2006-01-01

The Competitive Global City 2030: a Futures Approach

Ruth Kelly
Technological University Dublin, ruth.kelly@tudublin.ie

John Ratcliffe
Technological University Dublin, john.ratcliffe@tudublin.ie

Julie Gannon
Technological University Dublin, julie.gannon@tudublin.ie

The Competitive Global City 2030: a futures approach

	AUTHOR 1	AUTHOR 2	AUTHOR 3
Title:	**DR.**	**PROF.**	**MS.**
Last Name:	**KELLY**	**RATCLIFFE**	**GANNON**
Middle Name:	**PATRICIA**	**STANYON**	**NOELLE**
First Name:	**RUTH**	**JOHN**	**JULIE**
Institution:	**The Futures Academy, Faculty of the Built Environment, Dublin Institute of Technology, Dublin 1, Ireland.**	**The Futures Academy, Faculty of the Built Environment, Dublin Institute of Technology, Dublin 1, Ireland.**	**The Futures Academy, Faculty of the Built Environment, Dublin Institute of Technology, Dublin 1, Ireland.**
Position:	**RESEARCH SCHOLAR**	**DIRECTOR**	**PROJECT MANAGER**
E-mail address:	**ruth.kelly@dit.ie**	**john.ratcliffe@dit.ie**	**julie.gannon@dit.ie**
Paper title:	**THE COMPETITIVE GLOBAL CITY 2030: A FUTURES APPROACH**		

Abstract

In an increasingly globalising and competitive world, cities are facing unparalleled challenges relating to such forces as economic restructuring and fiscal stress, national security, institutional relationships and the changing role of governance, environmental degradation, social and cultural transformation and rising exclusion. In May 2005, The Futures Academy, Dublin Institute of Technology, in collaboration with the Urban Land Institute (ULI), embarked on a joint initiative to stimulate thinking and encourage informed discussions concerning the future trajectory and sustainable development of the competitive 'global city'. As part of this study, The Academy undertook in-depth background research including a comprehensive questionnaire survey; an interactive and participatory futures brainstorming workshop; and roundtable discussions addressing emerging concepts, challenges and uncertainties surrounding the 'global city' debate. This paper sets out the findings of this investigation and provides a contextual background of the challenges, driving forces, issues and trends shaping the evolution of the global city in the next twenty-

five years. The paper discusses how issues such as liveability, economic and demographic changes, the environment and civic leadership will influence cities and elucidates how cities might position themselves in order to move towards a sustainable urban future.

"The good city is one in which the continuity of this complex ecology is maintained while progressive change is permitted" (Lynch, 1981).

Introduction

The world is becoming increasingly complex, more competitive and better connected. A blurring of boundaries between disciplines, industries and social enterprises is taking place. As those boundaries fade, the lines connecting the constituent parts become more critical, so that networks, systems, integrated and holistic thinking are more meaningful and more urgent. For city planning, this transformation demands a more imaginative approach towards the way communities think, talk, plan and act in tackling the urban issues they face. Between 15-17th June 2005, the Urban Land Institute (ULI) convened its first ever *World Cities Forum* in London providing:

a) an exchange of ideas stimulated by a careful mix of provocative presentations, discussions and roundtable debates;
b) an identification of the key driving forces propelling urban change;
c) an exploration of the economic, cultural, demographic, political and environmental trends shaping cities;
d) an exploration of the opportunities and challenges facing strategic urban planning; and,
e) a platform for participants to better develop their own strategies, policies, business plans and decisions.

In preparation for this event, The Futures Academy, at the Dublin Institute of Technology in Ireland collaborated with the ULI to prepare a briefing document which was intended to stimulate thinking and encourage informed discussions concerning the future trajectory of cities globally. As part of the study, The Futures Academy undertook in-depth background research; the input of survey questionnaires; a futures workshop held in conjunction with the Urban Land Institute (ULI); and roundtable discussions as to the emerging concepts, challenges and uncertainties surrounding the 'global city' debate. This paper, by employing foresight

through scenario development, describes the outcomes of this investigative and exploratory process and presents possible, plausible and alternative future global city scenarios.

The Sustainable Global City

In recent decades, an extensive body of literature has built up examining the shift towards the archipelago of the global city (see Friedmann, 1986; Sassen, 1991, 1994, 2001 & 2004; Hall, 1998; Short & Kim, 1999; Castells, 2000; Taylor, 2004; Olds and Yeung, 2004). In principal, global cities research has detailed how such cities bring together the greatest multidimensional concentrations of control, finance, service, cultural, institutional, social, informational and infrastructural industries in the world. Traditionally, cities were the implementation locales and conveyors of policies and strategies conceived by the State. Today, they are the frontrunners, capable of playing a significant role in the conception, promotion and implementation of public policies capable of strengthening international competitiveness. In tandem, major global cities are moving away from functioning as centres of international trade and banking and are beginning to operate (Sassen, 2001):

1. as highly concentrated command points in the organisation of the global economy and as key locations for finance;
2. as loci of specialised services and information-processing activities, which have replaced manufacturing as the leading economic sectors; and
3. as command centres for the operations of multinational corporations.

Global cities are the places where innovation takes place in all its forms; as such they are the essential vectors of competitiveness throughout a territory. The emergence of the competitive city framework was stimulated by the rise of the global city as a nexus of transnational capital and international flows of migrant labour and growth machine theory privileging urban centres as political and economic hegemonies within regions (Tufts, 2004). However, as Olds and Yeung (2004) point out, there remain many unanswered questions about how global cities have 'come into being', and what is the role of the state in intentionally deriving pathways to global city formation. In addition, although there exists a significant body of literature exploring the global city discourse, it is overly dependent upon a theoretically globalist perspective derived out of studies of a few hyper-global cities, particularly New York,

London, and Tokyo (Wei and Yu, 2004). Many other global cities or emerging global cities have not been fully studied. Although the global city paradigm remains speculative, it is an important issue for many city governments and municipal officials as it is believed that success in attracting global activity may signify the importance of a city in the global economic network (as a control node), the high level of development it has accomplished (seen in its advanced economy, and a heavy presence of R&D), and also the quality of life it can offer (high income, large market and variety of commodity supply). Being ranked as a global city may foster competitive advantage which could generate further development (Han, 2005). Conversely, however, the global city discourse is generating heated debates particularly in relation to achieving sustainable urban development which, according to Rogers (1998), must recognise that the city needs to meet social, environmental, political and cultural objectives as well as economic and physical ones. Although the concept is contentious, ambiguous and ill-defined, it generally emerged as a guiding principle for a liveable future world where human needs are met while maintaining a delicate balance between socio-economic development, environmental protection and quality of life. However, in today's world planners must grapple with a number of challenges to creating sustainable global cities including:

a) the emergence of the concept of cities as complex adaptive systems;
b) the redefinition of a global hierarchy of cities resulting from competition among global rivals for economic development;
c) the impact of economic globalisation within the world cities and the creation of a 'new spatial order', leading to the creation of new zones,
d) economic and spatial polarisation (which may or may not favour the city); and
e) the environmental consequences associated with the sustainability of concentrating development in a few world cities (Newman and Thornley, 2002).

