Interventions and Governance in our time
Cities as nodes for global governance
or local battlefields for social conflicts?
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Abstract

The effects of the on-going processes of globalization, urbanization and migration most certainly constitute one of the largest societal transformations and changes in human history. How the changes will inflict upon conditions for societal sustainability depends upon how people conceive and relate to fundamental values such as security, development and justice. The process of globalization has implied an amalgamation of the local and the global and changed the way these concepts are used. The question of security has been deepened and widened to encompass human security, individual safety and economic predictability, i.e. welfare in global times. Development has increasingly become a question of human development, health and ecological sustainability. Justice is considered a question of cultural recognition and human rights.

International summits and conferences are marked by an emerging and dominating pattern of thoughts – a global discourse – regarding conditions for societal sustainability. Even if opinions continue to diverge as regards how and to what extent, consensus prevails that the amalgamation – hybridization – of the local and the global has made the questions of security, development and justice intertwined and mutually constitutive. The "glocalized" development of society has increased the importance of coherence between different policy areas and acts of intervention. At the same time, the lack of democratic institutions and regulatory frameworks required for the global governance and political intervention makes it difficult to deal with global challenges and conflicting goals.

This paper deals with the role of cities and urban areas in future global governance. As the argument goes, through their global networks cities might be capable of reassuming their position from medieval times as important nodes in the world economy. It is on the local level that many of the global challenges are created and it is here where the effects become visible and must be dealt with. At the same time cities are confronted with an impressive rate of population growth, huge inequalities and an uneven development between different social strata and housing areas. Consequently, and as statistics as well as recent upheavals remind us, a number of cities are in danger of being torn apart, as they disintegrate and evolve into battlefields for social conflicts. How the issues of security, development and justice are dealt with and how subsequent measures and acts of intervention are designed, will be decisive for the direction in which cities are heading. Acts of intervention must be designed not only with the responsibility to protect citizens from war crimes and atrocities but also with the responsibility to protect and preserve their economic, social and cultural rights. Enlarged local democracy and strengthened popular participation are considered prerequisites for the envisaged *pre-emptive security*.

This working paper in progress underlines the importance of rethinking intervention and governance. It should be understood as a normative position paper with the aim to be further elaborated into a conceptual framework for use in empirical research on how to design plans of action in our time.

Introduction

The process of globalization, migration and urbanization constitute, through the way in which these processes are interlinked and reinforce each other, the main drivers behind the great societal transformation in our time. Changed worldwide conditions for safety, welfare and societal belonging have increased the need for a coherent policy for global development and economic interventions based upon local contexts.

The processes are intertwined and cannot be understood in isolation from each other. Globalization, with its global system of production networks, its labor market and its new technology for information and communication, obviously has a strong impact on the pattern of migration (Borja & Castells 1996). In turn, migration consists of movements of people permitting new meeting places, most frequently in, but not limited to, urban contexts. Migration is also the main driving force behind the process of urbanization, here understood as an agglomeration of people, estates, material and cultural resources. Subsequently, the outcomes of ongoing social transformation will not least manifest in urban areas (Sassen 2003). Many cities navigate between the possibility of becoming a node in a global network that contributes to social sustainable development, and the danger of falling apart, disintegrating and evolving into areas for social conflicts. Where cities end up depends upon how questions of security, development and justice are conceived, as well as upon the room of maneuver for political intervention and governance. As the argument of the paper goes, in times of transformation and change there is a particular need for a social protection floor. Although external financing may prove to be required for social cohesion support in the Global South, pre-emptive security and social trust can only be created through strengthened local participation and enhanced local democracy.

Globalization is a process with a long historical heritage. The diffusion of ideas that drove this process from its inception, slowed down as a consequence of the Thirty Years War in the 1600s and the subsequent nation-state building. This was a time when empires and feudal modes of production were gradually replaced by capitalism and modernization. Consequently, the state started to fill up the political room, forcing other actors to leave (Hettne 2009). The process of globalization became temporarily locked into national containers. These were dark times in European history. Disastrous wars replaced each other. After the end of the Second World War the process of globalization gradually started to break out of the national containers. This development was facilitated by the unprecedented Bretton Woods agreement, which strived for a regulatory framework and world order leadership permitting less brutal management of conflicts and where states partly backed away from claims for total sovereignty. With the implosion of the Soviet Union in the late 1980s, and with the advance of the new technology for communication and information, the process of globalization became further strengthened and qualitatively more encompassing. The national economies of different countries were knitted together and the connectivity between people increased (Scholte 2000). The process of globalization and the information technology upon which it rests has not only implied that large scale Fordism and the production system of the industrial society have been substituted with more flexible and adaptable system of production. During the last decades the western world has started to lose its power of agenda-setting as regards the world order regulatory framework and leadership. The economic epicenter has started to move east, hereby strengthening the geopolitical shift towards a multipolar world. The economic growth of India and China increases the power and influence of the Asian region. Some 1.6 billion workers are expected to join the global labor market in the

next decade. Such a duplication would drastically change the modes of production and patterns of consumption and increase the rivalry for market outlets and raw material supply, let alone create increased environmental stress and climatological challenges.

The changing pattern of **migration** does not primarily relate to its scale as such. Even if the number of cross-border migrants has doubled in the last 30 years, now estimated to reach some 240 million, the number corresponds only to 3% of the world population (WMR 2010).What has changed is the configuration, direction and driving forces behind migration (Kennedy 2010). In the 1960s the western world constituted the main destination for migrants moving abroad. Although 60% of the migration still flows to this part of the world, countries in Asia and the Middle East are growing fast as new host countries. Foreign-born people account for 10–25 per cent of the population in OECD states and for 20–45 per cent in many big cities (Castles 2008). Shrinking and aging populations in the developed world, combined with quickly expanding populations in the developing world, the continued lack of employment, especially for young people, and strengthened social networks, will most likely cause international migration to increase in the future. The foreseen problem is still not the scale, but rather the exposure of migrants to increased inequalities, exploitation and social risks. Such exposure especially concerns women and children. Today women represent 50% of the transnational migration. Many of them are forced to leave their children with parents or other relatives as they cross oceans for jobs as babysitters, care givers, or dog walkers. Increased social risks have raised demands for access to social protection in the host countries as well as in the countries of origin (Kennedy 2010).

The main difference, however, is that migration in our time is not necessarily a long-term movement from one nation-state to another. Although precarious living conditions, economic vulnerability and political repression still are important driving forces behind people's decision to move, the process of globalization, with increased connectivity and compression of space, has implied a qualitative shift. In an era of fluidity and openness, migration became less permanent, with new driving forces and pushes and pulls factors behind. More and more people find themselves in transit for the purpose of visiting friends, marriage or looking for better opportunities to a decent life. Migration should be understood as an expression of and a part of complex and varied processes of social transformation and change (Castles 2008). It should be understood as a flow of people between different places in global times. Most of them live in two or more countries at the same time. They are constantly connected through cyber space with relatives and they are at a different place mentally than physically, thus strengthening the transnational dimension of migration (Eastmond & Åkesson 2007). In a globalizing society new group identities are created that are at times perceived to be more important than any national identity. You may consider yourself a world citizen, or an inhabitant of a suburb to a city, or at times both. This development raises the issue of extended citizenship and the possibilities for urban citizenship. People lead their everyday lives on the local level; it is what they tend to identify with and where they search for societal belonging.

The third process of change in focus for this introductory note is shaped by the fact that globalization, transnational migration and increased mobility have reinforced the process of **urbanization,** both in terms of its dimension and regarding the intensity by which it occurs (Short 2004). People are attracted by the modern life style offered in the cities and the opportunities they provide. This is true also for migrants, independently of whether they consider

themselves in transit or more permanently settled in urban environments. Here is where their social networks are located and here is where they can search for working opportunities. It took humanity 3000 years to create the cities for the present 3.2 billion people. That means that today, more than 50% per cent of the world population are urban citizens. According to the prognostication of the United Nations, 80% of the world population is estimated to live in cities in 2040. This figure implies a duplication of the urban population in only 30 years, with the subsequent pressure on housing, infrastructure and employment. The problem is strengthened as a result of the unequal development following the process of globalization and urbanization. All areas are not globalized at the same rate and pace. Many people are included in the development and find better living conditions. Others are left behind, marginalized and excluded. The income gap between the poor and the more affluent increases. The geography of global poverty is changing (Kanbur & Sumner 2011). In contrast with the situation 30 years ago, the majority of poor people are no longer living in the countryside. Poverty is increasingly becoming urbanized. Most of the poor people live in urban areas and most frequently in middle income and even high income countries. Poverty increases in tandem with the wealth in cities (Sassen 2006). Living areas are segregated, societies are torn apart and disintegrated. A Global South is emerging side by side with a Global North, in the same city and without borders in between. The concepts of the Global South and the Global North do not refer to the geographical location but foremost the economic and political marginalization (exclusion) and economic and political inclusion, respectively.

