***Voir aussi par: http://www.mckinseyquarterly.com/spContent/2011\_01\_10.html***

The Debate Zone: As the world urbanizes, will the most successful cities result from top-down planning or bottom-up innovation?

* [Why leave anything to chance? Top down planning will deliver the best results.](http://whatmatters.mckinseydigital.com/the_debate_zone/as-the-world-urbanizes-will-the-most-successful-cities-result-from-top-down-planning-or-bottom-up-innovation?utm_source=quarterly&utm_medium=marketing&utm_campaign=cities_email_1#ab)

By [Stan Gale](http://whatmatters.mckinseydigital.com/author/Stan%2BGale/)

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*Skillful planning can create in a decade what used to take centuries: a vibrant, diverse, beautiful city that attracts the best and the brightest. This is how we’ll build the world-class cities of the future.*

* [The solutions we need are right in front of us, if we just look for bottom-up innovation.](http://whatmatters.mckinseydigital.com/the_debate_zone/as-the-world-urbanizes-will-the-most-successful-cities-result-from-top-down-planning-or-bottom-up-innovation?utm_source=quarterly&utm_medium=marketing&utm_campaign=cities_email_1#a)

By [Alfredo Brillembourg](http://whatmatters.mckinseydigital.com/author/Alfredo%2BBrillembourg/)

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*Planned cities plan for everything except the poor and the dispossessed. We need to understand the world’s squatter cities and favelas and find designs that will improve the lives of the city’s most vulnerable inhabitants*

**Stan Gale**

**A master plan: better results, faster**

As the world's population shifts from the country to the city, the question of top-down planning versus organic growth will become an even more frequent part of the conversation. We are entering a period when entire cities are being planned and built in less than a decade. Some argue that such a severe time contraction can deprive a city of the interest and character that the world's great cities have developed over the course of decades and even centuries.

I would argue that planned cities do not have to be lacking in the heterogeneity that normally results from the vagaries of a rich history. Each of the elements that lend character and interest to the cityscape, from the types of buildings to the plantings in the parks, can be deliberately planned and methodically executed. They can serve as a safeguard against the monotony that afflicts many overly planned developments in which a simplistic formula and lack of historical perspective rob a city of interest.

A planned city can identify, accommodate, and enable the kind of organic growth that feeds innovation and inspiration. A focus on the elements necessary for a higher quality of life must be paramount. True urban vitality arises from the variety of experiences the city has to offer; a city's culture springs from the depth and breadth of well-considered choices. Done correctly, with a keen understanding of local culture and aesthetics, a vibrant city will flourish from the start. This planned approach offers many advantages. By designing varied scales of streets, parks, building densities, zoning uses, and architecture, the city can foster creative innovation, ensuring that, as the city grows, it will reflect the vision of the master plan. With skillful planning, these components will attract the most important factor in fostering a city's healthy, organic growth: people.

The $35 billion Songdo International Business District in Incheon, South Korea is perhaps the best example of a planned city today. It takes existing cities such as Paris, New York, and Venice as models and important sources for gauging scale, proportion, configuration, density, and cultural amenities to create a planned city with a heterogeneous structure that feels as though it had evolved over many decades.

But unlike those older cities, Songdo has been able to anticipate and plan for the increasing importance of technology as a way to enhance the daily lives of its residents. Residents and businesses in Songdo will enjoy ubiquitous TelePresence, super-fast broadband, and the ability to remotely monitor homes, offices, and utilities from hand-held devices. Other amenities such as 40 percent green space, world class schools, and cultural institutions will vastly elevate the urban experience and enable an unparalleled quality of life. At the same time, Songdo and other planned cities are able to take advantage of the latest sustainable technologies for water and energy use and building materials. I believe that master-planned cities such as Songdo can transform the lives of millions, creating economic opportunity while operating in a more environmentally responsible way than the cities that informed their being.

