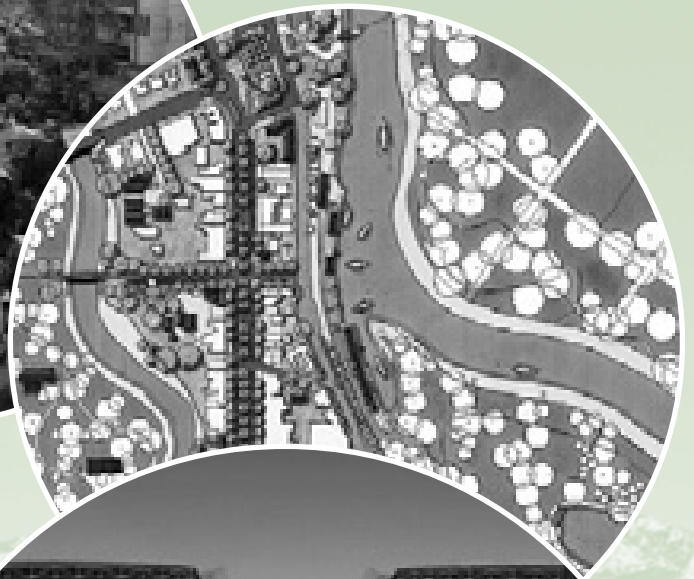# PART II

GLOBAL TRENDS: THE URBAN PLANNING PROCESS (PROCEDURAL)

THE EMERGENCE AND SPREAD OF CONTEMPORARY URBAN PLANNING

This chapter deals with the emergence and spread of modernist urban planning, and the reasons for its persistence in many parts of the world. It then turns to the various innovative approaches to urban planning that are being attempted in both developed and developing countries, and examines the extent to which these meet the normative criteria for planning systems set out in Chapter 1.

The term 'modernist planning' refers to the approach to urban planning that developed in the post-1850 urban industrial period in Western Europe and other advanced capitalist countries. While there are many variations of modernist planning, it generally involves a particular process of producing plans (which was 'top down' and expert led, and regarded as solely a function of government); a particular form of plan (generally known as a master plan, underpinned by a land-use regulatory system); and the promotion of a particular urban form (urban modernism, characterized by mono-functional use areas, low-built densities, movement systems based on the private car, tower blocks and quantities of green open space).

The planning of urban settlements has been taking place since the dawn of civilization, and the first section refers to the evidence in this regard. However, in the latter part of the 19th century a new set of ideas about planning settlements emerged, originally to deal with the negative health consequences associated with the Industrial Revolution. During the first part of the 20th century, planning became, for the first time, an accepted function of government, and planning developed into an organized profession. The second part deals with this new development of planning. The notion of what constitutes a well-planned urban environment, which was shaped by a particular time and place, was then spread through a range of different mechanisms to other parts of the world. The third part discusses this diffusion of modernist planning. Significantly, the modernist approach has proved resistant to change in recent decades. As the fourth section argues, modernist planning still persists in many parts of the world, despite the fact that the urban issues and problems that it is meant to address have changed considerably. This section reviews this persistence of the approach, why it has occurred and why this can be regarded as a problem. The fifth section of the chapter recognizes that in many parts of the world

there are also shifts towards new or contemporary approaches to urban planning. While these are highly varied, they nonetheless have elements in common that bring them closer to the normative criteria for planning identified in Chapter 1. This section deals with the new approaches.

The chapter emphasizes the point that these new approaches should not be viewed as models that can be applied in all contexts. An important lesson from the experience of modernist planning is that planning approaches, which have been shaped by a particular context, should not be considered as models and imposed uncritically on very different contexts. While planning has common purposes, tasks and types of tools throughout the world, the form these take will always be shaped by the social and cultural norms of particular places.

