Prosperity of Cities

The City is the Home of Prosperity, it is the place where human beings find satisfaction of basic needs and access to essential public goods. The city is also where ambitions, aspirations and other material and immaterial aspects of life are realized, providing contentment and happiness. It is a locus at which prospects of prosperity and individual and collective well-being can be increased.

However, when prosperity is restricted to some groups, when it is used to pursue specific interests, or when it is a justification for financial gains for the few to the detriment of the majority, the city becomes the arena where the right to shared prosperity is claimed and fought for. As people in the latter part of 2011 gathered in Cairo’s Tahrir Square, in Madrid’s Puerta del Sol, in front of London’s St Paul’s cathedral, or in New York’s Zuccotti Park, they were not only demanding more equality and inclusion; they were also expressing the need for prosperity to be shared across all segments of society.

What this new edition of State of the World’s Cities shows is that prosperity for all has been compromised by a narrow focus on economic growth. UN-Habitat suggests a fresh approach to prosperity beyond the solely economic emphasis, including other vital dimensions such as quality of life, adequate infrastructures, equity and environmental sustainability. The Report proposes a new tool – the City Prosperity Index – together with a conceptual matrix, the Wheel of Prosperity, both of which are meant to assist decision makers to design clear policy interventions.

The Report advocates for the need of cities to enhance the public realm, expand public goods and consolidate rights to the ‘commons’ for all as a way to expand prosperity. This comes in response to the observed trend of enclosing or restricting these goods and commons in enclaves of prosperity, or depleting them through unsustainable use.

The Report maps out major policy steps to promote a new type of city – the city of the 21st century – that is a ‘good’, people-centred city. One that is capable of integrating the tangible and intangible aspects of prosperity, and in the process shedding off the inefficient, unsustainable forms and functionalities of the city of the previous century. By doing this, UN-Habitat plays a pivotal role in ensuring that urban planning, legal, regulatory and institutional frameworks become instruments of prosperity and well-being.
STATE OF THE WORLD’S CITIES 2012/2013

Prosperity of Cities
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This is a time of crises. This is also a time for solutions. Indeed, the world is currently engulfed in waves of financial, economic, environmental, social and political crises. Amidst the turmoil, however, we are also witnessing valiant and creative attempts at different levels and by different actors to seek for solutions.

The State of the World’s Cities Report 2012 presents, with compelling evidence, some of the underlying factors behind these crises that have strongly impacted on cities. It shows that a lopsided focus on purely financial prosperity has led to growing inequalities between rich and poor, generated serious distortions in the form and functionality of cities, also causing serious damage to the environment – not to mention the unleashing of precarious financial systems that could not be sustained in the long run.

The Report proposes a fresh approach to prosperity, one that is holistic and integrated and which is essential for the promotion of a collective well-being and fulfilment of all. This new approach does not only respond to the crises by providing safeguards against new risks, but it also helps cities to steer the world towards economically, socially, politically and environmentally prosperous urban futures. In order to measure present and future progress of cities towards the prosperity path, the Report introduces a new tool – the City Prosperity Index – together with a conceptual matrix, the Wheel of Prosperity, both of which are meant to assist decision makers to design clear policy interventions.

To varying degrees of intensity, cities have been hit by different crises. However, this Report tells us that cities can also be a remedy to the regional and global crises. When supported by different tiers of government, and in the quest to generate holistic prosperity, cities can become flexible and creative platforms to address these crises in a pragmatic and efficient manner. Prosperity, in this sense, can be seen as a Pharmakon – both a cause of the problem and a remedy. As per this ancient Greek construct, when used properly, it can help decision-makers to steer cities towards well-balanced and harmonious development.

In this Report, UN-Habitat advocates for a new type of city – the city of the 21st century – that is a ‘good’, people-centred city, one that is capable of integrating the tangible and more intangible aspects of prosperity, and in the process shedding off the inefficient, unsustainable forms and functionalities of the city of the previous century. By doing this, UN-Habitat plays a pivotal role in ensuring that urban planning, legal, regulatory and institutional frameworks become an instrument of prosperity and well-being.

This is a time of solutions to the numerous challenges that confront today’s cities. If we are to take measures that will make a difference to the lives of the billions of people in the world’s cities, and to future generations, we need sound and solid knowledge and information. This Report provides some of these crucial ingredients. I am confident that it will serve as a useful tool in the necessary redefinition of the urban policy agenda at local, national and regional levels. I do believe also that it will provide valuable insights in the search for urban prosperity and related policy changes in the years ahead.