Together, these processes of change have implied a **restructuring of social relations**. Increased international competition, with the subsequent demands for decreased public spending and a restrictive economic policy, has made it more difficult to meet people's demands in terms of economic safety and social welfare. The capacity of the State to uphold the social contract that in modern time and in a western context has constituted the base for internal legitimacy and societal stability has decreased (Byrne 1999, Munck 2005). The different kinds of welfare regimes, offering people human security in terms of economic and social safety, were all based upon national economies with an autonomous collection and allocation of taxes (Esping-Andersen 1999). The increased influence from the international financial markets and the subsequent demands for macro-economic stability and decreased budget deficits has forced a transition from welfare programs to workfare activities. Reduced social spending has affected the most vulnerable and exposed part of the population. The transformed welfare policy and people's identity, loyalty and social trust are closely interconnected. In western countries, the reduced involvement of the state and its institutions has implied that the loyalty of some people has started to shift over to a closer base for identity, either in the form of general subnational or regional amalgamations or in the form of ethnic groups or other kinds of identity groups (so-called primary groups). When modern institutions cease to function, such "we-groups" or identity groups, are considered as the only existing safety network. In other parts of the world, where the modern state never had anything to offer, people have based their social safety and societal belonging upon kinship and withdrawn into a type of economy of affection (Hyden 1983).

From a peace and development perspective, this essay discusses how these processes of change and their subsequent complex societal problems express themselves in local contexts and urban environments and influence conditions for a social sustainable urban development. Special attention is devoted to the area of tension between, on the one hand, the capability of cities to contribute to the global governance (Rosenau 2009) required in order to manage these processes

of change in a sustainable way, and, on the other hand, the danger that urban areas, due to the lack of managerial capacity, evolve into battlefields for violent social conflicts. The aim of the paper is to initiate a discussion that explores the role of cities in global governance, as well as the need for and the design of an programs for social intervention in order to increase the urban capacity to contribute to such governance. In focus is the emerging pattern of thoughts, a global discourse that is starting to challenge the hegemonic neoliberal discourse as regards the requirements for a socially sustainable urban development, i.e. the requirements for a vigorous population with good health and education based upon an equal and just distribution of resources.

The conceptual base for this counter-hegemonic discourse that is beginning to become dominant within the United Nations system is the way people conceive and relate to the question of security, development and justice. The process of globalization is understood to have implied that the meanings of these concepts have become interlinked, mutually constitutive and that they reinforce each other. Consequently, such development has increased the demands for a more coherent policy in order to prevent those different measures from contradicting each other. According to this discourse, social sustainability, together with the economic and ecological sustainability, constitute three prerequisites and inseparable conditions for the sustainable societal development envisaged. However, at the same time, on the local level such global discourses are challenged by local strategies based upon the understanding that urban areas, in order to become an attractive node in the global network of production, are forced to act according to more neoliberal values and give priority to economic growth and urban security. Such strategies might, contrary to their intended effect, make it more difficult to achieve an ecologically and socially sustainable urban development.

This working paper in progress consists of seven sections moving back and forth between the local and the global. In the first section (**1**) the analytical framework is introduced with the support of a historical perspective. Special attention is given to how the process of globalization has changed the reality that the three concepts of security, development and justice are trying to grasp. The concepts have hereby evolved to describe three different values which are becoming intertwined, interdependent and also mutually constitutive. The second section (**2**) accounts for how such evolvement has increased the claims for increased coherence between different policy areas at a time when the state has simultaneously been forced to withdraw from the political room and the global institutions not been allowed to emerge in order to replace its role. Against this background the third section (**3**) explores the role that cities and urban areas, through their global networks, could play for the global governance that a sustainable societal development requires. The fourth section (**4**) reflects upon the different factors that might have as a consequence that cities and urban areas instead evolve into battlefields of violent social conflicts. Amongst such factors one finds the issue of transnational migration, the speed of urbanization and the accompanying unequal development which makes a Global South emerge side by side with a Global North in the same city. Another such factor is the question of new strategies for urban security that comes along with the privatization of security and the dispossession of the state's monopoly of violence. The fifth section (**5**) uses empirical evidence from Malmoe and Gothenburg in order to illustrate this area of tension and its dynamic grey zones between *"nodes for governance"* and *"battlefields for violent social conflicts"*. Using these examples as a point of departure, the sixth section (**6**) raises the issue of a new approach to the question of urban security and welfare regimes in a "glocalized era". The working paper continues in section seven

(7), which discusses the normative argument calling for the need of a social protection floor and the responsibility to also protect people´s economic, social and cultural rights. Such an externally financed global social policy could imply that the traditional budget support from the donor community is transformed into a social cohesion support disbursed according to the principles of "cash on delivery". The paper concludes by pointing out some important issues for future research as regards the role for intervention in urban governance.

1) Security, development and justice in a globalizing world

Security, development and justice are essentially contested concepts in that their meaning differs between different contexts and powerbases of different actors (Hettne 2009). Nevertheless, during the modern history of humanity and in a western context they have all had a strong impact on societal development, the domestic policies of different countries as well as their foreign policies and international relations. The concepts should be understood as desirable values that during the nation-state building project constituted the foundations for the different political ideologies and their respective emerging welfare regime. Their influence and practical importance became determined through the political war of position and hegemonic struggle between different adherents of the dominating ideologies shaping the creation of the nation-state (Gramsci 1971). The claim for individual freedom by the liberals, constituting the very base for the development of the productive forces (and hereby for economic growth and expansion of the market economy), became challenged by conservative and realist claims for societal order and security. With the expansion of the industrial society the demands for social justice and a fair distribution of the result from the production became increasingly more important. The outcome of the on-going war of position could be described as a point of balance (a trade-off) shaped by the political configuration and its power base (Hettne 2009). The main differences between the ideologies were not only a question of different degrees of significance attributed to the values of order, freedom and justice, but also a question of the importance attributed to the role of the state and of the market in implementing the envisaged policy. During the creation of the nation-state building project, the question of order and security had the upper hand, understood as the condition for the realization of the other values (Bull 1995).

Through the process of globalization, the reality that these concepts are trying to grasp has changed and implied more expansive conceptions. During the various international summit meetings of the last decades an alternative interpretation of the content of the concepts has started to emerge, challenging the neoliberal order. The earlier predominant opinion that security fore mostly was a question of the security of the state and its capacity to defend its population from military external threats, and hereby was a goal in its own right, has been taken over by events. The concept of security has become widened and deepened and a question of predictability, of economic security, of employment, of people's welfare and safety in a broader sense. Following the same logic the question of development is no longer only a question of economic growth. Claims for ecological and social sustainability as well as the level of public health and equal access to care have become underlined. The finding that in cities in developed countries, life expectancy differed as much as 8–12 years between different housing areas has drawn attention to the need to increase health equity and action on social determinants of health (Marmot 2008). Simultaneously the question of justice and a fair distribution of resources and opportunities

brought about by the process of decolonization remains unfulfilled but of continuing importance. The demands have lately been complemented with questions of social recognition and a fair distribution of the access to political power, considered a requirement for the envisaged fair distribution of resources and volume of production. (Stewart 2010, WDR 2011)

2) Governance and coherent policy for Global Development

The emerging dominant opinion also starts to highlight the interdependence of these concepts (Foot et al 2003). Tragic experiences from the Gaza strip in Palestine point to the impossibility of initiating any process of sustainable development without security. The social upheavals and unrest in European cities are frequently taken as examples of the fact that without development it is not possible to achieve security. The *Arab Spring* illustrates that without justice and human rights neither security nor development is possible to achieve. Even if the dimension and strength of these connections remains a contested territory (Duffield 2007), this year's World Development Report underlines the fact that security, development and justice have become intertwined, mutually constitutive and strengthen each other (World Bank 2011). This development has implied that these concepts have attained another analytical content. They are not only important from a historical ideological perspective, but they have also, through their increased interconnectivity, become more relevant from a policy-making point of view. However, exactly what the promotion of security, development and justice requires and exactly how the concepts are related remains problematic.