EARLY FORMS OF URBAN PLANNING

Urban planning is as old as human settlement itself, and archaeologists have uncovered evidence of urban planning in the Middle East and North Africa, Latin America, Asia and sub-Saharan Africa. The purpose of briefly reviewing these findings here is to emphasize the point that whether or not settlements are planned is not optional: they have always been planned, although not always by governments and not always according to the tenets of modernist planning. A main premise of this Global Report is not whether there should be urban planning, but rather what form it should take.

Middle East and North Africa

The Middle East is home to some of the oldest cities in the world, and Old Jericho is believed to be the first city on Earth.[1] A considerable degree of planning competence was necessary to produce materials such as the sun-dried bricks that were used to construct the houses, the large trench, tower and other structures found within Jericho, as well as the wall that enclosed and protected the town from external threats. The ancient cities of the Fertile Crescent of Mesopotamia (present-day Iraq) attained the peak of their development about 2800 BC. One of the best known of

The planning of urban settlements has been taking place since the dawn of civilization

A main premise of this Global Report is not whether there should be urban planning, but rather what form it should take

these, Uruk, covered an area of about 445ha and contained as many as 50,000 inhabitants.[2] Another ancient city, Catal Hüyük, in present-day Turkey, was already well developed in terms of its urbanity by 6000 BC. Istanbul has ancient origins, and served as the capital of three historic empires: the Eastern Roman (324–395 AD), the Byzantine (395–1453 AD) and the Ottoman (1453–1923 AD). It was a leading socio-economic and cultural centre in the Middle East and has been classified as a 'world city' as a result of its historical heritage.[3] The ancient cities of Egypt emerged not long after urbanization had begun in the Mesopotamian region. Memphis and Hierakonopolis were established by 3100 BC during the reign of Menes, the first paramount pharaoh of a united Egypt.

Western Europe

Cities in Greece and Italy show the earliest evidence of urban planning in Western Europe. The location and physical structure of towns in these two civilizations were largely influenced by military concerns. For instance, Athens, which evolved from a small farming village from about the end of the fourth and beginning of the third millennium BC, was located on an isolated fortified hilltop. In addition to the encircling wall, there was the Acropolis, which was a large citadel, and the Agora, which served as the centre of socio-political and economic life, a central meeting place, and a market. Streets in Greek cities prior to the advent of the 'Hippodamian grid', which later became a dominant feature of cities in the Greco-Roman world, were irregular. The streets were deliberately made to meander for military reasons, as this rendered navigation difficult for invading forces. It was not until the 7th century BC that the gridiron street pattern was introduced in human settlements in Greek colonies.

Rome initially developed as a village of shepherds in the 8th century BC. The Etruscans inhabited the city during the early days of the Roman Empire and laid out its earliest system of public infrastructure, including streets, sewers and municipal buildings. To facilitate effective administration, the city was divided into four distinct districts during the 5th century BC. Julius Caesar (49–55 BC) had an interest in spatial design and developed an elaborate plan for the city. The plan divided the city into 14 districts, and created a street pattern dominated by two major streets. The plan included paved streets, schools and libraries.

Latin America

Latin America had urban civilizations of great antiquity, such as the Maya, Aztec and Inca civilizations. Located in the Yucatan, the Mayans became prominent around 250 AD in present-day southern Mexico, Guatemala, western Honduras, El Salvador and northern Belize. The Mayans were already living in urban settlements by 2600 BC. Some of these settlements had populations in excess of 300,000 by the late 1400s when Christopher Columbus arrived in the region. The Aztec Empire was located in Central Mexico on the site currently occupied by Mexico City. The empire's

capital, Tenochtitlan, was built on raised islets in Lake Texcoco. The Inca Empire stretched for about 4020km from Quito in present-day Ecuador to the Maule River in Chile. Archaeological research has uncovered evidence of an elaborate ancient architecture, including temple-pyramids, palaces and observatories. The urban infrastructure of the Incas includes 22,530km of well-planned and maintained footpaths.