In addition, there are a number of key global meta-trends, driving forces and challenges which affect the ability to achieve sustainability and maintain a high quality of life for all now and in the future, while ensuring viability of the ecological process on which life depends (Toakley and Aroni, 1998). Some of the more important of these, as highlighted in the UN-Habitat report *The State of the World's*

Cities 2004/2005—Globalization and Urban Culture, which relate to the built environment, are outlined in Tables 1 and 2.

Table 1 Key Global Meta-trends

The Global Soul	Globalisation often intensifies population differentiation, which contributes to polymorphous and variegated urban cultures. Such cultures can enrich and strengthen cities; but they can also be a source of division and a basis for exclusion. With the increase of religious, cultural and ethnic diversity concurrent with a rise in globalisation and capitalism, the issue of understanding and managing cultural diversity has become a prominent issue on the international agenda.
Social Entrepreneurship	An unprecedented rate of global economic growth has brought a wave of cultural modernisation, where education, urbanisation and institutional order are producing social change in the developed world as well as the developing world. Identifying and solving large-scale social problems requires effective social entrepreneurship, vision, creativity and long-term strategic planning.
Ecopolity	Environmental issues have come to exert a strong influence on the policies of more proactive administrations that are determined to balance ecological protection with socio-economic development. In recent decades, sustainable development has become the buzzword for the 21st Century and the concept has expanded to include the simultaneous consideration of economic growth, environmental protection and social equity in planning and decision making.
Metropolitan Economy	Urban economies have undergone significant industrial restructuring during the last four decades, losing in manufacturing jobs and gaining in the internationally traded services sectors. This process has changed spatial patterns, resulting in a clustering of employment opportunities on the periphery of metropolitan areas, while also increasing income disparities between and within industries.
Sprawling Suburbia	Urban sprawl is a regional-level phenomenon driven by individual choices over location and land use that are influenced by a range of factors, including land features, infrastructure, policies, and individual characteristics. Urban sprawl is frequently associated with a range of social and environmental challenges including air and water pollution, noise pollution, non-agricultural solid waste, unaffordable housing, ecosystem degradation and loss of green space, urban decay, rising private vehicle numbers, social exclusion and poor access to basic services.

Table 2 Global Challenges for the 21st Century

The Global Economy	Understanding the long-range global outlook lies in mapping out the driving forces that have produced the new global economy and their interactions: capitalism, politics, societal change and universal connectivity.
The Green Evolution	Cities and their sprawling environs are often the focal point for many current environmental problems including traffic congestion, unaffordable housing, wildlife habitat destruction, and water and air pollution.
Evolving Technology	This relates to the scope, pace and direction of technological change, the nature and function of the interactive society, the impact of information technology and advances in communications upon urban structure.
Demographics as Destiny	This relates to the influence of economic migration, social change and population trends on urban development. The impact of demographics on the future of the global city is a function of both the direct physical pressures of quantitative change, and the flux in the

	underlying qualitative structure of population.
Liveability Factor	The growth of cities has brought a wave of cultural modernisation where education, urbanisation and institutional order are transforming social structures and diversity. A key challenge is understanding the effects of urban settings on cultural pluralism, crime, employment and other urban issues.
Civic Leadership	This addresses changing power structures throughout the world, the polarisation and fragmentation of governance, the emergence of city states and the transformation of the role of the public sector.
Urban Design	How will the urban design of the future create a physical environment that meets the social needs, functions, environmental, economic and aesthetic objectives of the people who live there?
Complexity	Cities are increasingly being recognised as complex adaptive systems, built of individual agents that are capable of adapting as they interact with each other and with the environment. Cities, therefore, have the capacity to evolve, adapt to and accommodate spontaneous order. The planning approach derived from complexity theory is principle driven, looking at the bigger picture rather than the detail, and focusing on the range of possibilities for the future.
Uncertainty	By recognising that the urban environment and its environs are complex adaptive systems subject to dynamic change, conventional planning approaches are beginning to be supplemented by, alternative approaches which encourage vision, creativity, strategy and democracy.

Because social-cultural, economic, environmental and institutional processes have become increasingly intertwined in cities, city management has become a complex undertaking (Rotmans *et al*, 2000; Xuan Thinh *et al*, 2002). Clearly, there is no universal panacea for sustainable urban planning, as there exists a preponderance of driving forces which influence the shape and dynamics of cities including: demography, societal factors (including lifestyle and societal values), economic conditions, political forces and technological development (Burt and Van der Heijden, 2003) all of which are interlinked and interdependent. In general, as defined by the UN Habitat's Programme for Sustainable Cities, a 'sustainable city' is a city where achievements in social, economic and physical development are made to last. It strives for:

a) economic efficiency in the use of development resources (including goods and services provided by the natural environment);
b) social equity in the distribution of development benefits and costs (with special emphasis on the needs of low income groups); and
c) avoidance of unnecessary foreclosure of future development options.

Hall and Pfeiffer (2000) include additional key dimensions to achieving the 'sustainable city':

a) a sustainable urban economy: work and wealth;
b) a sustainable urban society: social coherence and social solidarity;
c) sustainable urban shelter: decent affordable housing for all;
d) a sustainable urban environment: stable ecosystems;
e) sustainable urban access: resource-conserving mobility;
f) sustainable urban life: building the liveable city; and
g) sustainable urban democracy: empowering the citizenry.

