The success of urban societies in transforming the landscape through the focusing of specialist energies has been accompanied by changing perceptions of the city. Images of the city as a nodal centre (Isard, 1956; Fred, 1966), as an incubator of innovation (Leone and Struik, 1976), as a centre of information (Hymer, 1972) and as a provider of public goods (Buchanan, 1971), have all contributed to the perception of a productive city (Harris, 1984). Influenced by these images of the city, rural people have moved to Durban in great numbers, making the metropolitan region one of the fastest growing in southern Africa (McCarthy and Bernstein, 1995). However, in juxtaposition to the perception of a city where opportunity abounds, the reality of widespread poverty, increasing crime, growing congestion, ongoing conversion of natural ecosystems, and heightened levels of environmental pollution has led to a counter-image of Durban as a problem city (Hindson et al, 1994; Hindson and McCarthy, 1994). Although many of these issues have a long history, they were exacerbated by the implementation of planning policies based on the Group Areas Act of 1950 and the subsequent development of Durban as an apartheid city (Davies, 1974). Other problems are explained using the image of an organic city that consumes prodigious quantities of resources the output of which is accumulated in the form of solid, liquid and gaseous pollutants (Wolman, 1965). As poverty-induced problems multiply, as input resources become scarce and costly, and as output residuals become increasingly pervasive, a new image has taken root in Durban: the sustainable city. This neotenic notion places an increased emphasis on the value of natural, built and cultural environments, the pursuit of social justice for disadvantaged communities, and a growing concern for the wellbeing of future generations.

The logic of sustainable development is an outgrowth of ongoing concern expressed at international meetings over the unsustainable nature of global patterns of resource exploitation and development (UNEP, 1978; IUCN, 1980; World Commission on Environment and Development, 1987). This issue was the principal concern at the 1992 United Nations Conference on Environment
and Development held at Rio de Janeiro and was articulated through Agenda 21 (Quarrie, 1992). The importance of this forty-chapter report, encompassing both rural and urban settlements, is that policy elements are brought together in a single package that has the backing of virtually the entire international community (Haughton and Hunter, 1994). Each chapter of the report identifies development problems and makes recommendations on how to solve them (O’Riordan, 1995). At both the national and the local level, this involves a long-term programme of policy revision that requires existing regulatory approaches to be re-visited and strategies for capacity building and community empowerment to be intensified.

In 1994 the Durban City Council committed itself to a local Agenda 21 programme as a corporate responsibility. The task of engaging in policy coordination and review directed towards a more sustainable city is a formidable one. It requires a comprehension of the economic, political and cultural forces that nourish urban development, an intelligent understanding of the nature of the dependence of the city on external resources, prudent strategies to cope with unacceptable levels of environmental pollution, an exhaustive programme to support community-based participation in development initiatives, and an unequivocal determination to address the wide range of problems that arise out of poverty and past imbalances. However, mere acknowledgement of these ideals does not guarantee success towards the evolution of a co-ordinated set of policies directed towards a more sustainable urban society. There remains the need to understand how to proceed towards sustainability goals given the inevitable dilemmas that accompany development problems. For example, efficiency arguments that address the need to deduce the proper balance between utility and environmental damage in the city must be balanced by equity arguments that emphasise unequal distributions of benefits and costs. Environmental issues that emphasise biodiversity must be reconciled with housing and other infrastructural needs of the expanding city. If these dilemmas are added to uncertainty arguments that question decision-making in the absence of adequate information and of evaluation arguments that query our ability to compare incommensurate values, the process of policy-making becomes a complex mix of social, political, economic, ethical, legal, environmental and technological quandaries.

Given the complexity of the issues involved in the move towards sustainable urban development, a comprehension of the dynamics of change by city administrators must be central to the process of policy review. Writers such as Wallace (1966), Kuhn (1972), Prigogine (1980) and others have drawn attention to a period of crisis or conflict in the transformation that accompanies change. Unfortunately much of this literature appears to pay scant attention to the resolution of conflict as a strategy towards achieving change objectives (McWhinney, 1992). Given that failure to resolve conflict between interest
groups may fatally damage the change initiative, the relationship between change and conflict should be of fundamental concern to policy-makers. Guidance in this direction should be sought through the quest for appropriate theoretical perspectives on change.

