

GLOBALISING KUALA LUMPUR: A LIVABLE CITY?

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INTRODUCTION

In recent years there has been an increasing concern about the development scenarios of cities, in particular with respect to their impact on the mental and physical well being of city dwellers. The United Nations (UN) through its Center for Human Settlements (HABITAT) and the World Bank have been at the forefront of debates concerning what is to become of our cities especially those located in the fast expanding developing countries. Arguably, this concern was aroused by unprecedented urbanisation trends, intensifying process of globalisation, and progressive deterioration of the urban environment. Many cities, as a result, have become unsafe for their inhabitants. More often, city residents and others earning a living in the city are engaged in an ongoing situational analysis of the environments of daily life (see Wekerle and Whitzman, 1995). Evidently, in the context of cities in the more advanced developing countries, environmental problems are closely associated with economic growth and rising affluence rather than with poverty as is the case with other developing countries (see for example World Bank, 1996). In the more advanced developing countries, there are many instance of globalisation

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process undermining communities and families at the local level (see for example United Nations Research Institute for Social Development, 1995).

GLOBALISATION AND GLOBAL PHYSICAL IMAGE

In 1996, the United Nations Centre for Human Settlements (HABITAT) published its report - *An Urbanizing World: Global Report on Human Settlements* - highlighting the need for world's cities to become sustainable, productive, safe, healthy, humane and affordable. Apparently, mega-cities, driven by demographics, accelerated by the globalisation and liberalisation of the world economy, conjure images such as 'exploding cities' and 'mushrooming cities'. These images implied that population growth and urbanisation in these cities is out of control and much has to be done with respect to urban governance in these cities (United Nations Centre for Human Settlement, 1996). It is argued that most of these cities have dysfunctional urban environments giving rise to high costs and contributing to the difficulty of generating economic growth which in turn is needed to improve the living standards of their inhabitants. This failure has resulted in the perpetuation of inequities among urban inhabitants (see for example World Resources Institute, 1996).

Another dimension of the globalisation process is that cities compete with each other for a role in the global economy (see for example Knight and Gapperts, 1989; Konvitz, 1995; Sassen, 1991). Many cities have been placed in new competitive situations within which their strengths and weaknesses are assessed and compared. Consequently, cities aspiring for a global role could not afford a negative tag or assessment by the global business and cultural communities. Since these cities wanted to be valued as places in which to live, work, invest and for recreation the way they are viewed became of critical significance (Ashworth and Voogd, 1990). Indeed, the perception of cities, and the mental images held of them, become active components of a city's economic success and

failure (*Ashworth and Voogd, 1990*). For these obvious reasons, most cities have attempted to correct inaccurate images of them by embarking on expensive image-selling. The target of such activities being compilers of "popularity league tables". These compilers score cities according to a range of indices such as safety, amenity and location factors. More recently, however, in the face of increasing globalisation of the urban economy, city marketing has been actively pursued. This activity has largely been interpreted as promotion, or even more narrowly the advertising of the city as a whole (van Gent, 1984; Peelen, 1987, cited in *Ashworth and Voogd, 1990*). But have cities really fixed the problems or are they just fixing the image?

Kuala Lumpur; Malaysia's engine of growth and prosperity, is one of a number of emerging cities in the Asia Pacific region aspiring to play a more important role in the global arena. Mega-projects are being implemented - some are under the direct stewardship of the Prime Minister himself - to re-image the city with a view to position Kuala Lumpur as a centre for global capital and consumption. Arguably, Kuala Lumpur would play a significant part in the country's international standing and competitiveness in an increasingly global society and economy. To what extent this could be realised depends largely on how competitive Kuala Lumpur is as a place for people to invest, establish enterprises, and in which to live and enjoy their leisure. Towards this end, Kuala Lumpur must be an efficient city, environmentally attractive and above all a livable place. Physical change is being actively promoted in the city based on a premise that global cities should have specific global physical image. The repositioning of Kuala Lumpur within the global web of cities has brought about (and will continue to bring about) changes and readjustment in the city and its immediate periphery (see *Morshidi and Suriati, forthcoming*).

The main objective of this paper is to examine the extent urban livability is being taken into consideration in the process of reconstituting Kuala Lumpur's socio-spatial and economic fabric. Urban livability is a concept pursued generally to

advance the goal of a humane and safe city whereby ordinary citizens of the city could lead a dignified and creative life (*see for example Short, 1989*). This concept will be elaborated later in this paper.

This paper argues that while certain aspects of urban livability are being considered by progenitors of changes in Kuala Lumpur's urban fabric (for example the Kuala Lumpur City Centre project) the absence of a clear, comprehensive and above all official 'vision for a livable city' has not resulted in an overall improvement in the physical and social environments of the city. Two important factors, the rapid urbanisation process and the intensifying globalisation of Kuala Lumpur, have affected power relationships surrounding the production and allocation of the built environment. Planning and development control gradually eroded resulting in haphazard development (Morshidi and Suriati, forthcoming). It shall be argued that while there are pockets of 'livable spaces' within the city, other areas of the city are becoming environmentally unattractive, unsafe and highly inefficient. If this situation persists either because of the absence of good urban governance or the failure of other city institutions, Kuala Lumpur would become unhealthy and a dangerous place in which to live and work. The paper will conclude with a plea for city planners in Kuala Lumpur to examine closely 'the incongruity between producers and consumers' of the Kuala Lumpur's urban landscape and that they fully appreciate the importance of creating urban livability in tandem with the process of globalisation of the city. Failure of government institutions to manage rapid changes as a result of this globalisation process and failure of the private sector to redevelop the urban fabric with the objective of preserving and promoting what is crucial to make Kuala Lumpur truly humane will undermine in the short to medium term Kuala Lumpur's livability and subsequently its position in the "popularity league tables".