The Report is a bridge between research and policy, with inputs from more than 50 cities, individual scientists and institutions, particularly the Directorate-General for Regional Policy from the European Commission, and other partner institutions around the world that participated actively in the preparation of this study. I would like to thank them for their immense contribution. I would also like to thank the Government of Norway for its financial support.

The partnerships that have evolved during the preparation of this report are part and parcel of, as well as critically essential in, creating the building blocks of a more sustainable prosperity, one that is shared by all. UN-Habitat is determined to sustain and consolidate such partnerships as we collectively chart a better future.

Joan Clos
Under-Secretary-General,
United Nations Executive Director, UN-Habitat
Introduction

As the world moves into the urban age, the dynamism and intense vitality of cities become even more prominent. A fresh future is taking shape, with urban areas around the world becoming not just the dominant form of habitat for humankind, but also the engine-rooms of human development as a whole.

This ongoing evolution can be seen as yet another assertion, albeit on a larger scale, of the time-honoured role of cities as centres of prosperity. In the 21st as in much earlier centuries, people congregate in cities to realize aspirations and dreams, fulfil needs and turn ideas into realities.

Prosperity in this broader, organic sense transcends narrow economic success to encompass a socially broad-based, balanced and resilient type of development that combines tangible and more intangible aspects. Taken in this multi-dimensional sense, urban prosperity tightens the links between individuals and society with their everyday environment, i.e., the city itself. Amidst multiple challenges facing cities today, a focus on poverty reduction and/or responses to the economic crisis is gradually shifting to a broader and more general understanding of the need to harness the transformative dynamics and potentials which, to varying degrees, characterize any city anywhere in the world.

How to rekindle momentum, optimize regenerating potential, enhance strategic position in the international business sphere, polishing both image and appeal – in other words, how to foster prosperity – has become the main thrust behind urban development. In this endeavour, every city will inevitably find itself on its own specific and unique historic course. Still, a common set of conditions can be found prevailing in all cities, which enable human beings to flourish, feel fulfilled and healthy, and where business can thrive, develop and generate more wealth. These conditions mark out the city as the privileged locus of prosperity, where advancement and progress come to materialize.

This Report focuses on the notion of prosperity and its realisation in urban areas. More specifically, this Report advocates a shift in attention around the world in favour of a more robust notion of development – one that looks beyond the narrow domain of economic growth that has dominated ill-balanced policy agendas over the last decades.

The gist of this Report is the need for transformative change towards people-centred, sustainable urban development, and this is what a revised notion of prosperity can provide. This focus on prosperity comes as institutional and policy backgrounds are in a state of flux around the world. Prosperity may appear to be a misplaced concern in the midst of multiple crises – financial, economic, environmental, social or political – that afflict the world today. It may appear as a luxury in the current economic predicament. However, what this Report shows with compelling evidence is that the current understanding of prosperity needs to be revised, and with it the policies and actions deployed by public authorities. UN-Habitat suggests a fresh approach to prosperity, one that reaches beyond the sole economic dimension to take in other vital dimensions such as quality of life, infrastructures, equity and environmental sustainability. The Report introduces a new statistical instrument, the City Prosperity Index, measuring the prosperity factors at work in an individual city, together with a general matrix, the Wheel of Urban Prosperity, which suggests areas for policy intervention.

As the privileged locus of prosperity, the city remains best placed to deal pragmatically with some of the new, post-crisis challenges. With adequate backing from higher tiers of government, the city appears as a flexible, operational, creative platform for the development of collaborative agendas and strategies for local responses to the global crisis.

Cities can offer remedies to the worldwide crises – if only we put them in better positions to respond to the challenges of our age, optimizing resources and harnessing the potentialities of the future. This is the ‘good’, people-centred city, one that is capable of integrating the tangible and more intangible aspects of prosperity - in the process shedding the inefficient, unsustainable forms and functionalities of the previous century or so – the city of the 21st century.

This Report comes at a transitional juncture in the international agenda: in the wake of the ‘Rio + 20’ conference on the environment and development, and ahead of a fresh, updated Habitat Agenda due in 2016 (Habitat III). Against this background, this UN-Habitat Report calls on countries and cities to engage with a fresher notion of prosperity in their respective agendas. Prosperity involves a degree of confidence in the foreseeable future. As the world recovers from one of its worst-ever economic crises and a variety of interrelated predicaments, we must find a new sense of balance and safeguard against risks of further turmoil. With dominant roles in economic, political and social life cities remain critical to setting our nations on a more inclusive, productive, creative and sustainable course.
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Prosperity and Urban Trends
Conceptualizing Urban Prosperity

THE CITY IS THE HOME OF PROSPERITY
Cities are where human beings find satisfaction of basic needs and essential public goods. Where various products can be found in sufficiency and their utility enjoyed. Cities are also where ambitions, aspirations and other immaterial aspects of life are realized, providing contentment and happiness and increasing the prospects of individual and collective well-being.