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**Alfredo Brillembourg**

**Empowering the bottom of the pyramid with good design**

Today, more than one-third of the urban world population lives in slums, yet only a small fraction of the design profession works on their improvement. Architecture must reach the large portion of global society that lacks political and economic clout and lives in inhuman conditions by providing places of inclusion and integration. To achieve that, we must move beyond the old, top-down models, which too often result in the segregation of cities into ghettos on the one hand and gated communities for the wealthy on the other.

Most top-down designs ignore the rural-to-urban migration taking place and the vast self-built communities that are being erected beyond the reach of city services and infrastructure. We need a new approach to design and urban policy that finds ways to connect these informal communities with the formal cities of the wealthy and middle class, allowing one to feed into the other.

My partner, Hubert Klumpner, and I started our practice as a research enterprise focused on the informal city. After studying a number of favelas in South America, interviewing the residents and testing concepts, we have tried to develop a socially oriented architecture. We believe the goal should be to upgrade slums, not remove them. Favelas are places of intense social interaction, and we seek to enhance that interaction, thus, our designs are meant to fit within existing communities with minimal disruption.

Most slums are physically and politically cut off from the formal city. This disconnect is even more stark in South America, where favelas are typically built on the sides of mountains with crowded pathways instead of roads. This makes everything from transportation of goods to the delivery of essential services an ordeal. While the top-down solution might involve bulldozing homes and building a network of roads-displacing families and creating unrest in the process-we came up with a different response. In Caracas, we designed [Metrocable](http://www.u-tt.com/projects_Metrocable.html), an overhead cable-car extension of the city's metro system that serves the San Agustin favela, cutting commute times from as much as two hours to 20 minutes. The cable station's structural design relies on concrete stilts that fit easily into crowded neighborhoods. Our [modular stairways](http://www.u-tt.com/projects_ModularStairs.html) accomplish a similar purpose on a smaller scale.

Many design solutions already exist in the favelas and squatter cities themselves, which are laboratories for innovation and adaptation. As a favela household expands, for example, the family simply builds upward, stacking new levels on top of the old. Our [Vertical Gym](http://www.u-tt.com/projects_BarutaVG.html), a registered Creative Commons design for small lots, consists of four or five levels, with different facilities, such as a basketball court, a running track, or a soccer pitch, on each. The design is modular and replicable. The first one, built in the Santa Cruz del Este barrio in Caracas, is used by 15,000 people every month and has contributed to a decrease in area crime.

Whether designing recreational facilities or cable cars, we promote architecture as an endeavor whose success can only be realized with the active participation of the people for whom it was created. We are convinced that architects must be agents of active change and advocates for the users of their designs and we envision recasting the role of the architect from a top-down authoritarian figure to an interpreter and facilitator of the needs and desires of a particular community

**China’s cities in the sky**

By [Jonathan Woetzel](http://whatmatters.mckinseydigital.com/author/Jonathan%2BWoetzel/)

China’s urbanization is unavoidable. Over a billion people will live in China’s cities by 2030, requiring construction on a scale never before seen. This gives China a unique opportunity to create and develop its cities in a way that supports economic growth, preserves the environment, delivers the highest possible quality of life for its citizens, and results in a stream of valuable new technologies. If handled correctly, these developments will not just benefit China but will also have profound implications for the rest of the 21st century world.

**Growing up, not out**

The question is not how big, but how tall can China’s cities get. China’s urbanization is already well-advanced with over 600 million people living in 800 cities spread across the country in a relatively dispersed pattern. Looking forward, a tidal wave of urban migration on the order of 15 to 20 million long-term residents a year will continue to surge into Chinese cities as a result of increasing perceptions of urban opportunity, as well as the slow and steady move towards larger-scale, more capital-intensive farming. At this rate, China will continue to build out its cities over the next 20 years and the country as a whole will achieve a 70% urbanization rate by 2030. China could continue to add an annual 1,500-plus buildings that are more than 30 floors tall, equivalent to a new Chicago every year, resulting in more than 950 cities by 2030.1