A tall order (!) and as Wong *et al* (2005) suggest, "*when urban management aims to work for the attainment of sustainable urban development and addresses a wide rage of sectors including physical, economic, social, cultural, environmental and institutional dimensions, it is not surprising that urban management has been considered as a complicated concept*". Another significant challenge is that the concept of sustainable development embraces future generations and as Schwartz coins (1991) 'the art of the long-view'. Consequently, addressing the challenge of sustainability requires a long-term perspective and the integration of many elements (Barreto *et al*, 2003). Despite the plethora of definitions and interpretations, sustainable development essentially means 'continuity through time' (Cornelissen et al, 2001). However, the pressures for urban development place emphasis on short-term benefits at the expense of long-term residual costs, which is, according to Seabrooke *et al* (2004), the antithesis of sustainable development. Traditional planning approaches are inherently short-term and tend to overlook future implications of present day decisions. In order to move towards sustainable urban development and to take due consideration of the needs of future generations, a new planning approach is needed "*on the interface between the short-term and the long-term, the objective and value-laden, the quantitative and qualitative, and the certain and uncertain*" (Rotmans *et al*, 2000). Planning forward demands more integrated, holistic and synergistic mechanisms involving a wide range of stakeholders taking responsibility for the development of shared future orientations, as a basis for setting up long-term strategic planning. It might be said, therefore, that sustainable development is concerned with the durability of development in a situation where all too many decisions are made in a crisis atmosphere for short-term gain. In this way sustainable development aims to introduce greater visioning, anticipation and

preparation into the planning process (Atkinson, 2000). By doing so, planners are better equipped to cope with, anticipate and prepare for inevitable uncertainty, changes and challenges in complex and dynamic urban environments.

The Need for Visioning

In attempts to prescribe solutions for a more sustainable future, knowledge of this future must be assumed, deduced or 'visioned' (Boehmer-Christiansen, 2002). For sustainable development or indeed any other mission statement commitments to be more than aspirations, or fraudulent rhetoric, visioning is vital (Clark, 2001). A vision is about transformation and change. In its simplest form, visioning is a form of anticipatory intelligence gathering from which to derive options for strategic action and has become widely used in strategic planning of all kinds over the past few decades. Robert F. Kennedy expressed the need for vision very aptly. Citing George Bernard Shaw, he said, "*Some men see things as they are and say why? I dream of things that never were and say why not*?" In other words, the dream gives us the vision that we need to imagine and shape a better tomorrow which, once sifted through reason (feasibility studies; horizon scanning; brainstorming; strategic conversations with acknowledged experts) becomes the driving force behind our actions. Visioning processes drawn from the futures field represent the main way in which the inherent short-termism of traditional policy-making frameworks (which often impede communities in their efforts to conceptualise and formulate long-term strategies for sustained urban growth) might be overcome. Urban visioning then is an attempt to generate a momentum for change, and a core element for success is to develop a widespread culture of leadership to promote continual self improvement. Visioning can help generate consensus on directions for sustainable urban development, build knowledge about specific policy opportunities, inspire action and precipitate change. In this way, it is suggested that visioning becomes a change agent, which has to manage public participation, generate flagship ideas, establish benchmarks for success and trigger goal setting. Key to this is the development of scenarios.

The Value of Scenarios

'There may be more than one pathway to future sustainability of urban development'

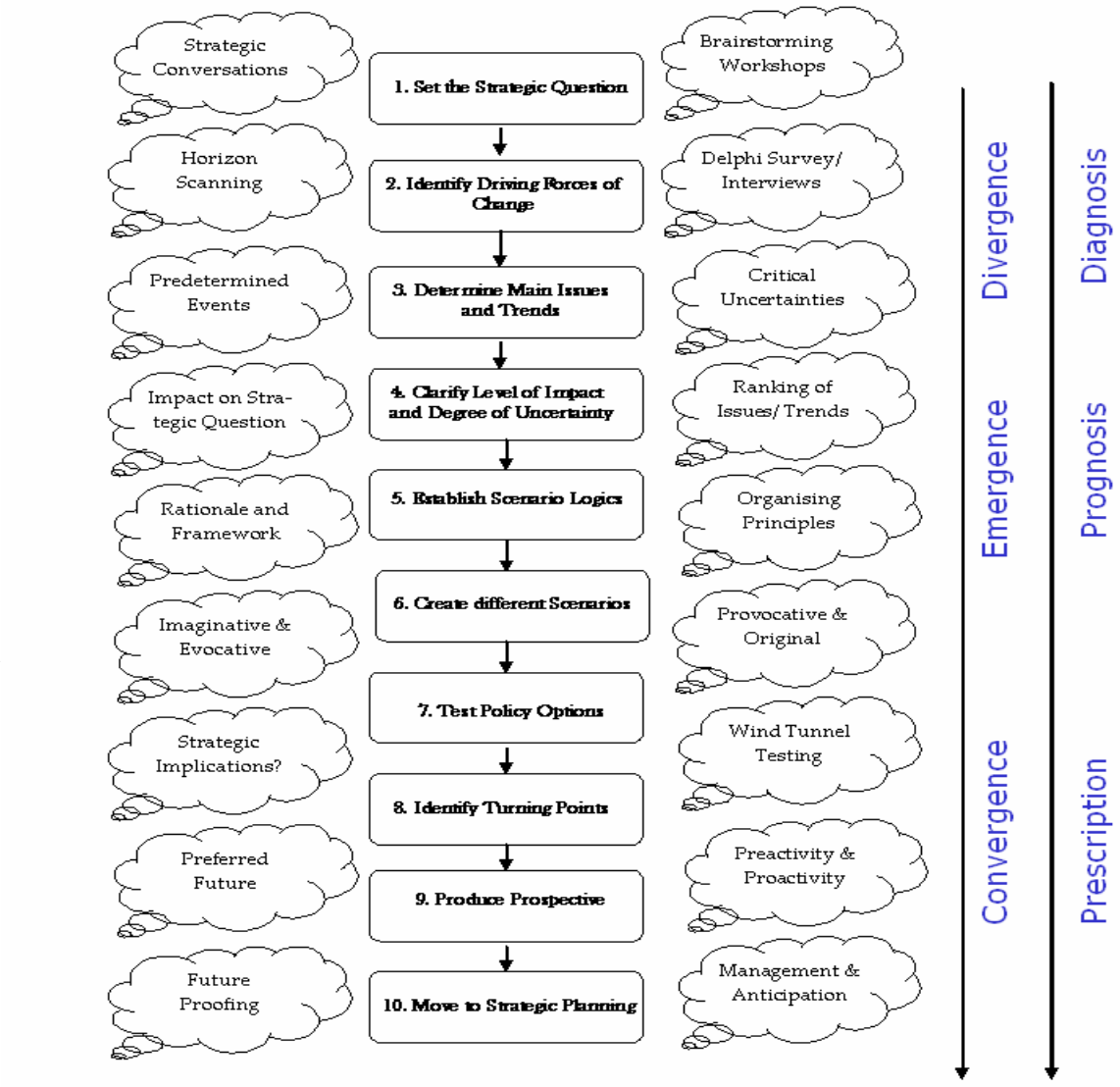
Brotchie et al (1995)

