Working paper

An urban dimension in a new set of development goals

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Abstract

One of the longstanding themes in the post-2015 discussion has been how a new set of goals might address the problems and opportunities of urban areas more satisfactorily than the existing MDGs.

More people in developing countries will be living in urban areas over the next decades, with a wide range of implications for both urban and rural poverty. Yet it is not clear how such a local, context-specific and cross-cutting issue can be integrated usefully into a global set of goals.

After a careful consideration of the existing evidence, the experience with the MDGs, including the 'slum target', and existing proposals for a post-MDG framework, this working paper proposes five steps to incorporate an urban dimension into a new development framework.

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Executive summary

Debates over a new set of goals post-2015 contain plenty of references to the need to take into account urbanisation and urban poverty (United Nations (UN) High Level Panel, 2013; UN Sustainable Development Solutions Network, 2013; UN Habitat, 2013b). This acknowledges the fact that more people in developing countries will be living in urban areas over the next decades, particularly in Asia and Africa, and this will have profound economic, social and environmental consequences.

If new development goals are to eradicate extreme income poverty, this means dealing with deprivation in both rural and urban settings, and setting targets and a monitoring framework that provide the incentives to do so. But how can urbanisation and urban poverty – a dynamic process and cross-cutting issue – be integrated usefully into a new set of global goals? What lessons can we draw from the way the MDGs dealt with the urban dimension? What are the options currently being proposed for inclusion of an urban dimension in a post-2015 framework? And ultimately how can global aspirations be married with local contexts?

Building on a review of urbanisation and poverty trends, past experience with the MDGs, existing proposals on the table, and examples of how a framework can effect change, this paper proposes five steps to integrate an urban dimension into a new development framework.

1. Include urbanisation and urban poverty in the narrative of a new framework

As a minimum, the narrative of a new framework could emphasise the importance of urbanisation and cities for development, highlighting both the opportunities and challenges urbanisation brings about and the need to consider these spatial aspects in national policy plans.

2. Ensure that 'leaving no one behind' includes urban marginalised communities

A new set of goals should guarantee access to basic services for all, irrespective of where people live. The UN High Level Panel on Post-2015's 'leaving no one behind' approach covers poverty in urban settings through a combination of targets for universal access to services and a requirement to disaggregate performance on the goals according to different categories, including location. Data permitting, performance of the goals could be monitored not only for urban and rural areas, but also for 'slum' areas and the urban average. In addition, to highlight inequalities, targets could be set to reduce the *gap* in the achievement of different outcomes (e.g. child mortality or school attendance rates) for different geographical areas – e.g. slum areas versus urban average (Watkins, 2013).

3. Ensure the framing of targets and metrics takes into account the characteristics of urban poverty

The framing and measurement of targets need to be sensitive to the characteristics of poverty in different contexts so that the extent of the problem, in this case urban poverty, is not understated. For example, the higher costs of living in large urban areas should be taken into account by using country-specific urban/rural poverty lines.

In terms of basic services provision, efforts to incorporate quality and affordability alongside access must continue. In the case of access to water and sanitation, more ambitious definitions could be adopted (e.g. the proportion of households with regular supplies of treated water piped to their premises and the proportion of households with good-quality toilets in each dwelling, as suggested by Satterthwaite et al., 2013a). And work should continue on specifying targets and indicators for new dimensions included in the post-2015 proposals that are relevant for the urban poor (e.g. access to land and decent housing, personal security, among others).

4. Improve data collection in urban areas, particularly for informal settlements

Tracking performance at sub-national level and across a number of categories and new dimensions will require a huge effort in terms of strengthening data collection and measurement (including new ways of collecting data and more widespread use of geo-referencing/mapping).

5. Engage relevant actors in the formulation, implementation and monitoring of the goals

When targets are being set, local authorities could adopt (and adapt) the goals in their respective areas. When they are being monitored, data collection by slum-dwellers themselves (enumerations) could be explored as part of data-collection efforts, to ensure they have the tools they need to drive accountability. Further, programmes to strengthen the capacity of local authorities could be part of a new global partnership for implementing, monitoring and financing the goals. Local governments will be responsible for delivering many of the goals; however, their capacity and resources are often limited.

For a post-2015 agenda to remain useful and relevant, it has to provide a clear framework and incentives for tackling poverty and sustainability in urban areas. Goals, targets and indicators cannot make that happen, but they can provide a nudge in the right direction.

1 Introduction

Discussions on a new development framework to replace the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) when they expire in 2015 are now well underway. A new framework is expected to raise the ambition of the MDGs, seeking to eradicate extreme poverty by 2030. It is also likely to combine poverty and sustainability objectives, seeking to address social disparities in a way that does not cause irreparable damage to the environment.

Debates over a new set of goals contain plenty of references to the need to take into account urbanisation and urban poverty (United Nations (UN) High Level Panel, 2013; UN Sustainable Development Solutions Network, 2013; UN Habitat, 2013b). This acknowledges the fact that more people in developing countries will be living in urban areas over the next decades, particularly in Asia and Africa, and this will have profound economic, social and environmental consequences.

If new development goals are to eradicate extreme income poverty, this means dealing with deprivation in both rural and urban areas, and setting targets and a monitoring framework that provide the incentives to do so. Further, national government policies to achieve development goals, including better outcomes in education and health, will need to factor in urbanisation trends and their drivers, as these have important implications for the economy and service delivery, in turn affecting poverty and sustainability.

But how can urbanisation and urban poverty – a dynamic process and cross-cutting issue – be integrated usefully into a new set of global goals? What lessons can we draw from the way the MDGs dealt with the urban dimension? What are the options currently being proposed for inclusion of an urban dimension in a post-2015 framework? And ultimately how can global aspirations be married with local contexts?

These are some of the questions this paper seeks to answer. It is structured as follows:

- Section 2 reviews urbanisation and urban poverty trends, making a case for why an urban dimension matters.

- Section 3 asks what is unique about poverty in urban settings, and what the implications might be for the design of a new set of goals.

- Section 4 looks at how the MDGs and existing post-2015 proposals incorporate an urban dimension.

- Section 5 concludes by proposing five steps to integrate an urban dimension into a new development framework.

2 Why it matters

2.1 An increasingly urbanised world

Where is urban growth happening?

The UN estimates that over half of the world's population now live in urban centres (UN Department of Economic and Social Affairs (UN DESA), 2012).[1] This share is forecast to increase over coming decades, reaching about two thirds by 2050.

Globally, urban populations are expected to rise from 3.6 billion to 6.3 billion between 2010 and 2050, amounting to 2.7 billion additional urban dwellers, roughly the population of two Chinas. Most of this growth, 2.4 billion, is likely to be concentrated in developing countries. By contrast, the population of rural areas in developing countries, despite having seen growth in recent years, is forecast to plateau and slowly decline from 2021 onwards.

Figure 1: Urban on the rise
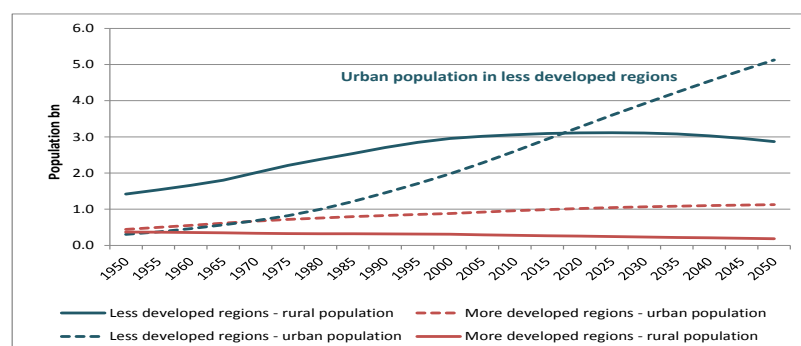
Source: UN World Urbanization Prospects, 2011 Revision

According to UN projections (UN DESA, 2012), the lion's share of urban population growth between 2010 and 2050 is expected to be concentrated in Asia and Africa. With urbanisation levels[2] of 45% and 40% in 2011 respectively, these are among the least urbanised regions, but they are likely to account for respectively over half and a third of the 2.7 billion additional urban dwellers expected between 2010 and 2050. All other regions have urbanisation levels over 70% (79% in Latin America; 73% in Europe; 82% in North America; 71% in Oceania).

A few populous countries are likely to account for the majority of new urban dwellers (e.g. India, China, Nigeria, United States, Indonesia, Pakistan, Democratic Republic of Congo, Bangladesh, Tanzania and Philippines). India and China alone account for about a third of

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[1] The definition of an urban centre varies by country and usually involves a minimum population threshold. See Box 1 for more details.
[2] Urbanisation levels are defined as the proportion of the population living in urban centres.

the forecast additional urban dwellers (838 million) between 2010 and 2050 (UN DESA, 2012).

A remarkable characteristic of recent urban population trends is the scale of absolute change, mainly as a result of the urbanisation of some of the largest countries. India and China are expected to add over 400 million and 300 million urban dwellers respectively between 2010 and 2050. Both countries have already experienced similar increases in their urban populations in earlier periods (UN DESA, 2012).

The rise of mega-cities of 10million residents or more, particularly in Asia, is another recent trend that often receives a lot of attention. While in 1970 there were only two mega-cities (Tokyo and New York), by 2011 there were 23. By 2025 it is expected there will be 37, most of them in developing countries and many in Asia (12 in China and India alone). Lagos, Dhaka, Karachi, plus megacities in China, India and Philippines are expected to be among the fastest growing megacities in coming years.[3]

However, the majority of people in the world and in developing countries (50.9% and 50.2%, respectively) still live in a large number of smaller urban centres with fewer than 500,000 inhabitants (Table 5, UN DESA, 2012). In the case of less developed countries, these smaller cities often have poor services and receive little attention and resources from local policymakers (Ghosh, 2012). [4]

What are the drivers of urban population growth and urbanisation?

Rural-urban migration; natural increase (the difference between births and deaths); annexation (when nearby areas are absorbed into physically expanding towns); and re-classification (when a small rural settlement surpasses the population threshold to become an urban area) are all possible drivers of urban population growth. However, urbanisation – understood as the increase in the proportion of population living in urban centres – is overwhelmingly the result of net rural to urban migration.

Historically, urbanisation went hand in hand with economic growth and industrialisation, as new manufacturing jobs acted as a pull factor (Gollin et al., 2013). This was the case of developed nations today or Asian countries like Taiwan, China and Thailand, to name a few. Active industrial policies, investment in cities and a population with the skills required for the new jobs being generated all help explain the process of urbanisation and industrialisation experienced in these countries.

While most urbanisation is linked to economic growth and shifts in the structure of the economy, there are cases where rural to urban migration is not associated with an economic pull factor. This includes internal migration associated with conflict, disasters, rural impoverishment or a search for better amenities. Indeed, the fact that in some poor countries, particularly in Africa, urbanisation appears to be taking place without industrialisation has long been a subject of debate.

Some challenge the extent to which urbanisation is happening in sub-Saharan Africa, where the data is most limited (see Box 1; Potts, 2012a, 2012b; Africapolis Team). Potts finds that in some countries the proportion of migrants to towns and cities who leave again – a phenomenon known as circular migration – has increased significantly (Potts, 2012a). She also finds evidence in some countries of de-urbanisation, that is, urban dwellers moving back to rural areas. In other words, she challenges the extent to which urbanisation is really happening in these countries, and suggests that natural population increase, rather than rural-urban migration, may be behind urban growth in these countries.