The costs in the current dispersed growth model, however, are unacceptably high. Arable land resources will shrink rapidly. The finances of smaller cities will be stressed, potentially to the breaking point as land and labor costs rise and expectations of environmental performance and social benefits for residents—including migrants—increase. The model is also wasteful, as much of the new investment is of low quality. The average lifespan of a building in China is closer to 20 years than to the norm of 40 or more in OECD nations. Planning is done in a cookie-cutter approach with local authorities copying one another in a lemming-like fashion, reflecting the shortage of planning skills and the pressure on cities to cope with migration as well as the state’s easy access to capital. This results in overcapacity and, often, inappropriate design that is essentially wasted. Industrial capacity in particular is added stochastically, sometimes with little reference to actual demand. Socially, cities are becoming incubators of unrest as slowing urban job creation and dependence on heavy industry for economic growth threaten to create a two-tier society.

There is a spatial alternative, given China’s capital surplus and the government’s ability to implement policy. If China were to encourage the growth of hub-and-spoke clusters, or even megacities with denser populations and more concentrated urban footprints, the average height of buildings could double but the burden on China’s resources would diminish as cities built up, not out. Vertical development would take pressure off the land, ensure that investments were closer to the market, and be significantly more resource-efficient. In the megacity scenario, by 2025 40% of China’s urban population could live in megacities with over 20 million residents. Nationally, China would construct over 4000 high-rises a year, creating a unique and vertical society. And the concentration of resources around centers of excellence in urbanization would lead to a higher quality of investment. This, combined with policies aimed at moving resources away from heavy industry and towards the services sector, would drive a healthier, more consumption-oriented and employment-friendly economy and society.

Implementing such a policy could be easier than it might seem as the current model approaches its limits. In fact, the Chinese national leadership recognizes and implicitly supports a sharp and significant course change to a new urban model; it calls for an industrial and economic rebalancing to achieve a more harmonious society in the 12th Five Year Plan.

**Postcards from the vertical city**

Here’s how it would look. Each of these megacity clusters would have an economic scale equivalent to a moderately sized European country. Greater Shanghai could be as big as Germany today, while the central Yangzi cluster around Wuhan might be France. Mayors of hub cities in this context would be closer to presidents in a European model of continental development, with all the authority and ambition that implies. They would be fully capable of developing their own policies, from industry priorities to health and education reform to governance, within the context of a national political framework.

While dense, these cities would not be crowded since they could each span upwards of 800 square kilometers of territory. Park environments would predominate outside dense and highly livable urban cores. Technology would enable a sustainable lifestyle for megacity residents. As the cost of delivering goods and services to a dense urban core continued to decline, vertical development would enhance the livability of the city, with residents eating, working, playing, and sleeping all in the same community. Neighborhoods of a million residents would be standard and enabled by public transit with large high-rise housing estates as core residential complexes, with 50,000 residents per estate. Passive design, sustainable building materials and renewable and smart energy management systems would revolutionize buildings. Even agriculture would be part of the megacity as urban farming takes off on the roofs and sides of buildings.

Outside the urban core of the megacity, satellite “villages” linked by mass transit would house up to another 25 percent of the population, forming clusters, each with more than 40 million people, and, in total, accounting for more than 70 percent of the economic activity of the country. Satellite towns may struggle to define their own economic proposition; the most successful ones having made investments in productive infrastructure, universities, and marketing to the urban core—their largest likely market. Meanwhile, industrial complexes would move outside both the urban core and the satellites, the land they previously occupied repurposed for commercial and social uses

Megacities and their surrounding clusters will not depend on China’s traditional investment-driven growth model. Rather, they will be driven by and dependent upon the growth and consumption of services. Just as New York, with its scale and talent, made Wall Street possible, China’s megacities will create unprecedented opportunities to develop service industries by enhancing the scale and frequency of interactions. Cities in China will become models for the rest of the world, achieving a large scale of industry and financial-market depth. Spending on culture, recreation, health care, and education will grow by orders of magnitude from their current languishing state.