When scenario planning, it is recommended that a range of possible and plausible futures is developed which reflect different perspectives and interpretations on past, present, and future developments (Van Notten *et al*, 2003), giving participants the opportunity to consider, comprehend and construct the scenarios collectively. Scenario thinking as a tool to support strategic management and as a methodology for improving foresight recognises that in dynamic environments the future cannot be known, but it can be understood. Scenario planning, increasingly referred to as scenario thinking, acknowledges the importance of cognition, imagination and the role of individual reasoning techniques in interpreting the past, considering the present and perceiving the future (MacKay and McKiernan, 2004). Scenarios generally come in two forms: exploratory and normative. Exploratory scenarios depict self-consistent future worlds that would emerge from the present through credible, cause, effect and feedback developments and reach an end-point that seems credible. Normative scenarios, on the other hand, represent desirable future worlds (Kelly *et al*, 2004). They define strategic choices, in other words, choices that are possible and desirable in order to keep on course (Godet, 2000). Most approaches recognise the need to understand the system under study and to identify the trends, issues and events that are critical to the system (Enserink, 2000). The main characteristics of scenarios are that they (Ratcliffe, 2002):

a) present alternative images instead of extrapolating trends from the present.
b) embrace qualitative perspectives as well as quantitative data.
c) allow for sharp discontinuities to be evaluated.
d) require decision makers to question their basic assumptions.
e) create a learning organisation possessing a common vocabulary and an effective basis for communicating complex – sometimes paradoxical – conditions and options.

The development of scenarios for *The Global City 2030* followed a rigorous and structured methodology. Given space restrictions the process is summarised in Fig.1.

Figure 1 The Scenario Development Process



identification of key driving forces of change and significant issues and trends. Although there exists an almost endless list of important drivers of change governing global cities, what is often not considered is what the most influential of these might be and how they might interact to propel change in different ways. Scenario development offers a broader insight into the interplay between the driving forces affecting the global city, in addition to structural elements, ideologies and policy outcomes. Driving forces are typically characterised under the 'Six Sector Approach' and include:

- Economy
- Environment

- Society
- Technology
- Demography
- Governance.

Essentially, these forces propel the story lines described in a particular plot for a scenario. As part of *the Global City 2030* exercise, under each driver of change a number of issues and trends pertaining to the evolution of the global city were identified. To clarify the process of strategic thinking it was important to focus on a relatively small number of issues and trends that were considered *critically uncertain* and *impacted* most upon the strategic question. Some of these are presented here.

Economy

- Globalisation of trade, markets and business operations
- Long-term implications of fair trade
- Shifting management structures within companies and decline of low skilled jobs due to growth of IT in the workplace
- Immigrant workers competing in job markets
- Inter-organisational networking, planning business at strategic level
- Competitive advantage gained by electronic data interchange and e-commerce accelerating rationalisation
- Amount of new or additional funding for sustainable development
- Expenditure on environmental protection
- Persons receiving long-term unemployment benefit
- Gap between rich and poor countries (developed and developing nations)
- Number of foreign and indigenous jobs lost and created
- Home ownership rates
- Persons classified by occupational and socio-economic group
- The future of oil and potential for renewable and sustainable energy sources
- Average disposable incomes
- Weekly wage rates and savings rates
- Employee exploitation, child labour and sweatshops particularly in developing nations
- Investment in public infrastructure
- Development of entrepreneurship
- Further appreciation of Euro
- Networked global economy
- Global economic recovery
- Rising retirement age

Environment

- Impact of development on land surfaces (i.e. mineral exploitation, housing development, quarrying, overgrazing, afforestation, deforestation)
- Exploitation of water resources
- Quality of surface and groundwater resources
- Demand for clean potable drinking water
- Emissions of pollutants to air especially greenhouse gases and the implications for global warming
- Impacts of climate change on faunal communities
- Number of active landfill sites and quantities of municipal waste disposed
- The urban environment and the transport challenge
- Greater need for research into alternative energy sources
- Public attitudes on environmental issues
- Impacts of tourism and recreation
- Use and effectiveness of environmental instruments (charges, taxes, subsidies)
- Global growth in car ownership
- Implications for agricultural and rural development and forestry
- Location and number of conservation and heritage areas
- Means of and distance travelled to work
- Spread of infectious disease on a large scale (Africa, South East Asia, Europe)
- Increasing emphasis on the need for 'cleaner' and cheaper forms of production and transport in the developed world
- Public attitudes on environmental issues
- Impacts of tourism and recreation
- Use and effectiveness of environmental instruments (charges, taxes, subsidies)
- Global growth in car ownership
- Implications for agricultural and rural development and forestry
- Location and number of conservation and heritage areas
- Means of and distance travelled to work
- Spread of infectious disease on a large scale (Africa, South East Asia, Europe)
- Increasing emphasis on the need for 'cleaner' and cheaper forms of production and transport in the developed world

Society

- Population growth and population density
- Infant mortality rates
- Literacy rates and levels of educational attainment
- Fundamentalism in society, religion and nationalism
- Access to basic infrastructure and housing
- Access to affordable healthcare and health insurance coverage
- The creation and expansion of slums and the environmental and health impacts faced by the urban poor
- Employment opportunities shifting towards jobs that require higher levels of education
- Unprecedented levels of homelessness in advanced economies
- Crime rates, neighborhood safety, domestic violence and substance abuse
- Increased emphasis on quality of life (shift away from materialism; awakening of human spirituality)
- Health awareness (levels of heart disease, cancer, stress related illnesses)
- Spatial concentration of stigmatised groups, whether through public or private sector housing processes
- Increasing emphasis on the bottom up imperative of reconstituting public interest in local politics and governance
- Greater focus on citizenship, participation, inclusion and interaction

Technology

- The call for 'smart' thinking, design and development is particularly relevant to the technology sector
- Ecological engineering attempting to right the wrongs of the 20th century
- Application of GIS technology in a wide range of professional environments
- 'Virtual reality tools' will become an integral part of urban planning and development
- Building block for international commerce and empowering non-state actors
- Globalised business communication, together with internet shopping, healthcare, education, culture and entertainment
- Biotechnology driving medical breakthroughs
- Advances in ballistic missile and weapons of mass destruction (WMD) technologies
- Breakthroughs in materials technology
- Integration of continuing revolutions in information technology
- Disaffected states, terrorists, proliferators, narcotraffickers, and organised criminals taking advantage of the new high-speed information environment
- Telematics for transport applications
- Growth in the power and influence of the media