URBAN LIVABILITY CONCEPT

Much of the literature on urban livability assumes that homeostasis between residents and the urban environment is a desirable relationship (Aitken, 1992). Pacione (1990) has provided a useful review of the development of research into the relationship between people and their every day urban environments that subsequently led to the development of an approach focused on the concept of urban livability. The literature on urban livability reviewed by Pacione (*for example, Altman and Wandersman, 1987; Altman and Werner, 1988; Altman and Zube, 1989; Downs and Stea, 1975; Krupat, 1985; Moore and Golledge, 1976; Porteous, 1977; Stokols, 1978; Stokols and Altman, 1987; Zube and Moore, 1988*) has provided a theoretical understanding of planning for livability of urban areas. The alleviation of stress through better legibility of the urban landscape or improvements in housing through better understanding of the impact of crowding and density on the human being are some examples of measures that could be undertaken to improve urban livability (see Bunske, 1990). It has to be recognised that a livable city goes beyond economic aspects such as size - social or human concerns are equally important if not of utmost important. It follows, in order to attain the goal of a livable city a wide range of social, economic, and physical needs must be satisfied (Pacione, 1990).

Evidently, since 1970, research into the various aspects of urban livability was part of a general effort to advance the goal of a humane or livable city (Pacione, 1990). From the literature, this concept is a relative rather than an absolute term whose precise meaning depends on the place, time, and purpose of the assessment and on the value system of the assessor (see Pacione, 1990). Also, characteristics of the physical and built environment, the structure and content of social, political and cultural environments could greatly affect livability aspect of cities. The non-absolute nature of the concept of livability was further emphasised by Ley (1990) who argued that the concept was polyvocal. For the middle class the concept implied a more

healthy environment and attention to culture and the arts. For the inner city inhabitants it carried a more rudimentary sense of social justice in such areas as jobs, housing, and public services. Arguably, the inherent conflict between these two interpretations of livability was real, even if largely unrecognised in particular cities (*see for example Ley, 1980, 1987*).

An attempt was made by the Brisbane City Council through *The Brisbane 2011 Plan* to formalise livability as a planning goal. This plan has defined livability as the attractiveness of an area as a place to live, work, visit and invest in, and how it succeeds in meeting people's need (*see Brisbane City Council, 1996*). To recognise livability as a goal is to recognise that it is imperative that all planning decisions are made not only in recognition of their own criteria but also in recognition of their impact on *livability* (*Regional Planning Advisory Group, 1993*). Livability indices that have been developed as mechanisms for defining, measuring and assessing livability and quality of life include aspects such as diversity, vitality, safety, economic access, physical access, visual access, environmental quality, economic viability, cosmopolitanism, identity, design and architectural sense, accountability and participation, receptivity and multiculturalism. (*Regional Planning Advisory Group, 1993*). More recently, the concept of urban livability is widely used, in the context of competition between cities in the global arena, as a slogan to outsiders, as another manifestation of the culture of consumption appropriated and proclaimed for the purpose of urban boosterism (*Ley, 1990*). In this context, urban livability has become a means of persuasion concerning the "inferred pecking" order of places, directed at multinational firms scanning the globe for suitable production locations.

KUALA LUMPUR: TOWARDS A LIVABLE CITY

Kuala Lumpur city is expected to grow from a total population of 1.1 million (1990) to 1.4 million (2000) and almost 2 million by the year 2015 (*United Nations Centre for Human Settlement, 1996*). In the period 1985 to 1995, the annual growth rate for the city was 1.98 percent. It is expected to increase to 2.26 percent in 1995 - 2005 and then decline to 2.09 percent by 2005 - 2015. This growth in population would ultimately put heavy demands on the city's infrastructure and resources.

A vision for Kuala Lumpur to deal effectively with growth and expansion was enshrined in a document *Kuala Lumpur Today and Tomorrow* prepared in 1991. For some reason, this document was never publicised as the official vision statement of the City Hall of Kuala Lumpur. The Kuala Lumpur Structure Plan, the city's principal statement of planning policy published in 1984, on the other hand. Activities of the city's planning authority followed rather than preceded the dynamics of growth arising from globalisation process (*Morshidi and Suriati, forthcoming*). The structure plan is now being reviewed but doubts have been raised as to the appropriateness of structure plan approach in the light of an intensifying globalisation process (*see Morshidi and Suriati, forthcoming*). Until such time as legislative and legal requirements are reviewed, structure plan document will be required and from it several more detailed local plans will be drawn.

With respect to the present unofficial document however, in a section describing the characteristics of "A People City", it is acknowledged that for living in the city to become a pleasure not just a necessity, it must satisfy people's ever increasing expectation of a better environment and lifestyle. To some extent, this document is an attempt to understand the complex relationship between urban development and the quality of the built environment. For example, the document noted that city environments need softening and above all, people must have space - space for passive and active recreation. In addition, the

environment must be safe, free of pollution, and it must be clean, but it should also in itself be a source of pleasure. In short, the document outlined City Hall's parallel concerns of creating a more livable city while achieving its ambitions of becoming a major player in the global economy, and this was to be achieved with careful planning and a clear perspective.

LIVABLE SPACES IN KUALA LUMPUR - THE KUALA LUMPUR CITY CENTRE PROJECT (KLCC)

Kuala Lumpur City Centre Holdings Sdn. Bhd., an investment holding company whose major shareholders are PETRONAS (Malaysia's national oil company), MAI Holdings and its affiliates, built the KLCC project on what used to be the Selangor Turf Club. The site is situated on the immediate fringe of Kuala Lumpur's Golden Triangle, a hotel and a commercial district that is currently the city's most valued and expensive real estate (Morshidi and Suriati, forthcoming). This development on a 40 ha site was developed based on a simple philosophy that the development will give high regard for the heritage of the city. Its livability aspect is stated as follows: as "a place for people to live, work, visit, shop, and enjoy life in a comfortable, convenient, secure and inspiring environment". In other words, it is a "great people place". This philosophy resonates well with the unofficial vision of turning Kuala Lumpur into a "People City".