As it builds these cities, China’s quest for resources will have global implications. While mechanization of farming done on the shrinking amounts of arable land may be sufficient to provide food for the cities, China’s demand for energy will double over the next two decades even as energy efficiency also doubles. The sheer amount of incremental activity that urbanization creates makes it impossible to envision a scenario in which energy demand declines in China. Rather, both existing and new sources of energy will be required. China will become a major coal importer even as it turns away from fossil fuels to become the world’s largest nuclear and renewable energy producer. This demand in turn will transform global communities as resource basins are pushed to double in size, whole new terrains are dug up, and massive investments in rail and ports are made. Africa will see the development of its resources as a way to feed China’s demand. Agricultural equipment manufacturers in Peoria will see a boom in sales to Brazil as China’s soybean imports take off.

**Reinventing City Systems**

China’s cities will encourage a high level of environmental investment, with waste and water recycling becoming a way of life for both industry and consumers. Water will become a more valuable commodity and encourage investment in water efficiency as well as the world’s largest water treatment projects. Large, integrated recycling projects will minimize the impact of industrial and energy production.

Transport will be another key area for redesign. Electric vehicles will dominate the fleet in the megacities, reflecting government’s will to support the technology by building charging infrastructure. But mass transit and transit-oriented development will be even more powerful levers to minimize the requirements for long distance commuting. China will build over 170 mass transit systems in the next 20 years, compared to 50 in all of Europe. Across cities, the advent of national high-speed rail will link together the megacities even more, resulting in the development of a uniquely Chinese megacity culture and the rapid dissemination of best practices in urban development and management.

These innovations will also have global implications. The solutions that China develops in its megacities will have scale, and ultimately, global rollouts. Chinese solar water heaters already dot the rooftops of Johannesburg townships. Chinese high-voltage grid technology could transmit electricity across the Midwestern plains in the United States. In China and abroad, global corporations, some of them Chinese, will partner with local governments to develop and deploy the new urban solutions of tomorrow.

Urbanization will also drive a massive investment in and renaissance of Chinese education and health care. Almost 40 percent of China’s urban populations will be migrants by 2030, as people from rural areas pour in looking for greater opportunity. School and hospital systems set up to meet the needs of local residents will have to cope with a bigger population demanding higher-quality services. Investment in teachers, community clinics, and hospitals will require new ways of doing things. More practical and innovative approaches will, in turn, challenge today’s educational and health care bureaucracies to be more responsive and to invest more in the quality and capability of teachers and medical staff.

Megacities will require alternative governance given their greater complexity and heterogeneity of demand. Robust debate will continue, especially over quality-of-life-issues, as urban governance grows more complex and multi-faceted. And while it is unlikely that a country with regions that are over a hundred years apart in their level of economic development could have a uniform system of local governance, the advent of megacities will make questions of transparency and accountability much more immediate and relevant. The good news is that China’s political system devolves accountability to localities, making it more likely that, over time, locally appropriate solutions will be found.

China now has a historic chance to reinvent not only its cities but the very idea of a city. The choices that its city leaders make will shape not only its buildings but also its society, and indeed the world.

1*“*[*Preparing for China’s Urban Billion*](http://www.mckinsey.com/mgi/publications/china_urban_billion/)*,” McKinsey Global Institute, Februrary 2009.*

1. **Megalopolis:  The City of the 21st Century"**

***World Policy Journal* Winter 2010-2011**

***[World Policy Journal](http://r20.rs6.net/tn.jsp?llr=mm9tyicab&et=1104056357032&s=0&e=001qLt3WlbsITsi_oEUPHruKcodLetMzERAFU6orTMZ-lmQBoojOUA7Zrd-DpU3AbfOXUz0JqSor2T0bUYaPuLfqJ4D1OCsY8U8pu2L-vt06vhSa6o9ISLDTUtAR_ild9FSwfzjcdwlTdg=" \t "_blank)*'s 2010-2011 Winter issue, "Megalopolis: The City of the 21st Century" explores the nature of the new city, its people, their hopes, fears and challenges as the world becomes increasingly urbanized.**