Demography

- Population growth relying on the relationship between natural change and net migration i.e. the birth rate - death rate + net migration
- Demographic challenges producing significant economic pressures such as income inequality
- Birth rates depending on number of working females, cultural modernisation, rates of female entrants to third level and continuing out-performance of males, flexible work arrangements, family friendly work policies, growth in atypical family arrangements, marriage rates
- Death rate and life expectancy depending on medical advances in treatment of cancer and heart disease, lifestyles and diets, continuing chronic alcohol abuse, accessible health services for economically disadvantagedEmigration occurring with economic collapse, flight of FDI, spiralling inflation, house prices and cost of living increases, social problems (social inequality, crime, loss of community spirit)
- Numbers of asylum seekers and refugees depending on international conflict, natural disasters and immigration policy
- Child labour implications at a global level
- Demographic implications of natural and man made disasters
- Generational wars founded on the need to meet the wants of all with limited and finite resources

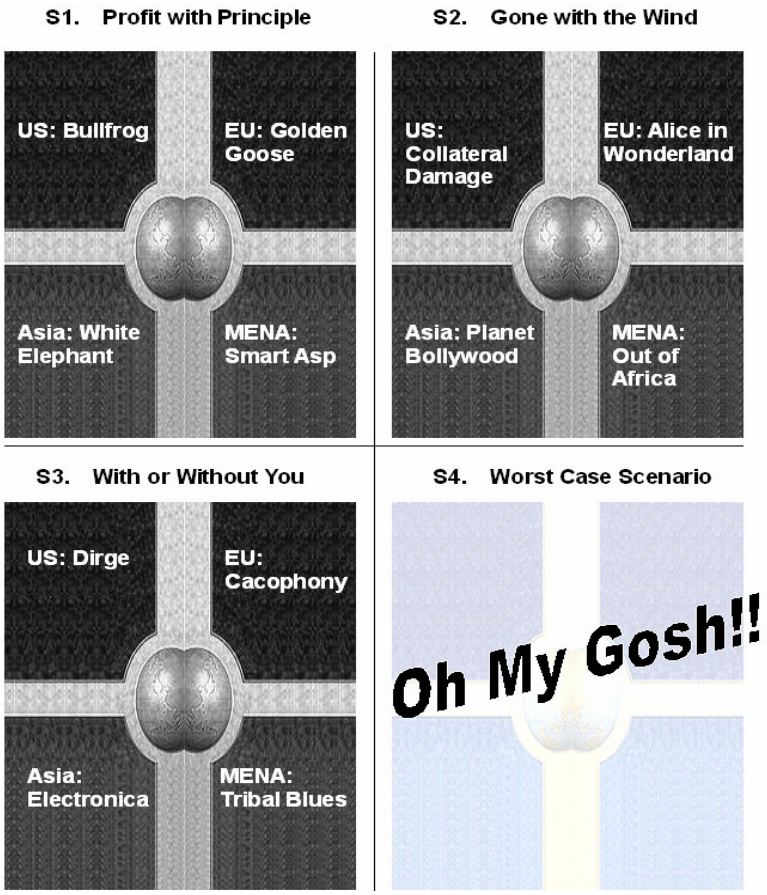
Governance

- Value-changes which are contributing significantly to transformations in society [beliefs, aspirations, pursuits, relationships, ideals etc.]
- Positions and directions of power are changing – passing upwards to supranational bodies, downwards to subsidiary authorities and sideways into networks
- Different intergenerational agendas ('grey', youth, workers)
- Influence of global single issue lobbies
- Emergence of virtual 'nations' and 'communities'
- 'Debordering' and the blurring of boundaries
- The concept of sustainable development permeating policy making at all levels
- Movement towards socially responsible business leadership
- Progression towards democracy and away from authoritarianism
- The role, nature and attitude of US policy-makers and implications for the direction of international governance
- The effectiveness of the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty
- The legitimacy, influence and success of the United Nations and how it relates to the efficacy of global governance
- Will there be new traditions and new roles for the Atlantic Community?
- What are the implications of the inevitable and inexorable rise of China?

Scenario Logics

Identifying key issues and trends and classifying them according to the level of impact and degree of uncertainty forms the basis for scenario logics or scenario skeletons upon which the scenarios are structured. Scenario logics are central to the scenario development process. They give the set of scenarios a framework and foundation and they provide each scenario with coherent, consistent, and sound underpinning. They are the organising principles around which the scenarios are structured and focus on the critical or pivotal uncertainties. Scenario logics lead to novel insights, identify signals of change and generate strategic options for the scenarios. These logics can be articulated and elaborated in a number of different ways. Most usually, by either laying-out in simple narrative form or by depicting the logics and their interactions or relationships diagrammatically showing causal connections. Under each of the three major global city scenarios that were prepared (Fig. 2), tangential scenarios were written for the United States, the European Union, Asia and the Middle East/North Africa (MENA) region. However, only the global scenarios are presented here.

Figure 2 Scenario Logics for the Global City 2030



Scenario 1 - Profit with Principle

2030 - the best of times, the worst of times. The transition over the past two decades from hierarchical globalisation to a new precedent of flexible and alliance driven capitalism, characterised by highly competitive local and global markets, has represented a fundamental shift in the fabric of urban dynamics. This process has served to both diversify and enrich global cultures and the resultant dissolution of global 'hubs' of international immigrants has led to a significant reduction in fear, racial tension and polarisation especially in megacities. Rapid global market integration, driven by unprecedented advances in globalised business communications, biotechnology and telematics, the spread of democracy and rising literacy rates, undoubtedly continue to level the global barriers so characteristic of the turn of the 21st century city. The subsequent mass movement of people, technology, knowledge, goods, trades, services and wealth has revolutionised the spatial organisation of urban life and has precipitated new patterns of infrastructure and connectivity. The new "Glogopoly" coined by Z. Yishan, editor of the *The Beijing Economist,* (now the unrivalled global authority on economic acquisitions, investments and appointments), is characterised by three major principles: 1. the need to serve local needs, 2. the need to serve global needs and, 3. the need to connect local and global needs. The upsurge in economic and political development in Asia, Africa and Latin America between 2010 and 2020 has seen mass migration of citizens to urban areas giving rise to moderate improvements in income, access to infrastructure and social services. However, considerably higher population densities in cities such as Bangalore, Lagos and Guadalajara are giving rise to a preponderance of social and environmental problems. Overpopulation is now precipitating a splintering of earlier spatial patterns now referred to as 'variable geographical margins', where clusters of emigrants in developing countries and economies in transition now reside in 'new age shanty towns' on the periphery of major urban centres. Millions of people are desperate to collect the crumbs of a mass influx of multi-national corporations determined to profit from low wage costs and negligible government levies and taxes. Disease and pestilence are rife. Planning authorities are overwhelmed by the mass influx of citizens into already labouring cities. The pervasive influence of trans-national corporations has considerably weakened the power and influence of global governments. However, the World Summit on Corporate Accountability held in

London in 2025, represented the culmination of negotiations to bring about a coherent framework for the global application of Corporate Social Responsibility. It was attended by more heads of State than any other previous conference and led directly to the development of a number of international conventions, statements and national policies. The conference is most noted for addressing issues related to the unequal global economy, the need for structural change in high income countries, the influence of corrupt governments and bureaucracies, the role of transnational corporations and the influence of international financial institutions. The conference spearheaded a massive global drive to urgently address the negative externalities of the megacity and the subsequent development of secondary cities outside Bombay, Jakarta, Los Angeles and Istanbul (to name a few) is rapidly becoming a feature of the global landscape.