The most important aspect of the project that will contribute to livability of Kuala Lumpur city is the 20-ha public park and garden. It is the heart of the project and will help dissipate the tensions of the work place. According to the Master Plan, the garden/park provides a variety of open space and landscape elements and is dominated by a lake. The lake provides an optional internal public transportation system as well as a major recreational element to the project, and will link building complexes within the project. As the lake and lake systems wind through the project, they separate the garden/park into a

series of distinct zones; active and passive, formal and informal. It provides the major link and continuity throughout the project, also reaching out to the edges to open up, draw into, and invite elements outside the project to within the heart of Kuala Lumpur. Undoubtedly, making KLCC a focus for civic, social, economic and cultural life would ultimately inspire a sense of citizenship among the inhabitants of Kuala Lumpur - a sense of being a full participant in the life of the city. Similar observations have been made in the context of other livable cities (see for example, *Lennard and Lennard, 1995*). In addition, parks have and always will be seen as the “lungs of the city”, a substitute countryside where exposure to fresh air and sun light, with the opportunity to stroll freely and relax, would serve as an antidote to the oppressive physical and psychological conditions of city life (*Carz, 1982; Heckscher and Robinson, 1977; cited in Carr, et. al. 1992*). *Carr et. al. (1992)* noted that there are often tensions between the motive of serving the public and the desire to enhance the corporate and government image. Interestingly, as in the case of KLCC project tensions which normally arise as a result of a desire to cater for the needs of the public has been reconciled quite successfully. For instance, the draft master plan indicated the size of the lake and garden/park was much larger than what was finally adopted. Maintenance cost was the most important consideration for scaling down the size of this component of the project. In spite of this, the idea of having a lake and the garden/park remain, with the main influencing objectives being minimizing maintenance costs and maximizing pleasure for the users. Arguably, the developer of the KLCC project wants to be seen as a good public citizen. But most importantly, the Prime Minister has played an important role in bringing about this amicable situation.

Livability aspect of Kuala Lumpur is significantly boosted as a result of the KLCC project which was highlighted in the preceding section. One aspect of the development, however, would have adverse effect on the city's livability. The KLCC project is expected to generate heavy traffic when the area is fully developed in 15 years time. It is projected that 42,860 one-

way vehicular trips will be generated daily. According to the consultant's analysis in the afternoon peak hour approximately 2,280 trips will enter the site and 5,460 trips will exit from the various land use parcels. Transport and industry have been identified as major source of air pollution accounting for 99 percent of the major pollutants in the city (see Sham Sani, 1987). A project of the scale of KLCC would almost certainly further deteriorate the environment of the city. Urban activities especially those conducted on a large scale would generate waste which in turn effects the environment. In order to fully assess livability aspect for the city as a whole it is therefore important to examine other indices of livability in particular the state of the urban environment.

The World Bank (1996) has identified three key priorities for action to make cities livable. These are; first, bringing basic services to the poor; second, a healthier environment; and third, finance for people in cities. To these should be added a fourth priority i.e. a safer city environment. These key areas are not mutually exclusive and so in order to create livable cities, strategies should necessarily cover at least these four areas. However, because of space constraint, in the context of this paper only the second and the fourth of these four priorities will be discussed.

KUALA LUMPUR - THE STATE OF THE CITY'S ENVIRONMENT

Generally, four of the most serious city-wide environmental problems are air pollution; water pollution; the collection and management of solid wastes; and noise pollution (United Nations Centre for Human Settlements, 1996). With respect to air pollution, Sham Sani (1987) has noted that already significant levels of air pollution have been recorded in various parts of the City of Kuala Lumpur. For example, suspended particulate levels along Jalan Pudu and Jalan Bangsar in the city reached $141 \mu\text{g}/\text{m}^3$ and $118 \mu\text{g}/\text{m}^3$ with maximum values reaching $313 \mu\text{g}/\text{m}^3$ and $249 \mu\text{g}/\text{m}^3$ respectively. These

evidently had exceeded WHO recommended level for suspended particulates of 40-60 $\mu\text{g}/\text{m}^3$. Sham Sani (1987) has also provided some indications of carbon monoxide pollution of as high as 50 p.p.m. some parts of the city. Also, ambient lead levels (mean daily values) of 4.5 $\mu\text{g}/\text{m}^3$ (Jalan Pudu) and 4.8 - 6.4 $\mu\text{g}/\text{m}^3$ (Jalan Tuanku Abdul Rahman) were recorded. The climate of Kuala Lumpur - low latitude tropics - has been shown to have a high potential for pollution unless steps are taken to reduce emissions.

Sham Sani's (1987) study has also provided some important trends water pollution and solid waste disposal in the city in the early eighties. Sungai Kelang that flows through the centre of Kuala Lumpur carries considerable quantities of industrial and domestic wastes. Waste generation in the city was already high in the early eighties and in terms of quantity of waste being disposed, more than 44 percent is by controlled tripping at designated landfills (Sham Sani, 1987). In 1988, the volume of solid waste generated was about 2000 tones per day and it is projected to increase to more than 4000 tones per day by the year 2000 (Lau, 1988). The latest report of the Department of Environment Malaysia (1996) shows that for some indicators, the environmental problems have not improved significantly. The scare regarding outbreaks of epidemic has heightened fears of deteriorating condition of sanitation and drainage. Several indicators of environmental condition will be discussed in the following section in order to highlight the state of the Kuala Lumpur's environment.