In the Swedish Government Bill to the Swedish Parliament in May 2003 the motives behind Sweden's Policy for Global Development was formulated in the following manner:

> Sweden's policy for global development should be based on a holistic view of what drives development and of the measures that are required to achieve equitable and sustainable development on a global scale. It should embrace all areas of policy and of political decision-making … Solidarity is reinforced by the realization that security, equality and sustainable development are not an exclusively national concern. Nowadays, the world's countries are interconnected as never before. The major challenges of our time and of the future concern everyone. This is particularly true for poverty and injustice. No part of the world is insulated from what happens in the rest of the world. Increasingly, we have common interests. (Gov. Bill 2002/03:122, page 18-19)

This view is also reflected in the recently presented US policy for Global Development by the Obama Administration, the first ever in the U.S. political history:

> The successful pursuit of development is essential to advancing our national security objectives, security, prosperity, respect for universal values, and a just and sustainable international order. (Presidential Policy Directive, PPD 9.22, 2010)

Simultaneously, ongoing processes of globalization have decreased the political room of maneuver for many countries in the world. The subsequent increased connectivity and compression of time and space have implied that different societal problems are inflicting with and influencing each other. An event far away will immediately have consequences somewhere else. This interconnectivity has implied that the local has become interwoven with the global. Such kind of amalgamation – or hybridization – of the global and the local has implied a

glocalized societal development (Robertsson 1995). Consequently, the concept "glocalization" should be understood as a concept trying to grasp the dialectical relationships between global influences and local everyday life, i.e. how global and local relations interplay and how they manifest socially and materially in specific places (Listerborn 2011).

This glocalization has, together with the fact that issues of security, development and justice have become intertwined, increased the need for a holistic policy and global governance permitting coherence between different policy areas. One hand cannot be allowed to take back what the other is giving. In order to fully meet the global challenges of our time, global institutions and regulatory frameworks are required that are capable of dealing with conflicting goals that may arise as a consequence of the divergent interests of different actors. The problem is that legitimate institutions with a global reach for such coordination of international measures are lacking. Even if many countries find themselves in agreement with the need to develop and implement such a coherent policy for global development, most of the international summits constitute clear-cut examples of situations when different national security interests still have the upper hand. The reason being that the political decision-makers of different countries see a danger in partly giving up the sovereignty of the country they represent and hereby reducing their political room of maneuver. It is on the national level that politicians need to establish the support upon which their re-election depends. Simultaneously, however, it has become clear that the political strength of individual nation-states and their political outreach is too limited in order to be able to deal with the global challenges they confront. The fact that the economic decision-making of the transnational corporations has become globalized much faster than the political decision-making of different countries has implied a severe lack of national as well as global institutions, and of regulatory frameworks for required governance.

In a globalizing world the state has gradually been forced to withdraw from the political room, opening up space for multilevel power structures and new actors of different kinds. In that sense the art of conventional "government" has begun to be replaced by new forms of multilevel "governance" carried out by different actors acting on different levels (Hambleton & Gross 2007). This transfer of power does not only relate to the individual states but also to interstate cooperation. Consequently, the question has been raised as regards the future role of the United Nations system and its possibilities to assume a larger responsibility for envisaged global governance (Roberts 2003). The UN system was built upon the experiences from the difficulties facing its predecessor, the League of Nations, and the need to create an organization with global outreach without inflicting on the sovereignty of individual member states. A General Assembly was created where each member had one vote and where decisions taken were only advisory. Mandatory decisions were to be taken by the Security Council only, based upon the voting of its members, of whom the most powerful and important five were so-called permanent members, and equipped with a vetoing status. While the United Nations hereby succeeded to gain some legitimacy in the western world, it soon started to lose legitimacy in other parts of the world, who regarded the UN system as a foreign policy tool of western interests.

In trying to recuperate and strengthen the legitimacy of the UN system, not only the capacity to deal with its democratic deficit but also its capacity to deal with global challenges will be decisive. In order to initiate required reforms of the UN system, its former General Secretary launched several important commissions and high level panels in the second half of the 1990s preparing for the new millennium. In sum they pointed to the interrelationship between the

concept of security, development and justice and claimed that without security there would not be any development, without development there would be no security and without justice and human rights there would neither be security nor development. By defining the question of "Human Security" as a question of "freedom from want and freedom from fear" the UN system tried to show that the concepts overlap each other. In his own summarizing and concluding report to the opening session of the UN general assembly, in September 2005, the UN general secretary expressed the changed relationship between the concepts in the following way:

> "Not only are development, security and human rights all imperative; they also reinforce each other. This relationship has only been strengthened in our era of rapid technological advances, increasing economic interdependence, globalization and dramatic geopolitical change" (In Larger Freedom: towards development, security and human rights for all, 2005).

In an increasingly interdependent world the question of peace and security was considered a responsibility for all member states. Consequently, the report of the General Secretary concluded by suggesting an enlargement of the UN Charter based upon a reformulation of the sovereignty of the member states. The report emphasized the responsibility of each member state to protect its citizens from genocide, war crimes, ethnic cleansing and crimes against humanity. If the member state for various reasons proved incapable to do so the UN should first assist the country in question and, if that turned out problematic, be permitted to use diplomatic means or economic sanctions in order for such kind of protection to be implemented. In cases where such actions did not provide the desired results and the situation was considered to be a threat to peace and stability, the UN should be responsible to intervene by military means following a decision by the Security Council.

The member states' acceptance of such responsibility to protect its citizens from crimes against humanity opens up for the UN system to play a strengthened role in the future as regards global governance and conditions for peace and security. In the aftermath of the agreement voices have been raised to further enlarge the extension of the Charter to also include the responsibility to protect the economic, social and cultural rights of its population, something to which we should revert in the sections that follow (UN A/63/677 2009).

3) Urban settings – nodes for global governance ...

Simultaneously, along with the ongoing discussion on the role of the UN system for global governance, the lack of institutions and legitimate organizations with mandate and capability to manage the global challenges have increased the interest in the role that cities and urban settings can play for such an undertaking (Amen et al 2011). This interest is motivated by the fact that it is here where the majority of the world population lives, and it is here, on the local level, where many of the challenges are created (Borja & Castells 1996). Even if a global regulatory framework is required in order to more fully deal with the problems, it is on the local level where pre-emptive actions must be taken. That is why urban leadership and urban activists have had to deal with issues long before national governments and interstate treaties addressed them (Sassen 2011). It is in urban areas where the impact of globalization will become most visible and it is on the local level that contextualized measures must be identified and implemented. It is also in urban areas where resource utilization could be made more efficient and another quality of life be

identified, more based upon increased accessibility and proximity than upon material well-being. Even if global understanding and discourses are important for the required financial mobilization and political room of maneuver in order to deal with the problems, the involvement and participation of the local level were considered a prerequisite for the implementation of the desired actions. This relationship strengthened the need for coordinated joint actions between the local and the global.

