observed limitations, in turn, underscore the importance of the inherent relational nature of social capital.

The relational nature of social capital implies that its operationalisations at the grassroots do not only reflect the priorities and capacities of the grassroots, but it also reflects relations between agencies and wider societal contexts. However, social capital (or its operationalisation) cannot be perceived as an automatic outcome of a certain type of agency-structure dynamics. On the contrary, social capital (as well as agencies' capabilities and knowledge) always remain situational and, therefore, unique (e.g. Silverman 2001, 242). However, the analysis of local variations on social capital provides insights on the ways wider societal contexts and structures are present in different communities and their actions. Furthermore, this analysis may facilitate the understanding of the ways wider contexts and structures shape social capital by either enabling or hindering communities' activities.

In order to conceptualise further social capital as a relational entity, the role of power has to be assessed in the agency-structure dynamics. According to Giddens (1979, 92) power is an intrinsic feature of every human agency. This means that lay-people and their communities 'could have always done otherwise' than what they did. Giddens analyses power as both enabling and constraining. 'Enabling' is the very transformative capacity of the grassroots to participate and have an impact on societal structures while 'constraining' refers to the domination of structures and to their ability to stretch away from individuals' participation (see also Pugh 1996b, 6). However, there is an asymmetry in the division of resources in societies and individuals' access to them. This, in turn, has an impact on the extent to which different agencies can participate and manipulate societal structures. These resources may also shape the ways individuals can access and take advantage of benefits that institutions produce (see also Long 2001, 67-68). Lay-people's and their communities' access to power is also influenced by the extent of the wider networks each agency is connected to and which agencies can mobilise for their benefit (Bourdieu 1986). In practical terms, the better lay-people and their communities are connected to formal social systems and the more power they have, the more present they (and their practices) are in the structuration of wider societal systems and institutions, such as policies deciding on urban services or governance processes producing them. For example, in the case of gated communities in Metro-Manila (see Chapters 6 & 7; see also Kuvaja forthcoming), social capital is not only operationalised to produce localised arrangements in the living environment but also to manipulate the wider social order for the communities'

benefit. On the other hand, the less the communities have power, the less they have any possibilities to participate in and affect wider structures for their benefit. As a result, they may fall into a subordinate position when accessing the 'goods' provided by the wider social order. In these cases, as illustrated in the cases of Ebute-Ilaje and Shomolu in Lagos (Chapters 6 & 7; see also Kuvaja 2006; Myllylä & Kuvaja 2005) social capital emerges to substitute these benefits.

This short exploration on the role of power in agency-structure dynamics has aimed to scrutinise the relational nature of social capital. However, this work is not suggesting that social capital emerges automatically as a 'reaction' to the agency-structure dynamics. On the contrary, the main impetus for social capital is in the grassroots' potential to act in a great variety of social arrangements in order to mediate with different factors affecting their lives. However, the theoretical formulations on social capital as well as observations of this study in Metro-Manila and Lagos suggest that social capital does not emerge in isolation from the rest of the city and its power relations. Thus, social capital can serve as a location-specific and socially differentiated indicator for the ways and proportions different resources are distributed within the city. This, in turn, opens up to assessments on the ways to address preconditions for social sustainability and sustainable development.

5 CRITICAL ETHNOGRAPHY AS AN APPROACH TO URBAN EVERYDAY LIFE

The aim of this research process has not been to achieve an objective presentation on the 'state of things' at the grassroots level in Lagos and Metro-Manila, as the work carries embedded within it the fundamental belief that single truths on the social world do not exist (see e.g. Stringer 1999, 191-192). As such, this work subscribes to a constructivist approach and perceives social realities as created by people in their human-human and human-environment interaction (see e.g. Walsh 2004; Stringer 1999). When considering how greatly people's realities and knowledge patterns vary, the research strategy of this work has been open for tools of inquiry that are sensitive to these variations. Thus, the research process has been based on participatory methods such as participant observations, semi-structured interviews, open discussions, drawing exercises and various forms of daily life interaction with the informants (see e.g. IFAD, ANGOC& IIRR 2001; Grenier 1998; Chambers 1983). While collecting data on different realities on the ground, the process has also emphasised multiple sources of documentation (e.g. case studies, city and sector reviews, statistics, government and project documentations) to enable the validation and verification of data collected on these social realities (see also Järvelä et al. 2003).

The chosen approach acknowledges that different social worlds are not represented equally in different systems of knowledge. The systems of knowledge, in turn, are understood here as development and administrative cultures, governance procedures and the laws implementing them (see e.g. Stringer 1999, 196-197). These systems have a tendency to reflect the hierarchies of power and the capacities of the powerful to maintain the interpretations on the 'correct' development and the procedures to achieve it (Foucault 1972; see also e.g. Nadar 1996; Agrawal 1995). This instrumental value of knowledge produces the marginalisation of the knowledge patterns of those who do not hold resources to reproduce the 'ordinary' at the wider social contexts. This knowledge also distances the powerful from the co-existing realities while potentially strengthening and reproducing the perceived contradictions

between them (Caldeira 2002, 103; see also Kuvaja forthcoming). These dichotomies, in turn, enforce social inequalities as they tend to prevent the inclusion of alternative 'ordinaries' and the knowledge they represent into development approaches and administrative cultures. While acknowledging this *'exclusive cycle'* of knowledge generation this research subscribes to the view that the realities of the different groups of people are legitimate and valuable and even necessary for the success of sustainable development policies and their implementation.

The four case studies from Lagos and Metro-Manila presented in this work provide examples of different social realities in the southern megacities. These cases form the core of the works' empirical data and their purpose is to provide insights to the ways grassroots interact with their living environment and, thus, reflect and shape the premises of sustainable development in these cities. The aim of these cases is not to provide detailed descriptions on the communities themselves. Instead, they particularly focus on the ways different urban localities manage some aspects of their daily lives. As a totality, the particular relevance of these cases is in the grassroots' approach to analyse social sustainability and sustainable development. Although experiences from single case studies may be difficult to translate into policy discourses, their combined synthesis indicates similarities that allow contributions to social policy discourses.

5.1 Commitment to Social Change as a Research Approach

This work is anchored to the multiple traditions of ethnography which is understood here as 'social research based on close-up, on-the-ground observation of people and institutions in real time and space, in which the investigator embeds herself near (or within) the phenomenon so as to detect how and why agents on the scene act, think and feel the way they do' (Wacquant 2003, 5). This particular research process has applied ethnography in two different meanings: firstly, as a study focusing on the everyday lives of the people and secondly, as a methodological approach guiding the ways to conduct this study (see also Koro-Ljungberg & Greckhamer 2005, 300). Therefore, the research includes a variety of data collection methods and documentation which have aimed to facilitate the reflexivity of the process vis-à-vis people's daily lives in the two megacities.

This work does not represent an outcome of a linear, planned-to-detail research process, but particularly a lived experience of being engaged with the study field for years while learning from these experiences in the research process itself. Its ontological basis is in the observations on the inequality that inhabitants in Lagos and Metro-Manila are experiencing in various processes of 'urban development'. In the beginning of the research process, the data collection was primarily an interpretative process emphasising recording of

observations on neighbourhoods' everyday lives and reporting them as such (see e.g. Koro-Ljungberg & Greckhamer 2005, 290). As the research process advanced, the dominant role of societal structures in this inequality became more visible in the research questions guiding the data collection (see e.g. Borda 2001, 30; Tucker 1996, 10). As such, the study gradually developed from the consideration of the sustainable development in southern megacities as a purely environmental challenge to the assessment of the societal opportunities and limitations at the grassroots to manage the living environment. Towards its end, instead of just investigating what lay-people and communities are doing and thinking, the research became more engaged with investigating the identities and perceptions lay-people and their communities produce while reconceptualising their daily lives and environments (Kuvaja forthcoming; see also Lecompte 2002, 290-291). It is likely that a certain amount of tension and inequality will always be an intrinsic part of cities like Lagos and Metro-Manila. However, although full equality and social justice may not seem achievable, these two cities hold social constraints that give some groups an advantage while marginalising others and these constraints can be addressed. This main observation shaped the research process itself resulting in an ethnographic approach identified as critical ethnography.

While representing critical ethnographic approach, this work has profited from different ethnographic approaches applied in contemporary urban sociology and urban anthropology to explore the social organisation of the cities (Savage, Warde & Ward 2003, 35; Low 2002, 5-21). Simultaneously, the methodological choices made in this work have benefited from the interpretations on the 'field' and 'local' in current anthropology discourse defining them as interconnected locations of social, cultural and political (e.g. Gupta & Ferguson 1997). Finally, the methodology has also learned from the interpretations made in contemporary development research on the development as a culturally bound and increasingly hybrid process which is constantly negotiated and contested (e.g. Tucker 1996).

Identified as a contribution of critical ethnography, this work represents an open commitment to social change and it aims to illustrate the ways processes of marginalisation occur and the ways inequalities express themselves (see also Thomas 1993, 15). Critical ethnography builds on participant observation, the principal methodological tool of classical ethnography (identified also often as conventional or interpretative ethnography). The difference of the two is mainly in the entry point of the data collection and analysis. Instead of limiting itself to descriptions, critical ethnography takes an open stand to address the effects of domination at the grassroots. As such, it is influenced by neo-Marxism and poststructuralism calling for new understandings of the other and emphasising critical cultural interpretation (Koro-Ljungberg & Greckhamer 2005, 294). The analysis, in turn, seeks to find openings for meaningful structural changes to overcome this domination and its social effects (Thomas 1993, 3-7). In this particular research process, this aim is culminated in bringing social sustainability into

the core of sustainable development analysis. Instead of assessing case studies in the framework of sustainable development especially as an environmental process, their analysis addresses the ways grassroots' actions towards their living environment are linked to societal structures and the opportunities or limitations provided by them. This, in turn, emphasises the commitment of this research to address the necessity of social transformations to achieve sustainable development.

While assessing the impact of power relations in sustainable development and openly committing its analysis for changes in these relations, this work is also linked to the tradition of action research (see e.g. Brydon-Miller et al. 2003; Stringer 1999). According to Thomas (1993, 31) the fundamental difference between critical ethnography and action research is that while the latter is connected to community-based processes, for example in neighbourhoods, work places, organisations or projects, it is merely involved in changes at the local level without seeking fundamental structural changes as the former one does. As such, Thomas distances the objectives of ethnography particularly from those of the community-based action research (see also Senge & Scharmer 2001; Stringer 1999). However, the difference between the two approaches may not be perceived as so clear-cut among the action researchers themselves: while emphasising the great variety of contributions in the history of action research, the editorial team of the introductory issue of the journal 'Action Research' identifies action research as being committed, like critical ethnography, to challenging 'unjust and undemocratic economic, social and political systems and practices'. This commitment, in turn, is materialised through action with communities or groups of people (Brydon-Miller et al. 2003, 11; see also Stringer 1999, 188). A Finnish research team has made attempts to merge action research and ethnography by observing daily life in action in combination with different documentation sources (see Järvelä & Rinne-Koistinen 2005; Rinne-Koistinen 2004; Järvelä et al. 2003). The aim of this approach has been to reach embeddedness beyond single case studies and, as such, provide contributions for a comprehensive policy design. Being connected to this approach, this work carries similar aims on the embeddedness and policy contributions. However, it has not been linked to any project or process in which the interacting spiral of action research (Stringer 1999, 19) could have been conducted as an integral part of the research process. Therefore, the links of this study to action research are, in particular, in constructivism and commitment to social change.

5.2 Daily Living in Megacities as a Research Process

The work is an outcome of a 10-year interest and involvement (1995 - 2005) in megacities which started in Bangkok, Thailand, continued in Lagos, Nigeria, and ended in Metro-Manila, the Philippines. The research process has been closely linked to the author's professional assignments in these years providing

the main access and stay in the field. During these years the 'thematic path' of this work developed from (i) megacities' environmental challenges and their social impact to (ii) poor communities' everyday survival strategies, shifting gradually to (iii) governance, equity and social justice as fundamental constituents of sustainable development and, finally, to (iv) the commitment of the privileged to social transformations as part of sustainable development.

The research questions of this work got their first forms in a low-income neighbourhood in the centre of Bangkok, a fast growing Asian primate city in the mid-90s. The observations made on the daily life in the neighbourhood exposed the vast amount of practices, routines and social arrangements that lay-people hold in order to 'get by' on a daily basis. Simultaneously, although Bangkok was experiencing fast economic growth, the neighbourhood's daily life indicated that the city was not experiencing this development in equal terms. These observations were incorporated in the work's first theoretical considerations on sustainable development and they were reflected in the argumentation on sustainable development and the necessity of social impact assessment (see Järvelä & Kuvaja-Puumalainen 1998; Järvelä & Kuvaja 2001).

The next phase of the research process was linked to the research activities of ENHICA research network[57] in Accra and Lagos (1996). Firstly, this phase consisted of a fieldwork period studying the daily practices and social arrangements of grassroots in Shomolu, Lagos. During this period the research activities concentrated more closely on the daily arrangements and networks of the grassroots to substitute lacking environmental services (see Kuvaja 2001; 2006). Secondly, this phase included a two-year living and working experience in Lagos[58]. This period lead to the creation of contacts with a poor Yoruba migrant community in Ebute-Ilaje through a UNDS (United Nations Development System) programme. Discussions with the community members referred often to their relations with the local government officials and to the difficulties of establishing meaningful interaction between the two. As a result, observing the case of Ebute-Ilaje oriented the research themes towards the role of interaction between grassroots and government authorities in sustainable development, the social preconditions for inclusive local governance as well as their politically sensitive and challenging nature (see Myllylä & Kuvaja 2005).

The third phase of the research process shifted the geographic focus of the research from Lagos to another megacity, Metro-Manila[59]. The new thematic approaches to sustainable development were built on the experiences of the peaceful revolution of EDSA II in 2001 as the grassroots' exercise of political power. EDSA II was commonly named as 'coup de text' which referred to civil society's capacity to use mobile phones as a channel to

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57 ENHICA (Environment, Health and Information Activities for Communities in Africa) network was established 1995 in Finland by researchers sharing a common interest to document and reflect on topical issues of 'development' in contemporary Africa. For more details, see Järvelä et al. (2001).

58 The author was assigned to UNDP/UNIFEM Lagos Office during 1996-1998.

59 The author was assigned to Metro-Manila by the Finnish Ministry for Foreign Affairs during 2000-2003.

mobilise people for mass protests (see e.g. Doronila 2001). In addition, collaboration with a Filipino research team studying mobile phones as a cultural and social phenomenon (Pertierra et al. 2002) provided entry points to observations on the social divides new technologies enforced or created. This lead to research questions on the potential of these technologies to enhance transparent governance and participatory democracy fundamental to sustainable development (see Kuvaja & Mursu 2003). This research phase also included observations on the Bantay Usok project that aimed to enforce the cleaning of Metro-Manila's air by mobilising city's residents through texting. Observations of the project resulted in re-assessments of the research approaches to grassroots' action vis-à-vis governance and sustainable development. Consequently, observations previously made in Lagos were re-assessed with a new focus on grassroots' actions and practices as relational entities containing information not only on the capacities of the grassroots, but also on the micro-macro level dynamics (see Kuvaja 2006).