The livability aspect of Kuala Lumpur in the immediate past, could be assessed using data from the Malaysian Department of Environment. Available data for 1988 and 1995 indicates that the mix and concentration of air pollutants varied between areas in the city. Once again, airborne lead pollution, for example, is substantially higher in Jalan Pudu area of the city in 1989 compared to the adjacent highly industrialised built-up areas of Petaling Jaya and Shah Alam. However, the average concentration of lead since 1989 has been reduced progressively

(Fig. 1). It is important to note that airborne lead concentration in Kuala Lumpur is well below the WHO guideline.

Interestingly, on comparing data with other cities (see for example, United Nations Centre for Human Settlements, 1996), airborne lead pollution in Kuala Lumpur is very much lower than that of Bangkok, Jakarta, Manila and Mexico City. Arguably, a significant lowering of airborne lead concentration in Kuala Lumpur could be attributed to the increasing use of lead-free petrol while at the same time industrial emissions are being closely monitored.

With respect to total suspended particulate, even though the concentration in Kuala Lumpur is above the Malaysian guidelines of $90\mu\text{g}/\text{m}^3$, two other urban -industrial areas of Johore Bahru and Georgetown are worse off in comparison (Fig. 2). Between 1989 through 1995, Kuala Lumpur has managed to reduce the average concentration of total suspended particulates, but Johor Bahru and to some extent Georgetown were not quite successful in this respect.

Evidently, the average concentration of carbon monoxide arising from incomplete combustion of fossil fuels has been progressively reduced between 1992 and 1995. However, for certain times of the year this concentration tends to rise very steeply (Fig. 3). With respect to other components of ambient air pollutants such as nitrogen dioxide and sulphur dioxide, Kuala Lumpur fares better than its adjacent built-up areas of Petaling Jaya and Shah Alam (Fig. 4 and 5).

With respect to noise pollution, within the wider urban environment, there are usually four principal sources of noise - aircraft, industrial operations, construction activities, and highway traffic (Lee, 1985, cited in United Nations Centre for Human Settlements, 1996).

Data available for Kuala Lumpur for 1992 indicates that the maximum noise level is 81.3 dB(A) and the minimum is 72.7

dB(A). With increasing urbanization and related activities the situation is expected to get worst. From Figure 6, it is clear that Kuala Lumpur is experiencing intolerable level of noise pollution. With respect to river water quality, data for 1989-1995 indicated that Sungai Kelang which flows through the city was heavily polluted and the situation has deteriorated since then. Between 1989 and 1995, its water quality index had decreased from 60 in 1980 to 55 in 1995 (a rate of change of -1.44).

KUALA LUMPUR : A SAFE AND PEOPLE-FRIENDLY CITY?

The former Deputy Prime Minister of Malaysia once said that "The Government wants development but it does not want Kuala Lumpur ... to become like Chicago and Los Angeles ... (New Straits Times, Feb. 15, 1997). In fact, there is evidence to suggest that the inner-city problems in Western cities such as London and New York are being replicated elsewhere especially in the developing countries (Alden, 1996).

In this respect, Kuala Lumpur has its share of problems relating to law and order, vandalism and more importantly personal safety. A concern for a safer Kuala Lumpur has become a critical issue since the city is one of the main destinations for massive influx of illegal immigration into Malaysia.

Table 1 shows that a majority of crime in Kuala Lumpur was property - through thefts of motorcycles, burglary or other thefts. Even though crime rates in the City of Kuala Lumpur are not as high as those of Rio de Janeiro, Sao Paulo or Bogota, the rising trends should be a cause for concern. This is more so in the context of Kuala Lumpur aspiring to be a centre for global investment and culture. Kuala Lumpur could not afford areas in the city being labeled as unsafe after dark. From Table 2, in 1980 for example, of the 9027 cases of crime against property, 45.0% were other thefts, 27.0% (burglary), and 14.0% (thefts of

motor vehicles). By 1996, of the 13,522 reported cases of crime against property, there were other thefts (31.0%), 35.0% (thefts of motor vehicles), and 18.0% (burglary). The increase in urban crime and violence is a phenomenon of the Central Business District (CBD), as represented by the Dang Wangi Police Contingent. From Table 3, in 1996 there were 2579 incidents of crime and violent in Kuala Lumpur, the CBD accounted for 48%. Areas further away from the CBD have been showing a steady decline in urban crime and violence since 1985 (Table 3). In so far as crime against property is concerned, once again the CBD accounted for 41% of the total incidents (Table 4). Other areas outside of the CBD were also experiencing increasing rate of crime against property, except for Brickfields (Table 4).

With respect to violent crime, there was a fourfold increase between 1980 and 1996. For the whole of 1980, only 106 cases of violent crime were reported. Between January and July 1997, there were 331 reported cases of violent crime. This figure was significantly higher for the same time period in 1996.

Violent crimes in the city of Kuala Lumpur may inevitably create a sense of insecurity that generates distrust and intolerance among the people. Such crime, especially in the CBD can have serious impact on the urban economy and the night life. In so far as urban violence is concerned, it is the result of many influencing factors. Arguably, these factors affect each city depending on the specific local context (*see United Nations Centre for Human Settlements, 1996*). Chief among these factors are low incomes and its associated problems; contemporary urban environment in which attractive goods are constantly on display and this creates targets for potential criminals; and oppression in all its forms.