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[3] Fastest growing in terms of average annual population growth rates; see Table 4 in UN DESA, 2012.

[4] The proportion of people living in developing countries' smaller urban centres, however, is forecast to decline by about 10 percentage points between now and 2025. Cities between 1 million and 5 million residents (e.g. Nairobi, Dar es Salaam, Ouagadougou, Luanda) and megacities of 10 million+ are expected to see significant growth, signalling a trend towards urban concentration in large cities (Table 4, UN DESA, 2012).

It is crucial to understand the specific patterns and underpinnings of urban growth in different countries (e.g. the extent that this is due to urbanisation versus natural population growth) as they will require very different policy responses.

While the drivers behind urban growth are context-specific and varied, the fact remains that today developing countries concentrate most of the world's urban population, a trend that is likely to continue and accentuate over coming decades.

Box 1: A word of caution on urban population estimates

The estimates used in this section are sourced from the UN's World Urbanization Prospects – the only readily available source of internationally comparable urban population data. There are a number of limitations to this data which mean that all current and future estimates of urban numbers should be treated with caution.

What is 'urban' and what is 'rural'?

One of the limitations of the data lies in the definition of an urban area itself, which is drawn from the different country offices of statistics.

These definitions vary widely by country (some use administrative criteria, others population sizes, with varying thresholds, density measures, economic characteristics or a combination of these), making cross-country comparison really problematic. Sometimes definitions vary within countries across time or sources. For example, some of the urban growth recorded in China during the 1980s is due to a change in the definition of urban areas (Goldstein, 1990).

In addition, in many places the traditional urban/rural dichotomy is becoming inappropriate as people become more mobile, living and working temporarily in different areas. Increasingly, areas that look like traditional rural areas with cultivated land depend on non-agricultural sources of income (through small enterprises, remittances or commuting to the city for work).

Furthermore, as countries become increasingly urbanised it is less useful to use a blunt urban/rural distinction (Cohen, 2004). Instead, a more sophisticated classification of the urban hierarchy would provide a more nuanced picture of the changes in the urban landscape. For example, while in Mexico the population living in urban centres increased from 55% to 67% between 1980 and 2000, it went from being a country dependent on one large city to developing nine large urban areas. Increasing availability of data geo-coding is allowing the development of more sophisticated classifications.

How often is data collected?

Another limitation of the data is that it is mainly sourced from censuses (in some cases complemented by other country surveys or administrative data) and is likely to be out of date. For the 2011 revision of urbanisation trends, only 41 countries out of 230 or 18% of the countries in the sample had data for the past three years (2010 to 2012). The majority of countries (174 out of a total of 230 or 76%) had data (census or otherwise) for the years between 2000 and 2009. An additional 15 countries (6%) had very old data, for the years between 1980 and 1999. Estimates can only be as good as the data underpinning them. The Democratic Republic of Congo, for example, one of the largest countries in Africa, has not had a census since 1984 (Potts, 2012a).

Who is counted?

Finally, mobile people in crowded urban areas pose difficult challenges for census enumerators and it is thought that they are often undercounted. Sabry (2009 in Satterthwaite et al., 2013a) found that in Greater Cairo the homeless, the number of people living in informal settlements and in their workplaces, was likely to be underestimated.

Source: Cohen (2004), Potts (2012a; 2012b), Satterthwaite et al. (2013a), UN DESA (2012).

What is the impact of urbanisation on sustainable development?

There is no doubt that urban growth, particularly in Asia and Africa, will be a key feature of coming decades. How this process takes place will have a profound impact on different aspects of sustainable development: economic, social, political and environmental. While a thorough review of the evidence on these impacts exceeds the scope of this paper, a brief overview is included below.

Urbanisation, growth and poverty

Most studies on the economic impacts of urbanisation focus on the relationship between urbanisation and economic growth, but the links to poverty remain little studied (Christiaensen et al., 2013).

Conceptually, many economists have long argued that a move out of agriculture to more remunerative off-farm activities in urban areas would set in motion a virtuous circle by which new and more productive economic opportunities would be generated. Poor rural workers would gain directly as they increase their incomes through internal migration. Their families in rural areas would benefit through remittances and through increased demand for goods and services from urban areas. At the same time, migration would decrease the availability of agricultural workers, putting an upward pressure on agricultural wages. In this way, by increasing economic activity and job opportunities, urbanisation could help reduce poverty.

Another strand of the literature within economics points to the additional benefits from the concentration of economic activity, referred to as 'agglomeration economies' (Fujita, Krugman and Venables, 2001). Producers in certain industries can benefit from locating closer to suppliers and consumers; companies can also profit from having a greater choice of workers; and the concentration of people can foster a greater exchange of ideas and innovation. Depending on the type of jobs generated by 'agglomeration economies' (i.e. whether it creates opportunities for the unskilled poor) it could have poverty-reducing effects.

Alongside the economic benefits of urban transformation, there may be negative effects. As more people concentrate in cities, transport and housing costs rise and so does congestion, generating diseconomies of scale. At some point the latter can become a problem and a barrier to further growth. In addition, urbanisation can bring about new poverty problems if services and infrastructure do not keep up with growth. There can also be undesirable effects, such as the irreversibility of urban migration as poor people may be locked into new informal settings due to high migration costs (Christiaensen et al., 2013).

In short, not all growth is poverty-reducing, and the same applies to urbanisation. While in principle urbanisation is associated to the creation of new and more productive economic opportunities and can have a positive impact on poverty reduction, how this process is managed is critical in order to avoid new urban poverty problems.

Social, political and environmental impacts

Social outcomes (e.g. the education and health of the population) are generally expected to be better in cities. Economies of scale apply to public services because serving large numbers of people concentrated in urban centres lowers the costs of provision, which means that at least in theory, these can be more accessible and of better quality in urban areas. However, there are plenty of examples where performance on health and educational outcomes in cities can be dismal, particularly for those living in informal settlements. Despite proximity to good-quality services, the urban poor may not be able to access these due to discrimination or high costs, where these are not publicly provided. Further, in urban areas experiencing rapid growth the quality of the services may be compromised due to increasing demand.

Many large cities are also the seat of political power, and given their density, ideas can spread fast. Urban concentration can help to mobilise political action. Some have linked cities with the development of citizenship and, in the longer term, the advent of democracy (Holston and Appadurai, 1993; Dyton, 2001 quoted in Beall et al., 2010). Historically, the rise of the trade-union movement is linked to industrialisation taking place in urban areas. Proximity and shared space can foster political solidarity, particularly among disadvantaged groups.

However, some see the same social and political changes triggered by the concentration of people in a more negative light. They argue that social ties tend to be weaker, as a result of transient and larger populations, potentially leading to social fragmentation and a weakening of cooperation and political action (quoted in Beall et al., 2010). Others point out that the concentration of people can quickly spread discomfort, generating political instability. Recent protests in urban areas in Brazil, the Arab Spring and even the 2011 London riots are examples.

Urbanisation has an impact on the environment too. On the positive side, cities can help mitigate climate change, offering efficient ways of sustaining high living standards with smaller ecological footprints, a process that is by no means automatic. It will depend on whether urban sprawl is avoided (particularly in disaster-prone areas) and energy conservation encouraged, as well as on the quality of provision for infrastructure and public transport, walking and cycling. Further, as urban areas can be conducive to innovation, companies located in such areas could offer the technological solutions required for climate-change mitigation and adaptation.

At the same time unplanned urban growth can lead to sprawl, proliferating transport lines and degradation of natural habitat. The lack of building controls and low quality construction means poor residents often locate in dangerous, often disaster-prone, areas. In addition, the increasing use of vehicles and industrial activity can have damaging consequences for the environment, particularly for air quality, as evidenced by the high levels of air pollution in Chinese cities. Further, cities remain high consumers of water, energy, natural and processed products, and generators of carbon emissions and waste, which contribute to their vulnerability to climate-change risks. Expanding urban middle-classes in developing countries aiming for consumption patterns similar to those of developed countries will put more pressure on already scarce natural resources. In short, how urbanisation impacts on natural habitats, natural resources, air quality and climate change will ultimately depend on how this process is managed.

2.2 Is poverty urbanising?

If the share of the population living in urban areas in developing countries, particularly in Africa and Asia, is increasing, does that mean that poverty will be increasingly an urban problem?

Unfortunately, given data limitations it is not straightforward to answer this question. First, there is the problem of the lack of a cross-country standard definition of what constitutes an urban area (already articulated in Box 1). Second, the only attempts to create comparable urban-poverty estimates that we are aware of (Ravallion et al., 2008 and more recently IFAD, 2010) are based on monetary measures of extreme poverty. These have been criticised for underestimating the real cost of food and non-food expenditures particularly for larger cities, and under-reporting the incidence of urban poverty (see Satterthwaite et al., 2013a, for a detailed discussion). As a result, the estimates in this section should be treated with caution.

Ravallion et al. (2008) found that an increase in urbanisation between 1993 and 2002 was associated with a net decline of poverty of 100 million (using a $1 a day poverty-line measure adjusted to produce urban/rural splits).[5] While rural poverty declined by 150 million, urban poverty increased by 50 million. This is consistent with the view that urbanisation fosters economic growth and therefore helps reduce aggregate poverty by generating new job opportunities and more productive labour. At the same time it suggests this very same process could slow down the pace of poverty reduction in urban areas.

According to the estimates produced by Ravallion et al. (2008), the share of extreme urban poverty is gradually rising. The authors found that the share of poor people living in urban areas increased from 19% in 1993 to 24% in 2002, alongside urbanisation, which rose from 38% to 42% in the same period. IFAD (2010), following a similar methodology to that of the World Bank, produced more recent estimates of the rural share of extreme poverty from which urban shares of poverty can be inferred. These suggest that in 2008 28% of the poor lived in urban areas – up from 19% in 1988. In addition, important distinctions need to be made between geographical areas. In highly urbanised areas, for example, Latin America, the Middle East and North Africa, poverty is mainly an urban problem.

Estimates from UN Habitat on the population living in slums[6] also suggest the number of urban poor is increasing. While around one billion people live in urban slums in developing countries, this number is expected to grow by nearly 500 million between now and 2020. Slums are growing the fastest in Sub-Saharan Africa, south-eastern Asia, and western Asia. Currently, 62% of Africa's urban population lives in slums (World Bank et al., 2013).

2.3 Implications for a new set of goals

Why does it matter to think of an urban dimension in the context of a new set of sustainable development goals?

- **More people in developing countries will be living in urban areas.** This will have an impact on both urban and rural poverty, service-delivery needs and the environment. Ultimately, a clear picture of the spatial aspects of future service-delivery needs should be underpinning national target-setting processes and any strategy to achieve sustainable development goals.

- **Poverty is gradually urbanising.** If a new development framework raises the level of ambition of the MDGs, and seeks to eradicate extreme income poverty, then such a framework has to provide incentives to address poverty in both urban and rural contexts.

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[5] The authors produced estimates adjusting the international measure of poverty used by the World Bank (at the time 'the $1 a day') with country-specific estimates of the differential in urban-rural poverty lines.