However, when prosperity is absent or restricted to some groups, when it is only enjoyed in some parts of the city, when it is used to pursue specific interests, or when it is a justification for financial gains for the few to the detriment of the majority, the city becomes the locus where the right to shared prosperity is claimed and fought for.

PROSPERITY: A MISPLACED CONCERN IN THE MIDST OF CRISES?
Never before had humankind as a whole faced cascading crises of all types as have affected it since 2008, from financial to economic to environmental to social to political. Soaring unemployment, food shortages and attendant price rises, strains on financial institutions, insecurity and political instability, among other crises, might well on their own call into question the relevance and even the viability of a Report on prosperity.

This proliferation of risks might even challenge the conventional notion of “Cities as the Home of Prosperity”, i.e. where, by definition, “successful, flourishing, or thriving conditions” prevail.

As people in the latter part of 2011 gathered in Cairo’s Tahrir Square or Madrid’s Puerta del Sol, in front of London’s St Paul’s cathedral or in New York’s Zuccotti Park, they were not only demanding more equality and inclusion; they were also expressing solidarity with fellow citizens that belong with the “99 per cent” (the vast majority) as opposed to the “one per cent” (those with vastly disproportionate shares of wealth and decision-making capacity). These movements highlighted the inherent risks of ill-balanced growth or development policies, and their failure to safeguard prosperity for all. Throughout history, cities as seats of power have served as stages for protests and the recent social movements are no exception. Demographic concentrations in dense urban spaces allow critical masses of protestors to congregate and air new ideas, highlighting cities’ role as sounding boards for positive social change. This points to another of the promises of a prosperous city – not just a more productive socio-economic use of space and the built environment, but also one that safeguards the city’s role as a public forum where plans and policies can be discussed and challenged for the sake of a more prosperous society.

POLICY It is in every city’s interest to adopt organically integrated types of development and prosperity that transcend the narrow confines of an accumulation-driven model that benefits only a few to the detriment of the majority.

FACT At best, prosperity as conventionally understood seems to be an unnecessary luxury in a time of crisis. At worst, prosperity can be seen as a harbinger of yet another single-minded pursuit of purely economic prosperity that might bring the global economy to the brink again.
CITIES: REMEDY TO THE GLOBAL CRISSES

If anything, the recent crises have demonstrated that cities around the world are, to varying degrees of intensity, exposed at least as much to the destructive as to the more beneficial effects of international markets, including social and political repercussions. In this sense, these crises did more than expose systemic market failures: they also highlighted major imbalances at the core of economic policy-making.²

When responding to such crises, national macroeconomic policies definitely have a major role to play through countercyclical public expenditure, strengthening bank supervision and financial regulations, introducing progressive income taxation, and reinforcing worldwide financial governance mechanisms, among other solutions.

However, responses to global crises must also allow for a vigorous role for cities. So far, cities have been perceived as the ‘engines’ of national economies and there is no reason to depart from that view. Indeed, urban authorities find themselves, at least notionally, in a position to boost production in the real sector of the economy at local level, with attendant employment and income generation. If urban responses to economic crises are to be effective on a local scale with positive regional or national repercussions (‘multiplier effects’), then efficient, multi-way institutional, policy and budget linkages are required between all relevant partners and local social pacts which, in turn, can strengthen national governments in the face of global challenges.³

These protests highlighted the fact that economic growth was a necessary condition for prosperity, though insufficient on its own: social and political inclusion is vital for prosperity.