Several multinationals are experimenting with 'employee villages' which focus on a greater mixture of complimentary land use types, promote transit-supportive development, preserve open space, facilitate a more economic arrangement of land uses and encourage a greater sense of community. However, more sophisticated and innovative ICT means that more employees have the option of telecommunicating their work from outside megacities with the mobile office growing in popularity. The focus on efficient land use, and forms of access and communication means that physical proximity to the workplace is no longer the major decision variable.

The appearance of 'intelligent growth zones' in the developed world, driven by *inter alia,* demographic shifts, a strong environmental ethic, increased fiscal concerns, and the need for more imaginative, long-term and strategic visions of urban growth and development, represents a fundamental shift in European and US spatial planning. This new approach to metropolitan development embodies 'smart growth' principles, first mooted in the US in the 1970s and 80s, but is also driven by a primary need to think globally and act locally in the preservation and conservation of the environment, cultural and historical heritage, development of the economy, social cohesion, equity and quality of life.

Scenario 2 - Gone with the Wind

It is the year 2030 and increasingly the concept of 'the global city' is dissolving as cities have evolved in strikingly different ways, and represent many and varied types

of living environments. Cities are a globally plural phenomenon, and are also within themselves usually very diverse. What is interesting is that in many global cities, it is both the goal-posts and the nature of the ball-game that has changed dramatically; not only has the scope of elements such as work, family and urban structure changed, but there have also been unprecedented changes in terms of scale. Power-house cities (previously termed 'megacities') have continued to dominate global economic affairs since the turn of the 21st century thus perpetuating the alarmingly uneven balance of development between cities in the former 'West' and 'East'. Cities in the developing world must strongly compete with each other for investment and are constantly playing catch-up with cities in the developed world. Furthermore, disparities between cities are clearly evident on a regional scale with characteristics differing greatly between the four major global regions of Europe, US, Asia and the emerging Middle East North African (MENA) region. These changes represent the culmination of a number of international developments and critical events that have taken place since the turn of the 21st century. With international relations occupying an unsurprisingly unstable position following the disbandment of the United Nations in 2015 and the failure to see through the effective implementation of the Kyoto Protocol by 2012, exploitation was the name of the game, especially for those who could twist the rules. It was evident that this exploitation was taking place at two interconnected levels: (1) at a multi-national corporate level; and (2) at a real estate investment and development level (corruption, short-term profits and quick-fix solutions all intertwined with, and causing problems for, the effective functioning of urban environments and their inhabitants).

Concurrently, with constantly shifting patterns of demographic change, city governance, in particular city management, emerged as a key priority for cities worldwide. People on the move in search of better employment opportunities, better access to services, education and health, and a better quality of life make the city picture a constantly changing one. However, the issue of equity in the quality of life among current populations remains a significant challenge for city planners. The question now is when will the rhetoric become reality? It was recognised worldwide that action needed to be taken and there was an urgent need for an international meeting of city-region mayors to address the phenomenon of the 'urban crisis'. The continued proliferation of irresponsible multi-national activity during this time, particularly in the Indo-China region, meant that expected and foreseen outcomes

became realities for many cities and their surrounding regions. The most significant of these realities were tabled for discussion at the meeting and what followed was the creation of the 'Pink Agenda' addressing gaps in city-region governance in relation to the following priority issues: lack of city leadership; lack of corporate social responsibility; lack of city identity; and lack of city partnerships. Little progress was made, however, in the years following the formation of the Pink Agenda, and cities continued to provide fertile spawning grounds for those involved and interested in making short-term profits having little or no regard for urban citizens and their quality of life. Cities generally emerged during this time to represent environments that could only be penetrated by those with financial opportunities leading to the recognition that for most global cities, finance equals power. In addition to this, and with the continual disintegration of, and disillusionment with the concept of 'sustainable urban development', the need emerged to call for a global summit entitled '*Beyond Sustainable Development – The New Horizon*'. The summit, held in Athens in 2020, addressed the following three issues critical to the future of cities across the globe:

- Accessibility
- Adaptability
- Alliances

Following the Athens Declaration, a wave of transformations began to take place, slowly but surely. With social unrest at an all time high regarding the affairs and activities of the private sector, and the lack of retribution administered by governing structures, political leaders had no choice but to ensure a tightening up of legislation and policy initiatives aimed at ensuring responsible corporate behaviour. By 2025, at the quarterly review of the Declaration, it was clear that progress was slowly being made, particularly within European cities that had been undergoing a cultural revolution. US cities and their South American city-twins were working effectively together at initial discussion phases but implementation of course standing as the major challenge to future progress. Asian cities, particularly those in the South East, were still being targeted as 'critical improvement zones' with time only telling how transformations in governing structures would right the wrongs of the early years of the 21st century.

Scenario 3 - With or Without You

2030 - In many parts of the world, the process of urbanisation is rapidly gaining momentum, driven by a new global economy that is literally changing the face of the planet. Economic growth is being dramatically influenced by increasing global integration, and the struggle for countries and individual cities to become more embedded and competitive in the global marketplace. Asia is now more deeply entrenched than ever before in the global network, propelled by technological innovations and the recent process of 'Americanisation' that has spread throughout the region. Asian cities that received capital and technology and were targeted by international investors, have now become world cities with influential global connections. By accepting global integration, Asian cities have witnessed massive social, cultural and political change. Jakarta and Bangkok have become the new global economic powers. Mass migration of high skilled human capital from the US and the EU has precipitated rapid population growth and urbanisation exacerbating the growth of mega cities. This growth has led to rural-to-urban conversion of large areas surrounding the cities, uncontrolled development of the urban regions, housing shortages, and growth in the number of squatter settlement. The dark side of global capitalism is all too evident. As states and civil society attempt to assert their status, they are being subjugated to the overpowering economic powers of transnational corporations, where many cities are coming to embody the battlegrounds of cultural conflict brought on by global development. Although the notion of sustainable urban development is now firmly established on the international political agendas, addressing this issue still poses several challenges. Global concerns for sustainability now focus on two main objectives:

- to make cities and other human settlements healthy and liveable places for their inhabitants; and
- to control trans-boundary effects of pollution and to stop the degradation of the global ecosystem.