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| Winter 2010/2011 Cover |
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Soon, perhaps as early as the next decade, more people will live in cities than anywhere else--a turning point that poses enormous challenges. *World Policy Journal* has turned to exciting thinkers and observers of this unique phenomenon--the emergence of the Megalopolis. Acclaimed designer and planner Bruce Mau provides our scene-setting lead commentary. Didi Pei, the distinguished architect following in his father's footsteps, details his own vision of the urban environment. Angela Bao from Beijing and Elizabeth Pond, deep in Inner Mongolia, report on two sides of an emerging China. Amanda Ruggeri examines urban treasures from a Roman perspective, while Bernard Skinner probes the costs of playing host in India and Pelu Awofeso unwraps Nigeria's insta-cities.

Beyond the city, Rena Effendi takes her camera inside Iran's youth culture, Damaso Reyes investigates Austria's oppression of stateless minorities, Piotr Zalewski suggests Turkey as the newest superpower, Amitai Etzioni reveals the flaws of nuclear fuel banks, and Khadija Sharife examines Liberia's suspiciously lucrative shipping industry.  Finally, in his Coda, *World Policy Journal* Editor David A. Andelman questions where intelligence is leading us.

This issue of *World Policy Journal* inaugurates an exciting new approach to our design--clean, elegant, and more accessible.  It also marks the beginning of a new publishing partnership with SAGE Publications, which will handle online and print production, subscriptions, advertising and other aspects of the business side of our magazine. We look forward to continuing to provide the most intelligent commentary and vivid reporting on the world, in all its variety.

**UPFRONT**

**[Big Question](http://r20.rs6.net/tn.jsp?llr=mm9tyicab&et=1104056357032&s=0&e=001qLt3WlbsITsi_oEUPHruKcodLetMzERAFU6orTMZ-lmQBoojOUA7Zrd-DpU3AbfOXUz0JqSor2T0bUYaPuLfqJ4D1OCsY8U8pu2L-vt06vjN_Sb4nxcSqc4srL2VPkRLalBmhFXI6ofExA1NPeF0Fsa8edCqnF8U" \t "_blank)**
*World Policy Journal* asks a panel of experts--sociologists, artists, professors and policy makers--to explore the new look of future cities.

[**MapRoom**](http://www.mitpressjournals.org/doi/pdf/10.1162/wopj.2011.27.4.8) charts the infrastructure of the world's most unconventional urban areas.

**[Energetic Cities (Paul Sullivan)](http://r20.rs6.net/tn.jsp?llr=mm9tyicab&et=1104056357032&s=0&e=001qLt3WlbsITsi_oEUPHruKcodLetMzERAFU6orTMZ-lmQBoojOUA7Zrd-DpU3AbfOXUz0JqSor2T0bUYaPuLfqJ4D1OCsY8U8pu2L-vt06vjN_Sb4nxcSqc4srL2VPkRLalBmhFXI6ofExA1NPeF0Fj8qffJMURS2BpY1TcuK8YQ=" \t "_blank)**
Paul Sullivan stresses the critical need for a "green metropolis." He shares the ways in which cities in developed nations are slashing fossil-fuel dependency while improving the quality of life. Hong Kong and São Paulo are using landfill gas for energy, while Reykjavik is changing its energy systems from fossil fuels to hydropower, geothermal and hydrogen.

**[Anatomy of a Fareej](http://r20.rs6.net/tn.jsp?llr=mm9tyicab&et=1104056357032&s=0&e=001qLt3WlbsITsi_oEUPHruKcodLetMzERAFU6orTMZ-lmQBoojOUA7Zrd-DpU3AbfOXUz0JqSor2T0bUYaPuLfqJ4D1OCsY8U8pu2L-vt06vjN_Sb4nxcSqc4srL2VPkRLalBmhFXI6ofExA1NPeF0Fjv-PEEN2XtJeKku5A_ngFo=" \t "_blank)** dissects Abu Dhabi's new neighborhoods, which encourage sustainability and a "complete community."