East and South-East Asia

Cities dating back to about 3500 BC existed in Mohenjo-Daro in the Indus Valley and at Harappa in the Punjab. These cities had sophisticated spatial design structures, public bathrooms, well-designed systems of covered drainage laid at depths of up to 0.6m below the street level, and broad paved streets.[4] There is a striking similarity between these historic urban settlements and what was later introduced in the region under the banner of modernity. The ancient towns of the Indus Valley in the north-western region of present-day Pakistan assumed a compartmentalized spatial structure with distinct areas for different land-use activities.

In ancient China, cities were typically constructed around a gridiron street pattern, criss-crossing at right angles and often punctuated by six avenues. Cities were often enclosed within walls, in the same manner as ancient Greek cities. The street pattern in these cities bore a striking resemblance to what was to be introduced by European colonial authorities. European colonial authorities employed the gridiron street pattern not only to facilitate the mobility of people, goods and services, but also as an instrument of social control and acculturation. Until the Tang Dynasty (618–907 AD), urban planning in ancient China was rigid and highly centralized. A more decentralized form of planning emerged following the demise of the Tang Dynasty and with the rise of the Song Dynasty (960–1279 AD).

Sub-Saharan Africa

Many towns and cities flourished in Africa prior to the colonial era. These include Meroë, Axum, Kumbi-Saleh, Timbuktu, Djenne, Ife and Gao in North and West Africa, and Great Zimbabwe, Kilwa, Sofala, Mombasa and Zanzibar in South and East Africa.[5] Meroë was established in about 560 BC and served as the capital of the Black Kingdom of Kush. Some of these cities were surrounded by walls of stone or earth.[6] Walls surrounding these ancient cities had three main purposes: defining the settlements, controlling growth and protecting the inhabitants from external threats.

Often, the towns were intersected by avenues and alleyways, which opened onto broad thoroughfares. In the more politically centralized polities such as Asante, Yoruba, Hausa and Ganda, the towns were configured in radial concentric formations with roads that originated at the ruler's compound or a central marketplace, and radiated to various provincial centres. In south-western Nigeria, the planning process adopted was one that enhanced the realization of aspirations and protected socio-economic and political interests.[7] For instance, the location of the main

market in close proximity to the king's palace was meant to facilitate easy access to a wide variety of goods, especially food items by the king's household. Similarly, safety and security were the major considerations in the road network design and social institutions surrounding the palace. 'Planning activities' such as the construction of roads and markets, drainage clearance and digging of waste disposal sites were often undertaken under the supervision of family heads and local chiefs who in turn reported back to the king.[8] The towns remained essentially agrarian, regardless of their size. This meant that ancient African towns successfully maximized the use of urban space while minimizing the feeling of congestion.

East and Central Europe

East and Central Europe also has a history of urbanization dating back thousands of years. Nesebar is one of Europe's oldest cities. The ancient city's spatial structure was largely influenced by the Greeks who colonized the region at the beginning of the sixth century BC. This explains typical ancient Greek urban design features such as the acropolis, a temple of Apollo, an agora and a wall with Thracian fortifications. Dubrovnik, also known as Ragusa, is a historic city founded in the seventh century and located on the Adriatic Sea in Croatia. One remarkable aspect of Dubrovnik is that as far back as 1272, it had well-developed local governance statutes, which included urban planning regulations. The regulations included elements specifically addressing matters of general welfare, health and sanitation. A third ancient planned city, Novgorod, dates back to the tenth century.[9] The city benefited from its first formal planning initiative in 1530, when the authorities made conscious effort to replan its streets. In 1723, Peter the Great replanned the city, and present-day Novgorod has since developed around the framework that was established during this time.

In sum, urban planning has been practised by all regions and cultures since the earliest times. It represented a collective effort by societies to organize their living spaces in ways that were most suited to their environments, economies and political structures, although this sometimes expressed imbalances in power and wealth. In the 21st century there are parts of the world where planning is no longer a useful tool through which societies can organize their living spaces; but there is no reason why it cannot be reformed to play this role.