However, the significant rise in global greenhouse gas emissions between 2015 and 2030 has led to ice cap melting and a significant rise in sea levels, which saw widespread flooding in coastal areas along the Atlantic and Pacific seaboard in 2023.

The US led war in Iran and Syria in 2025 sparked a massive public outcry not seen since the invasion of Iraq two decades earlier. This event marked a gradual shift in

global governance with increasing emphasis on consultation, partnership, local and regional governance and environmental justice. Concern and doubt over whether elected representatives could adequately anticipate and prepare for economic, social, environmental, demographic and political uncertainty, led to the *2075 Initiative* which was held in Barcelona in 2028 and was attended by several heads of state. This conference considered the need to anticipate and prepare for the future of cities and their governance in a wider metropolitan framework and within a longer time frame with emphasis on local democracy, transparency and accountability. This changing face of global governance has brought a concomitant increase in urban poverty particularly in post-communism countries as a systematic by-product of the transition process. In the more developed economies, cities such as New York, London, Paris, Jakarta and Hong Kong are suffering the consequences of globalisation. Communities and governments alike are consistently failing to perceive links with the metropolitan core, thus exacerbating urban fragmentation. Pockets of wealth within these cities reflect a new consolidation of economic and political power but common problems include water and sanitation shortages and rising costs of public transport into the urban core and increasing housing prices, giving rise to increasing differentiation, inequality and polarisation, most notably on the periphery of metropolitan areas.

Since 2025, there is considerable empirical evidence that China, as the world's most advanced economy, is attracting an unprecedented number of international migrants consisting not only of workers, but students, highly qualified professionals, temporary workers and refugees. Such demographic pressures have forced the Asia and Pacific Alliance Countries (APAC) to begin legislating strict immigration control resulting in cumbersome and complex entry requirements which favour only the very rich and very qualified. After three decades of hyper urban growth in China in particular, the government finally decided to halt the flow of city bound migrants and in some cases even attempted to reverse it. But in a period of such intense economic activity, attempts to address sustainable planning activity are undermined by double digit economic growth. However, since 2025, Chinese authorities employed in excess of 60,000 planners to manage urban space for approximately 550 million across China's vast provinces. Meanwhile, the predominant planning systems evolving in the EU and the US favour the establishment of Regional Planning and Development Agencies (RPDAs) which focus on administering national government urban management policies in collaboration with central continental planning agencies — Le Centre

d'Urbanistique Européen based in Brussels and the United States Bureau of Sustainable Planning and Development with a headquarters in Boston, Massachusetts.

World Cities Forum: Urban Agenda Guidelines

In the context of the scenarios portrayed above, the ULI World Cities Forum posed the following question: *Can we build and regenerate flourishing, living communities, places where people will chose to live and work where they take responsibility, where civic space mirrors the ambition and aspiration of the local community?* (ULI, 2005). More than 250 individuals from 20 countries came together in London in June 2005 to address this question, and after two days of presentations, group discussions and expert panels, arrived at a shared understanding of the obstacles and opportunities that confront the world's cities – the prime purpose of the scenarios. On the third day, an urban agenda began to take shape, the skeletal structure of which is described below (ibid).

Never Forget the Basics

a) Promote basic, tangible services.
b) Ensure security.
c) Provide a clean environment.

Be Visioning

a) Build public/private/community support.
b) Take a long-term view.
c) Think outside municipal boundaries; adopt a regional perspective.
d) Reinvent or die; design for growth, whether it means expanding growth or planned contraction.

Be Authentic

a) Acknowledge the city's unique identity.
b) Be best in class at something.
c) Be yourself; do not copy.
d) Play to your strengths.
e) Build on existing assets, including history, culture and the physical environment.

Commit to Social Equity

a) Establish a property rights system to promote inclusion.
b) Create market transparency.
c) Provide well integrated, affordable housing dispersed through the city.

Use the Public Realm as a Source of Community Pride

a) Foster public spaces that free the human spirit.
b) Create open green spaces, accessible to all.
c) Use public spaces to create and foster community identity.

Plan and Build for Sustainability/Liveability

a) Move environmental issues to the front burner.
b) Let sustainability guide decision making.
c) Seek a common and focused understanding of sustainability successes.
d) Share best practices.
e) Work towards sustainable communities, not just buildings.
f) Optimise stewardship in the use of natural resources.
g) Seek continuous improvement, one project at a time.
h) Use education, incentives, bonuses and awards, not just regulation.

Embrace Diversity

a) Be open to immigration.
b) Be open to different lifestyles.
c) Enable economic mobility – class mobility is the key to hope.
d) Celebrate economic, cultural and social diversity.
e) Establish an environment of intellectual stimulation and creativity.

Create Infrastructure First as a Framework for Development in the City

a) Allow for flexible development and growth.
b) Address social and human needs to connect locally and globally.
c) Create financially viable infrastructure programmes.

Connect Transportation and Land Use

Plan a transportation policy that:

a) Can be fully integrated into the land use planning process.
b) Connects with residential, employment and recreational uses.
c) Recognises that we cannot build a way out of congestion.

Lead

a) Sell the vision.
b) Create alliances of credible private, public and individual champions.
c) Consider the legacy for future generations.
d) Engage all stakeholders.
e) Think globally: implement regionally and locally.
f) Be a bridge and facilitator among stakeholders.

Whatever the merits or otherwise of these guidelines agreed by Forum participants, based on an explanation of the alternative future scenarios for global cities, the process of debate, deliberation and discovery, culminating in an agreed urban agenda was considered a huge success by those taking part. At a city scale, such a prospective process through scenarios, would form the necessary preliminary to strategic planning.

Move to Strategic Planning

In terms of 'making-it-happen', scenarios contribute to strategic planning and management by (Van der Heijden, 2002):

a) Creating wide awareness of the environmental imperative requiring change;
b) Guiding the formation of operational plans;
c) Enlisting the people in the organisation who have the power to act; and,
d) establishing coherence in management action through development of a shared view.

In relation to cities, it is likely that the future will be influenced by three predominant driving forces of change:

a) The continued growth and consolidation of global capital;
b) The completion of the urban transition over the coming decades (refers to 'citification' as well as socio-economic and cultural transformation); and
c) The strengthening of city-mediated and increasingly transnational nations (Friedmann, 2002).