[6] UN Habitat defines a slum household as lacking one or more of the following: a durable housing structure; access to clean water; access to improved sanitation; sufficient living space; and secure tenure. The first four rely on conventional definitions; the last is the most difficult to assess given the lack of widespread comparative data for measuring tenure and is not currently used in slum measurement. UN Habitat, together with other international organisations have been working to improve data collection in this area (UN Habitat, 2013b). Note that some of the limitations mentioned in Box 1 also apply to data on slums (e.g. questions about the frequency of data collection, the quality of the data, and who is counted).

3 The characteristics of urban poverty

If more poor people are living in urban areas, what are the implications for our understanding of poverty? How does poverty in urban contexts differ from that in rural ones? Drawing on the literature, this section discusses some of the characteristics of urban poverty.

3.1 The challenges faced by the urban poor: some examples

The literature on urban poverty (e.g. Satterthwaite et al., 2013a; Satterthwaite, 2010; Baker, 2008) identifies a number of challenges that are specific to the urban poor. These include a high dependency on cash income; access to housing and fear of eviction; specific health risks; crime and personal safety; weaker social ties; inequality and stigma; political participation and specific governance challenges. We turn to each of these below. [7]

Dependency on cash income
The urban poor tend to be much more dependent on cash for food and non-food expenditure. They buy rather than grow a bigger share of their food compared to rural dwellers. Hence they are vulnerable to volatile food-price levels, with potential implications for nutrition and health outcomes.

Non-food expenditure – e.g. water, electricity, transport, in some cases access to toilets, housing, education and healthcare – can be particularly costly in urban settings. For instance, transport, so critical for urban dwellers living in the periphery of cities to get to work, can take a large proportion of earnings. In Harare the urban poor spend more than a quarter of their disposable income on transport; while in Kampala they spend almost half (World Bank et al., 2013). Rents also constitute an important expense; in Nairobi over 90% of those living in informal settlements are tenants, spending over 10% of their income on rent (World Bank, 2006).

Precarious provision of basic services in slum areas
Informal settlements lack adequate basic infrastructure services: water, sanitation, waste collection and electricity. A survey in Nairobi's slums in 2005 asked slum-dwellers to identify their top four development priorities; their responses were largely focused on basic services: toilets (24%); water supply (19%); health clinics and services (13%) and electricity (12%) (World Bank 2006, quoted in Baker, 2008).

Given the unplanned nature of the development of informal settlements, some lack the physical space required to install the infrastructure needed to provide these services. Further, their irregular legal status means public and private service providers may be reticent to invest in developing the infrastructure needed.

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[7] Note that this list does not seek to be comprehensive but to highlight some of the key issues facing the urban poor.

Intense competition for these services is another challenge characteristic of dense urban areas. Access to a pit water tap within 100 metres is not the same in a rural settlement with 100 persons per tap and an urban squatter settlement with 5,000 people per tap (Satterthwaite, 2010).

The quality of services (not just infrastructure services but also education and health) can be compromised as a result of increasing demand, particularly in areas experiencing rapid urban growth. Further, as stated in Section 2.1, even if in principle education and health services are expected to be more readily available[8] and of better quality in urban areas compared to rural areas, proximity does not guarantee access.

Housing and fear of eviction
The density that characterises cities means that there is high demand for land, making it a valuable commodity. Affordable housing is often scarce and many urban poor resort to living on illegally occupied land. The insecurity of tenure means that fear of eviction is a strong concern for the urban poor.

The urban poor also rely more on housing as an economic resource. They live in dangerous sites to ensure they have better or cheaper access to jobs. However, if they own a space they can rent it out or use it for a household enterprise (Satterthwaite, 2010).

Health risks
Slum-dwellers face high health risks, as they often live and work in dense, precarious environments. These risks are often understated, as there is a lack of granular data tracking health performance in marginal urban areas. Where data exists it shows poor health outcomes among slum-dwellers. For instance, in Bangladesh, in 2009, the under-five mortality rate in slums was 79% higher than the overall urban rate and 44% higher than the rural rate (UNICEF, 2012). In Kenya, infant and under-five mortality rates and prevalence of serious cases of diarrhoea were all higher for informal settlements than for rural and urban areas (Satterthwaite et al., 2013a based on data from the African Population and Health Research Centre, 2002).

Infectious and parasitic diseases (e.g. tuberculosis, HIV, pneumonia, diarrhoeal infections) thrive in crowded environments with poor living conditions, such as inappropriate water and sanitation and waste collection. Further, air quality, a cause of lung and heart diseases, is often worse in cities. Cooking stoves or machinery in workshops affect indoor air quality, whereas a high number of vehicles and congestion or exposure to specific chemicals in areas with heavy industry, mining or quarrying have an impact on outdoor air quality (Satterthwaite et al., 2013a).

Environmental risks
The urban poor are exposed to disaster risks, the effects of climate change and poor air quality. As a result of the high demand (and price) for land that characterises major urban centres and poor building controls, the urban poor end up locating in undesirable or unzoned areas. In many cases, these are sites that are prone to disasters related to extreme weather events (e.g. floodplains, steep slopes, river banks or coastal locations; Satterthwaite et al., 2013a).

While rural areas and the rural poor are of course also affected by natural disasters, cities, particularly in low-income and middle-income countries, feature heavily on the lists of places that have experienced serious disasters (UN 2009). It is increasingly acknowledged that this is linked to inappropriate local governance and the absence of sound building, infrastructure and regulations. In other words, low-quality construction, exposure to disaster-prone sites, poor land-use and watershed management paired with large concentrations of people mean that the consequences of hazards in these settings can be devastating. And climate change is likely to exacerbate these extreme weather events.

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[8] Note that this may not be the case for low-income settlements in the periphery of the city.

Finally, another environmental risk that typically affects cities and smaller urban centres, particularly in low- and middle-income countries, is high levels of air pollution. Unfortunately, there is insufficient data to track whether areas with higher pollution are predominantly low-income areas, although there is reason to believe so. As stated in the health-risks section, this triggers a number of long-term health problems and premature deaths that could be largely avoided if WHO Air Quality Guidelines values were implemented (Satterthwaite, 2013a).

Crime and violence

Gangs, crime, terror and riots are more likely to be common in dense urban areas. In fact, there is a positive correlation between theft incidents and levels of urbanisation (Asian Development Bank, 2012).[9]

Further, some argue that as cities can be socially, culturally, ethnically and religiously diverse, they can become the location of conflict.[10] Others suggest that a high youth bulge and high rates of urban growth can increase the risk of conflict (quoted in Beall et al., 2010). Some relate increasing violence to the concentration of poverty (quoted in Christiaensen et al., 2013), high inequality and rapid urban growth (Willman et al., 2011).

Social ties

Given the greater mobility and transient nature of urban populations living in informal settlements, social connections can be weaker (Haddad, 2012). Data from Afrobarometer helps to illustrate this point.[11] Questions on whether people trust their neighbours show that only 18% of respondents in urban areas said they trusted them 'a lot' against 34% in rural areas. Some go further and suggest that urban living can lead to social breakdown, differentiation and exclusion (quoted in Beall et al., 2010).

Yet caution is required here as there are a number of examples that challenge this proposition. These include the strong and vibrant women-led saving groups and federations of slum-dwellers that have consolidated over the years.[12] Shared space and access to information can also lead to increased solidarity among disadvantaged groups.

Inequality and stigma

It is difficult to think of locations where the contrast between wealth and poverty is starker than in cities, in part as a result of the diversity that characterises urban spaces. In fact, a report by UNICEF (2012) assessing inequalities in education found that in some countries the gap in the average number of years of schooling between the poorest and wealthiest 20% of the population can be higher in urban than in rural areas.[13] In addition, estimates of income inequality for some Asian countries in 2010 (India, Indonesia and China) show a higher figure for urban than rural areas (Asian Development Bank, 2012).

Inequality is not only intrinsically important but there is also ample evidence that it has consequences on other dimensions of wellbeing. Several studies point to the negative impact that inequality can have on educational and health outcomes, on social cohesion, crime and conflict, and on subjective wellbeing[14] (see Melamed and Samman, 2013 for a detailed discussion and summary of the literature).

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[9] Of course there is variation in crime across different urban areas and many rural areas have high levels of crime too. Large cities may offer higher pecuniary benefits and due to anonymity the probability of punishment may be lower.

[10] It can also be argued that in some contexts there is an upside to diversity, with people in large cities being more tolerant of it.

[11] http://www.afrobarometer-online-analysis.com/aj/AJBrowserAB.jsp

[12] See for example, Shack/Slum Dwellers International: http://www.sdinet.org/

[13] This was illustrated with data for three countries in different regions and with different levels of average educational attainment (Benin, Pakistan, Tajikistan and Venezuela).

[14] The evidence on the impact of inequality on wellbeing is mixed. In a developed country context, Glaeser et al. (2008) conducted a study of urban inequality and using survey data (regressions of self-reported happiness and inequality data at the city level) found that some people reported they were less happy when they lived around richer people. Other studies found that high inequality may have no effect or a modest positive effect on happiness (Bjornskov et al. 2008 and Berg and Veenhoven 2010 cited in Melamed and Samman, 2013). These differences can be explained by the fact that people may have different levels of tolerance to inequality and some may associate it with higher social mobility (Alsina et al. 2004 quoted in Melamed and Samman, 2013).

Governance challenges

A lack of a legally recognised address means that slum-dwellers often cannot enrol to vote and exert their political rights. The urban poor lack political influence and governments are too often tempted to give in to the interests of the elites and middle classes, when it comes to negotiating the use of urban space. In some cases, elites living in gated communities provide for their own services and amenities. They can become disconnected from public space and local governance, failing to support collective concerns at the city scale (Beall et al., 2010).

Many in the literature refer to the complexity that characterises urban governance compared to rural areas.[15] In fact, this is often cited as one of the reasons why international donors and NGOs often lack a coherent urban policy (Satterthwaite, 2013b). In urban areas, there are a large number of informal and formal authorities as well as ministries and different levels of government involved in policy-making. Clientelist practices – the exchange of goods and services for political support – are a common feature of service delivery in poor urban neighbourhoods. Further, because of the transient nature of the population it can be particularly difficult to target some social programmes to those living in informal settlements.

Another point often made about urban governance is that local authorities lack the capacity and resources to deal with complex service-delivery issues. In some countries there have been welcome moves towards decentralisation, which in principle means policy-makers have more incentives to respond to the specific needs of their local areas, with mayors often becoming more visible and accountable. However, some argue that this has led some cities, particularly large ones, to lobby more effectively for national resources, potentially distorting priorities and eschewing the allocation of funds away from criteria based on need (Behrens et al., 2013).

3.2 Implications for a new set of goals

It is clear that none of the characteristics mentioned in this section are new or exclusive to urban areas. In fact, all of the issues analysed – income poverty, access to basic services, personal safety, environmental risks, inequality and stigma, social connections, governance – appear in more general discussions about how to capture more effectively the multidimensional nature of poverty.

However, there are differences in the extent to which certain dimensions may be particularly relevant in urban contexts. The nature of the challenge faced under each dimension by the urban poor may be different too (e.g. pressure on public services due to high demand). Implicit in these differences are key characteristics of urban areas including agglomeration/density, diversity, and complexity (Beall et al., 2010).

What are the implications for a new development framework? As a minimum a new framework should ensure that the way goals, targets and indicators are framed is not implicitly biased against a specific setting, but instead captures the challenges faced by the poor in both urban and rural contexts. More ambitiously, it could also encourage urban local authorities to adopt (and adapt) targets to deal with urban specific challenges. This is discussed in more detail in Section 5.