This paper sets out to explore the insights offered by a theory of change and conflict resolution that may contribute towards a development-orientated strategy for Durban. The approach takes a cultural, rather than a materialist perspective, on the process of change as it applies to multicultural societies in Durban and is presented in three parts. In the first part, the process of change from the pre-1990 apartheid period to the post-1994 transformation is described by matching periods of change with dimensions of contingency defined by levels of conflict and ambiguity. The second part outlines a theory of change and conflict resolution. The final part applies the theory to predict the mode and direction of change needed for the creation of sustainable development policies for metropolitan Durban. A path of change is proposed whereby policy-makers will be led through sequential stages of development from initial acceptance by the Metropolitan Council to the implementation of proposed sustainable urban development policies.

**POLITICAL CHANGE AND POLICY REVIEW**

Governments initiate courses of action through the development of policy. The need for policy begins with the perception of a 'problem'. This signals a recognition that something is 'wrong' and that the criteria are known for what is 'right'. The manner in which the policy-making process advances includes issues such as the style of democracy, the level of political accountability, interest group activism and the nature of procedures for the arbitration of disputes (O’Riordan, 1995). The success of the policy in resolving the problem often depends upon the level of complexity. When the problem is complicated by multiple inputs from both the social and environmental condition, the successful implementation of policy becomes more difficult to achieve. While immediate problems may appear to be resolved, new problems are often created as the outcome of the policy meets with resistance from disaffected interest groups. Sustained resistance, particularly if it leads to political change, usually signals the start of a fresh cycle of policy review.

The manner in which periods of change in Durban have contributed towards a cycle of policy review is set out in Figure 1. Modes of change in the political environment during this period are matched with dimensions of contingency defined by levels of conflict and ambiguity (Hyden and Karlstrom, 1993). The pre-1990 political environment was dominated by ideological imperatives and characterised by levels of low conflict and ambiguity. In this politically-confined environment, procedures for the resolution of conflicts were adopted only within the bounds of the dominant
apartheid ideology. Conflict was low because, in various ways, it was effectively suppressed. Ambiguity was correspondingly low since apartheid policy was clearly defined. Special interest groups within the political culture that were in opposition to the local government but not involved in violent confrontation had little incentive to mobilise and influence policy under these restrictive conditions.

![Conflict and Ambiguity Matrix](image)

**Figure 1**

**Periods of change in the political environment in Durban defined by dimensions of conflict and ambiguity**

During this period, the location of residential, industrial, commercial and recreational land uses in Durban underwent massive relocation. Given the disenfranchised state of black, Asian and coloured people, the Group Areas Act of 1950 was implemented by white-controlled municipalities. The result was the development of patterns of land use that favoured white residential and business communities. For example, only 10 per cent of the white-classified population was displaced by municipally-approved group areas in comparison with 60 per cent of those classified as non-whites (Kuper *et al.*, 1958). These displacements led to 40 per cent (by value) of Asian-owned land being set aside for white population use while only 5 per cent of white land was set aside for the use of the Asian population (McCarthy and Smit, 1984).

Prior to the implementation of the Group Areas Act of 1950, the social geography of Durban was largely zonal in configuration. However, the implementation of the Act required the consolidation of separate residential areas by race. The only spatial arrangement that could satisfy these conditions was the division of the city into sectors that subsequently came to characterise the apartheid city (Davies, 1974).

Between 1990 and 1994 the process of change was characterised by intense political activity. This began in February 1990 with the watershed speech by President de Klerk that signalled a movement away from apartheid ideology. The Durban City Council then entered a transitional phase with democratic representation as an ultimate objective. Conflict between previously
disadvantaged interest groups and local authorities increased. The administrations that maintained discriminatory policies became ineffective and community anger began to focus attention on the impact of discriminatory policies in the form of low levels of education, widespread unemployment, rampant poverty and inadequate housing. It is not surprising, therefore, that levels of ambiguity should remain low as disadvantaged interest groups began to mobilise around clearly perceived equity-related objectives (Bekker, 1990).

The third period of change under review followed the first democratic election held on 27 April 1994. This period was characterised by the transformation of society as it attempted to free itself from the constraints of apartheid policy. New political structures have been established with the demarcation of the Durban metropolitan region into six administrative regions (Figure 2). The hierarchy of administration leads from a metropolitan mayor,
whose role is one of regional leadership and co-ordination, to local mayors who preside over each sub-region. Democratic elections to these new regional councils were held in June 1996. As determined efforts continue to be made to reverse past discriminatory practices, conflict between opposing interest groups remains high. The inherent complexity associated with this process of change ensures that ambiguity in policy development also remains high.