Finally, while observing and living in various 'realities' of Lagos and Metro-Manila the role of urban space as a dimension of expressing and shaping power and domination, inequality and marginalisation was apparent. In particular, the observations on the ways exclusive city spaces distance privileged residents with resources from those residents in urgent need of them were elemental. While acknowledging the centrality of service provision and empowerment of the marginalised in enforcing sustainable urban development, the focus of the research transferred to the privileged groups and the necessity of their engagement to the social change related to sustainable development (see Kuvaja forthcoming). Thus, the last phase of the research process took place in Metro-Manila in 2005 in the form of a fieldwork process to pursue these research topics further. Finally, this fieldwork period closed the 10-year circle started in Bangkok in 1995.

5.2.1 Living in the Two Megacities

The reflexivity of the research process does not only refer to the process in which collected data and its analysis are in constant interaction with the formulations of research questions (see e.g. Walsh 2004). This reflection also refers to the researcher's examination of her own positions and relatedness to the field as they also affect the ways data is gathered, analysed and presented (see e.g. Willis and Trondman 2000; Thomas 1993). Clear-cut positions in the field may be challenging to define. However, in this particular research process the general positional categories in the 'field'[60] can be summarised broadly as

[60] The notion 'field' is used here as a synonym to 'site'. The 'field' refers to Lagos and Metro-Manila particularly as geographically defined 'sites'. In contemporary ethnography the redefinitions of 'site' and 'field' can refer to multiple physical locations or to such spaces as cyberspace or media (see also Lecompte 2002, 288). However, due to the nature of this research process, the notions of 'field' and 'site' are used here in general geographic terms while single case studies provide samples of different physical and social 'sub-fields' or 'sub-sites'.

the one of a professional, one of a resident and one of a researcher[61].

Firstly, my professional assignments placed me in a position in these societies that enabled observations of the developments in these societies from a wide perspective. These responsibilities required an intense follow-up on countries' social, political and economic developments while providing access to documentation, e.g. government and project documents, which would not have been accessible otherwise. This enabled, in particular, examinations of the ways domestic developments were interpreted at different societal levels. Finally, both in Lagos and Metro-Manila the assignments were related to the identification and monitoring of collaboration projects in the fields of human rights, environment, communities' capacity development and livelihoods. Being involved in numerous grassroots project cycles as a participant and as an observer facilitated further the understanding of these cities' and countries' development challenges on the ground. Being in close interaction with different communities and observing their difficulties with local authorities had an impact on the content of the research process through the emphasis of the role of urban governments in sustainable development.

Secondly, living as an inhabitant in these cities gave firsthand lessons on what, on the whole, does daily life mean in a southern megacity. However, residential experiences in Bangkok, Lagos and Metro-Manila as a researcher gave a different picture of this life compared to the experiences in these cities as a UN officer or a government representative. The former residential position provided experiences on daily life that are similar to the majority of these cities' inhabitants: small living spaces, limited public services, dependency on public transportation[62] and interaction with neighbours for small collaborative efforts and assistance. The latter, in turn, provided an opportunity to experience the daily life of the privileged minority. These experiences were characterised by spacious apartments, freedom provided by domestic helpers and drivers, seclusion and protection as well as a high level of privacy. The opportunity to experience these different 'realities' had a fundamental impact on the contents of this research. Both experiences - to concretely live the daily life of the urban majority and to experience the distance that the privileged have to these realities - directed the research process towards assessing the challenges of social sustainability beyond one-way empowerment towards interactive coalition-building and tolerance.

The study process contained two periods of systematic fieldwork (years 1996 and 2005). However, the role of a social scientist was present throughout the research process. Firstly, project fieldtrips, planning exercises, meetings and different events gave a good opportunity to discuss matters with people beyond the scope of the projects. These situations gave also the possibility to collect additional material such as pictures, association rules and by-laws, local

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61 For a similar analysis on researcher's multiple positions and its impact on the research process, see Simone (2004b, 15-19).

62 The issue of transportation is particularly critical as it largely determines the organisation of daily life. For more detailed observations on transportation and daily life in Metro-Manila, see Kuvaja (2003).

studies, accounts on communities' social practices, descriptions of local governance practices and testimonies on encounters with local authorities. Secondly, interacting with service suppliers and building managers as a resident provided opportunities to assess the social and administrative dynamics on the ground and the individual's potential to intervene in them. Although only a small fraction of this documentation has been directly used for this work, they have had an impact on the observations on cities as social spaces and the ways different cultural practices are transmitted to policies, rules and regulations guiding the organisation of daily life.

The combination of different roles in the field raises the issue on the overall position of the researcher vis-à-vis her research field. The positions of a professional and a resident carry the connotation of an active subject being in functional relation to the environment they operate in. Therefore, the 'field' was an intrinsic part of my daily life which prevented to limit my role to the observer but inevitably making it as one of a participant. However, the cases presented in this work can be perceived particularly as results of observation more than of participation which primarily provided the access to informants and documentation. Therefore, I define my overall role in the research process as an 'observer as a participant' (Walsh 2004, 228-230) emphasising the observation over participation.

5.2.2 Data Collection and Documentation

As the description of the study process indicates, the research has not been an outcome of a systematic social research but an integral part of daily living in these cities. As a result, the data used in this research has been generated through personal involvements in various social settings in the two megacities[63]. This consisted of, what Gusterson (quoted in Hannerz 2003, 211-212) calls 'polymorphous engagements' with the field and it contained meetings, planning sessions, calls, emails and participation in various activities as part of the data collection. However, the core of the data, the four case studies, was collected through two distinctive processes.

Firstly, the cases of the Shomolu compounds in Lagos and the two gated communities of San Lorenzo and Alabang Hills in Metro-Manila contain documentation from systematic interview processes of total of 27 interviews (see also Kuvaja 2006; 2001; forthcoming). The main bulk of the data in these interview processes were produced through semi-structured interviews that were recorded, transcribed and analysed. The interviews also included drawing exercises in which informants described their living environments[64]. The analysis

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63 For similar data collection processes in Southern cities where the researcher has been involved with the field for long periods of time holding different positions within the field itself, see e.g. Simone (2004b); Myllylä (2001) and Kervanto Nevanlinna (1996). In all these research processes long term involvement with the field facilitated multiple techniques of data collection, many of them intertwined in the daily life.

64 The objective of the drawing exercises was to allow informants' own interpretations on their living environments. In the case of Shomolu the exercise focused on describing the immediate living environment within the compound. In the case of

of the data in these processes was based on social approaches to discourse analysis focusing on informants' ways of giving meanings to their living environments (see Tonkiss 2004, 373). The analytical categories, in turn, were developed based on the issues arising from the interview themes and informants' interpretations on them (see e.g. Kuvaja forthcoming). In addition, these data collection processes included transcent walks, photo materials and communities' own documentation such as association and co-operative rules and regulations. The collected information was also complemented by interviews and discussions with other stakeholders in urban development (e.g. local academicians and NGO representatives). Finally, the collection of the data was complemented with observation notes and several follow-up visits to the sites.

Secondly, the data collection in the cases of Ebute-Ilaje community in Lagos and Bantay Usok project in Metro-Manila was based on the daily interactions with these communities in shared project activities. In both cases the observation (including collaboration) period extended to up to a year. In addition to the interactions within the project cycle, group discussions and interviews were conducted among the informants. Simultaneously, various project activities facilitated frequent participatory observations on communities' activities. Finally, the data also included documentation produced by the communities themselves[65]. In these cases the collected data was compiled into descriptive case studies on innovative ways to manage the living environment.

Finally, the character of the research process allowed and required data collection that reaches beyond single case studies (see also Järvelä et al. 2003). Firstly, using secondary empirical data on Lagos, Metro-Manila and other southern cities[66] facilitated the verification of the data collected in the case studies (see also Thomas 1993, 38-39). Secondly, the results of this research reflect a process in which theories have shaped the fieldwork activities. As such, observations in the field were informed by the chosen theories and, therefore, observations and data collection focused on issues that were perceived as relevant in the wider discourses on sustainable development[67]. The main theoretical frameworks of the research process were chosen as sustainable cities[68], role of governance in sustainable development[69], ways of life and the

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Alabang Hills and San Lorenzo the drawing exercise focused on entire Metro-Manila and particularly on the perceptions informants had on different parts of the metropolis and informants' daily movements in them. For details see Kuvaja (2006; forthcoming).

65 In Ebute-Ilaje the documentation consisted of the co-operatives' by-laws and rules and in Bantay Usok it included project descriptions and agreements, statistical records and internet pages.

66 For main references on the secondary data, see notes no. 3, 4 and 5.

67 For more on the fieldwork and its sensitivity to theoretical formulations in ethnography, see e.g. Willis & Trondman (2000, 11-14) and Snow et al. (2003).

68 See e.g. Evans et al. (2005); Carley et al. (2001); Polèse & Stren (2000); Satterthwaite (1999a).

69 See e.g. Devas (2004); Beall et al. (2002); UNCHS (2000); Tostensen et al. (2001).

environment[70], new technologies and social equity[71], grassroots as stakeholders in urban development[72] and urban space as a dimension of development[73]. Observations in the field, in turn, provided heuristic material to assess these theories (see also Willis & Trondman 2000, 8). As such, case studies created 'stories'[74] inside these discourses while multiple sources of data facilitated the transfer of their experiences to social policy discourses on sustainable development.

70 Morin & Kern (1993); Serres (1990); Laszlo (1989).

71 Piirainen (2002); Bridges.org (2001); Castells (2000; 1999).

72 Long (2001); Smith (2001); Scoones (1998); Giddens (1984; 1979).

73 Caldeira (2002; 2000); Soja (2000; 1996); Massey et al. (1999); Davis (1992); Castells (1983); Harvey (1973).

74 For the value of 'stories' in social sciences see e.g. Sherman & Strang (2004).

6 MANAGEMENT OF DAILY LIVING ENVIRONMENT IN URBAN COMMUNITIES – THE CASE STUDIES

The purpose of this chapter is to present four case studies from Lagos and Metro-Manila on the ways different communities at the grassroots use various resources to manage their daily living environment. The approach to these case studies builds on the argumentation presented in the previous chapters on the social character of sustainable development and its relation to the materialisation of urban opportunities and limitations at the grassroots. These, in turn, expose the ways the practices of different communities express the overall urban conditions of social sustainability. Here, two observations are particularly crucial: firstly, Chapter 2 pointed out that various urban communities are active agencies in the production and management of daily life. This approach was operationalised through the concept of 'sustainable livelihoods' that provides a framework to assess not only communities' needs and assets but also the ways they relate to wider social, economic and political contexts. As such, analysis of the communities' activities may reach beyond narrow sectoral social policy design that focuses on services and safety networks. Instead, it provides entry points for comprehensive policy planning by providing information on the ways different urban opportunities and obstacles are materialised in different segments at the grassroots level.

This links to the second observations on the relational nature of grassroots' activities. As pointed out in Chapter 4, communities' various activities are organised based on local needs and assets. However, the chapter suggested that the nature and the impact of these practices and activities are not only based on the local configurations but also on wider societal structures and institutions. The positions that communities hold vis-à-vis these structures are interlinked with communities' access to power and these together determine the extent communities can influence the city-level decisions on the distribution of different resources. This, in turn, shapes the ways different wider contexts affect and are experienced at the community level. Thus, the analysis of the daily practices and actions do not provide information only on the needs and

assets at the grassroots level, but potentially on the character of structural opportunities and constraints to fulfil their potential in daily life. This, correspondingly, is crucial when assessing the potential interventions for strengthened social sustainability.

6.1 The Overall Approach to the Case Studies

The case studies presented here are based on empirical material collected through the research process described in Chapter 5. Each case has been observed through different theoretical frameworks used in studying various dimensions of sustainable urban development. However, the overall approach to these cases is the recognition that the relation between humans and environment - the overall medium of preserving environment for future generations - is highly determined by social factors. Thus, assessment of the social preconditions is essential for sustainable development policy design (see Järvelä & Kuvaja 2001; Järvelä & Kuvaja-Puumalainen 1998). Furthermore, the significance of analysis on the ways the social nature of sustainable development materialises in the daily actions of the lay-people is embedded in the moral obligation of sustainable development. This obligation does not imply that safeguarding the environment is only a technical pursuit through sectoral activities. Instead, it emphasises that a healthy environment can only be transferred to future generations through socially sustainable societies. Thus, the overall approach to the case studies is in the acknowledged necessity to review societies' social dynamics materialised also at the grassroots level to enforce their quest for sustainable development (see also Serres 1990).

As sustainable development is perceived here inherently as a social process, it would be restrictive to claim that it can be solely enforced by legislation, policies and administrative structures designing them. Although legislation and policy design are crucial, the lay-people are also key agencies in creating social heritage of sustainable development transmittable to successive generations (Järvelä & Kuvaja-Puumalainen 1998, 84). This potential of the grassroots can be defined as 'ecosocial morality' that reflects the capacities and limitations of individuals and their communities to adjust their lives or take a stand according to the principles of sustainable development. Ecosocial morality, therefore, does not refer to a pre-fixed set of principles but to a potential that reflects social features of each particular society. Lay-people, in turn, express their potential for these moralities in their daily lives. Thus, daily life can be perceived as a strategy for the type of living environment, lay-people can and wish to pursue. Secondly, daily life is also a materialisation of the ways people adjust to societal and environmental conditions and changes in them. Thirdly, it is also a mixture of flexible patterns and despite their deficiencies and fixations it makes societies into 'living machines' that hold the potential for change and corrective action (Morin & Kern 1993). As a result, analysis of the

daily life facilitates the overall sustainable development planning processes by pointing out the ways the dynamics of ecosocial morality may be enhanced or undermined through policy actions. This, in turn, can enforce new ecosocial dynamics at the grassroots level when communities are creating the social heritage of sustainable development[75].

The following sections will present the case studies. The presentations are based on the modified 'sustainable livelihoods' framework (Scoones 1998). As such, instead of observing how various urban factors construct communities' capacities for sources of income, the presentations focus particularly on the elements that construct the totality of case communities' actions and practices in their production of the daily living environment. Firstly, the presentations provide an overview on some of the local socio-economic and physical contexts as well as the institutional set-up in each case study (the city-wide contexts of Lagos and Metro-Manila are reviewed in Chapter 3). Secondly, the presentations examine the different resources available at these communities to produce and manage their living environments. Thirdly, the sections highlight the different strategies these case communities have developed based on their needs and assets and, finally, they will review the overall outcomes of these strategies. Chapter 7, in turn, will present the synthesis of the cases and, thus, the results of this research.