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[15] This point refers to the characteristics of policy implementation in urban contexts rather than of urban poverty itself. However, it is important to consider it, as it has a bearing on governments' capacity to effectively deal with poverty reduction in urban settings.

4 Lessons from the MDGs for a post-2015 agenda

An assessment of how the MDGs dealt with urbanisation and urban poverty can provide useful lessons for the new generation of goals. In addition, it can give an indication of whether our concepts and metrics of poverty capture urban challenges appropriately or whether they are tainted by a rural bias.[16]

This section also assesses whether and how selected post-2015 proposals build on the experience of the MDGs. The following six proposals were examined: the report from the High Level Panel on Post-2015; the Sustainable Solutions Development Network report; the UN Global Compact report; the Secretary-General Report on accelerating progress towards the MDGs and advancing the UN agenda on development beyond 2015; the Open Working Group's Progress Report; and UN Habitat's proposal for a goal for human settlements.[17] The analysis is structured around the following four questions. For each question, the experience of the MDGs and post-2015 proposals is assessed.

- Does the narrative of the framework refer to urbanisation and urban poverty?

- Do the goals include relevant dimensions for urban poverty?

- Are the targets framed and measured in a way that adequately captures urban-poverty challenges?

- Are the relevant actors given incentives to participate in the formulation and implementation of the goals?

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[16] In many countries extreme poverty has been concentrated largely in rural areas, most practitioners have been trained in rural livelihoods rather than urban development, and donors/multilateral agencies tend to focus more on rural than on urban poverty (Satterthwaite et al., 2013b).

[17] The High Level Panel, Sustainable Development Solutions Network and Global Compact reports all fed into the Secretary-General report. Most proposals were chosen as they are part of the official UN process. UN Habitat's proposal was added given the organisation's remit in this area. Unlike the other proposals, the Secretary-General and the Open Working Group's reports do not go as far as proposing specific goals and targets. A new set of goals is just one of the topics the Secretary-General covers in his report, which also focuses on accelerating progress towards the existing MDGs. In the case of the Open Working Group, the report is an interim one, more thematic working sessions will be taking place and a final report will be submitted to the General Assembly in September 2014. The analysis therefore focuses on the High Level Panel, the Sustainable Development Solutions Network, UN Global Compact and UN Habitat reports, and mentions the other two where relevant.

4.1 Does the narrative of the framework refer to urbanisation and urban poverty?

MDGs

The overall narrative of the framework – in the case of the MDGs the Millennium Declaration – can help to shape norms by signalling what issues are considered most relevant. A look at the Millennium Declaration shows it does not make any explicit reference to urbanisation, the role of cities in development or the role of local governments in the delivery of the goals. It does mention the 'Cities without Slums' initiative.[18]

Post-2015 proposals

With regards to post-2015 proposals, most of the reports analysed (with the exception of the UN Global Compact) have plenty of references to urbanisation and urban poverty.[19] The quote below from the High Level Report clearly illustrates this point.

'The Panel recognised that city governments have great responsibilities for urban management. They have specific problems of poverty, slum up-grading, solid waste management, service delivery, resource use, and planning that will become even more important in the decades ahead. The post-2015 agenda must be relevant for urban dwellers. Cities are where the battle for sustainable development will be won or lost. Yet the Panel also believes that it is critical to pay attention to rural areas, where three billion near-poor will still be living in 2030. The most pressing issue is not urban versus rural, but how to foster a local, geographic approach to the post-2015 agenda.' (High Level Panel Report, p.17)

4.2 Do the goals include dimensions relevant to urban poverty?

MDGs

Within the MDG framework, the 'slums target' – Target 7D, set with the aim to achieving a significant improvement in the lives of at least 100 million slum-dwellers by 2020 – is the only one with an explicit urban reference. Other targets cover issues that are relevant for the urban poor, but an urban dimension is not explicitly articulated.

Table 1 in the Appendix matches some of the dimensions particularly relevant for urban poverty as described in Section 3 with examples of relevant goals, targets and indicators in the MDGs. It suggests that the following issues are included (excluded) in the MDGs.

What's in (or at least partly covered)
- dependency on cash income (e.g. Goal 1)
- provision of basic services (e.g. Goal 7) [20]
- housing (e.g. Goal 7, Target 7D)
- health risks (e.g. Goals 4 and 5).
- environmental risks (e.g. Goal 7)

What's not covered
- environmental risks (e.g. vulnerability to disasters and air quality)
- crime and violence
- social ties
- inequality and stigma
- governance

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[18] http://www.un.org/millennium/declaration/ares552e.htm
[19] Although a mention in these reports is obviously not akin to references in a document negotiated internationally like the Millennium Declaration, it is indicative of the importance the authors ascribe to this issue.
[20] Mainly water and sanitation; note that other services like access to energy or transport were not included in the MDGs. The order of the issues follows that of Section 3.

Most of the dimensions excluded are those that are harder to grasp quantitatively, as household surveys do not collect consistent information on many of these issues. In fact, these dimensions are excluded from other multidimensional measures too. The Oxford Poverty and Human Development Initiative responsible for the Multidimensional Poverty Index have identified some of these as 'missing dimensions.'[21] In addition, some of these areas, particularly inequality and governance, are politically controversial and therefore difficult to get agreement on in the context of inter-governmental negotiations.

Post-2015 proposals

Most post-2015 proposals analysed (except for the UN Global Compact) give more prominence to an urban dimension than the MDGs did. Broadly speaking, two different approaches can be identified. One approach, illustrated by the Sustainable Development Solutions Network's and UN Habitat's proposals, espouse a stand-alone goal for cities. The other approach, followed by the High Level Panel Report, treats the urban dimension as a cross-cutting issue (for more details, see Table 2 in the Appendix).

The rationale behind a stand-alone goal for urban areas is that it can help increase policy attention on urban challenges, giving cities more visibility for advocacy and funding purposes. Given some of the governance challenges that characterise urban areas – e.g. the multitude of informal and formal authorities – proponents of an urban goal argue it could help coordinate and focus different actors' efforts (UN Sustainable Development Solutions Network, 2013).

Others like the High Level Panel recognise the importance of urbanisation processes and demographic changes but suggest embedding this dimension within the different goals. The Panel's emphasis on 'leaving no one behind' ensures different groups and spatial areas are considered under each goal. By combining universal targets with disaggregated data to track performance across different categories, including location, the 'urban dimension' is *de facto* covered.

In terms of whether proposals include areas that are particularly relevant for poverty in urban contexts, most refer to the ones that were already in the MDGs and build on these. For example, in the case of dependency on cash income, while most proposals include targets to eradicate extreme income poverty, many put more emphasis on the need for structural transformation and job creation this time round. In the case of public service provision other key services, such as energy, transport, and waste collection that were not in the MDGs are covered by some proposals. And many refer to the need to consider quality of provision alongside access.

Further, most proposals add some new dimensions. For many of these new areas specific targets and indicators still need to be worked out (Table 3 in the Appendix provides more details).

What's in (additional to MDGs)[22]
- environmental risks (e.g. vulnerability to disasters and air quality)
- crime and violence
- inequality and stigma
- governance

Many of the reports analysed cover environmental risks relevant for urban areas, particularly vulnerability to disasters. Reflecting their overall approach, the Sustainable

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[21] Personal security, stigma and going without shame and political voice are all part of the 'missing dimensions', www.ophi.org.uk/research/missing-dimensions. The Stiglitz-Sen-Fitoussi Commission (2009) on Economic Performance and Social Progress has also highlighted some of these categories as missing from common measures of economic performance and social progress (e.g. physical insecurity, political voice and governance, social connections and relationships, inequality/distribution of outcomes).
[22] When it comes to access to basic services, in addition to the ones covered in the MDGs (water and sanitation), most proposals include transport, waste collection and energy.

Development Solutions Network and UN Habitat's proposals articulate this as part of their urban-specific goal, while the High Level Panel proposes a general target for building resilience and reducing deaths from natural disasters that could be disaggregated by location. The Sustainable Development Solutions Network and the UN Global Compact also include targets on air quality.

In addition, most proposals include a reference to crime and/or violence, although the type of crime varies, and only in the case of UN Habitat's proposal is it explicitly urban-specific. Some proposals also cover certain elements of inequality. The High Level Panel Report proposed to track performance for some of the indicators for different income, ethnicity and gender groups. The Sustainable Development Solutions Network's proposal has a target to end inequality in public-service provision, although there are still no details on the indicators that would be used to measure this and whether/how it would be monitored at the sub-national level. The UN Global Compact's proposal incorporates a target for inequality, focused on income inequality as measured by the Gini coefficient (but this appears to focus on inequality at the national level).

Finally, most proposals include references to governance, although details on specific targets and indicators still need to be worked out. Only UN Habitat articulates these as urban specific targets (e.g. participation in local elections and participatory budgeting); other proposals have general targets that could be disaggregated at sub-national level (High Level Panel) or mention some of these challenges in the narrative of the report (Open Working Group Progress Report). [23]

What's not included
- social ties

With regards to social ties, the Sustainable Solutions Development Network report's proposal is the only one to include this. In a goal on health issues, tracking subjective wellbeing and social capital is mentioned alongside the need to promote healthy lifestyles, although it is not clear if this would be monitored at a sub-national level.

4.3 Are the targets framed and measured in a way that captures urban-poverty challenges?

Even if at broad level, the MDGs and post-2015 proposals appear to include dimensions that are relevant for the urban poor, the way that the targets are framed and measured can make a difference in whether these dimensions adequately capture poverty in urban contexts. This point is illustrated below with three examples: income poverty, access to water and sanitation, and housing.

Dependency on cash income: the poverty target

MDGs
It could be argued that the urban poor's dependency on cash income should be captured by measures of monetary poverty included under Goal 1, which seeks to halve extreme poverty by 2015. The target uses a standard measure of income poverty, the World Bank's $1.25 a day, which is applicable to both urban and rural areas.

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[23] It is interesting to note that the Open Working Group report suggests that, although relevant, this dimension is hard to quantify, perhaps already pre-empting the opposition from some countries likely to arise on this particular issue (Kenny, 2013).

However, this measure does not account for the differential in the cost of living in urban versus rural areas, and so underestimates the incidence of urban poverty. As a result, poverty in urban areas is likely to receive less attention than it actually deserves.

Post-2015 proposals

There is an emerging consensus that a new set of goals should seek to eradicate extreme income poverty, effectively taking into account poverty in urban contexts. However, many proposals mention the $1.25 poverty line as the measure for the poverty target.

That said, the Sustainable Development Solutions Network's proposal has a separate target to eliminate urban poverty under its urban goal. Although there are no references to indicators, its inclusion under an urban goal suggests that it would include urban-specific measures of extreme poverty. The High Level Panel also acknowledges the higher costs of living in urban areas in their report.[24] More generally, some experts are suggesting that higher poverty lines should be used for a new set of goals.[25]

Access to water and sanitation

MDGs

Goal 7 includes a target to halve the proportion of people living without access to safe drinking water and basic sanitation. This is measured by indicators of 'improved' water sources and sanitation facilities.[26]

As in the case of income poverty, a uniform definition is applied to both urban and rural areas. It includes the use of shared facilities (e.g. a tap in the case of water), which does not recognise the higher demand that characterises dense urban areas. In situations where 5,000 people share a tap, there is a real question of whether this can be considered an 'improved' facility (Satterthwaite et al., 2013a). The way the target is measured is likely to overestimate the extent to which urban areas have access to 'improved' water facilities, misrepresenting the problem and the incentives for action.