With rapid and significant development in the periphery of Kuala Lumpur (*such as at Putra Jaya*) the CBD of Kuala Lumpur may suffer from inadequate levels of investment. The

CBD is in dire need of substantial revitalisation and renaissance. There will be no such undertaking from the private sector in particular unless this area is regarded as safe. However, it has to be recognised that increased safety is a necessary – but not a sufficient – condition of revitalisation and renaissance (see *Oc and Tiesdell, 1997*). Oc and Tiesdell (1997) have argued that although it may not be possible to make the CBD completely safe, nonetheless it is possible to make this area safer so that more people perceive them to be so and use them safely and comfortably. Logically, their use by increasing numbers of people would lead to a revival of the public realm.

CONCLUSION

Unquestionably, the image that Kuala Lumpur chooses for itself is a powerful force in charting its future in the next millennium. While pursuing an important role in the global economy, there is an urgent need to carefully monitor the development of mega-projects so that the quality of the urban environment is not seriously jeopardised. Undeniably, large scale urban activities had some effect on the environmental quality of Kuala Lumpur. Deterioration of the quality of environment has in turn significantly reduced the livability aspect of Kuala Lumpur. While every effort has been made to ensure that new developments take full cognizance of the need to have public open spaces (parks or botanical gardens, etc.) it is ironical that the same project was allowed to generate heavy traffic which consequently lead to a reduction in the city's air quality. With the influx of illegal immigrants to the city, measures have to be instituted to ensure that Kuala Lumpur is a 'safe city' particularly its CBD. The CDB is a focal point for business, tourism and the arts. Here lies many testaments to the early development of Kuala Lumpur which had appeal for tourists. Lack of security in the CBD means a loss of trade. Abandonment of the CBD by the public, the business and entertainment communities will make it very difficult for Kuala Lumpur to be regarded as a livable city. A safer city

programme should be high on the agenda of the city's administration. A Twenty-four Hour City approach, for instance, could be adopted for the city. Based on the experiences of cities in the United Kingdom (see Oc and Tiesdell, 1997) the approach will be able to recapture the Kuala Lumpur's CBD evening and night-time economy. Twenty-four hour city strategy, which includes the promotion of formal entertainment sector, festivals and tourist initiatives, is an appropriate strategy to improve the night-time safety of the CBD. To realise its full potential, the strategy should be supplemented by a strong desire to attract inward investment and to act as a catalyst for economic regeneration. It was noted that the ranking of world cities are done in terms of public standard of living which places a high emphasis on quality of life, public convenience, safety, culture etc. and not based merely on the physical aspects of city like the height of our buildings. While urban change is inevitable, it is quite reasonable to work towards order, or at least some control over change. This is indeed a prerequisite for satisfactory quality of life and the creation of livable cities.

Inevitably, planners and urban designers have to specify the standards for Kuala Lumpur. The former Deputy Prime Minister summed up the challenges facing urban design professionals as follows:

“The growth of our cities must spring nationally from our vision of the human community in its manifold dimensions: social, economic, cultural and moral. There must be a feeling of spontaneity, a sense of liberty within the urban space, yet not devoid of a sense of order and solidarity among the inhabitants” (*Anwar Ibrahim; 1995*).

Kuala Lumpur must become a desirable place to live and not flee from, if it wants to realise its global ambitions. The city

must draw on lessons learned over the past few years to make it more livable in the future.

Table 1

Kuala Lumpur: Urban Crime and Violence, 1980-1996

<i>Crime Categories</i>	<i>1980</i>	<i>1985</i>	<i>1990</i>	<i>1996</i>
Crime Against People	1037 <i>10.30</i>	3060 <i>15.51</i>	2217 <i>17.34</i>	2579 <i>16.02</i>
Crime Against Property	9027 <i>89.70</i>	16668 <i>84.49</i>	10568 <i>82.66</i>	13522 <i>83.90</i>
Total	10064 <i>100.00</i>	19728 <i>100.00</i>	12785 <i>100.00</i>	16101 <i>100.00</i>

Note: Percentage in parenthesis

Source: Recalculated from unpublished data provided by the Kuala Lumpur Police Contingent.

Table 2

Kuala Lumpur: Crime Statistics, 1980-1996 (in percent)

	<i>1980</i>	<i>1985</i>	<i>1990</i>	<i>1996</i>
<i>Violent Crime</i>				
Murder	0.23	0.28	0.27	0.32
Attempted Murder	-	0.04	0.02	0.04
Robbery (group; armed)	0.02	0.06	0.03	0.06
Robbery (group, unarmed)	0.49	1.26	0.62	1.08
Robbery (armed)	0.67	1.29	1.26	1.00
Robbery (unarmed)	7.54	10.26	11.65	9.94
Rape	0.31	0.21	10.71	0.53
Assault	1.05	2.03	2.78	3.06
<i>Crime Against Property</i>				
Burglary	26.63	22.80	21.23	17.74
Theft of vehicles	14.15	26.32	21.63	35.08
Theft of bicycles	4.13	1.55	0.97	0.60
Other thefts	44.78	33.80	38.83	30.56
Total	10,064 <i>100.00</i>	19,728 <i>100.00</i>	12,785 <i>100.00</i>	16,101 <i>100.00</i>
Population ^(a)	921,000	1,061,000	1,122,000	1,238,000 ^(b)

Note: (a) From United Nations Centre for Human Settlements (HABITAT), 1996.

(b) Data for 1995

Source: Recalculated from unpublished data provided by the Kuala Lumpur Police Contingent

Table 3

Kuala Lumpur: Urban Crime and Violence by Police Contingent Areas, 1980-1996

<i>Police Contingent</i>	<i>1980</i>		<i>1985</i>		<i>1990</i>		<i>1996</i>	
	<i>No.</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>%</i>
Dang Wangi	499	48	1046	34	845	38	1238	48
Brickfields	198	19	494	16	329	15	365	14
Cheras	142	14	618	20	577	26	449	17
Sentul	198	19	902	29	466	21	527	20
Total	1037	100	3060	100	2217	100	2579	100

Source: Recalculated from unpublished data provided by the Kuala Lumpur Police Contingent.