THE EMERGENCE OF MODERNIST PLANNING

Modernist planning emerged in the latter part of the 19th century, largely in response to rapidly growing, chaotic and polluted cities in Western Europe, brought about by the Industrial Revolution. From the outset, it was influenced by two sets of factors: technical and ideological.[10] The first set of factors accounted for planning's effort to combat the negative externalities of industrialization and urbanization.

In this regard, planning and health officials collaborated to contain contagious and deadly diseases such as cholera and other epidemics. Accordingly, planning and public health were linked, with ancestry in the English sanitary movement of the 1840s.[11] Urban planners, most of whom were civil engineers and health professionals, were required to design schemes to improve sanitation conditions in residential areas and work places. Other efforts sought to separate land-use activities, especially residential, from industrial zones. Yet others were designed to separate those infected by contagious diseases from the rest of the population.

Planning has also been described as a tool for attaining political and ideological goals of the state or ruling class. It was not uncommon, therefore, for middle- and higher-income groups to use planning as a way of maintaining their property prices and excluding 'less desirable' lower-income residents, ethnic minorities and traders from their areas.[12] In this regard, 20th-century developments in European urban planning are characterized as 'essentially a political, social, cultural, professional and technical response to a blend of circumstances which marked the years at the turn of the century'.[13] Technical and ideological factors collectively produced a number of urban 'visions' put forward by particular individuals. These were to shape the objectives and forms of planning, which in turn showed remarkable resilience through the 20th century.

Three essential components characterized planning for most of the 20th century.[14] The first was that it was seen as an exercise in the physical planning and design of human settlements; hence, while it responded to social, economic or political matters, it was not seen as the task of planning to intervene in these matters. Planning was therefore perceived as a technical activity to be carried out by trained experts without the involvement of politicians or communities. Second, planning involved the production of master plans, blueprint plans[15] or layout plans, showing a detailed view of the built form of a city once it attained its ideal end-state. Third, planning was viewed as a normative task that should be driven by a particular set of values which described the ideal living environment and, in the view of planners, reflected the 'public good'. Broadly, these values tended to be quite specific to the time and place in which they were formulated. Hence, early British town planning was strongly influenced by the radical and utopian socialism of the time and a nostalgic longing for the village life of medieval England. One of the most influential planning forms of the time, the Garden City, developed by Ebenezer Howard, represented an attempt to recreate this village life through bringing 'green' back into towns made up of winding roads and separate cottage residences, and through controlling the size and growth of the town. The objectives here were twofold: social – the preservation of a traditional way of life which was essentially anti-urban; and aesthetic – bringing the beauty of the countryside into the towns.[16]

In other countries where the concept of planning emerged to counter the 'horrors' of the industrial city, other normative visions prevailed. In France, the ideas of Le Corbusier during the 1920s and 1930s established the ideal of the 'modernist' city,[17] which came to be highly influential

internationally and still shapes planning in many parts of the world. Le Corbusier held that the ideal city was neat, ordered and highly controlled. Slums, narrow streets and mixed-use areas were to be demolished and replaced with efficient transportation corridors, residences in the form of tower blocks with open space 'flowing' between them and land uses separated into mono-functional zones.[18]

In the US, early 20th-century visions of the ideal city were different. Frank Lloyd Wright's solution to the problems of rapid industrialization in New York took the form of low-density, dispersed cities with each family on its own small plot, but using the modern technologies of the time (such as the car) to access other urban functions. Some argued that the seeds of later suburbia are to be found in these ideas. Other elements of American urban idealism were drawn from Europe: Le Corbusian modernism inspired skyscraper development and the City Beautiful movement drew on the boulevards and promenades of the great European capitals. The political agenda underlying these ideas should not be lost: for the middle class 'the planner's first aim was to eliminate the breeding places of disease, moral depravity, discontent and socialism'.[19]