6.2 Ecological Paradox of Ebute-Ilaje Community

Ebute-Ilaje is a community situated in the Shomolu local government area at the centre of Lagos. The community is located beside the lagoon and is in direct contact with water. The community has a population of approximately 42 000 inhabitants (based on local census conducted by United Nations in year 1997; see UNICEF 1997). The community's majority earns its living from fishing, smoking fish, fish-trade and sand excavation from the lagoon shore. Most of the inhabitants are migrants from Oyo State and they belong to the Yoruba ethnic group or one of its sub-groups. Ebute-Ilaje is a typical Lagosian slum area: although located in the centre of the city, the access roads to the community are hardly negotiable by car, houses are poorly constructed (many of them being constructed on top of water with a simple wooden foundation) and basic amenities are lacking. Sanitation in the community is poor and there is no pipe-borne water available in the location. During the year of observation (1998), the community constructed one water tap that served the whole community. However, generally speaking, water for all purposes has to be purchased from private suppliers (UNICEF 1997). In spite of the poor quality of the built living environment, the settlement is permanent. According to the

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75 For a more detailed presentation on the human-environment relationship and ecosocial morality as a medium for sustainable development at the grassroots, see Article 1 in this work (Järvelä & Kuvaja-Puumalainen 1998).

informants, the first settlers arrived in the location in the early 70s and the community still receives a steady (and even increasing) flow of migrants.

Local governments have been institutionalised in Nigeria as a third tier of government in charge of environmental services at the local level. However, resources for these duties are received from the State and Federal Governments and in many cases allocated funds are not adequate to cover the needs at the community levels. This is the persistent reality in urban areas like Shomolu where the service provision is inadequate to meet the volume and density of population. During the discussions, the community informants expressed that they were willing to invest in the developing of services in their community together with the local government[76]. However, informants indicated that interaction and shared efforts with the authorities had remained minimal. This was explained in the discussions through authorities' negligence and indifference towards poor areas within their municipalities. Thus, solutions for non-existent basic services remained on a self-help basis. While complaining about authorities' negligence, the informants also pointed out that they did not hold enough power to encounter officials and negotiate with them. Informants also expressed that their skills (e.g. literacy) were not adequate to take advantage of potential opportunities (such as official credit schemes) to improve their daily life.

The Ebute-Ilaje community has several organisations: an overall community development association represents all the 42 000 inhabitants while several professional co-operatives operate under it. The association and cooperatives are registered under the state government. During the group discussions, informants indicated that the role of the local associations and co-operatives was crucial for the daily governance of the community. They were also perceived as sources of the community's integrity and independence. The associations were not only considered important as a tool for internal organisation but also as a channel to interact with various stakeholders outside the community. Informants expressed that associations provided them with self-confidence to present their cases in various forums. Community's organisations have also economic significance as economic activities are organised through the co-operatives, resulting in a common use of equipment and organisation of micro credit among the members.

In the absence of local government involvement, Ebute-Ilaje community uses its own local organisation and networking channels to respond to the daily needs in the management of the living environment (see also Myllylä & Kuvaja 2005). As such, the pressure of the living and trading space has been identified as a primary need in this growing community on a limited piece of land. As the community's financial resources and access to credit facilities are limited to enable buying or renting new land, the community's most feasible option has been to seek land expansion towards the lagoon. Reclamation of the land, in turn,

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76 The willingness and ability of the community to invest in its living environment was also noted by UNICEF that conducted a baseline study in the community (UNICEF 1997).

is organised through materials accessible to the community: the household waste. The waste is collected from the community's own sources while associations also collect money from their members to buy waste from the local government. According to the informants, the reclamation of the land has been done in the community for more than twenty years. The reclaimed land provides space, for example, for housing, a church, a community building, the fish market and the sand selling market. During one month of observation, February 1998, the community was actively reclaiming the land and bought more than 20 small truck loads of waste. The waste was slowly gathered on the lagoon shore next to the operating fish market. Finally, the waste was spread flat towards the water and sand was pressed on the top of it to create a solid foundation. When completed, the reclamation expanded the community's fish market ten meters towards the water and created needed land for fish selling stalls.

FIGURE 13 The reclamation of land with waste in Ebute-Ilaje (Kristiina Kuvaja)

When the informants were asked about the overall effects of their land reclamation, they did not perceive their activity as problematic. On the contrary, it was economically and technically feasible to address the community's most prioritised need and has been a successful practice for several years. When questioning the environmental impact of the process, informants argued that the rest of the city is also polluting the lagoon and, therefore, their activity does not make a dramatic difference. However, the community members had simultaneously observed increasing difficulty in catching fish and the need to travel further to secure adequate catch for their livelihood. The informants explained this was due to an increasing number of fishermen in the area. The pollution resulting from the community practices or other sources was not considered as a particular cause for the decreased fish stock.

6.3 Organising Environmental Services in the Shomolu Compounds

Shomolu local government area is one of the most densely populated areas in Lagos consisting of more than one million inhabitants. The majority of inhabitants belong to the low- or middle-income groups and face-me-face-you compounds are common. Compounds are usually owned by private landlords living in the same building with tenants, who, in many cases, live in the same compound for years or decades. The six compounds observed as part of this case study consist of five face-me-face-you compounds with several families living in them. One of the compounds is an extended family compound in which a man, his wives, their children and grandchildren are sharing the rooms and common facilities.

In general, the housing situation in Shomolu can be characterised by high demand and increasing prices. In general, this has resulted in difficulties among the families to find adequate housing (Kuvaja 2001). Thus, even those families with regular incomes are commonly living in strikingly small homes. In the case compounds, some of the informants are sharing a room of 5 square meters with total of 5 family members (ibid). These rooms belong to building blocks in which basic services such as water supply, shower and toilets are shared - sometimes with 20 to 30 tenants. At least in principle, services such as hospitals, schools, roads, water system, electricity and communal waste management are available in Shomolu. However, many of the services are malfunctioning and inhabitants need to rely on self-help in the provision of these services. When discussing the services, the informants were most concerned about the water supply. They described supply as highly erratic and water was often 'coloured' and, thus, inadequate for drinking or bathing. Also electricity was perceived as problematic: while its supply was unreliable, many informants told that they were in debt to the electricity authority after receiving bills that were higher than their monthly salaries. Although the bills were not felt to be justified, the informants expressed that they had no other option than to gradually try to pay them.

FIGURE 14 Face-me-face-you housing in Shomolu (Kristiina Kuvaja)

FIGURE 15 The backyard of a face-me-face-you compound (Kristiina Kuvaja)

All the informants recognised the local government's central role in their environmental service provision. However, in the discussions the presence of local authorities was most commonly expressed through the Environmental Sanitation Day (see also Kuvaja 2006). This is the first Saturday of the month

when residents are expected to clean their compounds and special inspectors go around punishing those that did not comply with the cleaning rules. Although the informants considered Environmental Sanitation Day to be a useful initiative, they were not satisfied with the local government's contribution. The informants argued that although compounds were kept clean from the residents' part, the local government left public waste containers full for days or weeks. According to the informants, residents had to take sometimes action to empty them due to visual disturbance, bad smells and health risks. Despite their dissatisfaction with the local government's (and other authorities') services, the informants did not consider themselves to be capable of contesting public officials and demanding better services or justified treatment. The commonly expressed feeling among them was that they just had to accept the absence and misconduct of their local governments. In some cases the informants even claimed that they preferred the absence of the public officials as it meant less trouble.

In the circumstances of non-existent or malfunctioning services the main strategies to organise daily living environment are (i) private investments and networking in the provision of alternative infrastructure, (ii) the use of informal services in service provision and, (iii) the sharing of amenities and collaboration in their maintenance with strong female contribution. Firstly, most of these compounds have a water tap located in their backyard. However, due to the deficiencies in water supply, each compound has invested in a construction of a well to supply water for bathing, washing and toilets. In those cases drinking water is either bought from private suppliers or collected through different networks outside the compound. When talking about these networks, informants often referred to friends, relatives and neighbours whom they could count on for mutual help. In some cases the informants told that they had contacts with people living in the in the army barracks as there the water flow was known to be always reliable. The networking outside the compound for water supply was perceived important by all informants. In these cases the water supply becomes a highly time-consuming activity which usually is women's responsibility. Secondly, all the compounds use the informal waste management system and they pay the 'mallams'[77] for this service: a 'mallam' collects the household waste from the compounds, possibly sorts it and takes the non-recyclable waste to the communal containers. All the informants considered the system useful as well as effective to enhance overall cleanliness of the compounds.

Finally, the use of the shared facilities, such as showers, is a highly organised activity in these compounds based on agreed timetables, gender and age groups. The use of toilets and kitchens, in turn, is regulated by commonly agreed rules and responsibilities. The informants expressed that the need for this collaboration derived from daily necessities and the scarcity of available services. In all the cases the collaboration between the residents emerges based

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77 'Mallam' commonly refers to the people going around in the neighbourhoods collecting household waste for a small fee.

on voluntary action without formal housing associations with fixed rules. Thus, the collaboration is mainly based on the trust between the residents (see also Kuvaja 2006). In general, women perform as the coordinators of compound management, while in some cases they also have the main responsibility in maintaining the toilets, fetching the water, coordinating the use of common facilities and taking care of the overall cleanliness of the compound. In some compounds the responsibilities are divided between men and women and in some of them between the rooms.

On the whole, the informants expressed that they are pleased with their ability to collaborate and share facilities and responsibilities in the management of their shared living environment. Only in one of the observed cases were residents unable to collaborate in daily service provision leaving the compound's utilities broken, dirty and abandoned. Although in all compounds the informants reported occasional difficulties in their arrangements and activities, their overall goal of a functioning living environment - within the limits of available resources - was achieved. However, expressions of the potential opportunities for meaningful changes in the living environment remained absent in the informants' discourses.

6.4 Isolated Well-Being of Alabang Hills and San Lorenzo Gated Communities

This case study focuses on two exclusive upper-class gated communities in Metro-Manila, namely San Lorenzo and Alabang Hills. San Lorenzo, being one of the oldest gated communities, locates in the middle of the Makati business district while Alabang Hills situates in southern Metro-Manila, a growing business and residential area. The communities consist of 772 and 680 lots respectively. The lots, in turn, usually contain a single-family house or sometimes a duplex. The residential areas also have buildings for community activities and amenities such as churches, parks, basket-ball courts and swimming pools. In June-July 2005, the estimated prices of properties (house and a lot) available in the two villages varied from 9.5 to 18 million Philippine Pesos depending on size and location[78]. The main data for the case study was collected through twelve resident interviews (see Kuvaja forthcoming). All the informants were owners of one or several lots in their communities while in many cases also owning other properties outside these communities. The informants identified themselves, and the communities' inhabitants in general, as representatives of the two highest income categories in the country.

The two case residential areas are highly organised in pursuit of a desired living environment. The main bodies responsible for the communities' overall management are the residential associations. These corporations do not only

[78] According to the official exchange rate in June 2005, the prices in euro varied from 150 000 to 280 000 euros. The prices were provided by an independent broker.

manage the daily service provision in the area (such as waste management or security) but they also collect fees and dues needed in this task. In addition, they hold supervisory powers to oversee that the residents comply with the areas' overall rules and regulations. These rules and regulations, in turn, do not only define the communities' overall 'ethos' (principles of friendliness and orderliness etc.) but also building aesthetics (e.g. construction rules).

Gated upper-class residential areas in Metro-Manila are commonly called 'villages' instead of the notion 'barrios' that refers to urban neighbourhoods in the Philippines. The use of the term 'village' expresses these residential areas' aim to take operational and legal distance from the local authorities (Connell 1999, 424) and in the discussions the informants emphasised their communities' autonomy from authorities particularly in the management of their living environment. In general, the informants perceived public authorities as unreliable and corrupt and, thus, incapable of providing a decent living environment for the city's inhabitants. They claimed that Metro-Manila's degrading environment is largely a result of the very nature of the public sector. Metro-Manila was also perceived as insecure and unpleasant due to the vast poverty which, according to the informants, results in low morals and criminality in the city. The informants used the perceived incompetence of public official and the low quality of the city's overall physical and social environment as their main arguments to justify the high independence in the provision of living environment and, thus, autonomy from the local authorities.

The two communities hold various resources to enforce their targets of autonomy and a high quality of living environment. Firstly, these communities hold financial resources to organise their basic services without support from the public authorities. As such, they are in the position to purchase a variety of services and technologies to ensure the desired living environment. Secondly, these communities hold organisation and human resources to operate their daily management. Thirdly, socially cohesive 'insiders' and the stark contrast between their living environment and the 'outside' enforces shared identity and perceptions on how to safeguard the area from the 'ills' of the 'outside' (Kuvaja forthcoming). Finally, many residents of these communities hold a position in the country's elite and, thus, have access to power at the city and even national levels. This provides the communities with a privileged position to negotiate with public authorities and the potential to have an impact on urban administration and legislation for their benefit[79].

In their immediate living environment the informants prioritised particularly aspects like security, privacy, cleanliness and quality of daily services. The strategies to ensure these are highly similar in the two case areas. They also largely correspond to the strategies observed in upper-class

[79] During the field work in June-July 2005, the senate debated on legislation that would turn the management of 'public' parks located inside gated communities to their associations. This, in turn, would limit local governments' power over the use of these 'public' spaces. According to media speculations, associations from various villages had lobbied actively for the law and it was expected to pass due to their alliances in the senate.

residential areas in other large southern cities (see e.g. Caldeira 2002; 2000). The security target is pursued through two different ways. Firstly, these areas are physically isolated from the rest of the city with high walls and gates. The gates, in turn, are equipped with 24-hour security guards. Secondly, moving in and out of the village is highly regularised for those from the 'outside': access without legitimate reason (e.g. invitation) is not permitted and those who are authorised to enter are requested to leave their identity cards with the security guards. Furthermore, those 'outsiders' coming to the village for work (e.g. maids, drivers) are required to carry a special ID (and often a uniform) in the village to be identifiable. In addition to the security, these measures also produce what informants identified as privacy, i.e. distance from the different 'realities' in the city and a cohesive social environment as well as a way of life inside the gates (Kuvaja forthcoming). The target of cleanliness and functioning services, in turn, is organised through village associations and their powers to purchase different services. In these residential areas security services, waste collection and road maintenance are managed by the village association. Also 'public' parks, shared facilities and churches are self-maintained. In addition, the associations provide a great variety of different leisure and hobby facilities to meet the needs of their residents. As a result, San Lorenzo and Alabang Hills are areas that use vast resources for their autonomy and that produce various trickle-down-effects on the 'outside' in their management of daily life.

FIGURE 16 Living environment inside the gates of Alabang Hills community (Kristiina Kuvaja)

All the informants expressed their satisfaction with their living environment and they described their gated communities as safe, clean and well-managed. Furthermore, these areas were perceived as comfort zones and sanctuaries in Metro-Manila which, in turn, was described among informants as being synonymous with degradation, desperation, squatters and garbage. All the

informants expressed their concern of the living conditions on the 'outside' and they wished that 'outsiders' would have better opportunities for an adequate living environment. Consequently, all the informants agreed that there needs to be a change in their society in order to achieve this. However, the informants saw their own role in this change as minimal (see Kuvaja forthcoming). As a result, the recognition of widening disparities in Metro-Manila's social and physical environments did not materialise in personal commitments among the informants to pursue societal changes but as a justification for increased security and isolation measures.