Post-2015 proposals

Most proposals emphasise the need for universal access to basic infrastructure, but there is no detail yet on which indicators would be used to track progress on these commitments. As the Sustainable Development Solutions Network's and UN Habitat's proposals consider specific targets for basic services under an urban goal, this suggests the indicators would be sensitive to the specific challenges of urban areas.

More generally, many debates on post-2015 have highlighted the need to take into account the quality and affordability of services alongside access (data permitting).

Housing: the slums target

MDGs

Target 7D states that by 2020 a significant improvement in the lives of at least 100 million slum-dwellers should be achieved. Although this target covers a key feature of urban poverty – the inadequate living conditions found in informal settlements – the way the target is framed has been heavily criticised.

One of the criticisms is that it is not ambitious enough and that its framing is vague. The target stipulates that slums should be reduced by 100 million (a reduction of about 10-15%) and gives a long timeline for its achievement (2020). By contrast, other targets require 50%

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[24] 'Good local governance, management and planning are the keys to making sure that migration to cities does not replace one form of poverty by another, where even if incomes are slightly above $1.25 a day, the cost of meeting basic needs is higher' (High Level Panel Report, P.17).
[25] For a detailed discussion, see Samman, Ed., 2013: http://www.odi.org.uk/sites/odi.org.uk/files/odi-assets/publications-opinion-files/8440.pdf
[26] For the definition, see: http://www.wssinfo.org/definitions-methods/watsan-categories/

reductions in a shorter period of time (2015).[27] Most importantly, the slums target has been criticised for giving the wrong incentives (Huchzermeyer, 2013). Many governments sought to decrease the slums populations through displacement and forced evictions rather than by upgrading the quality of the infrastructure in-situ or consulting with slum-dwellers.

Post-2015 proposals

Most proposals include references to decent housing. UN Habitat's proposal includes a new slum target that addresses some of the criticisms made of the MDG target. The new target expressly mentions the need to avoid forced evictions and stipulates a 50% reduction in the proportion of slum dwellers, at first glance a more ambitious reduction than that included in the MDGs. However, when we take account future population growth (the denominator in the indicator for this target) we note that the 50% reduction in the proportion of urban slum-dwellers would actually result in a 21% or 181 million reduction of the number of slum-dwellers.[28]

Other proposals also include targets on decent housing but will require improvements in data collection. The Sustainable Solutions Development Network report refers to universal access to housing, while the High Level Panel proposes a target for the right to land and property.

Box 3: A data 'revolution'

One of the achievements of the MDGs is that they helped to improve the availability of data. In 2011, at least 122 countries had two data points to assess progress on the MDGs for 16-22 indicators; by contrast, only three countries had this data coverage in 2003 (UN, 2012).

Acknowledging some of the persistent data limitations in tracking progress on development goals, especially if new dimensions are to be added, the High Level Panel called for a 'data revolution'. There are ongoing discussions on what this means in practice: collecting new data (e.g. for issues not included in the MDGs), collecting existing data more frequently, strengthening existing methods of data collection and measurement, and introducing new methods as a result of advances in IT (e.g. mobile phones, mapping/geo-referencing). More generally, it implies strengthening the capacity of local statistics offices. It also means thinking harder about what data is for, how to link data to users more effectively, turning that data into an accountability tool.

Urban data is particularly limited. As stated in Box 1, the definition of an urban area itself can be problematic, especially as people become more mobile and hybrid spaces like 'peri-urban'[29] areas become more common. Further, the data is not collected frequently enough, as it is mainly drawn from censuses to get the level of granularity required, in some cases complemented by household surveys. In terms of coverage, marginal populations like the homeless and those living in their workplaces are likely to be undercounted.

There may be some important dimensions of poverty missing and/or the measurements/thresholds used for common dimensions (e.g. income, access to water and

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[27] Pogge (2010) argues that a more ambitious target like a 50% reduction in the *proportion* of people living in poverty (i.e. number of poor/population in developing countries) can be met with smaller reductions (about 30%) in the number of poor people when population growth is taken into account. This still doubles the percentage reductions implicit in the 'slums' target.

[28] This calculation assumes that a target to halve the proportion of slum-dwellers would require getting from 32.6% (2010 baseline based on about 819.97 million slum-dwellers and an urban population in developing countries of 2,514.58 million, UN Habitat data) to 16.3% in 2030. Given that developing countries' urban population is expected to be 3,919,62 million in 2030 (UN, World Urbanization Projections, 2011 Revision), a slum population of 638.9 million in 2030 would achieve the required reduction. That amounts to a reduction of about 181 million or 22% in the number of slum dwellers.

[29] These are often in the fringe of urban areas and combine rural and urban characteristics. For example, they may appear to be traditional rural areas but in fact are highly dependent on non-agricultural sources of income.

sanitation, among others) could be improved to make them more attuned to urban contexts. In addition, there is often a lack of information on what the urban poor themselves see as their priorities.

This is an area where data improvements are hugely necessary. In coming months, ODI will be doing work on what the data revolution means for the ways we collect data on and measure poverty. This could include suggestions on *what* data to collect (e.g. additions/modifications to existing data collection and measurements, information on the poor's own priorities) and *how* we collect that data (e.g. thinking about how new technologies could help to collect new data or gather data more frequently, improving coverage; strengthening statistical offices' local capacity, bearing in mind cost considerations; and presenting data in a way that can be used easily as an accountability tool).

4.4 Are the relevant actors given incentives to participate in the formulation and implementation of the goals?

MDGs

Incentives for and participation from relevant actors are needed if targets are going to be translated into local action. The role of local communities and local governments was hardly mentioned in the MDG framework and arguably deserves more attention. Local authorities are responsible ultimately for implementing policies required to push improvements in many of these areas.

Post-2015 proposals

In the case of post-2015 proposals, some of the reports, for example the High Level Panel and the Sustainable Solutions Development Network's reports, mention the importance of local governments in service delivery and implementation of the goals.

'The most pressing issue is not rural versus urban but how to foster a local, geographic approach to the post-2015 agenda. The Panel believes this can be done by disaggregating data by place, and giving local authorities a bigger role in setting priorities, executing plans, monitoring results and engaging with local firms and communities.' (High Level Panel, 2013).

'To harness the potential of sustainable urbanization, urban governance will have to be improved in virtually every country. Metropolitan areas and local governments will be at the center of decision-making and therefore need to be empowered, but they must work with many other actors: national governments, businesses (including financial institutions), knowledge institutions, civil society, and the police. Together these actors must mobilize the needed financial, institutional, and human resources across a broad range of urban issues, such as jobs, housing, services, security and infrastructure. There can be no doubt that the complexity of the urban governance challenge is enormous'. (Sustainable Development Solutions Network, 2013)

Most of the targets considered for the post-2015 goals require provision of infrastructure and services to be fulfilled. Even when these are not the direct responsibility of local government (e.g. when interventions are the responsibility of national ministries or services are delivered through private enterprises or international organisations), the coordination and oversight of local authorities may be required (Satterthwaite et al., 2013b).

However, questions on whether local authorities have the capacity, skills and resources to address complex service-delivery challenges remain. And it is not yet clear whether/how local governments and communities would be incorporated in the processes for setting

national targets or accountability and resourcing frameworks in the implementation phase of the goals.

5 Conclusion

Building on the review of current and future urbanisation and poverty trends, past experience with the MDGs, existing proposals on the table, and examples of how a framework can effect change (Box 3), we propose five steps to integrate an urban dimension into a new development framework.

Box 3: How can a global set of goals effect change at the local level?

A development framework with quantitative targets can effect change in several key ways.

- **Influence social norms:** a new development framework is one of those rare instances where the world comes together to decide what issues are of most relevance.

- **Inform policy and funding allocation:** depending on governments and other relevant actors' buy-in (e.g. multilateral and aid agencies, more relevant for aid-dependent countries), a global framework can focus policy attention on certain issues and shift resources accordingly.

- **Encourage competition among peers:** a framework that includes quantitative targets can help encourage healthy competition among peers. This is the case with league tables such as the World Economic Forum Competitiveness Index or the Human Development Index.

- **Provide ammunition for communities for advocacy purposes:** a set of specific goals and targets can give communities information to keep government commitments in check.

Source: Bergh and Melamed (2012), Green et al. (2012)

Five steps to integrate an urban dimension into a new development framework

1. Include urbanisation and urban poverty in the narrative of a new framework

As a minimum, the narrative of a new framework could emphasise the importance of urbanisation and cities for development, highlighting both the opportunities and challenges urbanisation brings about and the need to consider these spatial aspects in national policy plans. This could help to shape social norms about the need to understand, monitor and address better the impact of current and future urbanisation trends on poverty and environmental sustainability.

2. Ensure 'leaving no one behind' includes marginal urban communities

A new set of goals should guarantee access to basic services for all, irrespective of where people live. The High Level Panel's 'leaving no one behind' approach is effectively covering poverty in urban settings through a combination of targets for universal access to

services and a requirement to disaggregate performance on the goals according to different categories, including location. For example, data permitting performance of the goals could be monitored not only for urban and rural areas, but also for slum areas and the urban average.

In addition, to ensure that the needs of those most marginalised are addressed, and building on Watkins' (2013) suggestion 'for equity-based stepping stones', targets could be set to reduce the *gap* in the achievement of different outcomes (e.g. child mortality or school attendance rates) for different geographical areas – e.g. slum areas versus urban average – and progress could be reviewed on a three to five-year basis, so it is closer to policy-makers' timeframes.

3. Ensure the framing of targets and metrics takes into account the characteristics of urban poverty

It is important that dimensions that are relevant for both urban and rural areas are included in the framework. The framing and measurement of targets need to be sensitive to the characteristics of poverty in different contexts so that the extent of the problem, in this case urban poverty, is not understated.

- Given the higher costs of living in large urban areas, country-specific urban/rural poverty lines could be used, as suggested by the High Level Panel report, acknowledging the differences in the costs of food and non-food needs within nations.
- In terms of basic services provision, efforts to incorporate quality and affordability alongside access must continue. In the specific case of access to water and sanitation, more ambitious definitions could be adopted (e.g. the proportion of households with regular supplies of treated water piped to their premises and the proportion of households with good-quality toilets in each dwelling, as suggested by Satterthwaite et al., 2013a). This would address the fact that current indicators of 'improved' access to water facilities do not account for the higher demand experienced in urban areas.
- Work should continue on specifying targets and indicators for new dimensions included in the post-2015 proposals that are relevant for the urban poor (e.g. inclusive growth and jobs, right to land and property/decent housing, crime, transport, governance challenges, to name a few).
- Some spatial issues, like land use and urban planning are critical as means of achieving some of the targets (e.g. access to decent housing/land/reducing vulnerability to disasters) but more difficult to specify as SMART targets/outcome-based measures at the global level. For these issues, additional optional indicators could be suggested and urban areas could opt to use them and adapt them to their local context.

4. Improve data collection in urban areas, particularly for informal settlements

Tracking performance at sub-national level and across a number of categories and new dimensions will require a huge effort in terms of strengthening data collection and measurement (including new ways of collecting data and more widespread use of geo-referencing/mapping).

Better data can effect change in different ways.