But while the spatial forms promoted in the planning visions tended to vary, the nature of the plans that produced them had more in common. The *master plans* which carried these urban visions were based on a number of key assumptions that:

- Planners possessed particular design expertise, much like architects, but that once the design was complete it was then up to other professionals to implement it.
- Planners were the custodians of the 'public good', which they were entrusted to promote, through their plans. The UK planning system has generally accepted a state interpretation of aggregated individual preferences, which sets the goals of amenity, convenience and efficiency as standards to define the best use of land. But in the US, much land-use policy has been driven by a market-related ethic which holds that the right decision is the one which creates the greatest aggregate level of social benefit, indicated by the price signals of a free market economy in land.
- Through the design of physical space it would be possible to shape the nature of societies which occupied it. The assumption that the 'neighbourhood unit' planning model could create social communities was a good example of this.
- Plans should be comprehensive. The modernist assumption here is that planners can envisage new and better urban worlds, and plan for them.
- It was possible to predict both the scale and nature of population and economic growth over the long term and plan for this.
- Cities were amenable to manipulation in terms of these plans: that local governments as the implementers of plans had sufficient control over the use of each land parcel to ensure that the plan would eventually be realized.

- It was possible to envisage a future ideal state for each city and to achieve this through the plan, and that thereafter no further change would occur.

The close partner to the master plan was the development control system, or zoning scheme. If the master plan was the 'creative' and forward-looking vision of the city, then the zoning scheme was the primary legal tool through which it would be implemented. This took various forms. In the UK, development rights are nationalized. Local plans give an indication of future land use but no automatic rights, giving wider discretionary powers to planners when faced with a development application. In the US, the forward plan (comprehensive plan) plays a less important role in most cities and may be disregarded. The important planning tool is the zoning scheme,[20] giving property owners with particular land-use rights almost unlimited right to exercise them, with any challenge to this taking place through the courts rather than being adjudicated by the forward plan.[21]

The concept of land-use zoning originated in Germany and was adopted with great enthusiasm across the US and Europe in the early part of the 20th century. In the US, it was declared a general police power in 1926[22] and 754 communities had adopted zoning ordinances by 1929. In the UK, the 1932 Town and Country Planning Act carried forward ideas of master planning and development control, and provided a model for much colonial planning. These ideas were also reflected in European planning of the time, where the concept of detailed land-use zoning and master plans has been even more resilient.[23]

This modernist concept of planning, which emerged in response to a very particular time and set of regional circumstances, spread throughout the world in the following decades. The next section examines why and how this occurred.

THE GLOBAL SPREAD OF MODERNIST PLANNING

A central observation in this Global Report is that in many parts of the world, planning systems are in place that have been imposed or borrowed from elsewhere. In some cases, these 'foreign' ideas have not changed significantly since the time they were imported. Planning systems and urban forms are inevitably based on particular assumptions about the time and place for which they were designed; but these assumptions often do not hold in other parts of the world and thus these systems and ideas are often inappropriate in the context to which they have been transplanted. Frequently, these imported ideas have also been drawn on for reasons of political, ethnic or racial domination and exclusion rather than in the interests of good planning. This section first examines the mechanisms through which these planning ideas were transferred from one part of the world to another, and then the form which they took in the adopting region.

Mechanisms for the transfer of planning ideas

Urban planning ideas were spread in a number of different ways. Planning historians[24] have offered a typology of the transfer of planning ideas: the first category being 'imposition' (through authoritarianism, contestation or consensus) and the second category being 'borrowing' (through synthesis, selection or uncritical reception). Historians have argued that the nature of the power relationship between exporting and importing country is a major determining factor, with colonialism and conquest giving rise to imposition of foreign planning systems, while a more equal relationship between countries sees planning ideas transported through other means: travelling planning consultants, politicians or other influential people, or scholarly articles and books. This process of diffusion was never smooth or simple: the ideas themselves were often varied and contested, and they articulated in different ways with the contexts to which they were imported.