The final period predicted by the model is one of institutional response to change. In this current period, the new councils are confronted with the responsibility of transforming metropolitan Durban from a 'problem' to a 'sustainable city'. Progress towards meeting this challenge will be measured by the ability of the metropolitan council to rebuild institutions both on the urban periphery and city core areas that were previously decimated by apartheid policy (Hindson et al., 1994). With evidence of the failure of previous development policies visible on all sides, the new local government is in general agreement that future development strategies should be founded on a value system that is equity-orientated, environment-friendly and future-directed. Progress towards achieving these aims will require the local government to understand, accommodate and influence interest groups that feel threatened by changes that have sustainability as their objective. The resulting process of conflict resolution may involve a prolonged period of interaction with civic organisations, the private sector, the business sectors and non-government organisations in a manner that both promotes the vision of a sustainable city and empowers organisations and interest groups to respond in a manner that demonstrates their civic responsibility. A perspective on this issue is discussed in the next section.

A CULTURAL PERSPECTIVE ON CHANGE AND CONFLICT

People view the world through a cultural prism constructed by their formative home environment, educational background, religious beliefs, and work and recreational environments. The worldviews conceived in this way constitute a 'reality' for those who hold them (LeShan, 1976). An explanation for resistance to policy-induced change can therefore often be sought in the way individuals, special interest groups and communities respond to changes that threaten these realities. For example, a proposed highway through a fragile natural environment, the allocation of land for high-density settlement of homeless people adjoining middle-class and upper-class residential properties, or the decision to allow ritual slaughter of beasts in private residential properties, tends to provoke a social response that leads to the formation of groups who articulate either opposition or support for the proposed change in terms of their culture-induced worldview.

The operating assumption of the theory adopted here is that change-induced conflict can be explained in terms of moves between the 'reality'
components that structure individual worldviews (McWhinney, 1992). Influenced by the ideas of LeShan (1976), Pepper (1942), Burrell and Morgan (1979) and Bolman and Deal (1991), McWhinney (1992) makes the assumption that human beliefs, attitudes and behaviour can be encompassed within four ‘realities’ which he identifies as unitary, sensory, social and mythic. These realities can be mapped within two-dimensional space (Figure 3). The dimension of pluralism along the horizontal axis records the degree to which the change is directed towards monism, with its belief in the unity of the universe, or pluralism, which acknowledges its multiplicity. The dimension of agency along the vertical axis records the extent to which the cause of change is influenced by those who hold a deterministic worldview in which the universe is accepted as given, or by those who act out of volition on the assumption that they have freedom of choice. The pure archetype of each of these realities is located at the corners of the figure with the space between occupied by various mixes of the beliefs that comprise them. The mix of the realities that comprise the worldview of individuals is strongly influenced by their cultural environment. Therein lies the source of conflict because, ‘the resolution of conflict and the resolution of complex issues share the same framework: both depend on dealing with differences in the image of reality maintained by the various parties to the issue of conflict’ (McWhinney, 1992:9).

Figure 3
Dimensions of reality, modes of change between paired realities and levels of learning (modified after McWhinney, 1992)
The nature of each of these ‘realities’ is explained by McWhinney (1992) and outlined here in terms of their applicability to sustainable urban development. The unitary reality is the home of the absolute where questions and actions are provided by a single unifying explanation. This monistic and deterministic belief system represents the reality offered by religion and the theoretical sciences. It provides the unity of an idea structure that interprets the world in terms of immutable laws and forbids actions that are not encompassed within the authorised interpretation. The concept of sustainable development could come to be defined in these terms. Sensory reality is based in the belief that the senses define what is real. Located in pluralistic-deterministic reality, this belief in the physical reality of the environment and the measured data that support this conviction provides the information that informs not only daily behaviour but also supports the world of commerce and technology. Given the belief in this reality, it would be inconceivable to assess levels of urban sustainability other than by data collected on the biophysical and socio-economic components of the city. Social reality is about values, human feelings and moral codes. Social systems strive to achieve consensus on these attributes and seek to construct a reality out of actions and debates that exemplify them. However, the location of social reality within the dimensions of pluralism and free will affirms the freedom of each individual or group to contribute to moral and ethical debates. Constructions of social reality are therefore constantly subject to revision and adjustment in order to conform to current notions of morality. Such notions are in the forefront of the sustainability argument, particularly in relation to issues that confront transfers of equity and the wellbeing of future generations. Finally, mythic realities are constructed around individuals who have influenced society through the conception of new ideas and neotenic symbols. They stand alone in the reality of monistic free will, unfettered by the constraints of contemporary beliefs and endowed with a firm belief in a single ‘truth’. Such individuals would provide a vital leadership role in promoting sustainable urban development strategies.