6.5 Cleaning Metro-Manila's Air through Bantay Usok Project

This last case study does not focus on a community and its arrangements in the living environment to produce benefits to a physically identifiable locality. Instead, it describes a case in which networking and innovation are pursued to create benefits for all the residents in the city. In this case of Bantay Usok project, two wider societal contexts are essential: the degradation of Metro-Manila's air and the popularity of mobile phones (and texting) in the Philippines. Firstly, as pointed out in Chapter 3, Metro-Manila's air quality has been worsening at an alarming rate while cars are its biggest polluters. Legislation has been set in place to tackle the issue but its implementation has remained weak. Secondly, during the past ten years mobile phones and particularly texting have become immensely popular in the Philippines (Kuvaja & Mursu 2003). The success of texting has been explained by both economic and cultural factors: while texting is economically feasible for a majority of the population ('poor man's email'), it also provides a way to enforce culturally important connectivity. Thus, mobile phones and texting have been perceived as new channels that enable Filipinos to express views and feelings that they could not express in face-to-face interaction (Pertierra et al. 2002). As a result, mobile phones provide opportunities for networking and participation that did not exist before.

Bantay Kalikasan, an environmental programme of ABS-CBS Foundation[80], initiated the Bantay Usok project in Metro-Manila in 1998. The purpose of the project was to enforce the implementation of the Clean Air Act by reducing smoke-belching cars in the roads of the metropolis[81]. Since 2001 the Land Transportation Office (LTO, under the Department of Transportation &

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80 ABS-CBN Foundation is a non-profit organisation working under ABS-CBS Broadcasting Corporation. The Foundation focuses particularly on environmental protection and for the rights of children and women. See http://www.abs-cbnfoundation.com (accessed 20.10.2006).

81 The programme was involved in the lobbying for the Clean Air act and after the law was passed the project, for example, provided channels (fax and telephone numbers, walk-in report registration, e-mail address) to report smoke-belchers. During 1998-2000 the project received the total of 6000 reports (Kuvaja 2006).

Communications) started authorising different groups, including NGOs, to conduct roadside apprehension against smoke-belching vehicles (Bantay Kalikasan 2004a). While collaborating with LTO in the roadside apprehension, the project also sought other ways of collaboration. This lead to the creation of a new hotline based on texting as its reporting method (see Kuvaja 2006). To operationalise the new hotline effectively, the project networked with other NGOs, local governments, city authorities, private sector and international donors for new partnerships. As a result, an agreement on the partnership between various stakeholders from public sector and civil society was signed in 2002. This partnership targeted particularly at increasing public reporting on smoke-belchers through the established hotline and strengthening the impact of these reports on law enforcement (Bantay Kalikasan 2004a).

The strategic pillars of Bantay Usok project were based on the established partnerships with public officials and other organisations involved in the clean air activities. These partnerships enabled the project to act as a 'deputy' to public authorities in conducting activities that usually belong to the domain of the city authorities. Secondly, Bantay Usok being connected to a major broadcasting house provided the project enhanced opportunities to promote clean air issues and the new hotline in major TV channels. Access to the media also provided the capacity to put pressure on those sectors (e.g. transportation companies) that were not willing to comply with the emission standards. Thirdly, the project involved technical and human skills to develop and maintain the hotline as well as emission testing teams on the roadsides. Finally, financing resources for the project were partly allocated from the programme's own funds. However, particularly roadside apprehension required funding from other resources. While the programme sought funding from other sources to strengthen its apprehension activities, the collected fees from the apprehension activities were expected to partly finance the apprehension teams.

FIGURE 17 Bantay Usok team member conducting roadside apprehension (Bantay Usok)

The established hotline worked in a following way: Bantay Usok project provided a mobile phone number to which Metro-Manila's residents were able to report observed smoke-belchers by texting the registration plate number, type of vehicle and location of the spotted smoke-belcher. The reports were automatically sorted by a central computer system (maintained by the project). When the computer registered five reports on the same vehicle (coming from different mobile phone numbers), a report was sent to the LTO. The LTO, in turn, sent a summons to the car owners with an invitation to the emissions testing. Car owners, who took up the invitation and tested their cars, were not penalised as long as measures were taken to meet the set emission standards. In addition, while the hotline was receiving texting reports, the project sent more apprehension teams to the roads (together with other stakeholders) to increase the impact of the partnership. The teams were authorised to test cars on the roads and confiscate plates of those cars that did not meet the emissions standards. The plates were given to the car owners (by transportation authorities) after they had paid the set fees and their car had passed the emissions testing.

During the first two years (June 2002–June 2004) the hotline received close to 300 000 reports from Metro-Manila's residents on smoke-belchers (Bantay Kalikasan 2004b). However, only a little more than 5000 car owners were summoned and less than 300 owners responded to the summons. In the discussions with Bantay Usok staff, the striking difference between the reports and summons was explained by the inefficiency of the administration to track down the reported plate numbers. This, in turn, was perceived as a result of inadequate records, the inability of different public authorities to collaborate, and corruption at various levels of the administration. After various attempts to strengthen the system, the project stopped the public promotion of the hotline since the results of the project remained weak. Simultaneously, the financing of the apprehension teams became problematic as public funding that was initially earmarked for the teams by transportation authorities was not channelled to them. Finally, the project decided to withdraw its teams from the roads. Thus, by the end of 2004 the activities of the project were ceased while the programme continued seeking channels to gain more official powers to enhance the implementation of the clean air law[82]. The programme management perceived the main result as being the residents' increased awareness and willingness to act upon clean air issues in Metro-Manila. The main target, cleaning the air itself, remained unachieved.

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82 Discussions with the project management were conducted in two different phases: in 2003 when the project was ongoing and in 2005 when the activities had already ceased.

7 GRASSROOTS AS AN ENTRY POINT TO SOCIAL SUSTAINABILITY

The founding argument of this work has been that sustainable development challenges in large southern cities are inherently social. In addition, focusing on the grassroots has been based on the assumption that analysing communities' daily practices opens up the ways in which this social nature materialises in daily life. This analysis, in turn, is invaluable for the understanding and operationalisation of social sustainability. This potential of the grassroots' level analysis is based on the assumption that grassroots' practices are relational activities providing information on micro-macro interaction and the ways it shapes lay-people's daily lives.

The previous chapter presented four case studies on different urban communities' activities vis-à-vis their living environment. The purpose of the presentation was to provide examples of the existing differences in the urban living environment, the ways urban communities manage and produce these environments as well as the resources and social arrangements communities have in doing so. This chapter presents the synthesis of these cases and, thus, the results of this work. The results are organised by addressing (i) what these cases suggest about urban communities as stakeholders in urban management; (ii) what do grassroots' daily practices tell us about micro-macro interaction and the impact of this interaction on the communities' daily life; (iii) what these cases indicate of the state of urban governance in the two southern megacities and, finally, (iii) the ways communities' practices interact with urban space. The final section of this chapter will summarise these results in discussing the overall contributions of this work to the understanding of social sustainability in large southern cities.

7.1 Urban Communities as Active Stakeholders

The cases confirm that *urban lay-people are active managers of their daily life and living environment.* The cases also validate that *this capacity to act is an inherent dimension of all lay-people regardless of their eco-social status*. This is shown from the poorest community of Ebute-Ilaje to the upper-class communities of Alabang Hills and San Lorenzo. Consequently, all these communities have an impact on the environments they are operating in. In their actions, these communities are highly knowledgeable agencies capable of locally identifying priorities and resources available when targeting their daily needs. For example, in Ebute-Ilaje the community prioritises space above other needs in a scarce living environment for reasons identified by the community. Thus, the community invests in living space instead of, for example, the infrastructure. Consequently, the solution - reclaiming the land with waste - is compatible with the communities' resources and constraints. Similarly, Bantay Usok has identified a culturally feasible strategy to engage Metro-Manila's inhabitants in the cleaning of the city's contested air and the Shomolu inhabitants have developed possible ways to locally provide basic services. Finally, Alabang Hills and San Lorenzo have created distinct strategies to ensure physical spaces where the upper-class life style can be secured.

Secondly, *communities' shared action emerges in diverse formal and informal or physically open or closed social arrangements.* Ebute-Ilaje community showcases a locality consisting of professional co-operatives with a wide scope of daily activities organised under the residential associations. Alabang Hills and San Lorenzo, on the other hand, have residential associations focusing strictly on the management of the living environment. All these communities have distinct physical borders that define those who are 'in' and who are 'out'. Shared action can also emerge in the forms of networks as in the case of the Bantay Usok project. In this case the acting community has open boundaries allowing various definitions of 'insiders' and 'outsiders'. All these above-mentioned cases share a common feature of being registered and formal organisations with fixed rules and organisational set-ups. However, shared action also materialises in 'informal' communities as in the case of the Shomolu compounds. These compounds are organised towards their living environment, but without the formal status of a registered organisation. These networks may remain invisible in the urban fabric, but they are crucial social configurations for the conduct of daily life.

Finally, the cases show that *communities' shared action defines and coordinates the use of other resources in daily life.* This finding is based on the observation that the mobilisation of different resources in these case communities is predominantly based on shared action and social arrangements (associations, partnerships, agreed rules of collaboration) facilitating this action. It is important to note that these arrangements take place in each community regardless of their access to other resources. In addition, the mode of shared action originates from

each respective community instead of them being imposed from the outside. Furthermore, these formal or informal arrangements enhance collaboration by providing justification for expected contributions and members' commitments. In none of the cases did informants question the validity of their communities' actions and the importance of their own contributions to these actions. However, although all these communities share the same target of enhancing their living environment, the strategies in doing so are different and, particularly in the physically defined communities, very localised.

7.2 Grassroots' Self-Help[83] as a Relational Practice

The cases demonstrate that *communities' daily needs and strategies to fulfil them are highly determined by communities' unequal access to the living environment and different urban resources to improve it.* Case studies reveal two interlinked contexts that affect communities' shared action: firstly, the direct proportionality of the quality of the living environment to communities' purchasing power and secondly, communities' highly unequal access to different resources to locally produce, organise and purchase daily services. For example, Ebute-Ilaje and Shomolu communities face scarce living environments characterised by persistent deficiencies in basic services. The quality of the living environment, consequentially, is not only a result of intense urbanisation and its side-effects, but it also reflects the lack of power that these communities have towards local governments to demand and negotiate their share in service provision. These overall factors result in the communities' heavy dependence on self-help in their daily practices. Simultaneously, the communities' self-help is characterised by their limited access to adequate income. As a result, the communities' practices remain local and collaboration itself becomes these communities' main resource. On the other hand, Alabang Hills, San Lorenzo and Bantay Usok operate in environments that are adequate, functioning and relatively reliable. In these cases the communities' collaborative efforts are used to managing a great variety of resources to address the overall well-being of communities' members. The capacity of these communities to manage their daily life beyond survival is based on the communities' financial capacities that place them in a favourable position vis-à-vis the urban living environment. This factor characterises the self-help more than these communities' ability for shared action *per se*. This also enables the management of a living environment that is based on a wide variety of resources. Simultaneously, a broad resource base enables access and negotiations with local authorities to enhance targets of these communities according to the strategies preferred by the communities themselves.

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83 The term 'self-help' is used here in a broad sense to underline communities' own initiatives to share, organise, produce or purchase services as communities' autonomous strategies to safeguard the immediate living environment. Thus, the term is not limited only to the production of services *per se*.

FIGURE 18 A view of unequal living environments in Metro-Manila (Kristiina Kuvaja)

Cases suggest that *both phenomena, privilege and marginalisation, enforce the emergence of self-help at the grassroots.* In addition, *the provisions of opportunities and obstacles in communities' self-help practices strengthen marginalisation and privileges even further.* The two communities of Ebute-Ilaje and Shomolu are marginalised from an adequate living environment and this enforces the emergence of self-help as a strategy to compensate for lacking services. However, due to their limited access to resources, the strategies of these communities remain limited and this feeds back into their increased marginalisation. Similarly, communities like Alabang Hills and San Lorenzo are privileged in their capacities to organise their daily life and this enforces their autonomous practices. Simultaneously, their wide resource base strengthens these communities' capacities to pursue their practices and this strengthens further these communities' privileged position vis-à-vis the rest of the city. These phenomena are identified here as '*cumulative urban cycles*'. This notion addresses the propensity of the two case cities to produce processes in which inequalities in living environments are enforcing communities' autonomous practices. Simultaneously disparities in the resources to perform these autonomous practices strengthen further this very inequality. This *'cumulative urban cycle'* can also be applied to the case of communities like Bantay Usok in a modified form: the project holds a privileged position as part of an influential media corporation and this position enforces projects' capacities for self-designed action. The relative wide resource base in turn strengthens further project's position to pursue its targets. Although the project failed at this point, its privileged position ensures that it can continue to pursue its targets in new ways.

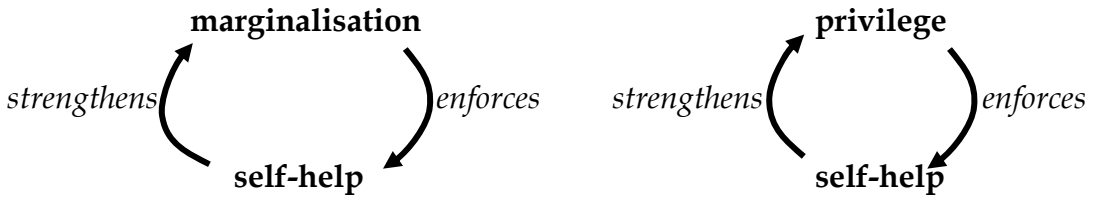

FIGURE 19 *'Cumulative urban cycles'* of marginalisation and privilege

In addition, the cases show that *when conducting their shared practices, communities' interaction with the rest of the city differs and it is not always desirable for the functions of the whole city.* In general, shared action is defined as materialisation of 'bonding' and 'bridging' social capital which, respectively, describes either closed networks that aim to produce benefits for an exclusive group or open networks that target 'inclusive' benefits for a wider group of people. However, the cases demonstrate that the communities' relations towards the rest of the city is not only limited to beneficiaries as being 'open' or 'closed'. In addition, these relations are characterised by the communities' inequalities in their resource base to produce these benefits. The cases expose two different categories in this: wide access to resources (Alabang Hills/San Lorenzo and Bantay Usok) and limited access to resources (Ebute-Ilaje and Shomolu). Assessing these two dimensions together provides a varied picture of the ways communities interact with the rest of the city in their practices.

Firstly, the Bantay Usok project combines different resources and networks for city-wide benefits in the production of the living environment. As such, it is identified as an *'engaging'* community as it is capable of producing inclusive and city-wide benefits while using the resources of open networks. Secondly, Alabang Hills and San Lorenzo use a wide range of various resources to produce benefits for a small exclusive group of beneficiaries. As such, it is identified as an *'exploitative'* community in its relations with the rest of the city. Both Ebute-Ilaje and Shomolu represent communities with highly local resources and a restricted group of benefits. Thus, they are identified as *'constrained'* communities highlighting their limited capacity to benefit from and contribute to the wider management of the city. Finally, the table includes a potential category of communities that are capable of producing inclusive city-wide benefits from a local resource base. These communities are identified as *'subsidising'* in their interaction with the rest of the city. Although none of the case communities represent *'subsidising'* interaction it does not mean that these communities do not exist in these cities. On the contrary, the active, diverse and multilayered nature of the urban grassroots suggests that urban communities hold the potential for innovations that can generate this type of practices and interaction. In fact, the emergence of these types of communities would be crucial for the production of inclusive benefits in those urban environments where the resource base and any opportunities for its enlargement are limited.