The main conduits for the transfer of planning ideas have been colonial governments, educational and scientific institutions (including lecture tours and international conferences), professional associations and journals, and international development agencies and consultancies.

■ Colonial governments

Colonialism was a very direct vehicle for diffusing planning systems, particularly in those parts of the world under colonial rule when planning was ascendant. In these contexts planning of urban settlements was frequently bound up with the 'modernizing and civilizing' mission of colonial authorities, but also with the control of urbanization processes and of the urbanizing population. Military officers-cum-colonial administrators, engineers, surveyors, architects and contractors were instrumental in efforts in this regard. Colonial authorities confidently assumed that European models of planning would be effective in colonized territories. A British colonial officer in India, referring to British Garden Cities, was quoted as saying:

> *I hope that in New Delhi we shall be able to show how those ideas which Mr Howard put forward … can be brought in to assist this first Capital created in our time. The fact is that no new city or town should be permissible in these days to which the word 'Garden' cannot be rightly applied.*[25]

In the years after independence, many foreign professionals left; but a significant number remained to work under post-colonial governments, in most cases implementing planning legislation inherited from colonizing powers. In this way institutionalized modernist planning approaches retained influence in governments well after the colonial era.

■ Educational and scientific research institutions

The university education of planners did not begin until the early 20th century. The University of Liverpool (UK) offered

the first course beginning in 1907, and Harvard University (US) claims the earliest North American degree course dating from 1928 (see Chapter 10). Planning programmes in developing countries only emerged later, often with curricula, texts and staff originating in developed countries, particularly where colonial linkages existed. Modernist planning was therefore taught for decades in planning schools in the developing world, and in many countries this is still the case. There was also a flow of students from developing countries to study in institutions in developed countries. This was based on the assumption that degrees from such institutions were of higher quality and more prestigious. Many universities in developed countries began to offer 'international' planning programmes to students from the developing world. While these considered developing contexts in a general way, the teaching philosophies, approaches and tools were usually derived from a developed world context. All of these mechanisms served to diffuse planning approaches from the developed to the developing world.

Lecture tours and international conferences have formed a further mechanism for the transfer of modernist planning ideas. The organization with a record for extensive use of this strategy is the Garden Cities Town Planning Association (GCTPA) (see Box 3.1).

■ Professional associations and journals

Professional associations and the journals that they produce were, and continue to be, instrumental in transmitting Western planning ideas and schemes to other parts of the world. Prominent here was the French *Revue Générale de l'Architecture et des Travaux Publics*. This has been characterized as 'one of the leading architectural journals on both sides of the Atlantic during the 19th century'.[26] César Daly, the journal's editor from 1839 to 1888, is best remembered for his articulation of the nature of the city in the modern industrial age. His research on the principal determinants of the underlying infrastructure of industrial cities was modelled on Second Empire Paris. This research constitutes one of the main pillars of urban reforms in the French capital as well as other major cities throughout France and its dependencies.

Several professional organizations, including the Royal Institute of British Architects (1834), the American Institute of Architects (1857) and the Royal Institution of Chartered Surveyors (1868), were already propagating Western concepts of physical structures and spatial organization across

The main conduits for the transfer of planning ideas have been colonial governments, educational and scientific institutions, professional associations and journals and international development agencies

Lecture tours and international conferences have formed a further mechanism for the transfer of modernist planning ideas