The withdrawal of the state from the political room and the increased room for maneuver for other actors in the emerging multilevel power structure has consequently raised the issue of the requirements for and capabilities of cities to reclaim parts of the role they played in medieval times, hereby paving the way for a rebirth of global cities as networks of connectivity (Borja & Castells 1996, McNeill 2006). Established researchers point to the role that many cities played during medieval times for trade and for the relationship with the outside world, before the nation-state building era, when the states with their claim for sovereignty started to take over that role (Braudel 1974). Now, in the time of transition between the nation-state systems and a post-national society, the state is again challenged and pressed back from the political room by new actors and diffusion of power (Hettne 2009). The question is raised not only as regards their role as important nodes and hubs for the world economy (Castles 2008) but also their possibility to develop into places for social interaction such as public gatherings, political meetings and community based activities upon which citizenship is based (Harvey 2009). Some researchers argue that the growth of cities, their innovative capacity and global networks equips them with some of the tools that global governance requires for the management of some of the challenges (Ohmae 1995, Sassen 2011). Hereby, cities would contribute to create a new geopolitical map, possibly based upon a resurrection of the "city state" and a new kind of "Hanseatic League" (Rosenau 2009)

The different twin town agreements and city-to-city cooperation that have emerged lately are considered an important base for such a development, administrated and financed through organizations such as United Cities, Eurocities and Urbact, in total bringing together some 1500 cities. Such a development has also been encouraged by the strive for decentralization by the state and the subsequent outsourcing not only of the design and implementation of various welfare programs and social protection schemes but also of the responsibility for local employment and economic growth. For many cities, such policies of deconcentration make it necessary to rely on themselves and the support that their networking with other places in a similar situation can provide. Here, the support provided by the UN system through their organization for urban development (UN Habitat) plays an important role as convener and coordinator, not least when it comes to the question of social sustainability. The UN environmental summits play a similar role and their plan of action for an ecologically sustainable development (Agenda 21) has played a decisive part for increased consciousness and the anchoring of the agreement on local level. In the United States of America more than 1000 cities have on a voluntary basis signed the Kyoto Agreement that has been blocked in the U.S. Congress. The air quality emergency in many cities implied that they simply could not wait till Congress approved mandatory laws for car fuel efficiency and reduced emissions (Sassen 2011). In practice this has implied that the same impact has been achieved as if the Bush Administration at that time would have signed the protocol. The U.S. initiative with regards to the climate protection agreement has inspired municipalities within the European Union to create the Covenant of Mayors signatories, aiming to cut greenhouse gas emissions with at least 20% before

the year of 2020, hereby exceeding the goal decided by the European Commission in Brussels. Through this kind of agreements and networking, cities have already started to develop their own channels for international diplomacy and hereby the conditions for the global governance required. Such diplomatic and lobbying capacities are not only relevant for the growing numbers of megacities in the world populated by more than 10 millions of people. The fine-meshed networks constituted by small and middle range cities, with a population between 300 thousand up to one million people, are expected to play an even more important role.

4) .... or battlefields for violent social conflicts

The impact from the restructuring of the social relations, following the processes of globalization, migration and urbanization accounted for in the introduction, will foremost reflect itself on the local level and in urban settings (Sassen 2006). Consequently, the possibilities for cities to participate in global governance are constrained by the immense problems and challenges they have to confront themselves, not the least due to the speed of the rate of urbanization and the subsequent uneven development. While cities are attractive centers for migration, creative arts, innovation and employment opportunities, they are also centers for acute forms of poverty, substandard housing and homelessness (Amen et al 2011). In urban areas people live side by side. They have different cultures, different group identities and different possibilities to live decent lives. Consequently, the intensified process of globalization has, together with the rate of urbanization, new patterns of migration and transformed social relations, implied that many of the cities find themselves in an area of tension. On the one hand they have increased opportunities to play an active role for global governance, but on the other they face the danger of being torn apart, of disintegrating and evolving into battlefields for social conflicts. If the challenges confronting the cities cannot be managed in a proper way, their possibilities to contribute to a sustainable development will cease. This will bring the question of coherence to the head. If wrong priorities are set, the social stability will be in danger.

The uneven development of globalization should partly be understood as a result of the different requirements that cities have to meet in order to become a node in the global network of production (Castells 1998, Harvey 2009). Not all cities have the resources to respond to such requirements. Some cities have turned out to have a stronger ability than others to, within a rather limited geographical area, mobilize the critical mass of specialized and at the same time diversified manpower, the infrastructure and the resources of production required in order to become an attractive and competitive node in the global network.

There is also a need to provide an exciting cultural environment, first-class education in various foreign languages, as well as the safety and social trust demanded by foreign expatriates and their accompanying family members. For the cities of knowledge the capability to offer good living standards and a high quality of life starts to become more important than traditional requirements such as tax agreements, laws and other governmental regulations.

The uneven development of globalization should also be understood as an unwanted consequence of the emergence of the city of knowledge and the distorted income distribution that tends to follow swift not only between countries but foremost within countries. In tandem with the increased demand for high-skilled labor, there is also an increase in the demand for low-skilled

workers in order to deal with the logistics and ground services required by the knowledge-intensive system of production. The traditional role that women have played in dealing with this situation has gradually been taken over by migrant labor. In many developed countries, the labor market has started to become split between high-income jobs that many workers lack the qualification for, and low-paid work that one cannot live on. In addition, the strengthened demand for a high-skilled and well-educated work force frequently results in a process of gentrification that creates differences between housing areas. Higher levels of income and social status increase demand and push the prices for housing up in some areas, gradually forcing the present residents to leave and to search for new lodging in areas with slower price escalations.

The societal development following the process of gentrification strengthens the process of segregation further (Wacquant 2009). This is one of the reasons that the urban divide and the internal conflict dynamics threaten the social stability in so many parts of the world. In an increasing number of cities worldwide the more affluent middle class finds it necessary to live behind walls and fences. In more extreme cases send they their children to school escorted by armed guards (or even in helicopter, as in the case of Sao Paulo in Brazil) in order for them not to be kidnapped along the route.

Even in European cities (Paris, Copenhagen, Malmoe and Gothenburg) there are strong social tensions between people who find themselves included in the development and the ones who find themselves marginalized and excluded (Dikec 2007). Also here the number of "gated communities" increases, raising the danger of reinforcing xenophobic attitudes and social exclusion (Kazepov 2005). Due to such urban division and subsequent "ghettoization," the city of knowledge gradually begins to lose its possibilities to be the innovative and creative site of learning that is required for remaining competitive. Hereby the city tends to undermine the very base upon which it depends for its success. Such contradictory circumstances illustrate the logic of the uneven development and points to the fact that there also exists another side to the various success stories that some cities show (Abrahamsson 2003).

In the western part of the world the danger of violent social conflicts has increased due to the crisis of legitimacy for the social order that has emerged as a result of the internationalization of the state and the increased need for external legitimacy (Cox 1996). Following the need of the state to attract foreign private investments in order to consolidate the competitiveness of the country, the pillars upon which the social contract was based have started to erode. The need for external legitimacy has been prioritized at the expense of the internal, which has led to that decision taken by democratically elected parliamentarians and governmental officials many times are neglected or neutralized by the financial markets, the business sectors and the demand of the banks for strengthened creditworthiness. The risks for violent social conflicts are driven by the dissatisfaction of people who lack basic needs in terms of housing and employment and thus experience reduced social cohesion and societal belonging. Of particular concern is the rate of unemployed youth. As will be further elaborated upon in the sections that follow the financial crisis during the last five years has increased the so-called NEETs (not in education, employment or training) to between 25–40% in many European cities. For the foreign-born and less educated the figure in some cities and housing areas could reach 50–60%. This has made societies incapable of harnessing the energy, intelligence and workforce of the next generation upon which the society with its aging population depends. As earlier accounted for, reduced welfare and social spending has, on the contrary, implied that parts of the civil society have found themselves

forced to create an alternative and more informal system for security and social protection rooted in a closer base for identity (so-called primary groups). Hereby the base of loyalty has been shifted from society towards such smaller identity groups. To be added to the decreasing trust for political leaders and the entire political democratic system is the increased individualization following the market-led process of globalization (Bauman 2002). This process of individualization has increased the reluctance to engage in collective political decision-making processes. As illustrated by recent events in United Kingdom the eroded social contract and hollowing out of welfare regimes has led to social upheavals and violent protests in urban areas.

The impact of countries' different capabilities to develop into competitive nodes in the global network and the impact of the uneven development that follows the process of globalization will be more clearly illustrated when our attention turns to the countries in the South. Here the pattern of urbanization differs from the patterns that Europe and North America went through in the 19th and early 20th century, not only in terms of dimension and speed but foremost regarding the access to employment opportunities. Today, most cities do not produce the same demand for labor. Newly arrived people try to survive in the informal sector. People migrate to urban areas as the countryside offers even worse living conditions. The rate at which they move exceeds by all standards what urban planning and infrastructural construction can cope with. Dhaka in Bangladesh and Lagos in Nigeria are two clear examples of cities where the present population of 16 and 14 million respectively are 40 times as big as in 1950.

While the impact of the uneven globalization manifests itself in the developed world through overcrowded housing areas and increased homelessness, in the South it manifests itself in informal and often illegal settlements (UN Habitat). Today, around 1/3 of the urban population of the world, some 1000 million people, live as slum dwellers. This has made social scientists and geographers talk about the new geography of misery. The figure is expected to increase during the coming decades. The majority of the more than 100 thousand people moving in to Delhi each year end up in the slum. In many of the cities in the South, people occupy or rent a space on the roofs of high-rise blocks, thereby constructing shanty towns in the air (Davis 2006).