The environmental crisis: The convergence of climate change and urbanisation

The current pattern of urbanization both in developed and developing countries converges on one and the same model: low density-based suburbanisation. Land speculation is associated with indiscriminate conversion of rural land to urban uses in the peripheries; this phenomenon combines with a growing reliance on individual motor vehicles and new-fangled middle-class lifestyles to expand urban areas way beyond formal city boundaries. A variety of economic agents can typically be found behind this trend, including real estate developers, home- and road-builders, national and international chain stores, among others, more often than not with support from banks and finance houses. Wasteful expansion of cities in endless peripheries is a major factor behind climate change. Beyond the physical threats from climate change, some cities stand to face an array of additional risks related to the provision of basic services and public goods (water supply, physical infrastructure, transport, energy, etc.), affecting industrial production, local economies, assets and livelihoods. Climate change may have ripple effects across many sectors of urban life, affecting the potential for prosperity of the more vulnerable populations: women, youth, children and ethnic minorities.¹

**FACT** Cities are a remedy to the global crises. They provide ready, flexible and creative platforms that can mitigate the effects of regional and global crises in a pragmatic, balanced and efficient way. Cities can act as the fora where the linkages, trust, respect and inclusiveness that are part of any remedy to the crisis can be built. Acting locally in different areas and spaces, urban responses to the crisis can be structured and included in national agendas for more efficiency, with better chances of flexible responses and more beneficial effects. Although not immune to divisive partisanship and ideologies that can paralyze decision-making, cities find themselves in more privileged positions than national governments to negotiate and agree on responses with local stakeholders. They can forge new partnerships and local social pacts which, in turn, can strengthen national governments in the face of global challenges.
Cities can devise a number of safeguards against a variety of socioeconomic risks. Municipal authorities can prioritize expenditures on social security nets, local/regional infrastructure and other types of development, with a view to securing longer-term growth while stimulating consumption and/or employment in the short term.

Cities can also deploy safeguards against the risks international markets may bring to bear on local socioeconomic conditions, deploying redistributive policies in close collaboration with central government in order to reduce income gaps and other local structural problems.

This edition of the *State of the World’s Cities Report* presents a fresh perspective on prosperity based on five dimensions – productivity, infrastructures, quality of life, equity and environmental sustainability.

China: busy traffic on one of Beijing’s boulevards. Wide avenues such as this bring a sense of space to city centres but increasing wealth has led to a massive growth in private car use.

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tiers of government. In this respect, proper alignment of central and local government expenditures at city level can facilitate transfers and their effective use by urban authorities.

**RE-THINKING URBAN PROSPERITY**

A poverty-stricken plumber in Hyderabad (India), a factory worker in Bogotá (Colombia), a middle manager in Madrid (Spain), a businessman in Fortaleza (Brazil), a car mechanic in Nairobi (Kenya) – all five will have aspirations to prosperous lives. However, prosperity means different things to different people around the world. Whatever the individual perception, regardless of culture and civilization, prosperity refers to a sense of general and individual socioeconomic security for the immediate and foreseeable future, which comes with the fulfilment of other, non-material needs and aspirations.

Yet, the prevailing view continues to confine prosperity to the realm of economics; a limiting view that shuts out other dimensions that are integral to human well-being and necessary for individual and collective fulfilment. If anything, the 2008 financial crisis has amplified the need to include other, non-economic dimensions in the understanding and measurement of prosperity.

This Report introduces a new gauge for the degree of prosperity in the cities of the world. Known as the **City Prosperity Index** and developed by UN-Habitat, this new instrument combines the five dimensions of prosperity as understood in this Report and as subsumed in measurable indicators. The index pinpoints strengths and weaknesses, in the process suggesting where policy action can address imbalances.

**Re-thinking prosperity** in those terms requires a shift away from the current dominant perspective, which is outdated and unsustainable on many grounds with its combination of cheap fossil fuel, heavy dependence on the motor car, highly segmented urban forms, socially and economically segregated spaces, endless urban peripheries that consume land, resources and in many cases natural protected areas – and all largely steered by private, not public interest.

**CONCEPTUALIZING PROSPERITY: THE UN-HABITAT APPROACH**

Prosperity implies success, wealth, thriving conditions, and wellbeing as well as opportunity. In any urban setting, a key question will arise: What are the essential conditions and elements that are required for a city to thrive, or for an urban area to be described as prosperous, or for the wellbeing of the population? Put differently, what are the manifestations or outcomes of a prosperous city? In general terms, a prosperous city offers a profusion of public goods and develops policies and actions for a sustainable use and equitable access to ‘commons’. More specifically, several elements which come to mind guide what constitutes the UN-Habitat conceptualization of Prosperity.

First, a prosperous city contributes to economic growth through productivity, generating the income and employment that afford adequate living standards for the whole population.

Second, a prosperous city deploys the infrastructure, physical assets and amenities – adequate water, sanitation, power supply, road network, information and communications technology etc. – required to sustain both the population and the economy.

Third, prosperous cities provide the social services – education, health, recreation, safety and security etc. – required for improved living standards, enabling the population to maximize individual potential and lead fulfilling lives.