> **Box 3.1 The Garden Cities Town Planning Association and the spread of Eurocentric planning models**
>
> The Garden Cities Town Planning Association (GCTPA) was spun off from the parent organization – the Garden Cities Association – as a means of casting a more encompassing net to capture interest and membership from all over the world. In 1913 alone, the organization dispatched over 21,000 information packets around the world. To achieve its desire to spread and universalize the Western planning model, the GCTPA created a colonial unit in 1912, with the purpose of drawing attention to the planning needs of the newly emerging countries. In 1913, GCTPA Secretary Ewart Culpin embarked on a three-month tour of Canada and the US.
> *Source: Freestone, 1998, p161*

the world before Ebenezer Howard founded the Garden Cities Association in 1899.[27] Following this, several associations became actively involved in urban affairs and planning. These included the Royal Town Planning Institute (1914), the Canadian Institute of Planners (1919), the American City Planning Institute (1917) (which later became the American Institute of Planners in 1939 and then the American Planning Association in 1978) and the Planning Institute of Australia (1951). These professional associations have always operated international chapters through which they are able to spread Western planning concepts and ideology. Newer professional planning associations such as the Commonwealth Association of Planners and Global Planners Network have been less dogmatic in the promotion of Eurocentric planning models and more attentive and receptive to developments in the planning field in non-Western regions.

■ International development agencies and consultancies

Western urban planning consultants have been active in transmitting Eurocentric planning models to other regions since the colonial era in Africa and Asia. Colonial governments, most of which operated on very tight budgets, needed professionals with expertise in architecture and urban planning but could not afford them on a full-time basis. Hiring these professionals as consultants was therefore a logical alternative. The use of Western consultants continued after colonial rule. Since the end of World War II, there has been a steady increase in the number of Western-based planning and architectural firms executing projects in foreign countries. In this regard, the *Bureau Central d'Etudes pour les Equipement d'Outre-Mer* has been instrumental in transplanting European ideas and concepts in urban planning and public infrastructure development to the French-speaking world.[28]

The influence of modernist planning in various parts of the world

As noted earlier, modernist planning ideas were imposed upon, or adopted in, countries in developing and transitional regions. The point has been made that the transfer of ideas is never a simple process, and imported concepts interact in various ways with local conditions.

■ Transitional countries: Eastern and Central Europe

Industrialization and urbanization came later in Eastern Europe than it did in the West. But by the early 20th century, countries in Eastern Europe were looking to the West for planning solutions to address their growing cities. The Soviet Union was keen to avoid the uncontrolled urban growth seen in the West and planning ideas which offered 'decentralization, low density and even shrinkage were perceived as desirable alternatives'.[29] Ebenezer Howard's Garden City model was therefore particularly attractive. A Russian translation of Ebenezer Howard's classic, *The Garden Cities of Tomorrow*, was released in 1911. Shortly after, a Russian Garden City Association was established.[30] Although this

association was short lived due to the Russian Revolution of 1917, Howard's ideas, particularly the idea of designing more spacious, airy and well-ventilated cities, lived on in the Soviet Union. Making the built environment green became a popular term in Soviet urban planning vocabulary.

The Garden City model was not the only Western concept adopted in the Soviet Union. The comprehensive planning scheme developed by Patrick Geddes and the master plan were adopted as well. The absence of speculation and free market forces in the Soviet Union contributed to making Soviet planners relatively more successful than their Western counterparts in master planning. Under Stalin, master planning was linked to the need for post-war reconstruction, and rebuilding took the form of 'socialist realism' projects with classical architectural styles, public squares and perimeter blocks. Attempts by local architects to introduce urban modernism during this period were suppressed.[31]

In the region previously known as Yugoslavia, a centralized planned economic system was introduced during the communist era beginning in 1946. The first decade of the post-war era witnessed a barrage of criticisms being levelled against bourgeois architecture and urbanism. At the same time, efforts were made to implement the principles of egalitarian and planned urbanization through industrial decentralization. At the city level, a number of planning principles were promoted through the mechanisms of standardization, proper city size, the role of the city centre and the neighbourhood unit.[32] Planners in the region were increasingly turning to the West for answers to the region's urban problems, and they moved swiftly to embrace the functional ideas of Le Corbusier and CIAM.[33] These ideas were implemented throughout Yugoslavia during the post-war era, and CIAM 10 was held in Dubrovnik in 1956.