**MEGALOPOLIS
[Urbanity, Revised (Bruce Mau)](http://r20.rs6.net/tn.jsp?llr=mm9tyicab&et=1104056357032&s=0&e=001qLt3WlbsITsi_oEUPHruKcodLetMzERAFU6orTMZ-lmQBoojOUA7Zrd-DpU3AbfOXUz0JqSor2T0bUYaPuLfqJ4D1OCsY8U8pu2L-vt06vjN_Sb4nxcSqc4srL2VPkRLalBmhFXI6ofExA1NPeF0FgOuch-qEtxT92AcKWZlnX0=" \t "_blank)**
Designer Bruce Mau embraces the new urban values of Massive Change: to create wealth and break the old urban paradigms in favor of a shared, prosperous and universal future.

**[Endless Road in China (Angela Bao)](http://r20.rs6.net/tn.jsp?llr=mm9tyicab&et=1104056357032&s=0&e=001qLt3WlbsITsi_oEUPHruKcodLetMzERAFU6orTMZ-lmQBoojOUA7Zrd-DpU3AbfOXUz0JqSor2T0bUYaPuLfqJ4D1OCsY8U8pu2L-vt06vjN_Sb4nxcSqc4srL2VPkRLalBmhFXI6ofExA1NPeF0FoK3uSZHHOz2Cxv3aZxzAdU=" \t "_blank)**
An aging laborer struggles up the side of a mountain each day. His family is the archetype of a rural household trapped by *hukou*, China's household registration system, prohibiting country dwellers from settling in the city. Deprived of schools, medical care and a prosperous future, rural migrants strive desperately to bridge the enormous gulf that remains between China's urban and rural society.

**[Urbanism on the Steppe (Elizabeth Pond)](http://r20.rs6.net/tn.jsp?llr=mm9tyicab&et=1104056357032&s=0&e=001qLt3WlbsITsi_oEUPHruKcodLetMzERAFU6orTMZ-lmQBoojOUA7Zrd-DpU3AbfOXUz0JqSor2T0bUYaPuLfqJ4D1OCsY8U8pu2L-vt06vjN_Sb4nxcSqc4srL2VPkRLalBmhFXI6ofExA1NPeF0Fixv8WDoX77da3j-gYycAQo=" \t "_blank)**
Kangbashi has sprung up on the steppes of Inner Mongolia, enriched by an abundance of rare earth metals that power the world's gadgets. This instant city raises a central question--is China over-indulging in risky development? Or has the country, yet again, battled conventional wisdom and won?

**[The Tragedy of Line C (Amanda Ruggeri)](http://r20.rs6.net/tn.jsp?llr=mm9tyicab&et=1104056357032&s=0&e=001qLt3WlbsITsi_oEUPHruKcodLetMzERAFU6orTMZ-lmQBoojOUA7Zrd-DpU3AbfOXUz0JqSor2T0bUYaPuLfqJ4D1OCsY8U8pu2L-vt06vjN_Sb4nxcSqc4srL2VPkRLalBmhFXI6ofExA1NPeF0FiLallzknnbLqZlV2xArHrY=" \t "_blank)**
The world's great cities are struggling to maintain a balance between preservation and development. China's rising populations are destroying 13th century *hutongs*, while Cairo's housing shortage endangers the city's medieval core. Meanwhile, Rome halted work on its Metro after 2,000-year-old ruins were unearthed, and preservationists have been charged with turning Venice into a museum. A solution may come in the form of new multi-national efforts to protect many of the most threatened urban environments.

**[Playing Host is Hard to Do (Benjamin Siegel)](http://r20.rs6.net/tn.jsp?llr=mm9tyicab&et=1104056357032&s=0&e=001qLt3WlbsITsi_oEUPHruKcodLetMzERAFU6orTMZ-lmQBoojOUA7Zrd-DpU3AbfOXUz0JqSor2T0bUYaPuLfqJ4D1OCsY8U8pu2L-vt06vjN_Sb4nxcSqc4srL2VPkRLalBmhFXI6ofExA1NPeF0FlBSreK4okmwVRoBZet22Ig=" \t "_blank)**
Like the Olympics, the Commonwealth Games reflect the aspirations of a city and a nation to prove themselves on the international stage. Yet, not all hosts succeed. New Delhi's recent attempt to host the games cast unwanted but much needed light on dismal state planning and rampant corruption, while leaving its citizens still impoverished and with little government help.