TABLE 1 Communities' interaction with the city in the management of the daily living environment

		BENEFITS	
RESOURCES		BENEFITS FOR CLOSED GROUP (BONDING SOCIAL CAPITAL)	BENEFITS FOR OPEN GROUP (BRIDGING SOCIAL CAPITAL)
	WIDE ACCESS TO RESOURCES	'EXPLOITATIVE' INTERACTION WITH THE CITY **ALABANG HILLS/ SAN LORENZO**	'ENGAGING' INTERACTION WITH THE CITY **BANTAY USOK**
	LIMITED ACCESS TO RESOURCES	'CONSTRAINED' INTERACTION WITH THE CITY **SHOMOLU AND EBUTE-ILAJE**	'SUBSIDISING' INTERACTION WITH THE CITY **-**

The above table presents the analysis of communities' self-help in terms of their potential interaction with the rest of the city. In fact, in the case communities only the Bantay Usok project demonstrates interaction that is analogous with the target of open and participatory networks elemental for sustainable development. In the cases of Ebute-Ilaje and Shomolu, the communities' practices are disconnected from the city-wide development and the communities' capacities to enlarge their interaction, and contributions to the rest of the city remain limited. Finally, despite their isolation, Alabang Hills and San Lorenzo interact actively with the rest of the city. However, this interaction is not based on the production of reciprocal benefits, but instead on the enforcement of exclusive privileges.

7.3 Daily Life and Urban Governance

All the case studies demonstrate *weak interaction between the communities and urban authorities.* The cases also show that *the reasons behind the lack of interaction are diverse.* In effect, none of the cases communities participate actively in the decision-making in the ways the resources allocated to the provision of urban environment are distributed. In the cases of Ebute-Ilaje and Shomolu a lack of participation follows the patterns of governance observed in many southern cities: in both localities the public infrastructure is inadequate, reflecting the restricted resources of the local governments to fulfil their duties. This lack of interaction is not necessarily only due to the negligence of local governments, but it also results from the weak skills or lack of shared initiatives in the communities to enforce this interaction. The cases of Alabang Hills and San Lorenzo as well as the Bantay Usok project provide, however, a different

picture of the failure of urban governance. The minimal contact between Alabang Hills or San Lorenzo and local authorities is particularly a result of these communities' active pursuance of autonomy rather than the negligence of local governments. Furthermore, the communities' avoidance of the authorities' involvement in their daily life is based on their shared distrust towards authorities' capacities to conduct their duties. In addition, the target of limited collaboration is embedded in these communities' objective to secure the exclusivity of their privileged living environment. In the case of the Bantay Usok project the involvement of grassroots' organisations in the urban management was encouraged by the city authorities themselves. However, the participation of the project was limited by the authorities to the operationalisation of the partnership and the project did not have any decision-making power over the resources needed for these operations. Finally, the partnership failed at this stage, not because of a lack of interaction, but because of the limitations of this partnership.

FIGURE 20 A view of squatters in Lagos living outside the formal service provision network (Kristiina Kuvaja)

The cases show that the lack of interaction between urban communities and local governments results in three specific challenges in the city-wide sustainable development. Firstly, a *lack of interaction weakens the capacities of local governments to come forward as credible partners for local communities.* In all the cases the failure of urban authorities to provide adequate living environments enforced the communities' self-help. While performing their practices, the communities expressed disappointment (Bantay Usok, Ebute-Ilaje) and distrust (Shomolu and Alabang Hills/San Lorenzo) towards their respective authorities. Furthermore, while relying on self-help many informants stated that they preferred the absence of local authorities in their daily lives. As a consequence, this created distance weakens the possibilities of local governments to engage

communities' contributions in strengthening their own lacking capacities in potential partnerships. In general, this *'spiral of weak local governments'* materialises in the following ways: the limited capacities of local governments (such as limited financial and human resources, weak know-how and motivation) results in the decrease of basic services at the grassroots. This increases the emergence of self-help in the communities. Communities' practices materialise in autonomous and local ways instead of them being based on interaction and collaboration with the authorities. This enforces distance and distrust among the communities towards the local governments. Finally, this further weakens the local government's capacities to perform their tasks.

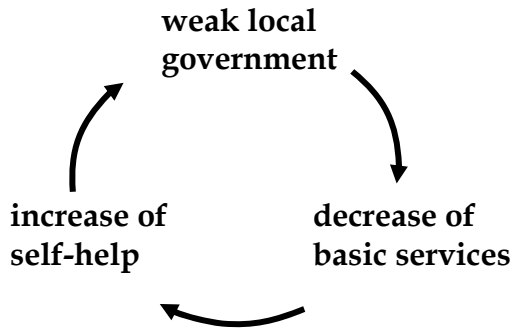

FIGURE 21 *'Spiral of weak local governments'*

Secondly, *local governments are not able to take full advantage of the attitudinal potential of the grassroots.* Particularly the Bantay Usok project as well as Alabang Hills and San Lorenzo showcase social resources that are materialised as ecosocial moralities in communities shared practices. In both cases, members of these communities are aware of their city's degrading living environment while enforcing practices to alleviate it. In both cases, the potential of this eco-social morality in city-wide development is wasted: in Alabang Hills and San Lorenzo it remains as an enforcement of exclusivity while actually weakening social premises for the identification of shared concerns. In the case of Bantay Usok this potential was recognised by the city authorities, but engaging this potential failed. As a result these eco-social moralities remain as local fragments instead of them being turned into social resources in urban environmental management, and thus in enforcement of city-wide heritage for sustainable development.

Finally, *relying purely on communities' practices in managing daily life may lead to the persistence of grassroots' practices that are harmful for the overall development of their respective cities.* In the case of Ebute-Ilaje the reclaiming of land by waste is done as a local solution for needed living space. However, in the long-term it harms the lagoon and affects the fish stock. This does not only contribute to the diminishing of the livelihoods in the community itself but it also harms the overall urban environment. Alabang Hills and San Lorenzo, in turn, provide their residents with high quality living environments. However, by doing so they enforce segregation, disconnectedness and rigid perceptions of social differences among the cities' inhabitants. Consequentially this weakens interaction beyond the gates and weakens the overall social cohesion in the city.

All these case communities are successful in addressing their needs in the immediate living environment. However, they have an unintended impact beyond their local communities.

7.4 The Impact of Segregation on Daily Interaction

The cases verify that organisation of urban residential spaces in these two megacities is based on the communities' ability to purchase an adequate living environment. In both cities, case communities are eco-socially highly cohesive and *communities' networks of shared action do not easily extend beyond their eco-social differentiations demarcated by the physical spaces* of these cities. This spatial disconnectedness emerges in the cases in different ways: in Ebute-Ilaje and Shomolu the lack of collaborative interaction is visible in these communities' daily practices as in their unchanging character. Daily practices in these communities are largely based on traditional skills or procedures (e.g. female responsibility in service production and maintenance) or as measures based on years-old local innovations (e.g. reclaiming land with waste). The persistence of these practices expresses the limited resources these communities have in their use and it demonstrates the low transfer of novel and new practices from the urban fabric to these communities. In the case of Alabang Hills and San Lorenzo segregation materialises in avoidance of the rest of the urban fabric: gated communities are created to represent upper-classes' ideals on safety, privacy and comfort and the rest of the city is perceived as their antonym. Indeed, upper-classes practices do not include other social groups as equal inhabitants and potential collaborators in the city. As a consequence, members of the upper-class use their resources to enhance exclusivity and autonomy while minimising the impact of the 'outside' in their daily life.

FIGURE 22 A wall isolating a gated community from the rest of the city in Metro-Manila (Kristiina Kuvaja)

Moreover, cases show that *segregation and fragmentation of urban space characterises the interaction taking place between different eco-social groups*. In the case of Ebute-Ilaje and Shomolu, segregation materialises in the localised production of the living environment and social configurations facilitating it. In these cases segregation affects in particular the local nature of the communities' interaction. Alabang Hills and San Lorenzo, on the other hand, use various resources to isolate their living environment and prevent other eco-social fragments from 'overlapping' with it. However, the interaction of the upper-classes with other social fragments takes place on a daily basis. When producing their living environments, upper-classes' spaces are highly dependent on the services provided by these fragments through the services of maids, drivers, guards and gardeners. As a result, other social spaces are permanently present in the exclusive spaces of these communities. However, this 'trickle-down-effect' interaction is initiated to manage secluded living environments instead of facilitating reciprocal activities between these different eco-social fragments. As such, this interaction is primarily bringing different social groups into the same physical space without creating 'weak ties' or 'thin trust' that enables new spaces and networks to facilitate the transfer of innovations and social benefits.

FIGURE 23 A notice given to a visitor entering a gated community in Metro-Manila (Kristiina Kuvaja)

Finally, the Bantay Usok project makes a promising exception in the observations on southern megacities as fragmented spaces. Experiences of the project illustrate that *grassroots hold capacities to 'break' spatial demarcations in these cities.* These capacities, in turn, materialise both in the strategies applied by these communities and in their targeted beneficiaries. However, the project's failure in creating a new 'hybrid' space to facilitate the cleaning of Metro-Manila's air shows that different fragments in urban spaces are not easy to

unite. Thus, the experiences of Bantay Usok substantiate that urban spatial horizons in southern megacities are not easily open to innovative networks that contest the logic of urban fragmentation.

7.5 Contributions to Understanding Social Sustainability Challenges

The overall definition on social sustainability of cities has referred in this work to conditions that enable harmonious development of the civil society. These conditions are then enabled through social integration, peaceful cohabitation and the equal well-being of urban inhabitants (Polèse & Stren 2000, 15-16). The specific objective of this work has been to contribute to the understanding of those factors that affect social sustainability in large southern cities and the results presented in this chapter bring about four challenges of social sustainability in the two case cities:

Firstly, this work demonstrates that daily life in the two cities is structured through *privileges and marginalisation that are comprehensive conditions affecting the quality of living environments, availability of daily services and communities' opportunities to improve them.* The comprehensive nature of privileges and marginalisation is a result of these cities' specific patterns of daily management that rely heavily on communities' self-responsibility to produce survival and well-being. In addition, privileges and marginalisation in these cities are dynamic processes. This dynamism emerges as a one-way development as it is built on the cumulative effects in their daily life: relying on their own resources ensures a positive cycle of increasing privileges for Alabang Hills and San Lorenzo while poverty enforces a negative cycle on continuing marginalisation in Ebute-Ilaje or Shomolu. When these *'cumulative urban cycles'* are combined with the effects of globalisation such as intensified concentration of wealth, increased land prices and segregation of urban spaces, they produce a diversity of urban daily life that originates from the same phenomena, but materialises in different and unequal realities. The results of this work underline that strengthening equal opportunities for livelihoods and living environments is a crucial strategy to interrupting the comprehensive, dynamic and cumulative nature of privileges and marginalisation. This is the core of breaking the reproduction of extreme contrasts in well-being and deprivation. If the cumulative processes of privileges and marginalisation are not reversed or interrupted, they can eventually lead to urban conditions in which peaceful cohabitation of different groups is no longer possible.

The second main challenge that the results of this work bring about is that social capital in the communities' management of daily life is characterised by *autonomy and locality enforcing disconnectedness at the city-level.* Autonomy refers to the communities' self-help in deciding and designing strategies to achieve set targets. Locality, on the other hand, refers to the restricted scope of beneficiaries

in communities' practices. As such, communities' daily management emerges as 'local pockets of cohesion' in which the rest of the city is either non-existent due to limited access to resources as in Shomolu or Ebute-Ilaje or it exists only as a pool of these resources as in the case of Alabang Hills and San Lorenzo. Indeed the communities' activities may be successful in addressing needs in the local context, but they remain incapable of contributing to city-wide well-being. This inability of the communities to interact with the rest of the city in a reciprocal ways transforms southern megacities into large compositions of local and disconnected fragments. As such, grassroots daily life does not easily emerge as a medium of producing common denominators (priorities, practices, identities) of well-being and social heritage for sustainable development at the city-level. As such, the communities' active local role in urban management does not automatically equate with social sustainability. Consequently, opportunities for city-level social sustainability cannot be measured in the volume of grassroots' active formal or informal arrangements as an inevitable proof of their capacity to collaborate more effectively, as thought by Putnam (1993). Instead, the findings of this work indicate that the challenge of fragmentation can be addressed by identifying and supporting those grassroots' practices that interact with the city by *'engaging'* or *'subsidising'* ways.

Thirdly, the results show that *grassroots' participation in formal governance structures is weak and that challenge of participatory governance emerges as a multi-stakeholder failure*. This refers to a situation in which weak participation of the civil society in urban management is a result of local governments' lacking capacities and motivation or communities' inability to participate or their active avoidance. For example, while members of Ebute-Ilaje or Shomolu do not possess the skills and power to enforce their own participation, the inhabitants of Alabang Hills and San Lorenzo do not consider it beneficial for themselves. Although the reasons for non-participation are different, they result in negative attitudes throughout the eco-social spectrum of the grassroots towards urban authorities' capacities to develop the city and produce shared benefits. As such, the overall idea of participatory governance in these cities is facing a credibility deficit in all segments of the grassroots. This results in urban management that is divided into formal government structures and grassroots' local arrangements in which communities increasingly rely on their autonomous and local practices as a preferred alternative to the interaction with the authorities. Thus, *communities'* participation in urban governance needs, in addition to corrective measures, policy components to increase the credibility of local government as partners. The results of this work emphasise that one of the most crucial dimensions to tackle the credibility deficit is to focus on feasible, effective and equal initiatives in provisions of living environment. Increasing authorities' credibility can, in turn, break the isolation of urban communities and initiate *'spirals of strong local governments'* which are the key to increased well-being in these cities.

Finally, these findings bring forward as the fourth challenge of social sustainability that *urban spaces in megacities like Lagos and Metro-Manila hold tendencies of self-inducing character.* This refers to fragmentation that enhances its own reproduction in daily life: differentiation and segregation further strengthen their own existence by enforcing differences in urban spaces. In these cities the organisation of urban space is directly linked to inhabitants' purchasing power, and fragmentation shapes the overall physical and social features of different urban living environments. In addition, fragmentation accumulates the ways opportunities receive and produce adequate living environment, are either hindered or strengthened in different localities. Enforcing social sustainability through physical interventions does not refer to a pursuance of homogeneous urban form. Instead, it indicates that actions connecting different urban spaces to each other play a role in strengthening social sustainability as they enable enlarged loyalties, networks and a flow of information between them. As such, these results support the observations made by Polèse and Stren (2000, 17-34) that although emerging as somewhat technical and simplistic, sectoral interventions (e.g. zoning, transportation and road development, housing and access to land, local economic development) are important in producing such changes that open spatial fragments. In this way, urban sectoral policies can be used as part of the concerted efforts of social policy design to address social sustainability beyond single local government areas and single sectors. Local governments, however, may not possess the capacities to map out the sectoral priorities to enforce overall welfare in their respective areas. This calls for city-wide sectoral agencies which work in collaboration with local governments to map out policy priorities. However, the ultimate power in the implementation of local interventions needs to remain with strengthened local governments that hold the position to negotiate with the grassroots for locally feasible solutions.