As accounted for in the introduction, the majority of the world's poor people are no longer found in the countryside. Nor do most of them live in low-income countries, as before. They are trying to survive in urban areas in middle-income or high-income countries. It is the suggestion of this paper that it is foremost in these areas where measures have to be taken and interventions carried out in order to reach the UN Millennium declaration goals and reduce world poverty by half before the year of 2015. The problems are to be found not only in so-called megacities, which have duplicated in number during last decades, but also in the rapid growth in number of middle-range cities with a population between 500 thousand and two million people. It is in this socially compressed space where the emergence of a Global North and a Global South is most visible, with its strong variations in employment and degree of unhealth between different housing areas and social groups. From a peace and development perspective the social dynamics in these areas will have a strong impact on conditions for sustainable development, following the new and more locally rooted forms of violence resulting from various social crises. It is here where the different kinds of future violent conflicts will be fought, motivating the security forces of different countries to develop new tactics to confront social upheaval, hereby contributing to produce an increasingly "urban geography of warring" (Sassen 2011). As cities also will become strategic places in the new international asymmetric wars fought against insurgent movements or terrorist

attacks, it is in urban areas where the future of the Global Political Economy and International Relations increasingly will be shaped (Graham 2010).

5) Malmoe and Gothenburg – the double facets of the cities of knowledge

Malmoe and Gothenburg could be taken as examples of cities who have done surprisingly well in mobilizing the required resources in order to become attractive and competitive nodes in the global network. Both cities, with their population of 300 and 500 thousand respectively, are considered too small to act alone in the global context, so strengthened subnational and regional cooperation has become paramount. The Gothenburg region belongs to the fastest growing regions in Europe. Through massive investment in infrastructure for transportation and communication, synergy effects in the areas of research, technological development and innovation that involve the Sahlgrenska University Hospital, Volvo, SKF, Ericsson, Chalmers University of Technology and the University of Gothenburg, the city has succeeded in placing itself on the map of foreign investors. In doing so the efforts to create a varied cultural supply, through the construction of an Opera and a Casino, have together with efforts to create a reasonably safe and alive inner city and well-reputed international schools, been crucial. The Malmoe region represents a similar success story. Through impressive investments in information and advanced technology, the city has managed in turning around the economic stagnation with 25% unemployment that followed on the closing down of factories during the 1990s. Instead, an attractive and forward-looking green city of knowledge has been created. The image of the city and the branding through which the decision-makers are marketing its city has become extremely important in this regard. In the city of Malmoe, the Turning Torso building, the University and the waterfront Western Harbor, have, together with the Oresund Bridge linking the city to Copenhagen, become important symbols for a new time. In Gothenburg one finds well-advanced plans of creating the sustainable green city of the future in connection with the upgrading of the inner city (Norra Älvstaden). For Malmoe, the multicultural mix with it's over 100 spoken languages and 160 different nationalities are important in the marketing of the continental and international atmosphere of the city. The same kind of multicultural approach is found in the vision document of the University of Malmoe – variety makes a difference – and in the efforts to use the experiences of the students and professionals for the purpose of strengthening the city's cosmopolitan image. Two years ago, the city received an international award for the way it combined its rapid economic growth with increased sustainability. Recently the city also received an award from the World Wildlife Fund (2011) for its efforts to increase cycling, solar energy and organic food to the schools.

As accounted for, not all cities in the world are associated with similar success stories. Many cities struggle with everyday burdens of segregation, social exclusion, unemployment, overcrowded housing, irregular electricity and water supply, let alone traffic congestions. They find it harder to become a city of knowledge and events in the global network society. In this category of cities you find many well-known traditional industrial cities in Europe and the United States of America that do not keep pace but lag behind.

The uneven development accompanying the process of globalization, with its increased inequalities, points with all reason to the fact that the success stories of Malmoe and Gothenburg also carry unwanted consequences and reverse sides (Johansson & Sernhede 2006, Stigendal

2007). On a high level of aggregation, statistics show that the increasing process of segregation going on in Gothenburg has divided the city into three parts. The more affluent population has moved out to the suburbs in the southwest, leaving the inner city in the hands of the middle class. Following the ongoing process of gentrification the lower middle class, workers and migrants are forced to leave the increasingly more expensive inner city for a life in the more low-cost suburbs in the northeast. This development manifests itself in strong differences, be it the rate of employment, level of income, life expectancy, or health standard (Sernhede 2002). In reality, the situation is of course more complex. Many housing areas in suburbs like Backa and Hammarkullen represent different categories of housing, from rental housing to private row and terraced houses, villas and private flats, and constitute examples of variations that are difficult to detect in aggregated statistics. The same situation is found in Malmoe. Even here, where every third inhabitant is foreign-born, the multicultural variety of people has implied strong segregation.

Of special concern in the social and political development in Malmoe and Gothenburg is the urban youth. An assessment on children poverty carried out by Save the Children shows that the relative poverty in Swedish suburbs is increasing, especially so for the foreign-born. According to the Swedish National Board for Youth Affairs, who analyzed the living conditions of the population in Swedish suburbs, 35 % of the youth between 20 and 25 year in Rosengård and Angered neither work nor study. For some housing areas the figure can reach 50–60%, especially for foreign-born and less educated youth. Various assessments point to the fact that cuts in social spending have decreased the inclusive capacity of the educational system and instead started to educate for social exclusion. In addition there are the factors of decreased interest and motivation for school work. Of alarming importance is the fact that an increasing share of young people in some housing areas in Swedish suburbs belong to the third generation being unemployed. They consider themselves "unemployable" and have simply stopped looking for jobs. In addition the content of the Swedish school plans and subsequent curricula are not fully adapted to reflect the global environment and educational needs that young people have in order to more fully participate in their various global networks. Less than 60% of the pupils leaving secondary education have the required grades for passing the final examination. Here one finds the roots to the stigmatization and self-otherization that has increased during the last decade, especially amongst young men in Swedish suburbs (Sernhede 2010).

The lack of housing is making things worse. Many young people find themselves having to move back and forth to the home of their parents as some kind of "boomerang kids" as they can neither find permanent work nor a permanent lodging. Both Gothenburg and Malmoe at times experience severe social upheavals. The frustration from what is perceived as discrimination, lack of respect and lack of opportunity to a life in dignity, manifests itself differently in different housing areas. In one area people throw stones and burn cars, while people living on the other side of the street, but in exactly the same socioeconomic context, vote for the xenophobic Swedish Democratic Party (Söderin 2010). As a consequence of the fact that some people do not consider themselves as full members of society with equal rights, as earlier discussed, they at times identify themselves with smaller identity groups and base their living on informal systems of provision and safety. The social tensions have increased through the transnational migration and better access to global information about what is going on in other parts of the world. The social exclusion and discrimination that people encounter worldwide give racial and colonial connotations. Many feel alienated from society and can see no justification for, or benefits from,

becoming a Swedish citizen. They consider themselves as global citizens who participate in some sort of global intifada (Sernhede 2002).

This situation explains the paradox that politicians and decision-makers in both Malmoe and Gothenburg – despite their success in transforming the cities into competitive and attractive places of knowledge and innovation – describe both cities as strongly segregated and with severe social tensions. The externally driven process of globalization has come to interact with and revitalize old political tensions between different social strata in the cities (Stigendal 2007). In this sense, global events resulting from the uneven process of globalization have become "*glocalized*". The decision-makers in both cities express strong concern that the tensions will tear the cities apart and in the long run create a social situation that would inflict negatively on the foreign investors that have an interest in social stability and safety. Consequently decision makers in both cities express concerns and ambitions to create economic, ecological and social sustainability and launch special commissions in order to deal with segregation and inequalities. Coinciding interests between different elite groups and parts of the population have started to develop, creating conditions for increased security, social safety and stability (Abrahamsson 2003). This raises the question, to which we now turn, of what is understood by the concepts of security and safety and how such conditions are supposed to be created.

6) Urban Security and social sustainable development

From a peace and development perspective the direction in which cities move in this area of tension depends to a large degree upon how people and political decision-makers conceive and relate to questions of security, development and justice.