- Granular data can be useful in highlighting some of the challenges at local level, providing useful information to inform policy, priorities and funding allocations. Path dependency applies to many areas, but this is particularly the case with urban design and infrastructure. Once unplanned developments take place, they are more difficult

and costly to change. As such, monitoring and anticipating future need could go a long way in improving the service delivery and quality of life of the urban poor.

- If comparable data at sub-national level were available, league tables for cities, and for marginal areas within cities, could be constructed (some already exist but they are limited in coverage of themes or geographical areas). This could encourage competition among peers.

- Data provides ammunition for communities to hold their governments to account. This would be even more the case if data on need could be matched with data on funding allocations.

5. Engage relevant actors in the formulation, implementation and monitoring of the goals

Local communities, particularly those marginalised such as slum areas, and local governments should be more involved in target-setting, monitoring and implementing the goals (Satterthwaite et al., 2013a, 2013c).

When targets are being set, local authorities could adopt (and adapt) the goals in their respective areas. When they are being monitored, data collection by slum-dwellers themselves could be explored as part of data-collection efforts, to ensure they have the tools they need to drive accountability. Further, programmes to strengthen the capacity of local authorities could be part of a new global partnership for implementing, monitoring and financing the goals. Local governments will be responsible for delivering many of the goals; however, their capacity and resources are often limited and depend on internal processes, such as the extent of decentralisation and funding allocations.

If goals, targets and indicators proposed were to be piloted on a volunteer basis, local authorities in rapidly urbanising developing countries could opt to become pilot case-studies and feed back on how goals, targets and indicators under discussion work when applied to urban areas, and how these could be improved.

For a post-2015 agenda to remain useful and relevant, it has to provide a clear framework and incentives for tackling poverty and sustainability in urban areas. Goals, targets and indicators cannot make that happen, but they can provide a nudge in the right direction.

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Appendix

A1. An urban dimension in the MDGs

Table 1: Addressing urban poverty challenges. Examples from the MDGs

Examples of issues relevant for poverty in urban contexts (Section 3)	Example of relevant goal, targets and indicators in MDGs	Broadly in MDGs?	Specifically urban?	Limitations
Dependency on cash income	Goal 1: Eradicate extreme poverty and hunger Target 1.A: Halve, between 1990 and 2015, the proportion of people whose income is less than one dollar a day 1.1 Proportion of population below $1 (PPP) per day [now adjusted to $1.25, 2005 prices] 1.2 Poverty gap ratio 1.3 Share of poorest quintile in national consumption Targets 1.B: Achieve full and productive employment and decent work for all, including women and young people and 1.C: Halve, between 1990 and 2015, the proportion of people who suffer from hunger also relevant here.	Yes, but some limitations in how it is framed /measured	No	The poverty line does not distinguish between urban and rural areas assuming the cost of living is the same across these areas. Both food and non-food expenditure are often more costly in urban areas, particularly large cities (Satterthwaite, 2013a). The $1.25 a day poverty line underestimates the extent of urban poverty.
Precarious provision of basic services	Goal 7:Ensure environmental sustainability Target 7.C: Halve, by 2015, the proportion of people without sustainable access to safe drinking water and basic sanitation 7.8 Proportion of population using an improved drinking water source 7.9 Proportion of population using an improved sanitation facility Access to social services such as education included under Goal 2 also relevant. E.g. Target 2.A: Ensure that, by 2015, children everywhere, boys and girls alike, will be able to complete a full course of primary schooling. Health treated as separate category included below.	Yes, but some limitations in how it is framed / measured	No	For instance, the definition of 'improved' provision for water does not distinguish between urban and rural areas, with competition for services much higher in the former. Having a water tap within 100 metres is not the same in a rural settlement with 100 persons sharing a tap and a squatter settlement with 5,000 people per tap (Satterthwaite, 2010). In the case of social services like education emphasis is on access rather than quality/affordability. Other basic services (e.g. waste collection, energy, transport) are not included.
Housing and fear of eviction	Goal 7D: Achieve environmental sustainability Target 7.D: By 2020, to have achieved a significant improvement in the lives of at least 100 million slum dwellers	Yes, but some limitations in how it is framed /measured	Yes	The target was not as ambitious as others. It stipulated that slums should be reduced by 100 million (a reduction of about 10-15%) and gave a longer timeline (2020 rather than 2015). In addition, in some cases it gave the wrong incentives, with some governments resorting to forced evictions (Huchzermeyer, 2013).
Health risks	Goal 4: Reduce child mortality Target 4.A: Reduce by two-thirds, between 1990 and 2015, the under-five mortality rate 4.1 Under-five mortality rate	Yes, but some limitations in how it is	No	Even if some countries break down these measures by rural and urban areas, the latter hides stark differences between the urban average and outcomes for slum areas.

	4.2 Infant mortality rate 4.3 Proportion of 1 year-old children immunised against measles Goal 5: Improve maternal health Target 5.A: Reduce by three quarters, between 1990 and 2015, the maternal mortality ratio 5.1 Maternal mortality ratio 5.2 Proportion of births attended by skilled health personnel Goal 6: Combat HIV/AIDS, malaria and other diseases Target 6.A: Have halted by 2015 and begun to reverse the spread of HIV/AIDS 6.1 HIV prevalence among population aged 15-24 years 6.2 Condom use at last high-risk sex 6.3 Proportion of population aged 15-24 years with comprehensive correct knowledge of HIV/AIDS 6.4 Ratio of school attendance of orphans to school attendance of non-orphans aged 10-14 years Target 6.B: Achieve, by 2010, universal access to treatment for HIV/AIDS for all those who need it 6.5 Proportion of population with advanced HIV infection with access to antiretroviral drugs Target 6.C: Have halted by 2015 and begun to reverse the incidence of malaria and other major diseases 6.6 Incidence and death rates associated with malaria 6.7 Proportion of children under 5 sleeping under insecticide-treated bednets 6.8 Proportion of children under 5 with fever who are treated with appropriate anti-malarial drugs 6.9 Incidence, prevalence and death rates associated with tuberculosis 6.10 Proportion of tuberculosis cases detected and cured under directly observed treatment short course	framed and measured		
Environmental risks	Goal 7: Ensure environmental sustainability	Partly	No	It includes indicators for carbon emissions, protection of forests and biodiversity. It excludes other issues relevant to urban areas, such as disaster risks and air quality.
Crime and violence	N/A	No	No	N/A
Social ties	N/A	No	No	N/A
Inequality and stigma	N/A	No	No	N/A
Governance	N/A	No	No	N/A

A2. An urban dimension in Post-2015 proposals

Table 2. How proposals incorporate the urban dimension

UN Habitat	Sustainable Development Solutions Network	High Level Panel on Post-2015	Secretary-General Report**[30]	Open Working Group (Interim Report)**	UN Global Compact
A stand-alone 'urban goal?					
Yes	**Yes**	No However the report suggests some indicators for the targets should be disaggregated by different categories including location, covering in this way an urban dimension. There are also references to urbanisation in the narrative included below.	No Note that this report does not state specific goals and targets but general areas/issues to be considered.	No Note that this report (a progress report) does not state specific goals and targets but general areas/issues to be considered.	No There appear to be few explicit references to urbanisation/urban poverty (e.g. there is one reference to urbanisation in the context of water scarcity).
Detailed Description					
'It is proposed that a goal on 'Sustainable Cities and Human Settlements' be included in the Post-2015 UN Development Agenda', as part of 'Sustainable Development Goals' (…) 'Overall goal: To promote cities that are environmentally sustainable, socially inclusive, economically productive and resilient.'	'Goal 7 Empower inclusive, productive, resilient cities. Make all cities socially inclusive, economically productive, environmentally sustainable, secure, and resilient to climate change and other risks. Develop participatory, accountable, and effective city governance to support rapid and equitable urban transformation.'	'Cities. The Panel recognised that city governments have great responsibilities for urban management. They have specific problems of poverty, slum up-grading, solid waste management, service delivery, resource use, and planning that will become even more important in the decades ahead. The post-2015 agenda must be relevant for urban dwellers. Cities are where the battle for sustainable development will be won or lost. Yet the Panel also believes that it is critical to pay attention to rural areas, where three billion near-poor will still be living in 2030. The most pressing issue is not urban versus rural, but how to foster a local, geographic approach to the post-2015 agenda. The Panel believes this can	'29. Some of the targets for ensuring environmental sustainability have been achieved: the target for improved water sources was met ahead of schedule, and over the past decade over 200 million slum dwellers – double the target – benefited from improved water and sanitation facilities, durable housing or sufficient living space. Furthermore, from 1990 to 2011, 1.9 billion people gained access to a latrine, flush toilet or improved sanitation facility. With rapid urbanization and population growth, however, the number of slum dwellers is on the rise. Two and a half billion people lack access to improved sanitation, while a billion practise open defecation, a continued source of illness.'	'59. Moreover, extending improved sanitation facilities in rural areas and poor urban communities remains a major challenge, with insufficient progress realized to date towards the MDG 7 target.' '96. Population dynamics also have important implications for economy and environment. The rate of increase of the labour force relative to the young and old has implications for potential GDP growth. Population increase and rapid growth of urban middle classes both have implications for resource use, consumption and production patterns, and environmental pressures.'	'While the MDG target on water access has been met ahead of schedule, unless further action is taken it is predicted that two thirds of humanity will live in water scarce or water stressed regions by 2030 – based on factors including population growth, urbanization and climate change.'

[30]**These reports have been added for reference only. It is important to note they do not propose specific goals and targets; instead they suggest issues and challenges that need to be considered in a new set of goals. The Open Working Group report in particular is an interim report with a number of thematic discussions taking place over coming months to inform a final report due in September 2014.

| | | be done by disaggregating data by place, and giving local authorities a bigger role in setting priorities, executing plans, monitoring results and engaging with local firms and communities.'