Fourth, a city is only prosperous to the extent that poverty and inequalities are minimal. No city can claim to be prosperous when large segments of the population live in abject poverty and deprivation.
This involves reducing the incidence of slums and new forms of poverty. Prosperous cities are equitable and socially inclusive. The benefits and opportunities that come with a prosperous city are equitably (re)distributed. A prosperous city ensures gender equality, protects the rights of minority and vulnerable groups, and ensures civic participation by all in the social, political and cultural spheres.

Fifth, the creation and (re)distribution of the benefits of prosperity do not destroy or degrade the environment, instead the city’s natural assets are preserved for the sake of sustainable urbanization.

**THE ‘WHEEL OF URBAN PROSPERITY’**

Prosperity, as defined by UN-Habitat, is a social construct that materializes in the realm of human actions. It builds deliberately and conscientiously on the objective conditions prevailing in a city at any time, wherever located and however large or small. It is a broader, wide-ranging notion that has to do with well-balanced, harmonious development in an environment of fairness and justice.

As described above, prosperity takes in all urban functions as subsumed in five main categories. Since shared, balanced development is a crucial feature of prosperity, none of the dimensions must prevail over the others and all must be kept roughly ‘equal’ – for the sake of a smooth ‘ride’ on the path of prosperity. In practice, of course, it is a rare city where the five dimensions will be found equal at any point in time, and this is where policy interventions will be called for, as suggested graphically by the profile of the city’s specific ‘city prosperity index’. For instance, infrastructure may be well-advanced, but inaccessable to large portion of the population, therefore compromising the notion of equity. In other, frequent situations, a city may be economically efficient, enhancing job opportunities, but the natural environment is neglected.

Since socioeconomic conditions keep changing on a local and a broader scale, they will have an effect on one or more of the five dimensions of prosperity, and it will be for policy interventions to restore the balance. In this endeavour, urban authorities will find that the various interlinkages and interdependencies between the five dimensions can also be of a positive nature. For instance, provision of water and sanitation in informal settlements will improve both equity and quality of life, and even the environment. This points to the ‘natural’ or ‘spontaneous’ interdependencies between the five dimensions along the outer rim of the wheel. These can also be strengthened with a multiplier effect through deliberate, well-targeted interventions through the ‘hub’ of the wheel, i.e., the ‘hub’ is made of the local urban power functions, both public (municipal and other institutions and agencies, laws and regulations, including urban planning) and non-public (civil society, business, etc.) they combine in a variety of ways according to local needs and conditions, with the synergies between them resulting in innovative institutional or policy practice, all for the sake of the public interest and shared prosperity.
combined power functions at work in the city. For instance, building a school and a covered market next to a poor area is likely to have multiplier effects across the five dimensions of shared prosperity.

This goes to show that far from some new ‘model’ or ‘utopia’ or branding/marketing technique, UN-Habitat’s ‘wheel of prosperity’ symbolises the well-balanced development of the five dimensions, the current condition of which is graphically represented in the City Prosperity Index (CPI – see below). The ‘outer rim’ absorbs the cumulative forces transmitted through the ‘spokes’ – the five dimensions of prosperity. At the centre is the ‘hub’ – the local urban power functions, with four interrelated roles: (i) ensuring the prevalence of public over any other kind of interest; (ii) controlling the direction, pace and momentum of the ‘wheel’; (iii) ensuring the balanced development of the five ‘spokes’ and associated synergies; and (iv) in a two-way relationship, absorbing and amortising any ‘shocks’ transmitted by the ‘spokes’. The ‘hub’ brings together the power functions (e.g., laws, regulations and institutions, urban planning, civil society, trade associations, special agencies, etc.) associated with the five ‘spokes’.

In this role the ‘hub’ represents human agency in all its embodiments.
It holds the five ‘spokes’ together and endeavours to maintain their balance and symmetry.

**MEASURING PROSPERITY: ATTEMPTS, FAILURES AND PROGRESS**

Prosperity remains one of humankind’s most enduring pursuits across time and space. But it is only in the past few decades that decision-makers, academics, practitioners and populations have started to measure this important dimension of human development. This has been a journey of learning, trial and error. The adage “what gets measured, gets done” has injected a sense of urgency in the pursuit not just of prosperity *per se*, but also of an operational definition complete with specific indicators.