The content of and dynamics in a concept like security can be elucidated with assistance from the founding father of the Peace Research tradition, the Norwegian scholar Johan Galtung. He made an important distinction between direct and structural violence. With direct violence he referred to physical violence, frequently as a result of military interventions, and by structural violence he had in mind the regulatory framework and societal structures that constrained people from fully using their potential and capability and at times also taking away their means of subsistence. Galtung talked about the absence of direct violence in terms of negative peace (to be defended *from* something). In order to achieve a state of positive peace (to have the right *to* something), constraints in the form of structural violence must be taken away. Such a removal constituted conditions for sustainable development and could only be achieved through increased social justice (Galtung 1996).

In the same way, this paper suggests that we can talk about negative and positive security. By creating fences and walls and various technical systems for increased surveillance and social control people are intended to be defended *from* crime and violence and granted increased negative security. However, through measures in order to enhance people's participation in the political life and their empowerment, as well as their social recognition, conditions for increased social cohesion and social trust could be created, thereby strengthening people's right *to* safety and the conditions for a more positive security (Lidskog 2006, Sahlin 2010). Accordingly, this paper also suggests that the answer to the question of whether or not cities could develop into nodes in the global network and hereby contribute to required global governance or if they tend

to develop into battlefields of violent social conflicts ultimately depends on their capacity to create social sustainability, that is, how cities respond to the needs for security of its population by providing conditions for a positive security. Some scholars argues that cities have certain advantages in relation to states in this regard as the urban security setting being more people-oriented and potentially quite different from "national security" setting being more state oriented (Sassen 2011).

The conditions for positive security cannot, however, only be created from above. They require a strong popular participation and trust-building from below. This brings us to the question of development and how we should understand the meaning of the concept and the requirements to satisfy people's basic needs (Beall & Fox 2009). While the question of safety requires a strong and active participation in a given social context, the process of globalization and urbanization both carry tendencies of exclusion, where some groups of people are not permitted to participate as full citizens. The recent demands for a more inclusive development strategy has reclaimed the debate in the 1970s related to "Basic Needs" strategies for "Another Development" and hereby created the ground for a renaissance of Development Studies. The debate referred to makes a strong point in differentiating between a more "functional" and a more "territorial" development strategy (Friedman 1992). The more functional strategy was rooted in modernization theory and referred to development in terms of better material and economic conditions measured at an aggregated level. Such thinking, giving exclusive priority to short-term economic growth, also lies behind the perceived need for cities to develop into a city of knowledge, with an enabling environment and sufficient capacity to attract foreign investments, and subsequently be able to develop into a node in the global network. However, in order to maintain its external legitimacy the state has nowadays been forced to give up parts of its capacity to redistribute the result that the functional process of production was expected to create. Such dispossession has been facilitated by the emergence of the global production network that revokes the reciprocal relation between the producers and consumers that in the western world constituted the very political base for the former industrial society and Fordist mode of production (Harvey 2003). Hereby the uneven development is strengthened and the social contract and its capacity to generate social trust diminished.

A more territorial approach to development is based upon the notion of a city for all (Salonen 2011). It is not only a question of a policy for integration, but foremostly a joint action for the construction of an urbanized society where people could more fully experience societal belonging. A more inclusive city for all must be more territorially oriented, locally anchored and horizontally integrated. It is also based upon another understanding of economic efficiency that takes into consideration the value of social trust and the security costs that social unrest imply. Within the paradigm of a territorial development, a 35% level of NEETS – young people not in education, employment or training – is not acceptable and an urban area with this characteristic simply cannot be considered a city of knowledge. This perspective corresponds to the thinking of the emerging "Degrowth" social movement with roots in the Club of Rome report – The limits to growth – from 1972 and in the Schumacher's book – Small is beautiful – published one year after, 1973.   The Degrowth movement takes ecological considerations as its basis for suggesting the downscaling of production and consumption and a redefinition of the meaning of quality of life so that it is less based on consumption and more focused on time devoted to family, culture and community. In line with this thinking one finds the U.K. based "Transition Towns" (or "Transition Movement" as it also is called) and the U.S. based social movement "Right to the

City", the former with the aim to support urban cultivation and agriculture, and the latter with the aim of counteracting gentrification through a new welfare regime based upon social housing and more heterogeneous housing areas, with the prospect of decreasing segregation (Harvey 2009).

This brings us finally to the third concept in the triad of security, development and justice. The literature on the question of justice has, as a result of increased gaps and social exclusion, become significant in size and important for policy implications. Still, however, there exist difficulties in giving the concept an analytical clarity. In this year's World Development Report, the World Bank is however, pushing the envelope forward by giving support to the argument that justice (in the sense of fairness) should not only be considered a question of economic redistribution and different social protection schemes. Justice is also about recognition, equal rights and non-discrimination when it comes to employment and lodging. Hence, the concept "carries the notion of a fair process and due outcome in the distribution of political power, resources, opportunities, and sanctions (WDR 2011 xvi). Hence, access to political power is considered a prerequisite for the fair distribution of resources.

7) The Global South –social protection as a Human Right

The end of the Cold War and the subsequent enhanced process of globalization witnessed a dramatic increase in support of the idea that the international community should promote greater justice as a central requirement of global sustainability. Simultaneously it turned out difficult to deduce general principles of global justice in the absence of a specific society within which they could be applied. In the absence of universal principles of justice, the United Nations have more fully tried to connect the question of social justice to the question of Human Rights. Consequently, the issues of Economic, Social and Cultural Rights have risen in importance on the international political agenda, although they are still not a strong priority on national agendas, neither in the North nor the South. Subsequently, in the post-Cold War era a heightened international concern with what was going on inside the boundaries of states could be observed. The question has been raised whether the sovereignty of states could be infringed and foreign intervention viewed as legitimate in cases where a state is deemed to be denying such rights to its inhabitants. Advocating for the UN responsibility to intervene in such cases, the former UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan underlined the fact that the aim of the UN Charter was to protect individual human beings and not those who abuse them, and that state sovereignty must be redefined to encompass the idea of individual sovereignty.

In an increasingly interconnected world, with troublesome inequalities and the coexistence of an emerging Global South and Global North side by side without territorial borders in between, and with increased mobility and fluid basis for citizenship, the question of Human Economic, Social and Cultural Rights are deterritorialized and of global concern. One alarming issue of crucial importance for the future urban social cohesion and sustainability in focus for this paper is the worldwide increased rate of child poverty and social exclusion of youth.

According to the United Nations Children's Fund (Unicef), the proportion of children in poverty has risen in a majority of the world's developed countries (Unicef 2005). Unicef views poverty as "a human condition, characterized by the sustained or chronic deprivation of the resources, capabilities, choices, security and power necessary for the enjoyment of an adequate standard of

living and other civil, cultural, economic, political and social rights." (Unicef 2005). Presently, one billion children (aged between 0 and 17) are suffering from such deprivations, that is one out of two (Unicef 2007). In addition, the unemployment rate for young people between the ages of 15 and 24 is increasing. Today's world population counts an estimated 1.2 billion young people, of which some 630 million are included in the global labor force (corresponding to 25% of the total global workforce) (UN World Youth report 2007). Some 40 per cent of those without work are young people and their unemployment rate tends to be two to three times higher than for the adult population. Some 350 million of the youth labor force live in Asia. Here, the process of globalization is considered to have had a strong impact, creating a lot of new opportunities and significantly changing the lives, values and culture of many young Asians, but it has also fostered widened inequalities within and between countries. Accordingly, Asia is both a major receiving and sending region for migrants. Millions of young people have become mobile. Increased opportunities for migration to OECD countries for highly skilled Asian youth have increased the brain drain. Migration and the subsequent remittances are understood to improve the status of youth within their families back home. As regards the Latin American countries they have made impressive results in providing young people with educational opportunities, but Latin American youth are worse off today than they were 15 years ago with respect to employment and income levels. Around 25% of those between 20 and 24 are so-called NEETs (neither in education, employment nor training). Problems with unemployment and underemployment are particularly severe for young women (UN World Youth Report 2007, World Bank 2009). Hence, poverty and inequality continue to afflict Latin America and migration has become one of the coping mechanisms with which young people seek to overcome the lack of opportunities at home. The percentage of youth who live in poverty continues to be extremely high in Sub-Saharan Africa. More than 70% of the young people live on less than 2 dollars a day, 34% do not attend school and 68% are considered illiterate. The majority of the population of the continent is young and is expected to increase the pressure African countries face for job creation over the coming decades. Turning to in the Middle East and North Africa the rate of unemployment is alarming and foremost affecting the young population. Growing fast and presently representing 1/3 of the labor force they account for almost half of all unemployed people in the region. One of the contributing factors is the widening gap between the curricula of the educational system and the needs and priorities of the labor market (UN World Youth Report 2007, World Bank 2009).