**[CONVERSATION: The Architect and the City (Didi Pei)](http://r20.rs6.net/tn.jsp?llr=mm9tyicab&et=1104056357032&s=0&e=001qLt3WlbsITsi_oEUPHruKcodLetMzERAFU6orTMZ-lmQBoojOUA7Zrd-DpU3AbfOXUz0JqSor2T0bUYaPuLfqJ4D1OCsY8U8pu2L-vt06vjN_Sb4nxcSqc4srL2VPkRLalBmhFXI6ofExA1NPeF0FlSKFMAiNRWuUdfi2EaS9IU=" \t "_blank)**
In an interview with *WPJ* editors, renowned architect Didi Pei sketches his vision of the modern city and explains the architect's role in shaping it. He discusses urban architecture, drawing on his experiences working in Shanghai, Brunei, Paris and the Middle East. All too many of the world's greatest cities, especially those growing the most rapidly-- particularly in China-- have lost track of their ultimate purpose: to create interactions among their people.

**[Nigeria's Insta-Cities (Pelu Awofeso)](http://r20.rs6.net/tn.jsp?llr=mm9tyicab&et=1104056357032&s=0&e=001qLt3WlbsITsi_oEUPHruKcodLetMzERAFU6orTMZ-lmQBoojOUA7Zrd-DpU3AbfOXUz0JqSor2T0bUYaPuLfqJ4D1OCsY8U8pu2L-vt06vjN_Sb4nxcSqc4srL2VPkRLalBmhFXI6ofExA1NPeF0FiJJ2yZ8ulm4xzV5DAxBloo=" \t "_blank)**
One of every two Nigerians now lives in a city, and Lagos is set to become the world's third largest metropolis by 2025. But rapid urbanization has left Nigerian cities without the infrastructure vital to new residents. Less than half of Lagos has access to electricity, while Port Harcourt has been plagued by militant unrest, and the nation's six cities with a million or more people are set to be joined by a dozen more.  Across Africa and much of the developing world, care needs to be taken to handle the new urban arrivals-- through managed rather than random growth.

**PORTFOLIO**
**[Young in Tehran (Rena Effendi)](http://r20.rs6.net/tn.jsp?llr=mm9tyicab&et=1104056357032&s=0&e=001qLt3WlbsITsi_oEUPHruKcodLetMzERAFU6orTMZ-lmQBoojOUA7Zrd-DpU3AbfOXUz0JqSor2T0bUYaPuLfqJ4D1OCsY8U8pu2L-vt06vjN_Sb4nxcSqc4srL2VPkRLalBmhFXI6ofExA1NPeF0FpFqdodvfcR4GokRSuqjwa4=" \t "_blank)**
Azerbaijani-born photographer Rena Effendi captures vivid scenes from the hidden lives of Iran's youth--from banned music togay lifestyles. "In a place where so much is forbidden," Effendi writes, "being a criminal becomes the only way to feel normal."
 **FEATURES**
**[Living in the Shadows (Damaso Reyes)](http://r20.rs6.net/tn.jsp?llr=mm9tyicab&et=1104056357032&s=0&e=001qLt3WlbsITsi_oEUPHruKcodLetMzERAFU6orTMZ-lmQBoojOUA7Zrd-DpU3AbfOXUz0JqSor2T0bUYaPuLfqJ4D1OCsY8U8pu2L-vt06vjN_Sb4nxcSqc4srL2VPkRLalBmhFXI6ofExA1NPeF0FpzBVhJoWjI2PoswjNztBqU=" \t "_blank)**
During much of the Cold War, Austria was a safe haven for those piercing the iron curtain. Today, the nation's anti-immigrant stance has sullied that reputation. Confusing immigration courts and the EU's Dublin law have wreaked havoc for many asylum seekers in Austria, where immigrant prisoners stage hunger strikes and families are deported on a whim in the name of Austrian nationalism.