More than 70 years ago in 1937, the Nobel-winning metric of gross domestic product (GDP) was purported to be the ‘mother of all statistics’, capturing the notion of prosperity through total production of goods and services. Although GDP spread rapidly and was widely accepted for decades, it is becoming more and more apparent that this aggregate is too narrow to provide the accurate measure of a society’s overall well-being today. In 1972, the king of Bhutan declared he was interested in measuring ‘Gross National Happiness’ (GNH). In 1990, US economist Mahbub ul-Haq convinced future Nobel laureate Amartya Sen to create “an index as vulgar as GDP but more relevant to our own lives.” In 2006, China developed its own “Green GDP Index”, which seriously challenged the validity of the standard aggregate, once environmental aspects were factored in. In 2009, Joseph Stiglitz called for an end to “GDP fetishism” and, one year later, the British government announced that it would, for the first time, survey happiness in addition to purely economic measures.

Prosperity is a more complex notion, one that cannot be captured through straightforward indices that measure how much money people earn or how many cars they own. A ‘prosperous’ life includes other non-material, non-tangible dimensions, like having a voice in shaping the future of one’s city, having meaningful relationships, belonging to supportive communities, and having the resources and capabilities to transform your dreams into concrete realities.

Recent efforts have attempted to include these other dimensions of prosperity for a more accurate representation of societal progress. Table 1.1.2 presents a summary of these methods and approaches.

**THE UN-HABITAT “CITY PROSPERITY INDEX”**

Cities can take different paths to prosperity. UN-Habitat views development as a non-linear, non-sequential and complex process and recognizes that development paths are differentiated and unique. Still, actions and policies implemented by governments to increase prosperity and the outcomes of these policies can be measured to provide an indication of how solid or weak are the factors of prosperity available to any individual urban area.

**FACT** Conceptually, the notion of prosperity still belongs within the realm of economic growth, but it has to do with more than just economic well-being and material progress. Trying to integrate other tangible and less tangible human dimensions of development, such as well-being and prosperity, has been an ongoing story for more than 40 years, with efforts to create new metrics and approaches that add nuance to standard GDP.

Fetching water in Debre Zeit city, Ethiopia. Quality of life and prosperity require an urban growth with commensurate infrastructure and basic services.

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UN-Habitat’s “City Prosperity Index” (CPI) does not only provide indices and measurements; it also enables decision-makers to identify opportunities and potential areas along the path of prosperity. The CPI includes various indices and indicators that are relevant to urban areas, and important for prosperity-oriented public policy-making.

Being based on the UN-Habitat concept of prosperity, the CPI includes the five dimensions (the ‘spokes’ in the ‘wheel’) of urban prosperity. Each is further disaggregated in various variables and sub-indices. UN-Habitat has adopted an incremental approach to the development of this index. Two of the dimensions – productivity and quality of life – correspond to components of the Human Development
Index (HDI), and have been used to compute the “City Human Development Index” (CHDI). The three other dimensions – infrastructure, environmental sustainability and equity – are made of various key indicators as indicated in Table 1.1.3. Although more refinement is still needed in terms of what indicators are included in the index and with which respective weightings, those that have been selected offer the possibility of disaggregating the different dimensions of prosperity, in the process identifying policy intervention areas.8

Although in many cases the prosperity of a city will go hand in hand with that of the country, significant variations in CPI measures can be found in cities in the same country, and this goes to show that national aggregates do not necessarily reflect what happens in different regions or cities. Most existing prosperity indices provide estimations for countries only (see Table 1.1.2). By comparison, the UN-Habitat City Prosperity Index is unique in the world for two reasons: (i) it focuses on individual cities, as opposed to countries, and (ii) it is concerned with prosperity as measured across five dimensions, of which the local economy is only one, as opposed to the sole business environment. The resulting CPI values can be regrouped in six distinct brackets that range from cities with ‘very solid’ prosperity factors to those where those factors are found to be ‘very weak’.9

UN-Habitat analysis shows that some cities in the developing world are becoming more prosperous (with higher HDI values), reflecting very significant progress on health and education, and at times even in the absence of sustained economic growth.

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<th>City and National HDI values</th>
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Despite their high production of goods and services, European cities are experiencing many crises – financial, employment, housing, among others – and it is expected that their respective CPI values will reflect this in the near future.