The human suffering and the social tensions that this situation creates have manifested themselves in connection with the *Arab Spring* that spread across the Arab world in 2011. The democratic uprisings have drawn attention to the need of a regime change based upon some kind of social contract and state interventions for social protection. Such measures are also considered motivated, not only in the Arab world but worldwide, by the new geography of poverty earlier accounted for and the fact that an increasing number of poor people are found in middle- and even high income countries. Mostly, it is not the poor people who have moved but the countries in which they live that have gone through substantial increases in average income (Kanbur & Sumner 2011). Poverty in these areas is more related to the lack of political capacity or will to implement policies for job creation and a more equal income distribution. Within the framework of international development cooperation, the need of a social protection floor is therefore on the agenda. Voices have been raised to suggest that in those cases where the responsible governments do not allow sufficient economic space for such a scheme of social protection, it is in the interest and responsibility of the international community to intervene (Holmqvist 2011).

Such suggestions argue that the UN Responsibility to Protect (R2P), adopted by the UN General Assembly in 2005 and earlier accounted for, should be enlarged to also include the responsibility to protect citizens from violations of economic, social and cultural rights. As the argument goes, such violations must not only be considered a crime against humanity, but in a globalized world also as a threat to peace and social stability, hereby permitting external humanitarian intervention, albeit by economic and not military means. According to such claims, the international community, through the United Nations system, should take the responsibility for protecting exposed people wherever they find themselves and provide essential services "ensuring the availability, continuity and access to public services (such as water and sanitation, health, education and family-focused social work support)" as social transfers permitting the provision of "a basic set of essential social transfers, in cash and in kind, paid to the poor and vulnerable to enhance food security and nutrition, provide a minimum income security and access to essential services, including education and health care" (ILO2009 page 2). While such measures could be endorsed, it is important however, not to let them come about at the expense of available financial means for productive investment and job creation.

According to the UN system "the international community should not just repair the problems identified by the crisis in global financial, monetary and economic systems, but should be advocating and supporting the development of (such) a social protection floor to protect people during the crisis, and thereafter." One way of doing this could be to transform the traditional budget support into a more conditional social cohesion support based upon a perspective of rights and disbursement of aid "on delivery". Tendencies in this direction could also be found in the preparations for the Busan Aid Summit in South Korea later this year. Several countries have become increasingly reluctant to continue supporting the Paris Declaration adopted by the international donor community in 2005 with its aim to increase ownership through channelling an increased portion of aid as budget support. Policy failures to reduce poverty are understood as resulting much more from the presence of kleptocratic and inefficient government than from the existence of structural barriers within the world economy. Consequently, they fear that despite conditioning the budget support to popular based poverty reduction strategies, the support is not reaching out to the target groups. Such fears might increase the interest by the international donor community to instead channel their money through conditioned social protection schemes. As earlier accounted for, such a reorientation of aid into some kind of social cohesion support would also correspond to the new security interests of the western countries in an increasingly interconnected world. The tricky issue will however still be to find channels within the structure of the state capable to reach out to the beneficiaries and right bearers, thereby supporting their struggle for access to such rights. The difficulties will continuously be related to the dilemma of being dependent on the powerful for the distribution of these entitlements without empowering them. Furthermore, different from the conditionality linked to the budget support, the required conditionality for social cohesion support must not be elaborated and decided upon externally by the donor community, but by the right bearers locally. The rights and entitlements must be conceived by the right bearers as "theirs" and not something imposed by an external agent speaking in their name.

Different UN organisations also point to the fact that legal frameworks for such an undertaking already exist. The International Labour Organisation (ILO) argues that "With the Universal Declaration of Human Rights of 1948 and the core human rights treaties, such as the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, the UN system has a powerful mandate to

promote a social protection floor. Human rights underpinning these essential transfers and services are manifested in articles 22, 25, 27 and 29 of the Declaration of Human Rights, on the right to social security and the right to an adequate standard of living. These basic rights have been confirmed in various international and regional instruments, to which all countries, to varying degrees, have committed themselves" (ILO 2009).[1] With respect to economic and social rights related to health, food, education, water, sanitation, social security and employment, the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights requires the delivery of a "minimum core" set of guarantees and services essential for human survival, with priority attention to those suffering discrimination. Beyond this minimum level, social and economic rights require a progressive realization over time, within the maximum extent of all resources available to the state. The concept of the "minimum core content" of human rights establishes clear normative foundations for the envisaged "social protection floor".

Also in the part of the Global South that is geographically located in the western world, child poverty and youth unemployment rates are increasing. Child poverty has duplicated in Italy, Germany and Holland during the last years (Esping-Andersen & Myles 2008). As earlier discussed, according to the Save the Children's assessment, child poverty increased also in Sweden, with a number of 10.000 during the year of 2008. This implies that a total of 210.000 children were living in families with low incomes and in need of social allowance. This corresponds to 11.5 % of the total number of children. Foreign-born children or children to foreign-born parents are especially affected. Child poverty in these groups were five times as high (29.5%) as for children with Swedish-born parents (5.4%) (Save the Children 2010). Strong variations could also be noted between different municipalities and housing areas – from 2.5% in Torslanda (Gothenburg) to 61.4% in Rosengård (Malmoe).

As regards the youth unemployment in Europe, the rate is alarming and understood to have been further aggravated by the present financial crisis. While the average unemployment rate for the youth reached 21% in Europe in 2010, it reached an astonishing 42% in Spain. Consequently, the "Indignant Movement" succeeded to mobilize several hundreds of thousands of young people to various acts of protests. Inspired by the "Arab Spring" they occupied the square Puerta del Sol in Madrid with requests for change, something that made business media talk in terms of a "Youth Unemployment Bomb" (Business Week, February 2, 2011). The same year, 25% or every fourth of the Swedish youth between 15 and 24 years old were unemployed. The rate of youth unemployment and the tendencies for social exclusion in Europe have during the last two decades been aggravated by an increasing number of migrants suffering from various kinds of transnational processes of inequality. For foreign-born or with foreign-born parents the rate of unemployment in Sweden reached 30–40% in some housing areas.

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[1] *Prominent among these are the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (1966), to which 160 countries have committed themselves, and the Convention on the Rights of the Child and the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women, with 191 and 185 states parties, respectively. All countries have ratified at least one, and, in most cases, several of the core nine UN human rights treaties. The ILO conventions also establish important legal foundations for social protection.*

The well-known Danish sociologist Esping-Andersen draw our attention to the fact that child poverty will have devastating future effects bearing in mind the knowledge-intensive system of production we are heading for (Esping-Andersen 2009). In order to fully benefit from the opportunities of life chances the requirements for cognitive ability will increase drastically. Young people with low education risk becoming predestined to unemployment or very low-skilled and low-income work. Basic schooling is not considered to be enough for seizing the life chances of a knowledge economy. The problem is that the required cognitive ability is acquired very early in childhood, more exactly in the preschool age (Esping-Andersen 2009). Children who do not have access to preschool cognitive training processes will have severe problems in catching up. Young people without upper secondary education face a three times higher risk of long-term unemployment. Low education decreases the prospects for descent pensions. Consequently, child poverty will be transformed into old age poverty. Without an adequate policy of intervention, child poverty will hereby risk making the rate of youth unemployment permanent. Obviously, this is an unacceptable waste of resources, both from an ethical and from a macroeconomic point of view. Such development will increase the development gaps between the haves and the have-nots. In the words of Esping-Andersen such failure in harnessing the resources of the young population will imply the creation of a knowledge economy built upon "islands of excellence in an ocean of ignorance" (2009).

The expected negative impact of child poverty and youth employment for the capability to seize the opportunities of life chances, to contribute to the efficiency of the knowledge economy and to create the required social cohesion motivates a discussion on the need and design of an intervention for the implementation of a social policy also in the western world, albeit perhaps not externally driven or financed by the international donor community. Such social policy is also advocated by the United Nations Development Program, drawing our attention not only to the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (1966), but also to the rights of citizens to a social contract on the national state level, as every person "is entitled to realization, through national effort, and international cooperation and in accordance with the organization and resources of each State, of the economic, social and cultural rights indispensable for his dignity and the free development of his personality" (UNDP 2005, Faist 2011).