Table 4

Kuala Lumpur: Crime Against Property by Police Contingent Areas, 1980-1996

<i>Police Contingent</i>	<i>1980</i>		<i>1985</i>		<i>1990</i>		<i>1996</i>	
	<i>No.</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>%</i>
Dang Wangi	3628	40	5910	35	3837	36	5482	41
Brickfields	1892	21	3295	20	2077	20	1717	13
Cheras	1520	17	3524	21	2586	24	2919	22
Sentul	1987	22	3939	24	2068	20	3404	25
Total	9027	100	16668	100	10568	100	13522	100

Source: Recalculated from unpublished data provided by the Kuala Lumpur Police Contingent.

Source: Recalculated from unpublished data provided by the Kuala Lumpur Police Contingent.

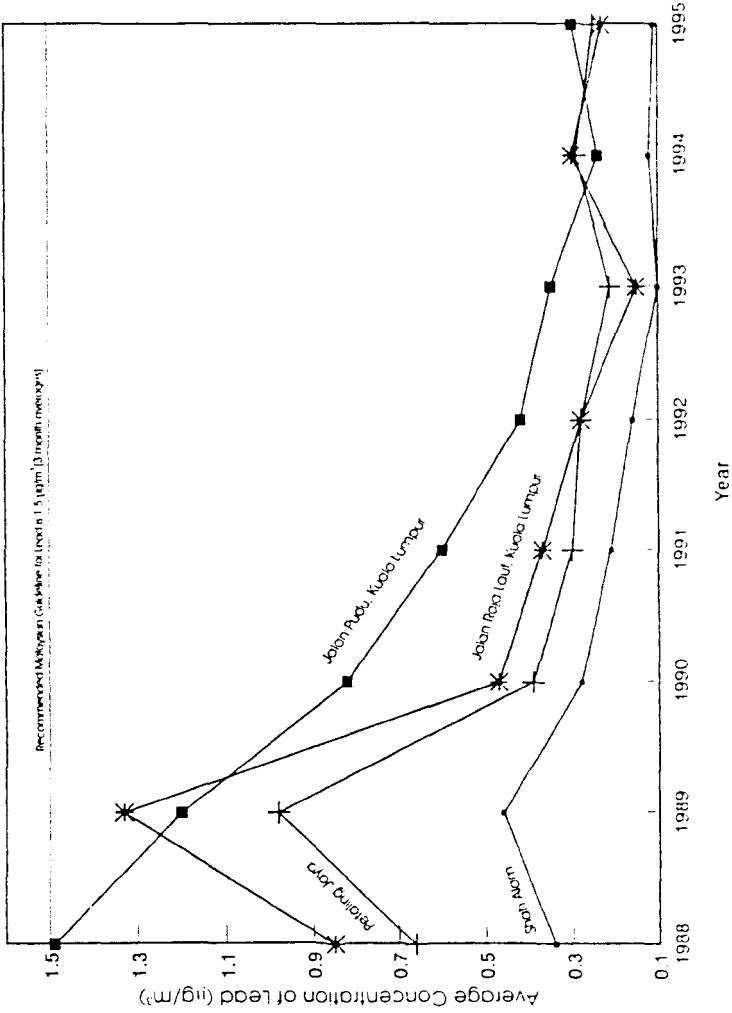


Figure 1

Kuala Lumpur & Selangor: Annual Average Concentration of Lead, 1988-1995