'Urbanization. The world is now more urban than rural, thanks to internal migration. By 2030 there will be over one billion more urban residents and, for the first time ever, the number of rural residents will be starting to shrink. This matters because inclusive growth emanates from vibrant and sustainable cities, the only locale where it is possible to generate the number of good jobs that young people are seeking. Good local governance, management and planning are the keys to making sure that migration to cities does not replace one form of poverty by another, where even if incomes are slightly above $1.25 a day, the cost of meeting basic needs is higher.' | '94. Meet the challenges of urbanization. Some 70 per cent of the world's population will live in cities by 2050. Urbanization poses the challenge of providing city dwellers with employment, food, income, housing, transportation, clean water and sanitation, social services and cultural amenities. At the same time, living in cities creates opportunities for the more efficient delivery and use of physical facilities and amenities. Rural prosperity, land management and secure ecosystem series should form an integral part of sustainable urbanization and economic transformation. ' | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|

Table 3. Examples of issues relevant for urban contexts in Post-2015 proposals

1. Dependency on cash income[31]

UN Habitat	Sustainable Development Solutions Network	High Level Panel on Post-2015	Secretary-General Report**[32]	Open Working Group (Interim Report)**	UN Global Compact
Included?					
No income poverty target for urban areas, but includes relevant issues, such as targets for urban job creation (under an urban goal).	Includes target to end extreme urban poverty, expand employment and productivity (under an urban goal)	No urban poverty target, but a general goal on poverty (suggests disaggregation of indicators). Also includes universal targets on access to sufficient affordable food, basic services and a goal on employment/inclusive growth.	This report does not propose specific goals/targets, but mentions challenges related to urban dwellers' dependence on cash income.	This report does not propose specific goals/targets, but suggests poverty eradication as an ambitious/yet feasible goal. It also mentions some of the challenges related to urban dwellers' dependence on cash income.	No urban monetary poverty target, but includes a general target to eradicate extreme poverty (using $1.25 dollar a day).
Detailed description (examples)					
There are no specific targets related to urban income poverty. However, it includes targets on urban job creation,[33] urban mobility (including reducing the expenditure on it),[34] slums and access to other basic services (as detailed in following sections).	'Goal 7 Empower inclusive, productive and resilient cities Target 7a End extreme urban poverty, expand employment and productivity, and raise living standards, especially in slums.*'[35](Page 30) There are other targets outside the 'urban goal' that are relevant. For instance: a target on ending extreme poverty, hunger, child stunting, achieving food security and appropriate nutrition, and other targets on universal access to basic services (more on them below).	'Goal 1 End Poverty Target 1a. Bring the number of people living on less than $1.25 a day to zero and reduce by x% the share of people living below their country's 2015 national poverty line.' This target is a candidate for global minimum standards, including 'zero' goals and requires indicators to be disaggregated.'[36] It also includes targets related to access to food and other basic services. E.g. '5a. End hunger and protect the right of everyone to have access to sufficient, safe, affordable, and nutritious food.' Goal 8 on creating jobs and sustainable livelihoods is also relevant here.	'Urbanization poses the challenge of providing city dwellers with employment, food, income, housing, transportation, clean water and sanitation, social services and cultural amenities.' (Paragraph 94, Page 15).	'Eradicating extreme poverty in a generation is an ambitious but feasible goal.' Income poverty remains the principal target but poverty is multidimensional and other dimensions need to be addressed in the Sustainable Development Goals, as they were to a degree in the MDGs. This includes universal access to adequate and nutritious food as well as to basic services like water and sanitation, primary health care and education, and modern energy services. (Page 5)	'Eliminate extreme poverty ($1.25/day per capita in 2005 real US dollars)' (Page 15) It also includes goals and targets related to job creation and access to affordable, good quality basic services for all (but does not appear to include disaggregation of indicators).

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[31] These issues are drawn from Section 3 of the report.

[32] See footnote 30.

[33] By 2030, increase by 50% the number of cities adopting and implementing specific and inclusive policies to improve the lives of urban dwellers through urban job creation focused particularly on youth and women.

[34] By 2030, increase by 30% the percentage of urban residents with direct access to non-motorized transport infrastructure or living within 500 meters of mass transit options that provide access to places of employment and services in order to reduce by half the average time and expenditure of urban dwellers in commuting to workplaces.

[35] (*) means these targets need to be specified at country or sub-national level. Each target will require one or more indicators to be developed at a later stage.

[36] The Panel recognises the higher costs of living in cities. "(..) making sure that migration to cities does not replace one form of poverty by another, where even if incomes are slightly above $1.25 a day, the cost of meeting basic needs is higher" (Page 17).

2. Precarious provision of basic services[37]

UN Habitat	Sustainable Solutions Development Network	High Level Panel on Post-2015	Secretary-General Report**	Open Working Group (Interim Report)**	UN Global Compact
Included?					
Includes access to basic services (water, sanitation, energy, transport, public space) for urban contexts (under an urban goal)	Includes access to basic services for urban contexts (under an urban goal)	Includes universal access to basic services with many targets requiring disaggregation of indicators.	Provision of services mentioned in paragraph on urbanisation. Energy mentioned as part of Energy for All initiative.	Mentions universal access to water, sanitation, energy and social services	Mentions universal access to water, sanitation, energy and social services. It also includes goal on infrastructure provision.
Detailed description (examples)					
'Urban water and sanitation. By 2030, achieve universal and equitable access to safe drinking water supply and halve the proportion of untreated waste water and unmanaged solid waste in cities.' 'Urban energy. By 2030, increase by 30% the share of renewable energy sources in cities, increase by 40% the share of municipal waste that is recycled, ensure sustainable energy access for all and improve energy efficiency in all public buildings by 50% and all residential buildings by 20%.' 'Urban Mobility. By 2030, increase by 30% the percentage of urban residents with direct access to non-motorized transport infrastructure or living within 500 metres of mass transit options that provide access to	'Goal 7. Empower inclusive, productive and resilient cities' Target 7b. Ensure universal access to a secure and affordable built environment and basic urban services including housing; water, sanitation and waste management; low-carbon energy and transport; and mobile and broadband communication.' (Page 30)	Goal 6 Achieve universal access to water and sanitation 6a. Provide universal access to safe drinking water at home, and in schools, health centers, and refugee camps[38] 6b. End open defecation and ensure universal access to sanitation at school and work, and increase access to sanitation at home by x%[39] 6c. Bring freshwater withdrawals in line with supply and increase water efficiency in agriculture by x%, industry by y% and urban areas by z% 6d. Recycle or treat all municipal and industrial wastewater prior to discharge Goal 7 Secure sustainable energy 7a. Double the share of renewable energy in the global energy mix 7b. Ensure universal access to modern energy services[40] 7c. Double the global rate of improvement in energy efficiency in buildings, industry, agriculture and transport 7d. Phase out inefficient fossil fuel	'Urbanization poses the challenge of providing city dwellers with employment, food, income, housing, transportation, clean water and sanitation, social services and cultural amenities.' (Paragraph 94, Page 15). The Sustainable Energy for All initiative, launched in 2011, aims to provide universal access to modern energy, double the global rate of improvement in energy efficiency and double the share of renewables in the global energy mix, all by 2030. Over $50 billion has been committed from all sectors to make this a reality, and more than 70 countries have signed up. (Page	Moreover, extending improved sanitation facilities in rural areas and poor urban communities remains a major challenge, with insufficient progress realized to date towards the MDG 7 target. Poverty is multidimensional and other dimensions need to be addressed in the Sustainable Development Goals, as they were to a degree in the MDGs. This includes universal access to adequate and nutritious food as well as to basic services like water and sanitation, primary health care and education, and modern energy services.	Goal 6: Water and sanitation for all: • Universal access to affordable and safe fresh water. • Universal access to basic sanitation facilities by 2020 and improved sanitation facilities by 2030. • Fresh water use brought in line with supply. • Ensure establishment and full implementation of national water effluent standards. Goal 7: Sustainable energy for all, targets include (P15): • Universal access to modern energy services. • Double the global rate of improvement in energy efficiency in production, distribution and consumption. • Double the share of renewable sources in the energy mix.

[37] Emphasis on basic infrastructure services: water, sanitation and electricity. Transport has also been included, while housing is dealt with in more detail as separate category in the next section. With regards to social services, education is included in most proposals as a separate goal (not urban specific) with many adding aspects of learning outcomes (i.e. the quality of education) in addition to access. Health is dealt with in a separate table as there are some specific risks in urban contexts related to density and precarious water and sanitation provision.

[38] Candidates for global minimum standards, including 'zero' goals. Indicators to be disaggregated.

[39] Ibid.

[40] Ibid.

places of employment and services in order to reduce by half the average time and expenditure of urban dwellers in commuting to workplaces.' 'Public space By 2030, increase by half the number of cities engaging in place-based, gender-responsive urban design, land use and building regulations to increase public space to 40% of urban land area. '		subsidies that encourage wasteful consumption Goal 8 'Create Jobs, Sustainable Livelihoods, and Equitable Growth' 8c. Strengthen productive capacity by providing universal access to financial services and infrastructure, such as transportation and ICT'. (Candidate for global minimum standards, including zero goals; indicators to be disaggregated, targets require further technical work to find appropriate indicators').	10)		• Reduce by at least 50 per cent the particulate concentration in urban air, not to exclude achievement of more stringent regional targets. Goal 9: Modernize infrastructure and technology is also relevant here.

3. Housing and fear of eviction

UN Habitat	Sustainable Solutions Development Network	High Level Panel on Post-2015	Secretary-General Report**	Open Working Group (Interim Report)**	UN Global Compact
Included?					
Includes target to reduce proportion of people living in slums (under urban goal)	Includes target to ensure access to affordable housing (under urban goal)	Includes target to increase secure rights to land and property, among other assets	Provision of housing mentioned in challenges posed by urbanisation	No mention of housing, but the interim report is based on a few thematic discussions held in 2013. There is a session on sustainable cities early in 2014.	There are no references to housing or increasing the share of people with access to secure property/land. Under a gender goal includes full and equal access to property rights for women
Detailed description (examples)					
'By 2030, halve the proportion of people living in slums at the city level as part of incrementally achieving the right to adequate housing without resorting to forced evictions.'	'Target 7b. Ensure universal access to a secure and affordable built environment and basic urban services including housing; water, sanitation and waste management; low-carbon energy and transport; and mobile and broadband communication.'	Goal 1 End poverty Target 1b. Increase by x% the share of women and men, communities, and businesses with secure rights to land, property, and other assets. Note that indicators would be disaggregated. Targets require further technical work to find appropriate indicators.	'Urbanization poses the challenge of providing city dwellers with employment, food, income, housing, transportation, clean water and sanitation, social services and cultural amenities.' (Paragraph 94, Page 15).	n/a	Goal 3: Achieve women and girls' empowerment Target. Full and equal access of women to ownership, property rights and land titles.

4. Health risks

UN Habitat	Sustainable Solutions Development Network	High Level Panel on Post-2015	Secretary-General Report**	Open Working Group (Interim Report)**	UN Global Compact
Included?					
No mention of health under urban goal (Arguably because this would be addressed by a health specific goal)	• A health goal guarantees universal access to health coverage and mentions healthy lifestyles and NDCs.	• Includes health outcomes measures to be disaggregated. • Specific disease-targets now include priority NDCs as well.	• Focuses on universal coverage • Includes other diseases like NDCs, road accidents and promotion of healthy behaviours related to water and sanitation relevant to urban contexts.	• Mentions debate over health goal (outcomes versus universal provision of health services) • Refers to social and environmental determinants of health (e.g. pollution, safe water and sanitation) and NDCs.	• Universal affordable access to quality treatments • Disease-focused targets including NDCs.
Detailed description (examples)					
n/a	'Goal 5 Achieve healthy wellbeing at all ages Achieve universal health coverage at every stage of life, with particular emphasis on primary health services, including reproductive health, to ensure that all people receive quality health services without suffering financial hardship. All countries promote policies to help individuals make healthy and sustainable decisions regarding diet, physical activity, and other individual or social dimensions of health. See Page 30 for all targets under goal 5.'	'Goal 4 Ensure Healthy Lives 4a. End preventable infant and under-5 deaths (candidate for global minimum standards/'zero' goals and disaggregation). 4b. Increase by x% the proportion of children, adolescents, at-risk adults and older people that are fully vaccinated (candidate for global minimum standards/'zero' goals and disaggregation). 4c. Decrease the maternal mortality ratio to no more than x per 100,000 (candidate for global minimum standards/'zero' goals and disaggregation). 4d. Ensure universal sexual and reproductive health and rights (candidate for global minimum standards/'zero' goals and disaggregation). Target 4e. Reduce the burden of disease from HIV/AIDS, tuberculosis, malaria, neglected tropical diseases and priority non-communicable diseases (disaggregation)' (Page 30)	Address universal health-care coverage, access and affordability; end preventable maternal and child deaths; realize women's reproductive health and rights; increase immunization coverage; eradicate malaria and realize the vision of a future free of AIDS and tuberculosis; reduce the burden of non-communicable diseases, including mental illness, and road accidents; and promote healthy behaviours, including those related to water, sanitation and hygiene' (Paragraph 87, page 14)	'One proposed variant of a health goal is: maximize health at all stages of life; another: maximize healthy life expectancy. Any such goal would also need to address the quality of life of those with disabilities (Para. 88, P 9). Another proposed health goal focuses on access to services more than outcomes: universal health coverage, which encompasses equitable access to quality basic health services; health promotion, prevention, treatment, and financial risk protection from illness and disability An outcome like "maximize healthy lives" would require not only universal health coverage but that a range of social and environmental determinants of health are addressed – from poverty and malnutrition to pollution - same time, reducing the burden of non-communicable diseases (NCDs) has become a high priority in many countries, highlighting the need inter alia to promote healthy diets and lifestyles.'	'Goal 4 Universal Health coverage • Affordable access to quality (meets patient needs) treatment and care for all, or to 80 per cent where such access was less than half in 2010. • Continue to reduce the reach of TB, malaria and HIV/AIDS, and contain the spread of new drug resistant strains • Halt the rise in non-communicable diseases. • Universal reproductive health services including access to birth control and to a qualified attendant at birth. • Cut maternal mortality rate by at least ¾. • Reduce the under-five mortality rate by at least ⅔. Reduce by at least 50 per cent the particulate concentration in urban air, not to exclude achievement of more stringent regional targets.' (Page 15)