The Human Development Index (HDI) is typically higher in cities compared with relevant national averages. Indeed, cities are in general richer than the rest of any country. However, differences between City and country HDI measures are much steeper in nations with lower than those with higher HDI measures.
Cities with very solid prosperity factors (0.900 and above): In the world’s most prosperous cities the five ‘spokes’ are well-developed overall, with very little variations among them. Urban power functions such as good governance, urban planning, laws, regulations and institutional frameworks ensure that no particular dimension of prosperity gains prevalence to the detriment of the others. More specifically, they feature high volumes of goods and services as well as strong economic fundamentals and high productivity. Their populations live longer and are well educated. Infrastructures are available and the environment is well managed. These cities are well governed and ensure safe, secure environments. It is clear that the five ‘spokes’ of urban prosperity are kept together in balance and at a right pace by a ‘hub’ that has the collective interest as its core.

When the equity index is included in the CPI, the findings show that urban equity and prosperity are closely linked: not unsurprisingly, cities that do well on the first
four dimensions of prosperity (with very solid prosperity factors) seem to be more equitable. In most cities of this group, inequality is relatively low, as reflected in low Gini coefficients (typically below 0.4, the exception being New York where inequality is significantly steeper (0.5)). When the equity dimension is taken into consideration, the CPI remains high for all cities (i.e., above 0.800), but only half remain with ‘very solid’ prosperity factors (i.e., CPI above 0.900).

**Cities with solid prosperity factors – first category (CPI: 0.800–0.899):** Cities in this bracket feature high CPI values. The five ‘spokes’ of prosperity are connected, generating a self-reinforcing, cumulative momentum along the path of prosperity. The minute variations between the ‘spokes’ is evidence of the efficiency of the ‘hub’, i.e., relatively strong institutions, responsive legal and regulatory frameworks and large availability of

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**FACT**

Cities with solid prosperity factors belong to countries with different stages of economic development and different HDIs, with Kazakhstan featuring the highest (0.884) and China, Turkey and Brazil the lowest (0.663, 0.679 and 0.699, respectively).

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**FACT**

All the cities in this group feature very high Gross National Incomes (GNI) per capita (from US$ 25,478 for New Zealand to US$ 58,810 for Norway) and they produce a substantial share of the country’s GDP (e.g., Brussels – admittedly an exception – contributes as much as 46 per cent of Belgium’s GDP). The economic power of some of these cities is comparable to that of many national economies. Estimated GDP equivalents in Tokyo and New York are similar to those of Canada or Spain, while London’s GDP is higher than those of Sweden or Switzerland.
public goods. Cities in Southern and Eastern Europe such as Lisbon, Athens, Warsaw, Budapest, Prague, Bucharest and Moscow feature in this bracket, along with others in Latin America and Asia: São Paulo, Mexico City, Almaty (Kazakhstan), Shanghai, Seoul and Ankara.

However, it is important to note that high inequalities in Moscow, Mexico City and São Paulo interfere with their performance in terms of prosperity. When the equity index is included in the CPI, both cities score below 0.800. This suggests that, although prosperity factors remain on the whole, they are somewhat weaker. While inequality is historically entrenched in most Latin American cities, it is a recent phenomenon in Russia, in the extended aftermath of economic liberalization.

Cities with solid prosperity factors – second category (CPI: 0.700–0.799): This group is heterogeneous, with some cities showing a ‘less coordinated’, ill-balanced development in the ‘spokes’. This comes as the result of institutions, legal and regulatory frameworks and urban management practices that are being consolidated and because of this; they cannot hold together all the elements of the ‘wheel’ to operate with stability. Heterogeneity is also related to the stage of development of the relevant countries. Measured by HDI readings, significant variations occur between countries like Jordan (0.884) and Indonesia (0.600), for instance.
Interestingly, the capital cities of these two countries do not feature such extreme variations in their respective HDIs (0.810 for Amman and 0.755 for Jakarta).

However, it is important to note that inequality is inconsistent with prosperity as understood in this Report. When the equity index is included in the CPI, Cape Town and Johannesburg (which both feature very high Gini coefficients), drop from the bracket of cities with ‘solid’ prosperity factors and join the group with ‘weak’ or even ‘very weak’ prosperity factors, with CPI values of 0.590 and 0.479 respectively.

**Cities with moderate prosperity factors (CPI: 0.600–0.699):** The difference between ‘solid’ and ‘moderate’ prosperity factors lies in wider discrepancies among the values of the various components. This points to institutional and structural failures, as the ‘hub’ fails to keep the ‘spokes’ at a relatively same ‘length’. Cities with less balanced development feature contrasted patterns, with a neat divide between rich and poor.

In Nairobi, prosperity is compromised by steep inequality (Gini coefficient: 0.59), causing its CPI value to drop from ‘moderate’ to ‘weak’ (0.673 to 0.593).