While the classification of realities provides the components that structure worldviews, change cannot occur within the space of a specific reality: it is necessary for there to be a movement between components of reality. Given the relationship between change and conflict, it can be assumed that the resolution of conflict also involves linked communication between realities. Since each reality defines an innate structure, the direction of movement is from the innate reality that defines the need for change towards the reality that the individual or group intends to move in order to resolve the problem. This direction depends upon the nature of the problem and is reflected by the logics that are inherent in the paired realities. For example, sensory data on the depletion of scarce resources may signal the need for a change towards different consumption patterns. The solution may be perceived to lie in the
adoption of sustainable development practices. The monistic nature of the concept of sustainable development locates it in unitary reality. In this analytic mode of problem resolution, the two realities perform different roles leading from the problem located in sensory reality to the solution located in unitary reality. Altogether six alternative realities can be paired as strategies for change (Figure 3).

In addition to movements within the space of multiple realities, the successful resolution of problems may also depend upon the profundity of the learning process associated with change. Bateson (1972) visualised this aspect of change in terms of three levels of learning (Figure 3). The first level is about the process of information acquisition and learning at an elementary stage. The nature of the changes associated with this level of learning are simple and pattern-forming. Conceptualisation is weak so that notions of reality are vague. The shift towards a second level of learning takes place as the growth and expansion of concepts and ideas lead to greater freedom of movement between realities. However, it also accommodates different notions of reality between individuals or groups. It is these differences that lead to conflict when applied to change. When a problem is particularly intractable, therefore, the resolution of conflict may depend upon advancing to a third level of learning. This may require a quantum shift to a new logic. Perhaps Aldo Leopold's (1949) appeal to conflicting foresters and environmentalists in the United States to 'think like a mountain' provides a suitable example. This idea of achieving a balance between fast-moving economic and slow-moving ecological systems has profound implications for sustainable urban development.

McWhinney's (1992) model identifies a number of features that contribute towards a theory of change. The wide range of human beliefs, attitudes and behaviours are defined by four realities that are encompassed within the dimensions of pluralism and agency and informed by graded levels of learning. Change that leads to problem resolution necessitates a movement between realities. The direction of change between paired realities relates to the nature of the problem. While some problems may be resolved by paired movements between realities, complex issues usually involve a path of change that requires movements between multiple realities. While recognising that reality is not always easily defined and that directions of change may not always be in one direction, the model nevertheless provides an instrument that can be used both to understand the process and direction of change and to guide decision-makers along a path of conflict resolution.

A STRATEGY FOR CHANGE

While the concept of sustainable urban development offers an attractive normative vision for Durban policy-makers, the problem of formulating and
implementing appropriate policies is not easily resolved. Central issues concern the current low standing of environmental issues on the political agenda, bureaucratic ineptitude in facilitating the provision of housing, education and essential services for previously disadvantaged members of society, and the seemingly inert concept of responsibility towards future generations that appears to be held by the administrators of many current development programmes. In addition, the memory of failed ideologically-motivated apartheid policies remains fresh in the minds of policy-makers. Given these restraints, the primary question that now confronts policy-makers is how to introduce necessary changes without risking a repetition of another cycle of policy development followed by failure.

Given the complexity of the issues and the possibility of conflict between interest groups during the process of transformation, a strategy that incorporates an understanding of the roots of conflict has a greater chance of success than one without. McWhinney’s model provides an instrument for developing such a strategy. Its initial input cautions policy-makers to recognise the different beliefs held by individuals and groups on various combinations of reality. In addition, policy-makers are advised to be aware that strategies directed towards the resolution of complex issues cannot be achieved by a single movement between paired realities. The more complicated the issue, the more extended the path of resolution through the space of multiple realities. In the case of Durban, it is suggested that the path of change leads through four stages (Figure 4).