5. Environmental risks

UN Habitat	Sustainable Solutions Development Network	High Level Panel on Post-2015	Secretary-General Report**	Open Working Group (Interim Report)**	UN Global Compact
Included?					
Targets on resilience and preventing urban sprawl in urban contexts as part of urban goal	Target on resilience in urban contexts as part of urban goal. Air quality also included.	General target on resilience to disasters, including disaggregation of indicators	General reference to relevance of building resilience particularly among those most vulnerable to disasters	Relevant discussions to follow in 2014. 'A range of crucial topics will be considered in the forthcoming sessions, including sustained and inclusive economic growth, means of implementation, sustainable consumption and production, climate change and disaster risk reduction, and oceans' (Page 12)	No reference to building resilience to disasters but inclusion of urban air pollution.
Detailed description (examples)					
'Urban resilience. By 2030, increase to 20% the number of cities adopting and implementing policies and plans that integrate comprehensive and measures to strengthen resilience.' 'Urban sprawl. By 2030 half the rate of increase of global urban land cover.'	'Goal 7 Empower inclusive, productive, and resilient cities Target 7c Ensure safe air and water quality for all, and integrate reductions in greenhouse gas emissions, efficient land and resource use, and climate and disaster resilience into investments and standards.' There are also general goals relating to environmental issues: Goal 8 on curbing human-induced climate change and ensuring sustainable energy and Goal 9 on management of natural resources.	'Goal 1 End poverty Target 1d. Build resilience and reduce deaths from natural disasters by x% - Indicator to be disaggregated' There is also Goal 9 on the management of natural resource assets sustainably and Goal 7 on Sustainable Energy, and a target on climate change under Goal 12.	'Address environmental challenges. Environmental change has compounded problems worldwide, especially in vulnerable countries, reducing their capacity to cope and limiting their options for addressing development challenges. Managing the natural resources base — fisheries, forests, freshwater resources, oceans, soil — is essential for sustainable development. So too is building the resilience of and investing in those communities and nations most vulnerable to disasters, especially in the least developed countries and small island developing States.' (Paragraph 89, Page 14)	n/a	'Goal 7. Sustainable Energy for All. Reduce by at least 50 per cent the particulate concentration in urban air, not to exclude achievement of more stringent regional targets.' Other targets focus on sustainable energy (Goal 7) and development of green infrastructure (Goal 9). Greenhouse gas emissions and sustainable agriculture and natural resource use (Goal 5).

6. Crime and violence

UN Habitat	Sustainable Solutions Development Network	High Level Panel on Post-2015	Secretary-General Report**	Open Working Group (Interim Report)**	UN Global Compact
Included?					
Refers to crime in urban areas (under urban goal)	Refers generally to violence	Refers to all forms of violence	Mentions organised crime as part of the context	Does not refer to crime but mentions violence against women and girls.	Refers to organised crime
Detailed description (examples)					
By 2030, halve the rate of urban violent crime.	Goal 4 Achieve gender equality, social inclusion and human rights for all Target 4c Prevent and eliminate violence against individuals, especially women and children.*	Goal 11. Ensure Stable and Peaceful Societies Target 11a. Reduce violent deaths per 100,000 by x and eliminate all forms of violence against children	Organized crime, including trafficking in people and drugs, violates human rights and undermines development. The deepening ways in which the lives of people and countries are linked demand a universal agenda addressing the world's most pressing challenges and seizing the opportunities of a new era. (Paragraph 72, Pages 11-12)	'94. Also stressed was the need to end violence against women and girls, particularly sexual violence and abuse'	Goal 8 Build peaceful and stable societies Reduce the reach and extent of organized crime, especially through the provisions of the United Nations Convention against Transnational Organized Crime.

7. Social ties

UN Habitat	Sustainable Solutions Development Network	High Level Panel on Post-2015	Secretary-General Report**	Open Working Group** (Interim Report)	UN Global Compact
Included?					
	Includes reference to social capital				
Detailed description (examples)					
n/a	'Goal 5 Achieve health and wellbeing at all ages Target 5c Promote healthy diets and physical activity, discourage unhealthy behaviours, such as smoking and excessive alcohol intake, and track subjective wellbeing **and social capital**.* Targets marked with (*) need to be specified at country or sub---national level. Each target will require one or more indicators to be developed at a later stage.'	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a

8. Inequality and stigma

UN Habitat	Sustainable Solutions Development Network	High Level Panel on Post-2015	Secretary-General Report**	Open Working Group (Interim Report)**	UN Global Compact
Included?					
Not included in targets	Includes target on ending inequality in access to public services, among others.	Focus on 'leaving no one behind'.	Mentions inequality	Mentions inequality	Target on income inequality (but no further disaggregation suggested)
Detailed description (examples)					
Rising inequalities mentioned in the narrative of the document as a characteristic shaping cities in the XXIst century.	Goal 5. Monitor and end discrimination and inequalities in public service delivery, the rule of law, access to justice, and participation in political and economic life on the basis of gender, ethnicity, relation, disability, national origin, and social or other status.' (Page 30)	'Targets will only be considered achieved if they are met for all relevant income and social groups.' (Page 17)	Tackle exclusion and inequality. In order to leave no one behind and bring everyone forward, actions are needed to promote equality of opportunity. This implies inclusive economies in which men and women have access to decent employment, legal identification, financial services, infrastructure and social protection, as well as societies where all people can contribute and participate in national and local governance (Paragraph 84, Page 13)	Setting universal coverage targets with respect to these essentials of human wellbeing would *ipso facto* address inequalities – as meeting the targets would require that even the poorest and most vulnerable be covered	Reduce by 30 per cent the Gini co-efficient rating

9. Governance (access to information, freedom of expression and political participation, justice and the rule of law, equity and inclusion)

UN Habitat	Sustainable Solutions Development Network	High Level Panel on Post-2015	Secretary-General Report	Open Working Group (Interim Report)	UN Global Compact
Included?					
Focus on political participation. Reference to political participation in urban contexts (under urban goal)	Focus on equity and inclusion. Reference to ending exclusion of political life on the basis of gender, income, or other status.	Focus on access to information, political participation)	Focus on equity and inclusion, political participation Reference to increases in public participation in political processes	It is mentioned but suggests it would be too difficult to include as goals.	It includes targets on effective governments and access for individuals from different status to justice, services and economic opportunity.
Detailed description (examples)					
'By 2030, increase the proportion of urban residents voting in local elections to 60% or more and increase the proportion of towns and cities using participatory approaches in public affairs'.	'Goal 4 Achieve gender equality, social inclusion and human rights for all Target 4a Monitor And end discrimination And inequalities In public service delivery, the rule of law, access to justice, and participation in political and economic life on the basis of gender, ethnicity, religion, disability, national origin, and social or other status.'	'Goal 10. Ensure Good Governance and Effective Institutions 10a. Provide free and universal legal identity, such as birth registrations* 10b.Ensure people enjoy freedom of speech, association, peaceful protest and access to independent media and information 10c. Increase public participation in political processes and civic engagement at all levels 10d. Guarantee the public's right to information and access to government data Note that 10a and 10c are recommended to be further disaggregated'	'Tackle exclusion and inequality. In order to leave no one behind and bring everyone forward, actions are needed to promote equality of opportunity. This implies inclusive economies in which men and women have access to decent employment, legal identification, financial services, infrastructure and social protection, as well as societies where all people can contribute and participate in national and local governance' (Paragraph 84, Page 13)	'There are several enablers and drivers, strategies and approaches for sustainable development which may be difficult to enumerate as goals, among others human rights, rights based approaches, governance, rule of law, and wider participation in decision making. The interdependence and interrelated nature of the goals should be captured in the narrative. '	'Goal 8 Build peaceful and stable societies Improve access for diverse ethnic, religious and social groups to justice, services and economic opportunity.' There is also a goal on human rights and governance (Goal 10) including raising awareness and implementing human rights conventions and instruments among all people and at all levels of governance.

9. Governance cont. (institutional capacity particularly at local level)

UN Habitat	Sustainable Development Solutions Network	High Level Panel on Post-2015	Secretary-General Report	Open Working Group (Interim Report)	UN Global Compact
Included?					
Focus on need for coordination of different agencies and sectors through national urban policy (under urban goal)	Mentioned in urban goal description but not further articulated as a target	There is goal on good governance and effective institutions but it refers to the issues at a general level. In the narrative of the report importance of local authorities is highlighted.		It is mentioned but suggests it would be too difficult to include as goals.	Emphasis on technology to improve managerial capacity and transparency.
Detailed description (examples)					
'National urban policy By 2030, increase to 50% the number of countries adopting and implementing inclusive national urban policies to coordinate ministerial and sectoral efforts at different levels of government for sustainable urban development, territorial cohesion and urban-rural linkages.'	'Goal 7 (…)Develop participatory, accountable, and effective city governance to support rapid and equitable urban transformation.'	'Local authorities have a critical role in setting priorities, executing plans, monitoring results and engaging with local firms and communities. In many cases, it is local authorities that deliver essential public services in health, education, policing, water and sanitation. And, even if not directly delivering services, local government often has a role in establishing the planning, regulatory and enabling environment—for business, for energy supply, mass transit and building standards. They have a central role in disaster risk reduction – identifying risks, early warning and building resilience. Local authorities have a role in helping slum-dwellers access better housing and jobs and are the source of most successful programs to support the informal sector and micro-enterprises. (Page 11)		'With respect to provision of universal access, many stressed the importance of strengthening institutional capacities at all levels to deliver better targeted and higher quality services. - There are several enablers and drivers, strategies and approaches for sustainable development which may be difficult to enumerate as goals, among others human rights, rights based approaches, governance, rule of law, and wider participation in decision making. The interdependence and interrelated nature of the goals should be captured in the narrative. This was frequently formulated in terms of the need to address weaknesses in governance'	'Goal 9 Effective use of e-governance at national and state/provincial level in all countries, to increase managerial capacity as well as transparency.'

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