What is clear is that the 21st century will be the century of cities, when the world, as a whole, will for the first time turn predominantly urban in the sense that this term is understood today. Consequently, there is a growing need for alternative and imaginative planning approaches which tackle the inherent short-termism of traditional policy-making frameworks, in an effort to conceptualise and formulate long-term strategies for more sustained urban growth. Consequently, the development of scenarios is rapidly emerging as an alternative planning approach which accommodates longer perspectives, embraces critical uncertainties and long term visions as well as mechanisms for conflict avoidance and resolution. The global city scenarios presented here derive from the observation that, given the impossibility of knowing precisely how the future will play out, a good decision or strategy to adopt, is one that plays out well across several possible futures. The scenarios identify key forces of change which could drive the development of the urban environment and are intended to provide a platform for the sharing of experience and exploration of imaginative ideas and creative thinking regarding future plans, policies and practice shaping the future of the global city.

References

Atkinson, A. (2000) Promoting Sustainable Human Development in Cities of the South: a South East Asian Perspective, Occasional Paper No. 6, United Nations Research Institute for Social Development, Geneva.

Barreto, L., Makihiraa, A. and Riahia, K. (2003) The hydrogen economy in the 21st century: a sustainable development scenario, International Journal of Hydrogen Energy, 28, pp. 267 – 284.

Boehmer-Christiansen, S. (2002) The geo-politics of sustainable development: bureaucracies and politicians in search of the holy grail, Geoforum, 33, pp. 351–365.

Brotchie, B., Batty, M., Blakely, E., Hall & Newton, P. (1995), Cities in Competition: productive and sustainable cities for the 21st century, Longman, Melbourne.

Burt, G. and van der Heijden, K. (2003) First steps: towards purposeful activities in scenario thinking and futures studies, Futures, 36(10), pp. 1011-1026.

Castells, M. (2000) The Rise of the Networked Society, second ed., Blackwell, Malden, MA.

Clark, M. (2001) Domestic futures and sustainable residential development, Futures, 33, pp. 817–836.

Cornelissen, A.M.G., van den Berg, J., Grossman, M. and Udo, H.M.J. (2001) Assessment of the contribution of sustainability indicators to sustainable development: a novel approach using fuzzy set theory, Ecosystems and Environment, 86, pp. 173–185.

Enserink, B. (2000) Building scenarios for the University, International Transactions in Operational Research, 7(6), pp. 569-583.

Friedmann, J. (1986). The world city hypothesis, Development and Change, 17, pp. 69–83.

Friedmann, J. (2002) The Prospect of Cities, University of Minnesota Press, Minneapolis.

Godet, M. (2000) The art of scenarios and strategic planning: tools and pitfalls, Technological Forecasting and Social Change, 65(1), pp. 3–22.

Hall, P. (1998) Globalization and the world cities, In Lo, F.C. and Yeung, Y.M. (eds.), Globalization and the World of Large Cities, United Nations University Press, Tokyo, pp. 17–36.

Hall, P. and Pfeiffer, U. (2000) Urban Future 21: A global agenda for twenty-first century cities, E&FN Spon, London.

Han, S.S. (2005) Global city making in Singapore: a real estate perspective, Progress in Planning, 64, pp. 69–175.

Kelly, R., Sirr, L. and Ratcliffe, J. (2004) Futures thinking to achieve sustainable development at local level in Ireland, Foresight, 6(2), pp. 80-90.

Lynch, K. (1981) A Theory of Good City Form, MIT Press, Cambridge, Mas.

MacKay, R.B. and McKiernan, P. (2004) The role of hindsight in foresight: refining strategic reasoning, Futures, 36(2), pp. 161–179.

Newman, P. and Thornley, A. (2002) Globalization, world cities, and urban planning: developing a conceptual framework, In Thornley, A. and Rydin, Y. (Eds.), Planning in a Global Era, Ashgate, Burlington, VT, pp. 13–26.

Olds, K. and Yeung, H.W.C. (2004) Pathways to global city formation: a view from the developmental city-state of Singapore, Review of International Political Economy, 11(3), pp. 489–521.

Ratcliffe, J. (2002) Scenario Planning: an evaluation of practice, Dublin Institute of Technology, Dublin.

Rogers, R. (1998) Cities for a Small Planet, Westview Press, Boulder.

Rotmans, J., van Asselt, M. and Vellinga, P. (2000) An integrated planning tool for sustainable cities, Environmental Impact Assessment Review, 20, pp. 265–276.

Sassen, S. (1991) The Global City, New York, London, Tokyo, Princeton University Press, Princeton, New Jersey.

Sassen, S. (1994) Cities in a World Economy, Pine Forge, London.

Sassen, S. (2001) The Global City, Princeton University Press, New Jersey.

Sassen, S. (2004) The global city, In Nugent, D. and Vincent, J. (Eds.), A companion to the anthropology of politics, Blackwell, Malden, MA, pp. 158–178.

Schwartz, P. (1991) The Art of the Long View: planning for the future in an uncertain world, Doubleday, New York.

Seabrooke, W., Yeung, S.C.W., Ma, F.M.F and Li, Y. (2004) Implementing sustainable urban development at the operational level (with special reference to Hong Kong and Guangzhou), Habitat International, 28, pp. 443–466.

Short, J. R., & Kim, Y. H. (1999) Globalization and the city, Longman, Singapore.

Taylor, P. (2004) World City Network, A Global City Analysis, Routlege, London.

Toakley, A.R. and Aroni, A. (1998) The challenge of sustainable development and the role of universities, Higher Education Policy, 11(4), pp. 331-346.

Tufts, S. (2004) Building the 'competitive city': labour and Toronto's bid to host the Olympic games, Geoforum, 35, pp. 47–58.

ULI (2005) World Cities Forum: a report, The Urban Land Institute, Washington.

UN-Habitat (2004) The State of the World's Cities 2004/2005—Globalization and Urban Culture, Earthscan.

Van der Heijden, K. (2002) The Sixth Sense, John Wiley & Sons, Chichester.

Van Notten, P.W.F., Rotmans, J., van Asselt, M.B.A. and Rothman, D.S. (2003) An updated scenario typology: an attempt at synthesis, Futures, 35(5), pp. 423–443.

Wei, Y.D. and Yu, D. (2004) State policy and the globalization of Beijing: emerging themes, Habitat International, In Press.

Wong, S.W., Tang, B. and van Horen, B. (2005) Strategic urban management in China: A case study of Guangzhou Development District, Habit International, In Press.

Xuan Thinh, N., Arlt, G., Heber, B., Hennersdorf, J. and Lehmann, I. (2002) Evaluation of urban land-use structures with a view to sustainable development, Applied Geography, 22(5), pp. 331–350.