7.6 A Multidisciplinary Research Approach in the Assessment of Social Sustainability

The conduct of this research has been based on two interlinked strategies: firstly, this work has focused on the daily life at the grassroots' level to analyse the content of social sustainability challenges in large southern cities. Secondly, it has applied multidisciplinary research strategy to achieve this objective. I will conclude the findings of this work by discussing the contributions of these two strategic choices to the assessment of social sustainability.

Grassroots was chosen as an entry point for this research based on the assumption that communities' daily practices open up those limitations and resources communities have in use to participate in and benefit from urban development. These factors, in turn, were presumed to be directly related to the opportunities for social sustainability to materialise in these cities. In general,

the results of this work demonstrate that grassroots level analysis is a insightful entry point when building a comprehensive picture of the city-wide state of social sustainability. As such, grassroots' level analysis opens up a variety of information important for the assessment of social sustainability. Firstly, grassroots' level analysis facilitates the identification of the ways inequalities in service provision and access to resources are combined in the conduct of daily life and, thus, what interventions are meaningful and feasible in lay-people's lives. Secondly, grassroots level analysis is able to grasp the units (such as associations, neighbourhood communities, networks) operating at that level. Analysing these units can facilitate identification of *'engaging'* and *'subsidising'* practices that hold the potential for strengthening integration beyond localities. Thirdly, grassroots' level analysis can address the needs in these various units to participate in different interventions or networks. This assessment then provides socially differentiated information on the factors that weaken various communities' overall participation in urban development. This is particularly valuable for the targets of urban governance which go beyond simply creating technical platforms of participation. Fourthly, analysing communities' practices opens up the patterns of segregation in urban space and the ways this affects the materialisation of opportunities and limitations for shared action in different communities. This can facilitate the identification of specific sectoral entry points to open spatial horizons to facilitate new networks. On the whole, these different aspects of grassroots level analysis enable a comprehensive assessment of communities' tripod role in social sustainability: their role as an insightful entry point for the assessment of social sustainability, their role as the targets of social sustainability interventions and their role as resourceful partners in these interventions.

Despite focusing specifically on the communities' actions, grassroots' level analysis provides information also for the processes of governance. For example, location-specific investigations on the emergence of *'cumulative urban cycles'* or *'spirals of weak local governments'* can strengthen understanding of the causes that hinder local governments from assuming their roles as coordinators, regulators and partners in urban management. In this assessment local investigations can provide insights on communities' interpretations on the reasons why participatory urban governance is not taking place. These interpretations, in turn, can highlight the preconditions for potential partnership: the developments that need to take place at the local level to strengthen the trust and commitment among local communities to participatory urban governance.

The multidisciplinary research approach applied in this work, in turn, integrated approaches of urban anthropology, sociology and human geography into the tradition of international social policy. The purpose of this combination was to investigate social sustainability in ways that can contribute to the sustainable development policy discourses in large southern cities. The chosen approach supported the set target in the following ways:

Firstly, approaching the field through qualitative inquiries of ethnography enables an open picture of the grassroots in these cities as these inquiries allow the 'field' to define what units are active at the grassroots and how they operate. This moves the nature of produced information away from building a fixed picture of the grassroots to an understanding of its social and cultural diversities. As such, open inquiries allow multilayered and even hybrid units of the grassroots to become visible in the research process. This enabling nature of chosen methodologies is fruitful in the assessment of social sustainability as it provides information on the various units - formal and informal, acting and symbolic – affecting lay-people's daily life. Simultaneously, these inquiries allow these diversities to come forward as elements that can have an impact on the conduct of the research. When combined with multiple sources of information (such as statistics, policy papers and other case studies), surfacing units and their dynamisms can be assessed as indicators of wider trends of social sustainability taking place at the city-level.

Secondly, assessment of communities' practices as indicators of social sustainability requires context analysis to ensure that understanding of these practices is not limited to interpretations of the communities' capacity to act. In this research the communities' practices were assessed through the concept of social capital to emphasise the relational nature of these practices. Linking the communities' practices to urban contexts has significance for policy design, as without these linkages research process can produce narrow approaches to address social realities on the ground. If the communities' practices are perceived particularly as the communities' capacity to act, they may be approached as a potential for partnership in planned interventions. However, if these practices are perceived as relational entities and as responses to wider urban contexts, the analyses on daily practices' may provide entry points for assessing how different structures and interactions either hinder or enable communities' daily lives and, thus, the use of their full potential. Obviously, both of these approaches to social capital have their benefits in policy design. However, the wider approach to social capital provides the key for the analytical significance of the grassroots' practices in assessments of the ways to strengthen social sustainability.

Finally, different indicators of urban development (e.g. coverage of services, quality of air and level of income) highlight sectoral opportunities and limitations at the city-level to invest in social sustainability. These indicators can, for example, point out poor areas where local governments are lacking resources for services provision, or growth areas where the population is increasing so rapidly that service provision cannot grow at a corresponding pace. However, these indicators are not capable of explaining why income opportunities, innovations and networks do not spread between different locations of the city or segments of the grassroots. In order to analyse this phenomenon, this research included urban space in its context analysis. This choice of approach revealed that in these two megacities physical demarcations of unequal welfare are directly relational to unequal access to social spaces.

Thus, physical demarcations in these cities also define those social groups that can have access to emerging livelihood opportunities in equal ways. This, in turn, contributed to this work's understanding of why trickle-down-effects in these two cities do not take place by creating social mobilities for the marginalised groups. As such, the chosen research strategy was able to identify the active role that urban space has on daily practices as their social dimension. It can be said that assessing the interlinked nature of physical and social spaces increases understanding of the important role of the physical design of these cities to strengthen social interaction and mobilities in them and, thus, their potential for social sustainability.

8 IF WE ARE SERIOUS ABOUT SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT IN THE URBAN SOUTH…

Addressing sustainable urban development is about building cities where opportunities for livelihoods and responsibilities towards environment are shared in a socially equal and fair manner. This does not mean that we should be visioning utopian 'eco-cities' in which shared views on opportunities and responsibilities are agreed upon in an unproblematic and straightforward harmony. Sustainable cities, like any other human configurations, contain tensions, disagreements and conflicts. However, investments in social sustainability in these cities can enable negotiations and mitigations of the shared future to take place on an equal basis. Furthermore, sustainable urban development is about reaching compromises that all the urban dwellers can be committed to. As such, equal negotiations in which all members of the society can potentially participate are more likely to produce outcomes that are justifiable for all inhabitants. Thus, being capable of producing cohesion that enables city- or society-wide agreements is at the very heart of sustainable development and a highly social process. Consequently, assessment of premises for sustainable development need to reach beyond sector approaches and focus on cities' social sustainability, i.e. equality, integration and participation, to pursue sustainable development in credible terms.

8.1 The Operationalisation of Social Sustainability in Large Southern Cities

The growth of large southern cities is expected to continue while the growth patterns themselves differ between continents, countries and individual cities (UN-Habitat 2004). Despite their population growth these cities' governance capacities are not automatically growing correspondingly. This, in turn, creates increasing deficiencies particularly in those urban areas which are the migration poles facing 'hyper-urbanisation'. Consequently, these cities' eco-social

inequalities are on the increase: while the upper-class benefit from the global trade and the small middle-classes profit from the trickle-down-effect in their strengthened economies, the large poor majorities of these cities remain outside the positive cycle of this economic development. This creates polarities that materialise both in the physical and social segregation of these cities. All these above-mentioned development patterns weaken opportunities for equality, integration and participation and, as such, the potential for large southern cities to build social sustainability.

It is obvious that intense urbanisation trends and globalisation of southern megacities are irreversible, but policies and interventions reacting to them can be changed. Current policy trends in many countries in the South have focused on gaining a share in global trade by increasing competitiveness of their primate cities through neo-liberal policies and by dismantling the state. However, if the respective governments of these cities are seeking meaningful bases for sustainable development they should focus - in addition to increased competitiveness - on the causes behind their extreme social inequalities, fragmentation and isolation from governance. Addressing these factors is not only related to the Lefebvrian question of the 'right of the city' in terms of accommodating urban diversities in the shared city space. In effect, social sustainability is also about these cities actually being able to use their own potential to move forward. Thus addressing challenges in social sustainability is not only about providing opportunities for sustainable livelihoods and adequate living environments at the grassroots but, on the whole, it also about producing advantages for the whole city through genuine participation and integration.

The results of this study suggest that strengthening social sustainability in southern megacities means reducing fragmentation and increasing integration at the grassroots. In other words, it refers to actions that results in a city where local 'pockets of social capital' act, participate and cooperate in ways that is in line with the sustainable development targets of the entire city. For example, in the communities like Ebute-Ilaje this could mean strengthening livelihood or credit opportunities to enable transformation of their land reclamation to environmentally suitable practices or to enable leasing and renting of new land. In addition, it could mean creating channels for local negotiations with the local government to achieve a shared understanding of the environmental problems and their consequences created by the community's current practice. In communities like Alabang Hills or San Lorenzo, this could mean creating incentives to encourage these communities' investments in public service provision such as garbage collection, water supply and sewage system instead of these communities financing strictly local service provision. It could also refer to taxation benefits for those who invest in public education systems or who build partnerships with local small-scale enterprises to enable their engagement in national or international trade. All these interventions are feasible but they cannot be addressed through purely sectoral policies. Thus, reducing fragmentation and increasing integration requires comprehensive

frameworks and understanding of the ways these phenomena materialise at the grassroots and the ways they are reproduced in communities' daily lives. While increasing understanding of these phenomena, broad policy approaches can open up channels for new and innovative ways to increase city-wide cohesion.

The results of this work emphasise that enforced participation should not be restricted in policy design to the empowerment of the marginalised to have a 'voice' at the negotiation table. Instead, engaging the privileged is also crucial for the strengthening of social sustainability as these groups are the ones sustaining present structures and, thus, maintaining the premises for inequalities in these cities. Surprisingly enough, this engagement of the privileged for a more equalitarian society has been lacking in the strategies to strengthen sustainable development. The extreme disparities in these cities, however, imply that social sustainability cannot take place only by forcing cohabitation and integration. Thus, there should also be provisions in the policy design to encourage the acceptance of the changes and commitment to them among the privileged. Engaging the upper-class as active partners in social sustainability is crucial in cities like Metro-Manila and Lagos where the middle-class still remains small in numbers and their role as promoter of societal changes is weak.

Decentralisation has been one of the main developments also affecting southern megacities' local management. In most of these cities, as in Lagos and Metro-Manila, local governments hold the main responsibility in local service provision and land development. The local governments' role of service provider is vital in safeguarding their respective inhabitants' well-being. However, the results of this work indicate that perceiving local governments' role only in the service supply is not enough: the inequality, fragmentation and isolation taking place in these cities address the role of local governments also as urban partners who create and encourage opportunities for collaboration and participation at the grassroots. As such, the capacities of local authorities need expansion from the technicalities of service provision to capacities of coordinators, facilitators, consistent regulators and development partners. In effect, the results of this work call for policy approaches that enhance the capacities of city governments in parallel with the set policy targets: the governments in these cities need strategic skills in being active counterparts for building social sustainability. This particularly requires social planning skills at all levels of urban government to address eco-social diversities and their causes. It also emphasises the government officials' skills as negotiators, motivators and coordinators to mitigate between conflicts of interest in the participation processes. Furthermore, it also requires visioning skills, particularly in local governments, to identify the shared benefits of equal opportunities. These abilities go beyond straightforward capacity-building activities as they also require changes in attitudes and patterns of practices. Building these skills, in turn, can strengthen development at the local government level through increased engagement of local resources for shared targets. In social sustainability, innovative urban management refers to authorities' increased

capacities to reverse *'cumulative urban cycles'* in ways that benefit the entire local government area. This could materialise, for example, in engaging the upper-class in widened collaboration in local priorities or in investments in identified priorities (land management, transportation) to enhance the emergence of new livelihood opportunities for the inhabitants in marginalised localities. Secondly, innovative urban management refers to increased capacities of the authorities to stop the *'spirals of weak governance'*. Concrete interventions that benefit all inhabitants in equal ways are means to demonstrate the necessary and valuable role of local governments and strengthen their credibility. These demonstrations and authorities' commitment to sustain them provide opportunities for shared interests which, in turn, can operationalise as channels for networks and loyalties that operate beyond localities.

Failures in public administration in large southern cities have underscored the significance of urban communities as active urban managers. The increased focus on urban communities as primary actors in service provision has contained tendencies, for example in development cooperation projects, to place communities at the core of these processes as alternative actors in the local governments. These decisions are often based on the view of local governments as difficult partners and on communities' self-help as a desirable phenomenon. The results of this work, however, illustrate that communities' shared action in large southern cities often originates from overall eco-social inequalities in these cities and communities' local practices have tendencies to reproduce these inequalities. In addition, local communities' autonomous practices strengthen fragmentation that hinders further capacities at the grassroots for collaborative efforts beyond localities. Thus, the challenges in social sustainability imply that the division of roles and responsibilities in urban management need to remain clear. In addition, communities' self-help should be engaged in urban managements through governance processes as collaborative partners to strengthen shared targets. Especially the role of those communities that can enforce new networks and open benefits through *'engaging'* or *'subsiding'* practices is important in these processes. As the results of this work show, these practices are few but if fully employed, they can produce benefits that strengthen both social sustainability and the overall target of preserving the urban environment. Therefore the full employment of these communities means that their participation is not limited to the spheres of implementation. For example, the engagement of projects like Bantay Usok could be expanded to the financial decision-making instead of limiting it to operations of the partnerships. This would ensure that these initiatives receive enough resources to continue their activities and achieve the set targets. Being able to have an impact is the key to encouraging the commitment of new partners in these collaborative processes. This, in turn, can strengthen opportunities for city-wide commitments, networks and loyalties melting fragments and connecting localities into a shared city.

8.2 Assessing Preconditions for Social Sustainability

The findings of this study underscore the importance of socially differentiated information on the urban social realities in the strengthening of sustainable urban development. This information facilitates the understanding of the potential the diverse urban fabric holds for the participation in urban development. In addition, it elaborates those structural opportunities and limitations that either enhance or hinder the materialisation of this potential. Borja and Castells (1997) have claimed that cities' global success does not depend on the geographic location or the history of any given city. Instead, cities' success is determined by their ability to process and take advantage of information. The findings of this research call for expansion of this claim to 'social information' as part of these cities' success: the better cities are informed about their own complexities and diversities, the better they are equipped to address, integrate and take advantage of them. Consequently, the more successful they are in providing functioning living environments and equal opportunities for sustainable livelihoods applicable to these diverse environments. These, in turn, are the keys for strengthening the premises for social sustainability and for these cities' success in aiming towards futures that are accepted, produced and used equally by their inhabitants.