**[A Self-Appointed Superpower (Piotr Zalewski)](http://r20.rs6.net/tn.jsp?llr=mm9tyicab&et=1104056357032&s=0&e=001qLt3WlbsITsi_oEUPHruKcodLetMzERAFU6orTMZ-lmQBoojOUA7Zrd-DpU3AbfOXUz0JqSor2T0bUYaPuLfqJ4D1OCsY8U8pu2L-vt06vjN_Sb4nxcSqc4srL2VPkRLalBmhFXI6ofExA1NPeF0Fuht7cqqraSM3vMw9sDAw7Y=" \t "_blank)**
At the close of the 20th century, Turkey became a candidate for membership in the European Union. Ten years later, its nose still pressed against the glass, Turkey is changing domestic and foreign policies, but no longer to win friends in Europe. Today, Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdoğan is defining Turkey as a country that is as much Middle Eastern as European. Through improved economic relations with neighbors once considered enemies, Ankara has raised its stature on the international stage--at the expense of its bid to join the EU.

**[ESSAY: A Deeply Flawed Fuel Bank (Amitai Etzioni)](http://r20.rs6.net/tn.jsp?llr=mm9tyicab&et=1104056357032&s=0&e=001qLt3WlbsITsi_oEUPHruKcodLetMzERAFU6orTMZ-lmQBoojOUA7Zrd-DpU3AbfOXUz0JqSor2T0bUYaPuLfqJ4D1OCsY8U8pu2L-vt06vjN_Sb4nxcSqc4srL2VPkRLalBmhFXI6ofExA1NPeF0Fh8kBLMh2n4SpXeytrbnITI=" \t "_blank)**
The fuel bank--a stockpile of enriched uranium held by a global consortium--may be designed to halt nuclear proliferation. But if its flaws remain uncorrected, the fuel bank may actually propel rather than control the spread of nuclear weapons.

**[REPORTAGE: Flying a Questionable Flag (Khadija Sharife)](http://r20.rs6.net/tn.jsp?llr=mm9tyicab&et=1104056357032&s=0&e=001qLt3WlbsITsi_oEUPHruKcodLetMzERAFU6orTMZ-lmQBoojOUA7Zrd-DpU3AbfOXUz0JqSor2T0bUYaPuLfqJ4D1OCsY8U8pu2L-vt06vjN_Sb4nxcSqc4srL2VPkRLalBmhFXI6ofExA1NPeF0Fj8qffJMURS2cJKSpjiUdkQ=" \t "_blank)**
Liberia, "home" to over 500 foreign petroleum tankers, makes this Western African country the second largest maritime nation on earth. But flying Liberia's flag of convenience provides oil companies with a "get-out-of-jail-free" card to bypass legislation and regulation, while concealing economic activity. International organizations must hold these rogue corporations and nations accountable.

**CODA**
**[Whither Intelligence? (David A. Andelman)](http://r20.rs6.net/tn.jsp?llr=mm9tyicab&et=1104056357032&s=0&e=001qLt3WlbsITsi_oEUPHruKcodLetMzERAFU6orTMZ-lmQBoojOUA7Zrd-DpU3AbfOXUz0JqSor2T0bUYaPuLfqJ4D1OCsY8U8pu2L-vt06vjN_Sb4nxcSqc4srL2VPkRLalBmhFXI6ofExA1NPeF0Fj8qffJMURS28_DHXoXIQDk=" \t "_blank)**
For decades as a foreign correspondent, *World Policy Journal* editor David A. Andelman learned first-hand that intelligence officials are all too often ignored by the government, much to the injury of the nation they serve. From a nameless, faceless bureaucrat in a windowless Langley room in the Vietnam era to modern intel in the Afghan war, Andelman digs inside the intelligence community--and the risks run by those who ignore it to their own peril.

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