**Cities with weak prosperity factors (CPI: 0.500–0.599):** Much remains to be done there in terms of quality of life, infrastructure and environment in most of the cities in this bracket. Production of goods and services is still too low, a reflection of underdevelopment. Historic structural problems, chronic inequality of opportunities, widespread poverty, inadequate capital investment in public goods, and lack of pro-poor social programmes are critical factors behind such low degrees of prosperity.

The city product of African cities in this bracket is low, as are the ratings for quality of life and infrastructure. Most

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**Box 1.1.4**

**Low production, highly available public goods**

Chisinau, the capital of Moldova, features a very low city product (0.34) that is almost half of those of Mumbai (0.645) or New Delhi (0.596). Still, this combines with very high readings for quality of life (0.85), infrastructure (0.895) and clean environment (0.894), similar to those for much richer cities like Auckland, Brussels, London or New York. With a very modest economic base, the city has been able to deliver sufficient public goods to reach a moderate degree of prosperity. This goes to show that various dimensions of urban prosperity can be deployed while economic growth remains relatively weak.

**FACT** Most of the cities in this bracket – Tegucigalpa, Nairobi, Phnom Penh, Ulaanbaatar, Guatemala City, Yaoundé, Mumbai and New Delhi – feature low HDIs (below 0.62). While in most cities a moderate CPI value is associated with a low city product, in the case of the two Indian cities the low CPIs mostly reflect poor environmental conditions.

**FACT** In Nairobi, prosperity is compromised by steep inequality (Gini coefficient: 0.59), causing its CPI value to drop from ‘moderate’ to ‘weak’ (0.673 to 0.593).
of these cities perform better on the environment indicator (low emissions of fine particles (PM10). Recent progress in Ghana in the economic and political spheres looks certain to improve the CPI value for Accra, which at the moment is low (0.533) due to poor economic performance (0.347). Addis Ababa features relatively low in all CPI components, and this relative uniformity reflects a fair balance among the ‘spokes’ (0.52 on average). The city continues to make progress, thanks to higher investment in infrastructure and construction, manufacturing and tertiary activities. This in turn paves the way for job creation, and it is for central government to ensure that this economic model, which involves several dimensions of prosperity, retains both momentum and good synchronization.

Various cities/countries from this group have a recent past marred by conflicts, political instability or economic crisis. The city product of Harare (0.246), not long ago a very vibrant economic centre, is almost as low as that of post-conflict cities like Monrovia (0.048), Antananarivo (0.171) or Conakry (0.133). In 2002, Zimbabwe recorded the lowest slum prevalence of the region, and one of the lowest of all the developing world (four per cent); poor governance, political instability and massive housing evictions in 2005 have raised that percentage to 17 per cent, mainly due to overcrowding; and yet, Harare features high infrastructure development (0.899), similar to that of emerging economy cities like Ankara, Manila, Mexico City or Mumbai. Quality of life in Harare is also very low,

El Alto, Bolivia: a large and poorly serviced part of greater La Paz, where the population is 80% indigenous
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reflecting a dramatic reduction in life expectancy (to 1970s levels). Similar declines are also observed in the Democratic Republic of Congo, Lesotho, Swaziland or Zambia.

It is important to note that inequality further weakens the CPI values for Lagos, Harare and Lusaka. When the equity index is included in the CPI, all three cities move from ‘weak’ to ‘very weak’ prosperity factors (below 0.500).

Cities with very weak prosperity factors (CPI below 0.500): Cities in this bracket feature contrasted patterns among the sub-indices in the CPI. For some, the dispersion of index values across the ‘spokes’ reflects institutional and structural problems. For others, the five dimensions of prosperity do converge, only at very low values, a hallmark of dysfunctional systems, institutional failures, sluggish economic growth as well as widespread poverty and destitution.

Box 1.1.5

Visualizing the 5 dimensions of the CPI

The two pentagons represent the five ‘spokes’ of prosperity as measured in five cities and the extent to which they are imbalanced/balanced in relation to each other. The radar-shaped graphs suggest where policy interventions are required. For instance, Nairobi (to the right) performs well in terms of the environment and infrastructure, but less so on equity, productivity and quality of life. In Cairo, the situation is the reverse, as the environment appears to be the weaker point in an otherwise well-balanced pattern of prosperity – although at an overall lower level compared with Vienna. Similar interpretations can be derived from the pentagon to the left, which compares the relative performances of revealing the prosperity patterns for the Mexico and Johannesburg, again against Vienna’s.