Source: Department of Environment, Malaysia, 1996

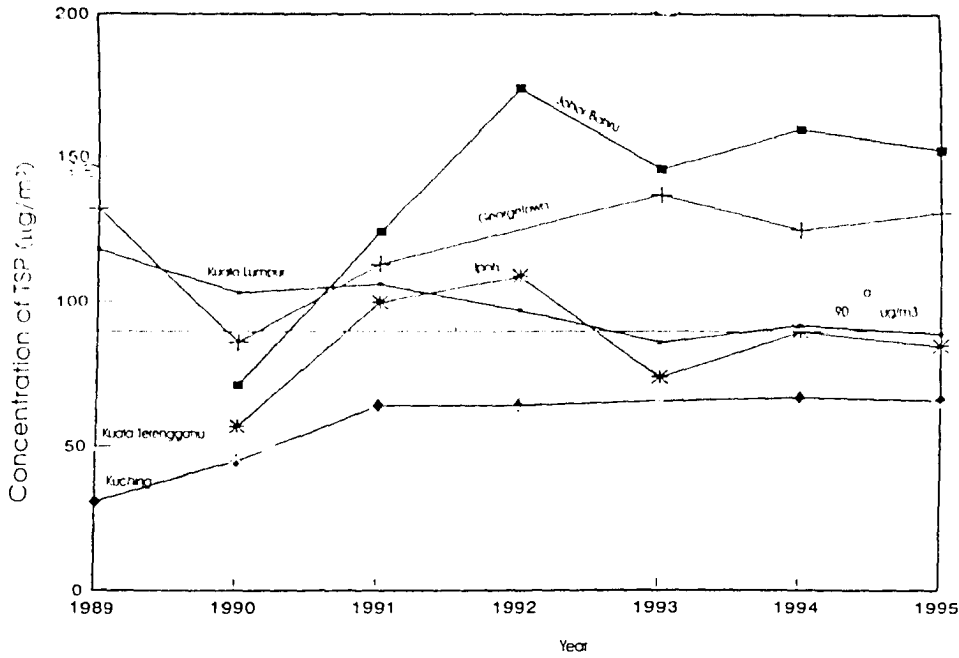


Figure 2

Malaysia: Average Concentration of Total Suspended Particulates (TSP), 1989-1995

Note: a - Malaysian Guidelines for Total Suspended Particulates

Source: Department of Environment, Malaysia, 1996

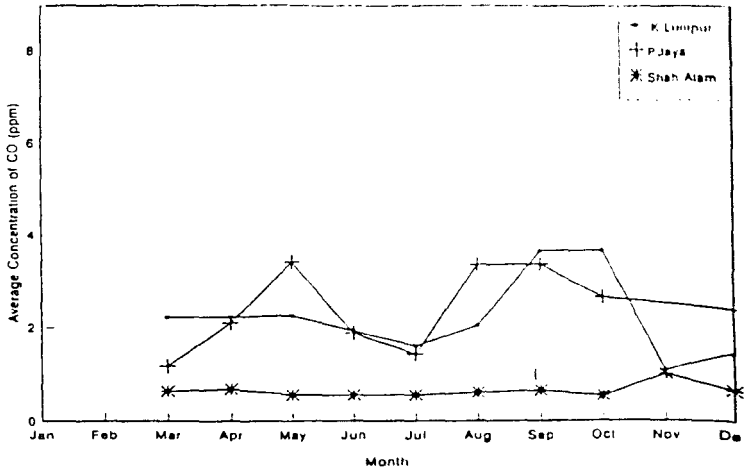


Figure 3a
Klang Valley: Monthly Concentration of Carbon Monoxide (CO) 1992

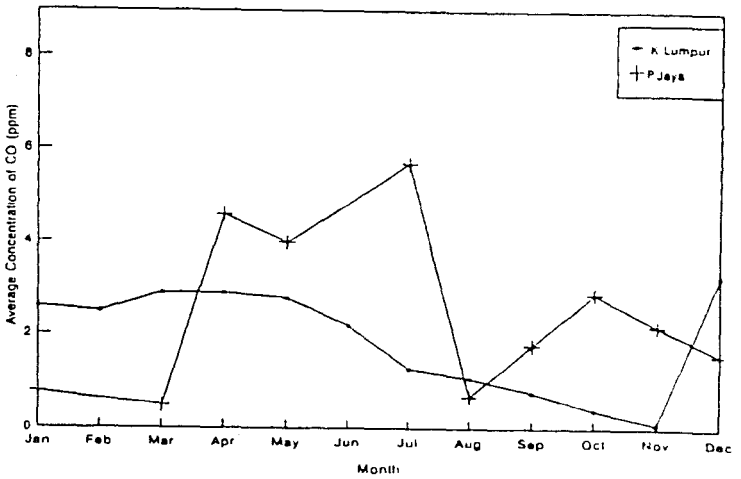


Figure 3b
Klang Valley: Monthly Concentration of Carbon Monoxide (CO) 1995

Note: Recommended Malaysian Guideline for CO = 9 ppm

Source: Department of Environment, Malaysia, 1996

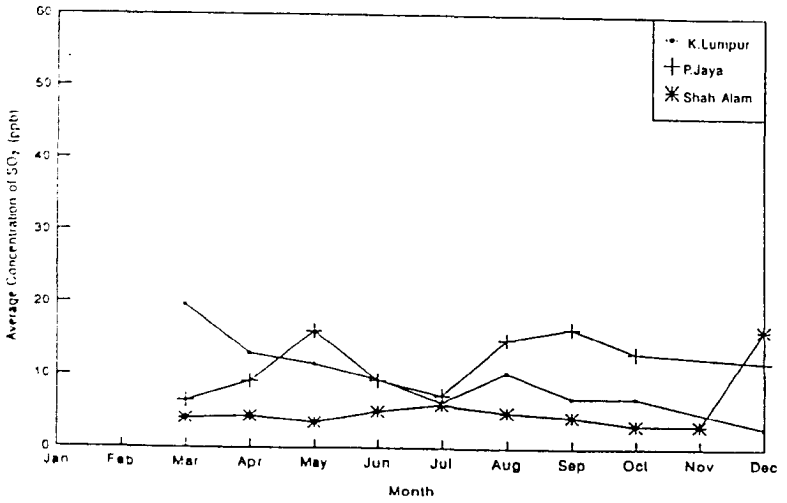


Figure 14B

Klang Valley: Monthly Concentration of Sulphur Dioxide (SO₂), 1992

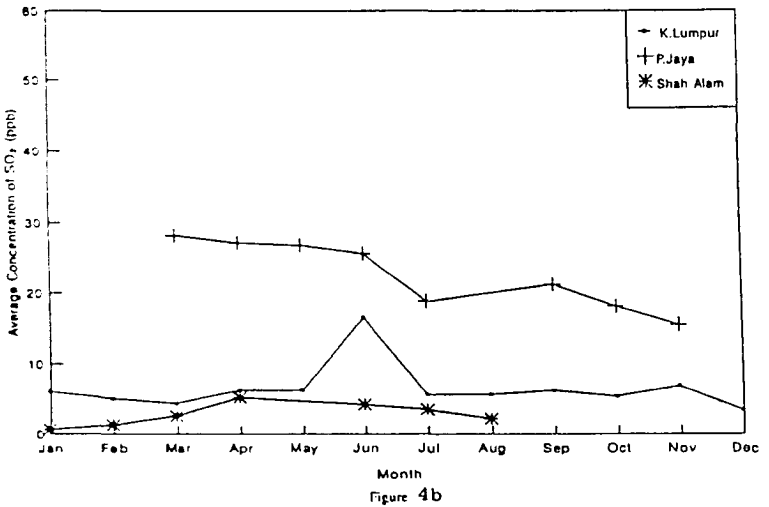