![Figure 4](image-url)

*Figure 4*
The direction of change between paired realities on the proposed path to sustainable urban development in the Durban Metropolitan Region.
The first stage has been completed. The history of this period began with the adoption of the Agenda 21 mandate by the Durban City Council in 1994. City administrators recognised that they possessed insufficient information to proceed with the formulation of policies directed towards sustainable development. They therefore commissioned an Environment and Development Study which identified three objectives (Hindson, et al. 1996). First, seventeen panels were convened to report on the bio-physical and socio-economic aspects of the metropolitan environment. Each panel was allotted a specific topic in an array that ranged from the atmosphere to law. The aim of each panel was to collect and present information derived from previous studies on the Durban metropolitan area in a format that would be helpful to policy-makers. Secondly, three community studies were undertaken in order to establish how its members perceived issues of environment and development, and the extent of their support for these issues. Thirdly, a data base and information system was assembled to facilitate future decision-making. Workshops were held to report on the information gathered by the various groups and the accumulated results were considered by an advisory committee drawn from all sections of the urban community. In this analytic phase, the innate problem was the growing awareness of the unsustainable nature of the urban environment. This was confirmed by the data provided by the panels, much of which was derived from sources located in sensory reality. The recommended solution contained in the monistic and normative vision of a sustainable city is located in unitary reality. The direction of change, therefore, is from the sensory towards the unitary reality.

The second stage is about leadership. This is a troublesome concept and one with which many members of complex societies possess an ambiguous attitude (McWhinney, 1992). One reason is the lack of awareness that distinct styles of leadership are often required at different stages in the process of change. Given the recent transformation of local government structures in the Durban metropolitan area, it may be too soon to identify potential leaders. It is pertinent, however, to comment here on the style of leadership required both in this and the following stages predicted by the model.

The style of leadership in problem resolution is influenced by the nature of the issues that are confronted and the resulting mode of change. For example, leadership from a unitary perspective will be different from that which operates from a social perspective: the first is authoritarian and prophetic, the second is facilitative. In this second stage in the path of problem resolution towards sustainable urban development, it is argued that the prophetic style is necessary. The concept of sustainable urban development can only take root if it is publicly adopted by respected authority figures in the metropolitan administration as a normative conception to inform future policy. This step draws upon the availability of 'mythic' leaders in the administration whose beliefs and powers of persuasion deny the existence of alternatives to
sustainable urban development. By the strength of their conviction and the force of their argument, such leaders are able to minimise conflict by persuading opposing interest groups to accept sustainability objectives. They also possess the courage to use legitimate power to change the rules that dictate and maintain current unsustainable policies in the city. The process of conflict-free change must necessarily falter at this stage if legitimate and powerful leaders do not present themselves.

Given the initial availability of prophetic leadership to establish the meaning of sustainable development as a unifying concept, the third stage moves forward by translating the logic of such development to a form of social expression. Central to this stage in the path of change is the empowerment of communities through enhanced participation in civic affairs as well as community acceptance of responsibility for sustainable development initiatives. This may mean moving to a third level of learning (Figure 3) in the search for an holistic paradigm that embraces social and environmental systems and links fast-moving economic and technological systems with slow-moving environmental ones.

The direction of change from a mythic to a social reality facilitates the transfer of the notion of sustainable development into the realm of public consciousness. In this stage the notion of leadership shifts from the prophetic to a style that facilitates the emergence of a public commitment to a form of urban development that promises hope for the disadvantaged, unity with nature, and confidence in the future. The role of facilitative leadership is to articulate the paradigm of sustainable development in a manner that informs members of society on how to interact with each other and with the environment. This may require development goals to be reframed in a manner that cuts across interest group objectives, thereby promoting a shift towards consensus between opposing groups.

The final stage in the path of change is about participative intercourse. The social values and sensory measures that are embodied in the logic of sustainability must become apparent in the policy initiatives that direct the development of the urban environment. This means continuous monitoring of the rules, values and objectives by which sustainable urban development is defined. This must be a joint operation championed by First World industrial and commercial organisations operating from a largely sensory reality that is determined by products and profits, as well as by Third World communities whose social reality has been shaped by the experience of discrimination, poverty and urban decay. Local government structures must necessarily play an important participative role in this process and this requires a further shift in leadership style.