The production of information scrutinising the premises of social sustainability is built on various types of data and indicators. Firstly, the macro-level economic indicators provide overall information on the fiscal potential and dynamism of these cities to invest in social sustainability. Secondly, human development indicators, such as health and education, provide information on the overall priorities in the production of social welfare to strengthen social sustainability. As pointed out in this work, there is also a need for grassroots' level analyses on the communities' daily practices in selected locations. These can produce information on structural opportunities and limitations vis-à-vis the economic and human development data at the grassroots while scrutinising communities' opportunities to develop their potential for their own and for the city's benefit. Here also self-assessed poverty may play a role although it has been criticised by many governments as too vague and relational in order to describe the real state of urban development. However, development and its positive indicators make sense only when people feel that they are benefiting from it. In addition, social sustainability is not only about livelihoods, but is builds on spheres of participation and integration. Thus, their appraisal should be addressed including subjective assessments at the grassroots. Thus, self-assessed poverty can provide valuable information on how aspects of social sustainability are experienced at the level of the lay-people. Finally, these different approaches to information provide the compilation of data that enables a comprehensive picture on the overall city-level premises of social sustainability.

8.3 Pursuing Sustainable Urban Development

The two case cities, Lagos and Metro-Manila are the migration magnets and economic growth poles of their respective countries. At the grassroots, their superiority is concretised in incomes and infrastructures higher and better than the national averages. However, despite their primacy these cities are stigmatised by the growing numbers of squatter settlements where increasing numbers of people live in poverty and outside of the basic services while facing severe and persistent difficulties to find sources of adequate livelihoods. These realities attest that whatever trickle-down-effects are taking place in these megacities, they are not enough to provide adequate prospects for large numbers of urban inhabitants to fulfil their potential in the present urban policy frameworks. These deficiencies in redistribution of resources and opportunities have effects also beyond the daily hardships of poor urban communities: at the city-level they produce cumulative polarities of privilege and marginalisation as well as stark segregation of the inhabitants between the two. This study shows that these phenomena express an urban structure that is characterised by locality, difference and inequalities that are intertwined with social discontinuities and distance at the city-level. In terms of sustainable development they denote that cities like Lagos and Metro-Manila are falling short in the production and reproduction of social premises necessary for sustainable development.

To a certain extent, inequalities can be tackled through bureaucracies in policy implementation. For example, local governments or central agencies have the power to decide how they prioritise sectoral objectives and their clientele. However, the findings of this work on the structural nature of inequalities, fragmentation and isolation suggest that social transformations that can produce social sustainability can be changed only through broad-based political processes committed to social reforms. Consequently, this vital role of political processes necessitates that different organisations, e.g. NGOs, aiming towards sustainable development cannot always remain apolitical. Instead, these organisations need to take a stance on the political realities and integrate themselves into these realities. This integration can facilitate the emergence of city-wide agendas that are politically feasible and prevent sustainable development initiatives from remaining as local adjustments in attitudes and ways of life. In effect, the interlinked nature of policy paradigms and divisions of political power indicate that those local Agenda 21 processes that are not engaged with political decision-making at the city or national level are not able to mobilise cities' full potential to strengthen sustainable urban development.

Entering the political field to impose structural changes in the name of sustainable development is not without risks. Structural deficiencies in the southern megacities touch the highly sensitive issues of power and resources distribution in them. Thus, it is likely that the conventional political demarcations may transform social preconditions of sustainable development

into tools of political competition and controversies. In particular, radical structural changes related to redistribution of assets and power are easily linked to centralised planning and the radical Left and in a world of an increasing focus on free competition in the global markets, these approaches may be unfashionable or perceived even as politically incorrect. However, if national decision-making bodies are serious about their international and national commitments on sustainable development, structural changes need to be addressed as a necessity to bridge the wide social gaps in these cities and, thus, enable them to move forward. The fundamental role of these changes implies that agreeing on them is a process that reaches beyond conventional political demarcations. The diversity and complexity of urban development exposed in this work suggests that creating the shared understanding, acceptance and commitment to these changes is one of the fundamental challenges to which organisations and alliances of sustainable development should commit themselves to.

8.4 The Role of the International Community

It is evident that the intensity of urbanisation and the existence of megacities will be a dominant part of the urban scene in the southern hemisphere. This also implies that the diversities we are presently observing in these cities shall not disappear. Consequently, their presence in the international development agenda will prevail. However, the findings on the ways urban challenges relate to the overall structural inequalities in these cities entail that attitudes of international community towards these diversities may need reorientation. There is particularly a need to reflect what the international community is actually addressing when its discourses refer to the urban development challenges - is the focus on the causes or their results? For example, 'cities without slums' - the so-called 11th target of the Millennium Development Goals stated in the Johannesburg Plan of Action - targets proper shelter for 100 million slum dwellers by the year 2020. The question here is if the target addresses the slums or the overall urban structures that enforce the emergence of these slums? The Johannesburg Plan of Action takes a compromising view of this: while mentioning that the enhancement of access to land and property is needed in these cities, it provides a list of such actions as provision of low-cost building materials and credit facilities as the solution for slums. Interestingly enough, all the suggested activities in the Plan of Action hold embedded the reality that presently slum dwellers in these cities lack access to land, income, credit or even information on the created opportunities to upgrade their living environment. These conditions, in turn, have not emerged by chance, but as a result of different factors deriving from patterns of governance, resource allocation and division of power. However, the Plan of Action does not take a stance on the necessity of assessing structural deficiencies and changes in them while providing alleviation

for those who are affected by these deficiencies. Instead, it focuses on the outcomes of these deficiencies by providing 'project-type' solutions. This incapacity of international frameworks materialises in their weakness to provide a genuine contribution in reorienting the understanding, acceptance and focus of what is meant by sustainable development and its challenges in southern megacities and what actions are needed to alleviate them.

In addition, the social nature of sustainable development calls for a commitment to tie international development finances to processes that explicitly spell out the targets of social sustainability, i.e. equality, integration and participation. As such, the social nature of sustainable development processes imply that the notion of 'sustainability' is expanded to those social preconditions that are needed for the success of the financed sustainable development activities. This entails, in turn, that the programming of development co-operations should be increasingly reoriented towards holistic and multidisciplinary strategies. In addition, interventions should be planned in parallel with the outcomes of multi-levelled analyses that enable comprehensive understanding of the challenges in the social sustainability of these cities. This approach, however, requires new ways and skills to plan project cycles, sectoral interventions and country programmes. It also necessitates shifts in the financing allocations and project timetables as socially conscious programming entails multi-layered planning processes and, thus, financial commitments to ensure its success.

Finally, contributions by the international community to the social sustainability in the South reach beyond development frameworks and financing. This refers to the stakes that different countries, particularly in the North, hold in the burdening of the globally shared environment. When approached globally, sustainable development cannot mean that the fate of the South is to remain poor to accommodate the burdens that the privileged North has been placing on the global environment. Moreover, strengthened social sustainability in the South is feasible in the long term only if it is related to the overall goal of preserving our planet for the future generations. Thus, the international community's contribution cannot be limited to assistance in achieving sustainable development in the South but it also implies allocating its environmental impact. This means that while collaborating with the South to enforce more equal and just societies and ecological ways of life, the North has to insist on transformations in its respective societies to accommodate the ecological impact of increased opportunities of the South.

9 CONCLUDING REMARKS

The objective of this work has been to study social sustainability as a comprehensive dimension of sustainable development in large southern cities. Its findings show that social sustainability challenges in these cities materialise as social inequalities, fragmentation and isolation from governance. The observations made in this work demonstrate that the above-mentioned factors are dimensions that reach from communities' livelihoods and living environments to grassroots' social spaces within the city. In addition, inequalities, fragmentation and isolation have cumulative tendencies that enforce their own reproduction in communities' daily life.

The cases of this work illustrate that communities throughout the eco-social spectrum of southern megacities are active managers of urban living environment. This materialises in the communities' shared action and networks to subsidise deficits in public service provisions. The main strategy for communities' shared action is autonomy and locality of benefits. These propensities expose communities' limited opportunities or low commitment to participate in the public management processes of the city. Additionally, communities' autonomous and local practices emerge as intertwined with the lack of provided opportunities to negotiate with local governments on the provision of living environment. Simultaneously communities' own activities strengthen their distance from local governments. As a result, communities' capacities - as well as the resources or problems created by them - are not transferred to the design and implementation of urban development in these cities. This disconnectedness indicates that the operationalisation of social sustainability in southern megacities particularly culminates in the question of strengthening participatory governance in these cities. The observations of this work, in turn, denote that building participatory governance in these cities requires a two-fold approaches: firstly, increasing the capacities of the urban administration in service provision and in building partnerships with the grassroots and, secondly, encouraging communities' commitment throughout the eco-social spectrum to participate in urban development and strengthening

the capacities of the marginalised to negotiate equally for shared targets and strategies.

Although there are dramatic deficits in building participatory governance, the cases indicate these cities also contain potential and initiatives both at the grassroots and local governments to achieve this objective. Firstly, the cases presented in this work show that the overall potential at the grassroots for partnerships exists. In addition, communities in these cities are aware of the degrading urban environment although they may not be addressing this development in their own local practices. However, this attitudinal potential provides opportunities for the identification of city-wide targets strengthening collaboration beyond localities and government structures. Cases of this work also demonstrate that there exist communities that are actively building new networks creating benefits for different urban spaces and localities. Thus, the grassroots in these cities contain social innovations that can be directly employed to increase social sustainability and support the overall targets of sustainable development. Secondly, global and local initiatives[84] in the governance sector indicate that governments in southern cities and their respective countries have increasing attitudinal resources to develop participatory governance. The capacity development of local governments has focused in these initiatives, for example, on innovative revenue mobilizations, participatory budgeting and leadership training. Thus, these initiatives are targeting local governments' two main roles in social sustainability: their role as partners for grassroots in urban management and their role as providers of an adequate and equal living environment.

The findings of this work and the research process itself have provided inputs that open up to further research questions and strategies to investigate this comprehensive dimension of sustainable development. Firstly, the cases presented in this work provided examples of environmental management in different urban communities to analyse the ways these practices expose and produce or hinder social sustainability in southern megacities. The study used the concept of social capital as an approach in this task to enable investigations on the relational nature of grassroots' practices. Although using social capital facilitated the assessment of communities' practices as interlinked with different urban contexts, the research may have provided a simplistic picture on the investigations of social sustainability as it was limited to the emergence of one community in each case. This excluded the probable fact that members of these communities also belong to other networks and configurations that have a concerted impact on their daily lives. Despite its restricted focus, the work has been able to show that different social configurations at the grassroots have a significant impact on the ways lay-people interact with the rest of the city and on lay-people's views on the city and their own role in it. Thus, further research

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84 For initiatives for participatory urban governance, see e.g. UN-HABITAT Global Campaign on Urban Governance at: http://www.unhabitat.org (accessed 20.10.2006). As examples of initiatives in participatory governance, see also case studies by Cannabes (2004); Dove (2004); Souza (2001); Velásquez (1998) and Miranda & Hordijk (1999).

on the multilayered nature of urban communities and their role for social sustainability is needed to increase city-specific understanding on which communities (e.g. religious, professional) are the most influential in each respective locality or city and, as such, the most suitable entry points for strengthened social sustainability.

Secondly, this work included space in its scope as an active dimension shaping social sustainability in southern megacities and the work used the dichotomy introduced by Castells (1989) as an overall approach to analyse the ways privilege and marginalisation or power and powerlessness materialise in physical and social spaces within these cities. The observations made in this work on the potential of the grassroots to break spatial demarcation through their *'engaging'* practices suggest, however, that large southern cities contain more diverse spaces than the used dichotomy. In effect, some communities in these cities act as hybrid subjects (see e.g. Smith 2002) that are able to reach beyond cities' pronounced spatial or social demarcations. These communities, in turn, hold a two-fold role in social sustainability as they can act as mediums of inequality and participation while they can also emerge as an outcome of these factors. Asking 'What kinds of bridging spaces do the grassroots produce in southern megacities and who do they expand?' can bring to light spatial diversities in the southern megacities and, as such, increase our understanding of those spaces that hold power to mitigate between the two spatial dichotomies derived from global capitalist dynamics.

Thirdly, the initial purpose of this work was to focus on grassroots' practices as an entry point for assessing social sustainability. However, during the research process the role of governance emerged as an elemental dimension of both weakened and strengthened social sustainability in the two case cities. The two-fold nature of governance as a strategy to strengthen social sustainability refers to the importance of capacities and commitment from the poorest to the richest communities to participate. It also refers to the building of local governments' capacities for negotiation, coalition-building and collaboration. This work has not addressed on what grounds different communities are willing to commit to the processes of governance nor has it focused on the interpretations within local governments on the social sustainability challenges and the role of participatory governance in it. Thus, it is necessary to asses how grassroots' genuine commitment to governance can be enhanced in the first place. Here, attention should be specifically drawn to the investigation on the ways the urban elite can become visible and active partners in sustainable development. Secondly, the findings of this work underscore the importance of further examinations on the ways *'cumulative urban cycles'* or *'spirals of weak local government'* emerge and local governments' capacities and preparedness to reverse them. Thus, location-specific understanding on the feasibility of participatory governance as a channel for sustainable development can be achieved by parallel investigations at the grassroots and local governments asking 'What kinds of city-specific indicators can be identified to encourage lay-people's commitment to governance throughout different eco-

social groups?' and 'How do local governments perceive challenges in social sustainability and their own capacities in participatory governance to address these challenges?'.

Fourthly, the multidisciplinary research strategy in this work was applied to correspond with the research 'field' of daily diversities in the two southern megacities. Using this research approach broadened the opportunities to assess communities' practices within this research beyond the communities' capacity to act focusing on the ways different urban contexts shape this capacity. This focus, in turn, enabled the identification of social sustainability challenges as well as the ways grassroots' practices reproduce or alleviate them. This research approach could also be applied in policy design combined with pilot initiatives addressing social inequalities, fragmentation and weak participation. As part of the action research process this approach could contribute to the local operationalisations of social sustainability policies by addressing what modes of collaboration are feasible and most effective in different communities in producing shared benefits and, thus, integration beyond localities.

Finally, I would like to conclude this work by calling attention to the claim that social sustainability in southern megacities, or any other locations in the South or North, makes sense only when it is strengthened in view of the ecological limitations of the environment. Investigating and enforcing social sustainability is rudimentary to achieving balanced human-environment relations, but it is not the only intervention that is needed to ensure that communities' daily practices are in line with the overall goal of sustainable development. In effect, strengthening social sustainability should be combined with collaborative efforts beyond localities, cities and countries to develop opportunities for ecological ways of life in these cities. These parallel efforts are the key to enabling the emergence of social sustainability in the southern cities and countries without dramatically increasing our globally shared 'ecological footprint'.