Figure 4b

Klang Valley: Monthly Concentration of Sulphur Dioxide (SO₂), 1995

Note: Recommended Malaysian Guideline for SO₂ = 40 ppb

Source: Department of Environment, Malaysia, 1996

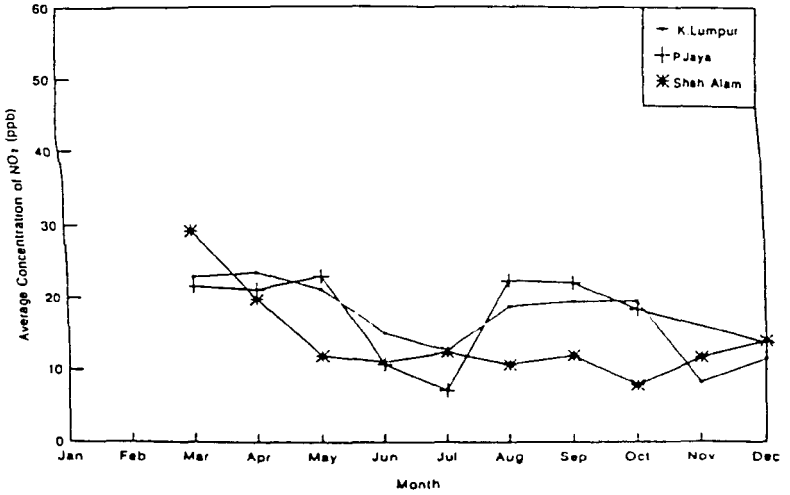


Figure 5a

Klang Valley: Monthly Concentration of Nitrogen Dioxide (NO₂), 1992

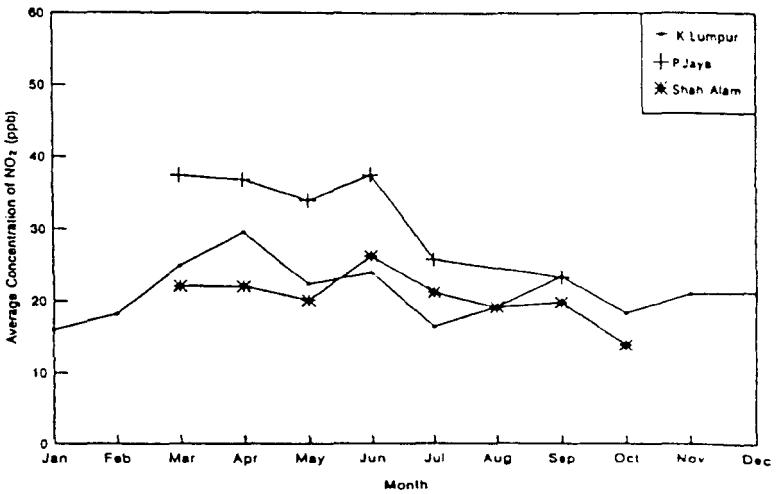


Figure 5b

Klang Valley: Monthly Concentration of Nitrogen Dioxide (NO₂), 1995

Note: Recommended Malaysian Guideline for NO₂ = 40 ppb

Source: Department of Environment, Malaysia, 1996

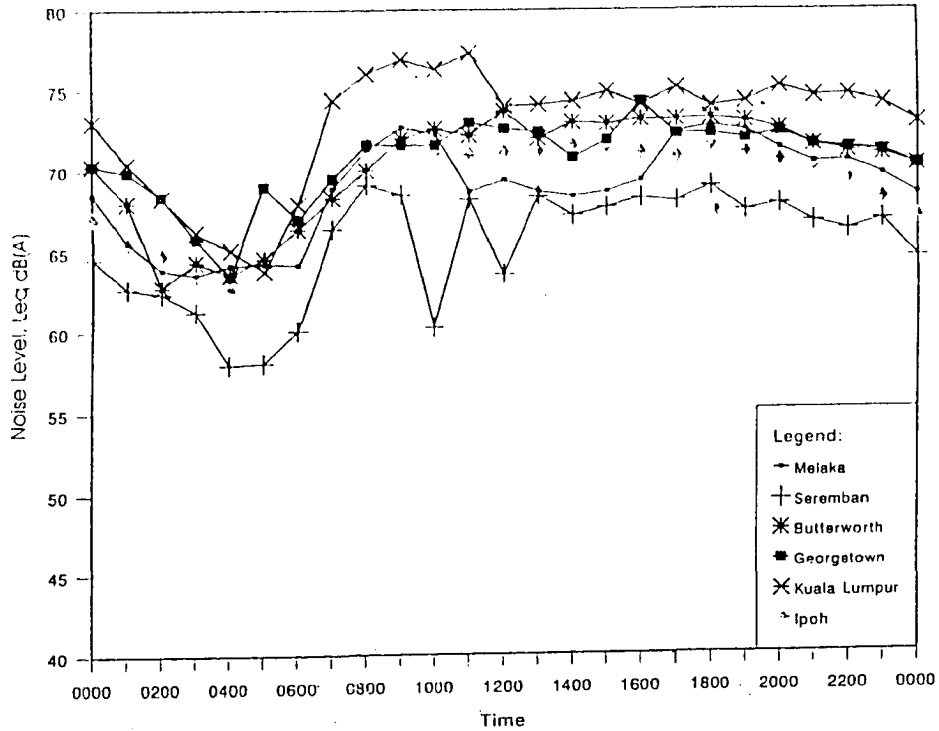


Figure 6

Malaysia: Traffic Noise Patterns at Selected Sites in Urban Areas, 1992

Source: Department of Environment, Malaysia, 1996

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