Sustainable urban development is an issue of such complexity and magnitude that successful implementation necessitates a journey through the space of all four realities. Failure to complete the journey may provoke
damaging discord within the urban system. It therefore requires courage on the part of Durban metropolitan administrators to embark on the path of change, a firm belief in the principles that direct sustainability, and the data necessary to inform policies. Assuming the availability of civic leaders, the direction of change that involves emergent and participatory modes of resolution are crucial to the success of the strategy for achieving conflict-free change. It requires first, the ability of the metropolitan leaders to imbue communities with the logic of sustainable development, and secondly, the successful allocation of values between First and Third World communities. The goal of sustainability is approached when the necessary policies produce ‘a learning city, a sharing city, an internationally networking city’ (Haughton and Hunter, 1994), in which equity and environment objectives are visibly apparent and the welfare of future generations appears secure.

CONCLUSIONS

Fear of the consequences of resistance to policy initiatives places a constraint on metropolitan administrators. The more complex the issue, the greater the temptation to keep it off political agendas. The emergence of an issue such as sustainable urban development is one such example. Willingness on the part of Durban metropolitan administrators to accept the challenge presented by Agenda 21 and to embark on a protracted path of policy-making and conflict resolution, is, therefore, a manifestation of both vision and courage.

The authors of Agenda 21 recognised that each city will have distinct patterns of resource consumption, varying access to technology for processing and recycling waste and widely contrasting levels of wealth amongst its citizens. Each local authority is therefore charged to develop policies that suit the particular circumstances of the urban environment. By accepting Agenda 21, administrators have embraced a variety of problems that confront the Durban metropolitan region. These include the massive inflow of unskilled, poor and homeless people and the consequences of decades of apartheid legislation that located people on the basis of race and contributed towards an explicit differentiation between First World and Third World life-styles and resource consumption patterns. Many of these problems can be found in varying degrees in other South African cities. The differences between cities may not be important in the end and the model may be shown to have general applicability. In this case study, however, metropolitan Durban has been used as a reference point because of the determined start on the road to urban sustainability that has been made by the administrators of this city.

Policies that are developed in order to move towards sustainable urban development are likely to generate resistance. The root cause of this conflict is explained by McWhinney (1992) in terms of differences in the way individuals
and groups perceive reality. Classification of all human beliefs, attitudes and behaviours into the four dimensions of sensory, unitary, mythic and social reality provides the first steps towards understanding the nature of change-induced conflict. While some problems can be resolved by effecting a direction of change from the innate reality that defines the problem towards the reality that offers the solution, the resolution of complex issues requires an extended path of resolution through the space of multiple realities. It is proposed that the implementation of policy-induced change towards sustainable development for the Durban metropolitan area should proceed through four stages:

1. **Identifying the Problem**
   Sensory data provide the information base out of which emerges the recognition that urban development policies are unsustainable. This leads to the acceptance by metropolitan administrators that a solution to development problems lies in the strategies and values that support the notion of a sustainable city. This signals the start of change process that leads from the innate problem, located in sensory reality, to the intended solution that resides in unitary reality.

2. **Recognising the Importance of Leadership**
   Given vested interests in the status quo, change is unlikely to occur without courageous support by metropolitan administrators inspired by the logic of sustainable development. The path of resolution links the unitary conception of sustainability with the force of mythic acceptance and dynamic commitment by the metropolitan administration. The style of leadership at this stage is necessarily prophetic.

3. **Capturing the Support of the Public**
   The link between mythic and social realities recognises the need for participative planning with a dialogue between local government and community leaders directed towards the general acceptance of urban sustainability policies that are founded upon a basis of community empowerment. At this stage, the style of local government leadership shifts to a facilitative mode.

4. **Guiding the Implementation of Sustainable Urban Development Policies**
   The success of policies implemented across the broad range of issues that determine urban sustainability is measured by monitoring and the attendant comparison of the values held in social reality to the assessable achievements located in sensory reality. Participative leadership by local government is necessary to regulate and maintain the dialogue between groups that operate from opposing realities.
Durban has progressed through the first stage along the path of change and is in the process of entering upon the second stage. This is a critical period for any city. Without inspired and courageous leadership, visions of social justice, prospects of a diverse and vibrant natural environment, and aspirations for a better world for our children, a shadow will continue to lie between the idea and the reality of sustainable urban development.

REFERENCES