YHTEENVETO (FINNISH SUMMARY)

Tämän työn päätavoitteena on tutkia kestävän kehityksen haasteita etelän suurkaupungeissa. Kestävä kehitys on nykykeskustelussa usein jaettu kolmeen ulottuvuuteen: taloudellisesti, ympäristöllisesti ja sosiaalisesti kestävään kehitykseen. Tämä tutkimuksen keskeinen lähtökohta on, että kestävän kehityksen sosiaalinen ulottuvuus on muut ulottuvuudet kattava eikä esimerkiksi vain sosiaali- ja ympäristöpalveluja koskeva ulottuvuus. Sosiaalinen ulottuvuus on siis sekä kestävän kehityksen yleisehto että lopputulos. Jo olemassa olevan tutkimustiedon pohjalta työn perusolettamus on puolestaan se, että etelän suurkaupunkien kestävää kehitystä koskevat haasteet kuuluvat pääsääntöisesti juuri sosiaaliseen ulottuvuuteen. Tämä puolestaan tarkoittaa sitä, että sosiaalisten rakenteiden analyysi on keskeisessä asemassa kun kartoitamme kaupunkien mahdollisuuksia ja rajoitteita saavuttaa kestävää kehitystä. Näihin lähtökohtiin pohjautuen työn keskeinen tutkimuskysymys on: 'Mitkä sosiaaliset tekijät etelän suurkaupungeissa muokkaavat näiden kaupunkien kestävän kehityksen lähtökohtia, miten nämä tekijät vaikuttavat eri yhteisöjen arkipäivässä ja miten näitä tekijöitä voidaan lähestyä kestävän kehityksen suunnittelussa?'.

Tämä tutkimus kohdistuu kahteen etelän suurkaupunkiin, Lagosiin Nigeriassa sekä Manilaan Filippiineillä. Näiden kaupunkien valinta tutkimuskohteeksi ei perustu oletukselle, että kyseiset kaupungit olisivat taloudellisesti, poliittisesti, sosiaalisesti tai kulttuurisesti samanlaisia. Kuten kaikissa suurkaupungeissa, myös Lagosissa ja Manilassa asukkaiden arkipäivät rakentuvat tavoilla, jotka ovat ainutlaatuisia kullekin kaupungille. Kaupunkiympäristöjen yksilöllisyydestä huolimatta näissä kaupungeissa on kuitenkin yhteneväisyyksiä, joilla on samanlaiset vaikutukset kaupunkien mahdollisuuksiin ja haasteisiin tuottaa kestävää kehitystä. Molemmat kaupungit ovat maidensa kiistattomia kasvukeskuksia ja niiden tulo- ja palvelutaso ylittävät usein monikertaisesti maiden keskitason. Näin nämä kaupungit luovat suotuisan ympäristön uusille kestävän kehityksen investoinneille ja toimintatavoille. Kaupunkien taloudellisesta ylivoimaisuudesta huolimatta suuri osa kaupunkien asukkaista asuu köyhyysrajan alapuolella sekä erittäin puutteellisessa elinympäristössä. Näyttääkin siltä, että näissä kaupungeissa tapahtuu voimakasta taloudellis-sosiaalista jakautumista samalla kun kaupunkien ympäristöön kohdistuu sekä vaurauden ja köyhyyden tuottamia paineita.

Tutkimuksen empiirisen aineiston ydin muodostuu neljästä eri tapaustutkimuksesta, jotka kertovat erilaisten kaupunkiyhteisöjen suhteesta heidän elinympäristöönsä. Ebute-Ilaje sekä Shomolun kaupunginosan naapurustot Lagosissa kertovat siitä miten köyhät yhteisöt organisoivat ja tuottavat arkipäivässään ympäristöpalveluja ja niukkaa elinympäristöään. Bantay Usok -hanke Manilassa puolestaan kertoo esimerkin niistä uusista ja innovatiivisista tavoista, joilla kansalaisyhteisö voi osallistua ympäristön kohentamiseen koko kaupunkia hyödyttävästi. Alabang Hillsin ja San Lorenzon asuinalueita koskeva tapaustutkimus Manilassa puolestaan valottaa tapaa miten yläluokan edustajat

tuottavat etelän suurkaupungeissa sisäänpäin kääntyneitä ja etuoikeutettujen elinympäristöjä, joiden suhde muuhun kaupunkiin voi olla peräti parasiittinen.

Tapaustutkimusten tarkoituksena on lähestyä työn päätavoitetta ja tutkimuskysymystä analysoimalla niitä sosiaalisia tekijöitä, jotka ovat Lagosin ja Manilan kaltaisissa suurkaupungeissa keskeisiä kestävän kehityksen haasteita. Toiseksi, työ keskustelee tapaustutkimusten avulla siitä, mitä vahvuuksia työn edustamalla monitieteellisellä lähestymistavalla on suurkaupunkien kestävää kehitystä koskevassa tutkimuksessa. Kolmanneksi, tapaustutkimusten ja tulosten pohjalta työ keskustelee siitä, miten sosiaalisesti kestävää kehitystä voidaan lähestyä osana kestävän kehityksen kokonaisvaltaista suunnittelua.

Tutkimus siis keskittyy kestävän kehityksen sosiaalisten haasteiden ymmärtämiseen erityisesti ruohonjuuritason toiminnan kautta. Tätä tasoa koskeva teoreettinen viitekehys koostuu työssä kaupunkitilan, ruohonjuuritasolla syntyvän sosiaalisen pääoman ja vallan välisten suhteiden analyysistä. Työssä tehdyn valinnan taustalla on oletus siitä, että eri kaupunkitoimijoiden arkipäivän toiminta heijastaa heidän elinympäristönsä laatua ja yhteisöjen sosiaalisia verkostoja sekä yhteisöjen mahdollisuuksia vaikuttaa näissä kahdessa tapahtuviin muutoksiin. Valitun teoreettisen kehyksen tavoitteena onkin kartoittaa sitä tapaa, millä eri yhteisöjen arkipäivä rakentuu ja miten tämä rakentuminen muokkaa ja ilmaisee sosiaalisesti kestävän kehityksen mahdollisuuksia ja rajoitteita.

Tutkimuksen strategiaa voidaan luonnehtia kriittiseksi etnografiaksi, jonka keskiössä on osallistuvan havainnoinnin metodi. Valitun tutkimusstrategian taustalla on tavoite ulottaa tutkimus arkipäivän kuvauksen lisäksi niihin rakenteellisiin tekijöihin, jotka vaikuttavat yhteisöjen arkipäivään sekä siihen, miten näiden tekijöiden vaikutus näyttäytyy yhteisöjen arkipäivässä. Tutkimuksen empiirinen aineisto on kerätty tutkimusprosessissa, joka on tiukasti linkittynyt tutkijan vuosia kestäneen asumis- ja työskentelykokemuksiin Lagosissa ja Manilassa ajanjaksolla 1996–2003. Tämän lisäksi tutkimusaineistoa on kerätty systemaattisten kenttätyöjaksojen aikana (1996, 2005). Tutkimuksen dokumentointi käsittää haastatteluja, piirustusharjoituksia, kenttäpäiväkirjamerkintöjä, valokuvia, projekti- ja asukasdokumentteja sekä lehtileikkeleitä.

Tutkimuksen tulokset osoittavat, että sosiaalisen eriarvoisuuden kokonaisvaltaisuus, kaupunkien pirstoutuminen autonomisesti elinympäristöjä tuottaviksi paikallisyhteisöiksi, asukkaiden vieraantuminen kaupungin hallinnosta sekä kaupunkitilojen taipumus vahvistaa eriarvoisuutta ovat Lagosin ja Manilan kaltaisten kaupunkien keskeisiä haasteita kestävässä kehityksessä. Tapaustutkimukset osoittavat, että marginalisoitumisen ja etuoikeudet ovat tekijöitä, jotka kasautuvat asukkaille heidän arkipäivässään kokonaisvaltaisella tavalla (*'cumulative urban cycles'*). Nämä tekijät vaikuttavat elinympäristön laadun lisäksi yhteisöjen eri resursseihin muuttaa ympäristöään ja sen tarjoamia mahdollisuuksia. Toiseksi, kaupunkiyhteisöt nojautuvat arkipäivässään voimakkaasti paikallisesti autonomisiin ratkaisuihin elinympäristöjään ja ympäristöpalveluja tuottaessaan. Näissä alueellisesti tarkasti rajatuissa toimissa

muu kaupunki ja asukkaat ovat harvoin läsnä vastavuoroisen toiminnan kautta. Etelän suurkaupungeista voikin olla muodostumassa paikkoja, joissa toimii joukko toisistaan irrallisia yhteisöjä, jotka huolehtivat omasta hyvinvoinnistaan ilman koko kaupungin kattavaa yhteisvastuuta. Kolmanneksi, tulokset osoittavat, että kaupunkien hallinto jää asukkaille etäiseksi joko hallinnon oman kyvyttömyyden tai asukkaiden omien valintojen tuloksena. Heikko kaupunkihallinto lisää yhteisöjen paikallisia autonomisia toimintamalleja, jotka puolestaan vähentävät edelleen kaupunkihallinnon mahdollisuuksia suorittaa tehtäviään menestyksekkäästi hyvinkin haasteellisessa ympäristössä. Yhä heikkenevän kaupunkihallinnon kierre (*'spirals of weak local governments'*) voi lopulta päätyä täydelliseen kaupunkihallintojen uskottavuuskriisiin. Lopuksi, tutkimuksen tulokset osoittavat, että Lagosin ja Manilan kaltaiset kaupunkiympäristöt eivät ole arkipäivän neutraaleja näyttämöitä. Näiden kaupunkien fyysinen kehitys on vahvasti eriytynyttä sekä epätasa-arvoista ja tutkimustulosten valossa myös näitä tekijöitä itsessään tuottavaa. Kaupunkitilojen kehänomainen kehitys puolestaan lisää Lagosin ja Manilan kaltaisten kaupunkien sisäistä epäyhteneväisyyttä, heikentää niiden sosiaalista koheesiota ja näin kaupunkien kestävän kehityksen lähtökohtia.

Työn tulosten pohjalta voidaan tehdä myös johtopäätöksiä siitä, miten yhteisöjä ja heidän toimintaansa tulisi lähestyä suurkaupunkien kestävän kehityksen suunnittelussa. Tutkimuksen tulokset osoittavat, että kyky toimia ja löytää ratkaisuja on kaikkien kaupunkiyhteisöjen vallitseva ominaisuus niiden eko-sosiaalisesta epätasa-arvosta huolimatta. Tämä kyky ei viittaa ainoastaan yhteisöjen toteuttamiin eri ratkaisumalleihin vaan se viittaa myös yhteisöjen valmiuksiin tehdä yhteistyötä ja verkottua tavoitteidensa saavuttamiseksi. Eri toimenpiteiden suunnittelussa tulisikin kartoittaa sitä, millaisia verkostoja ruohonjuuritasolla on ja miten niitä voidaan hyödyntää. Toiseksi, työn tulokset painottavat sitä, että yhteisöjen kykyä toimia yhteistyöpartnereina kestävän kehityksen prosesseissa tulisi arvioida suhteessa niihin mahdollisuuksiin ja rajoitteisiin, joita kaupunkiympäristö asettaa yhteisöjen arkipäivän toiminnalle. Etelän suurkaupunkien räikeät eriarvoisuudet voivat tuottaa vinoumia korostaen kaupunkien hyväosaisten toimintakykyä samalla kun köyhät yhteisöt voivat näyttäytyä epätodenmukaisen passiivisilta. Tutkimuksen tulokset myös osoittavat, että yhteisöjen suhde muuhun kaupunkiin voi vaihdella koko kaupunkia hyödyttävästä suhteesta muuta kaupunkia hyväksikäyttäväksi. Tulokset osoittavatkin, että kaikkien yhteisöjen toiminta ei ole kestävän kehityksen tavoitteiden kanssa yhteneväistä ja tämä tulisi ottaa huomioon kestävän kehityksen toimia ja yhteistyöpartnereita identifioitaessa.

Tämän työn tavoitteena on myös arvioida monitieteellisen lähestymistavan (sosiologia, ihmismaantiede ja antropologia) vahvuuksia kestävän kehityksen tutkimukselle. Tulokset osoittavat, että etnografisen tutkimusotteen vahvuutena on sen reflektiivisyys, joka antaa tutkimukselle etelän suurkaupunkien moninaisuuden vaatimaa joustavuutta. Kun etnografinen tutkimusote yhdistetään monipuolisesti muuhun dokumentaatioon kuten tilastoihin, tapaustutkimuksiin tai sektorikuvauksiin, nousee etnografisin menetelmin tuotetusta

tiedosta esiin indikaattoreita ja trendejä, joiden avulla voidaan arvioida kestävän kehityksen haasteita tapaustutkimuksia laajemmin. Tämän lisäksi sosiologiassa ja ihmismaantieteessä käytössä olevan käsitteistön (sosiaalinen pääoma, kaupunkitilan analyysi) yhdistäminen etnografiseen tutkimukseen mahdollistaa yhteisöjen toiminnan analysoinnin osana muuta kaupunkia. Tällä tavoin vältetään yhteisöjen toiminnan riippumattomuuden virheellinen korostaminen sekä mahdollinen romantisointi. Yhteisöjen toimintojen tutkiminen suhteessa kaupunkirakenteisiin antaakin kuvan siitä, millaisia todellisia voimavaroja yhteisöillä on kestävän kehityksen suunnitteluun ja toteuttamiseen. Tämän lisäksi se mahdollistaa arvioita siitä, miten kaupunkirakenteet vaikuttavat yhteisöihin joko niiden toimintaa vahvistavasti tai heikentävästi.

Lopuksi työ keskustelee siitä, miten kestävän kehityksen sosiaalisia edellytyksiä voidaan vahvistaa osana kaupunkien kokonaisvaltaista suunnittelua. Työn tulosten perusteella voidaan sanoa, että kestävän kehityksen sosiaalisia edellytyksiä tulisi lähestyä samanaikaisesti sekä yhteisö- että kaupunkitasojen kautta. Yhteisötasolla sosiaalisia edellytyksiä tulisi vahvistaa erityisesti sellaisin toimin, jotka vahvistavat syrjäytyneiden ryhmien mahdollisuuksia tasa-arvoiseen neuvotteluun kaupungin eri resursseista. Samanaikaisesti tulisi kehittää toimia, joiden tavoitteena on lisätä kaupunkien etuoikeutettujen ryhmien sitoutumista sosiaalisesti tasa-arvoiseen ja oikeudenmukaiseen kehitykseen. Kaupunkitasolla kestävän kehityksen sosiaalisten edellytysten luominen vaatii puolestaan kaupunkihallinnon toiminta- ja yhteistyökyvyn vahvistamista sekä kaupungin fyysisen kehityksen nykyistä tasa-arvoisempaa suunnittelua. Näin itse kaupunkiympäristö voi parantaa yhteisöjen ja kaupunkihallintojen välistä yhteistyötä ja luottamusta sekä edesauttaa kaupunkien sisäistä sosiaalista eheyttämistä.

Työ koostuu yhteenveto-osasta sekä viidestä artikkelista, jotka käsittelevät Lagosin ja Manilan kestävän kehityksen eri aspekteja sekä eri ruohojuuritasolla syntyvää eko-sosiaalista moraalia osana kestävän kehityksen perinnettä. Yhteenveto-osan tehtävä on esittää artikkeleiden eri aspektit ja hyvinkin pitkällä aikavälillä kerätty empiirinen aineisto yhtenäisen viitekehyksen alla. Työ on toteutettu osittain yhteistyössä ENHICA (Research Network Environment, Health and Information Activities for Communities in Africa) -tutkijaverkoston, Lagos State University'n sekä University of the Philippines'n kanssa. Työ on saanut rahoitusta Jyväskylän yliopistolta ja Emil Aaltosen säätiöltä.

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