In this regard, the processes of globalization, migration and urbanization have actualized the question of whom such Human Rights based expansive welfare regimes are for and whom it should include. Accordingly, in the western world, increased transnational migration and more fluid identities have brought about a discussion on Cosmopolitanism and whether national boundaries in a time of globalization are a proper base for communities and citizenship (Appiah 2006, Benhabib 2006). In the 19th century Europe suffered from strong violent political conflicts created by the social question and alarming inequalities. The solution was found in the provision of social rights linked to the question of citizenship. However normative and utopian it may sound, demands for social contracts and welfare regimes of our time can be expected, based upon some kind of transnational economic, social and cultural rights, adapted to a combination of more cosmopolitan and more locally rooted requirements and social standards as well as to the requirements from an increasing number of migrants (of which some without documents). The on-going debate on the content of Corporate Social Responsibility, under the auspices of the UN Global Compact, can be expected to provide valuable input in this regard. Economic and demographic realities are believed to constitute important driving forces behind the continued elaboration of such thinking. Due to the low rate of fertility, the European working force is

expected to decrease with some 50 million people in the next decades. Driven by the fact that an aging population is increasing the demand for manpower and migrant labour, the rights to have rights wherever you find yourself will for many people soon become as important as the question of citizenship. Traces of such considerations can also be found in the downplaying of the role of citizenship in the rewriting of the Swedish constitution in 2010, and its subsequent expressions of granting the right to certain rights to each individual on Swedish territory independently of citizenship (Bevelander et.al 2011).

Traditionally, welfare regimes have been criticized for increasing equality at the expense of efficiency. However, recent research points to the fact that welfare regimes contribute to a stronger economic development, the reason being that educated and healthy people normally feel safer and subsequently more prone to accept sudden changes in society and requirements for increased flexibility that follows (Esping-Andersen 2009). Accordingly, the process of globalization, with its on-going transformation, is understood by many to increase the needs for strong welfare states. Cost-benefit analyses carried out based upon the social costs for child poverty and youth unemployment point to an important rate of return. For every dollar invested in increased access to cognitive preschool training, one can expect to get nine dollars back in future reduced social costs (Heckman and Lochner 2000).

In Sweden however, such understanding of the need for pre-emptive intervention has become difficult to put in practice due to budgetary constraints. The demands for a short-term balance in the budgets, following the philosophy of New Public Management, reduce possibilities for politicians to implement actions with the aim of prevention, let alone pre-emption (Pierre 2011). If measures are to be taken they should be evidence-based and guarantee goal achievement. The factors influencing the direction of cities as they navigate in the area of tension between governance for social sustainability and arenas for social conflicts are clear-cut examples of complex problems. The measures to be taken in order to transform conditions for negative security (that is, absence of violence) into positive security (that is, right to development) must be selective and contextually identified case by case. They cannot be repeated in other contexts nor constitute any base for evidence-based research findings.

On the local level in Sweden different alternatives have been elaborated with the aim of making it possible to create a social investment fund, permitting the implementation of a more expansive monetary policy in hard times, using saved resources from the past, in order to facilitate the integration of the young generation into the labour market. However, at the same time, the combined and intertwined effects of the three processes accounted for has implied that the question of social inclusion and societal belonging is not only considered a question of employment. As earlier discussed, the increased international competition has decreased salaries and created the working poor who do not have the possibility to sustain themselves on the basis of one employment only (the precarious class). Self-esteem and claims for opportunities for self-fulfilment make it difficult for the well-educated young population to accept such kind of employment. Special measures for a meaningful and decent life are increasingly required.

However, in this regard it is important to emphasize once again that there are no one-size-fits-all solutions as to how to design such interventions for enhanced social cohesion. Every country and city has characteristics of their own that must be taken into due consideration. The programs must be designed on the basis of local social contexts and multicultural characteristics. In contrast with

experiences from the general welfare regimes that reduced poverty in the Scandinavian countries in the beginning of the 20th century, this increases the importance of selective measures. The tricky issue is how to design and implement such selective measures without simultaneously increasing the stigmatization of the concerned target groups or geographical areas. Such difficulties might create temptations to outsource the design and implementation of such social cohesion support to various non-governmental organizations. The danger thereby arises that an increasing number of such organizations find themselves in the roles of aid agencies without having proper experiences from international development cooperation. Experiences from the UN development decades since the 1960s have provided important knowledge as regards the important task of conducting analyses of power relations and giving due consideration to the local identification of needs as well as to long-term sustainability and local ownership. Without such experience and competence it will be even more difficult to achieve the local participation required for a successful implementation of the programs. Hence, promoting human rights in the sense discussed above must be placed into the broader context of "understanding the politics of human rights as an active, critical, democratic politics that rests first and foremost on the activity of right bearers themselves, and human rights promotion as the practice of supporting and enabling such a politics" (Ingram 2008).

In the concluding section that follows we will sum up the more general conclusions to be drawn from this paper. However, an immediate normative and more specific conclusion can be drawn from this section. As the argument went interventions and social policies in order to deal with child poverty and youth unemployment in urban areas will have two-sided and combined positive effects as regards the ability of cities to navigate in the area of the tension in which they find themselves. Such interventions are suggested to on the one hand increase the prospects for satisfying the needs of the knowledge city as regards the cognitive ability of the working force. Simultaneously, such interventions are on the other hand suggested to decrease social exclusion and hereby strengthen social cohesion and reduce the danger for cities of being transformed into battlefields for violent social conflicts.

Conclusion

Written for a conference on Rethinking Interventions and Governance, this piece should be understood as a normative position paper in progress. It has the aim to be further elaborated into a conceptual framework for use in empirical research on what is to be done and how to design plans of action in our time. It takes its point of departure in the present process of urbanization as well as the new geography of poverty and suggests that cities find themselves in a balancing act between contributing to global governance and constituting an arena for violent social conflict. In order to navigate in the field of tension the questions of child poverty and youth unemployment are of special concern and in need of immediate action. As the argument goes measures must be implemented in order to create conditions for positive security with the right to social belonging and to become a full citizen. Accordingly, peace and development in a globalizing world require increased attention to the question of economic, social and cultural rights. In cases where countries lack the political will or the resources for such endeavors the possible role of external pre-emptive interventions should be considered. This raises the question of how such plans of action should be designed in order for interventions in the name of Human Rights to be implemented without making matters worse.

In order to elaborate strategies of intervention with the required normative strength, the need to better understand the factors that have a decisive impact on the direction in which cities are heading seems obvious. At the same time, however, the global links and networks of various actors in urban areas and their subsequent dynamics are, somewhat surprisingly, still a rather neglected and unchartered research area. Intuitively, it is understood that the outburst of violence in different housing areas is often triggered by forces not possible to grasp, neither through different policing actions nor a narrowly defined policy of integration. In a globalizing time, when global and transnational networks have a strong impact on the formation of identity as well as on the expression and manifestation of political engagement on the local level, the triggers behind the upheavals are rather related to issues of justice and respect, conditions for a life in dignity, the distribution of resources and opportunities for political participation. The question of youth unemployment is the factor most frequently singled out as constituting the core problem behind social upheavals (Forkby 2011, Kepel 2011). For the political decision-makers, the problem many times appears too complex and the required measures in order to deal with the causes far out of budgetary reach. In order to show capability of immediate action measures are launched in order to deal with the symptoms of the problems. At times, such measures can aggravate the situation.

The knowledge of global and social dynamics and their networks for local interaction is missing. Furthermore, there is a huge gap of knowledge of how people themselves react and organize in order to make a living and create social belonging through informal systems for provision as well as safety nets when the modern institutions of the state are withdrawing and not reaching out anymore. There is a strong and urgent need of knowledge, not only about the transnational links behind the systems and different safety nets, but foremost about the negative impact that such informal systems for provision and safety can bring about in the self-organized urban space. The same goes for the knowledge about the degree to which such informal systems and safety nets can be supported and developed into a positive source for empowerment.

For globalization and development studies, the role of cities for global governance and a socially sustainable development will become an increasingly important research field. It is the final suggestion of this paper that the importance of selected and locally adapted measures of intervention implies a renaissance for development and policy-oriented studies.

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