■ Latin America

In Latin American cities, past colonial links played a role in transferring European planning ideas to this part of the world; but more general intellectual exchange did this as well. Latin American authorities of the republican consolidation era viewed major European cities as emblematic of modernity. Consequently, they undertook massive urban renewal projects in an effort to replicate European cities in the region.

The authorities were particularly drawn to the designs that constituted part of Georges-Eugène Haussmann's *grand travaux* projects in Paris. Two distinct waves of Haussmannian planning in the region occurred during the second half of the 19th century. The first wave led to the 'systematization' of the structure of the capital cities within the colonial-era city limits. The second resulted in expanding the capital cities beyond these limits. The modernization efforts were physically manifested through the superimposition of wide tree-lined boulevards on the colonial urban layouts. Despite borrowing generously from the West, authorities saw the projects as a means of ridding the colonial cities of all vestiges of their history. This was especially the case in the capital cities of Argentina, Chile and Brazil, which were the most rapidly expanding economies in the region at that time.

In general, French planning ideas had the most influence on the form and structure of major Latin American cities during the last century. For instance, traces of Le Corbusier's ideas are visible in many urban structures in the region. This is despite the fact that Le Corbusier's proposals had become the object of criticisms by a new generation of Latin American urban design professionals at the turn of the century. One of the best-known projects influenced by Le Corbusier was Lucio Costa's plan for Brasília, which incorporated a division of city space into functional zones, the use of superblocks and tower blocks, the generous provision of green space, and the priority accorded to motorized vehicular traffic. As a practising architect and urban planner, Costa incorporated the ideas of Le Corbusier into the design of the Gustavo Capanema Palace (*Palacio Gustavo Capanema*) located in downtown Rio de Janeiro, and his plan for Brasília.[34]

From the 1900s, the cities of Latin America were expanding at an alarming rate, and sprawling suburbs developed as the middle class sought new residential locations. This expansion was exacerbated by the advent of the motor car in the region. To remedy the situation, authorities imported the Garden City model and modified it to take the form of the 'garden suburb', located within cities rather than outside them. Rio de Janeiro was extensively affected by European engineering, architecture and planning models. This was especially the case during Francisco Pereira Passos's tenure (1902–1906) as mayor.[35] An engineer, Passos studied in Paris from 1857 to 1860 and, thus, was familiar with the works of Georges-Eugène Haussmann. As mayor of Rio, Passos oversaw the city's massive urban renewal project. The project was one of Latin America's most extensive during the first half of the 20th century. The project had two ostensibly contradictory aims: to rid Rio de Janeiro of all vestiges of its colonial heritage, and to endow it with features characteristic of major European cities. There is little doubt that the street-widening and similar projects attained their objective of improving spatial aesthetics. However, the project in Rio de Janeiro caused enormous collateral damage. For example, about 3000 buildings, most of which provided housing for the city's poor families, were destroyed. Besides, the resultant large streets were not pedestrian friendly as they encouraged speedy automobile traffic.

■ South-East and East Asia

While most diffusion of Western urban planning models to this region occurred during the colonial era, some of the more important influences came through countries that were not colonizing powers. Prominent in this regard is the US. Although not a traditional colonial power, the US has historically been present in, and maintained ties with, territories and countries in Asia and the Pacific region. Any meaningful discussion of the impact of imported ideas upon urban planning in this region must therefore take account not only of the role of the traditional colonial powers such as Britain, France, The Netherlands, Spain and Portugal, but also that of other culturally and politico-economically influential nations such as the US, Canada, Russia and Japan. Occasionally, these countries acted not as emissaries of their own models and principles, but those of their allies. For example, the urban planning models that the Japanese planners promoted during their occupation of China were not of Japanese but of American or other Western origin.

The City of Baguio (the Philippines) was the first major human settlement with design roots in the US to be established in Asia. It was designed by the famous Chicago architect Daniel Hudson Bunham, the founder of the City Beautiful movement. The city's axial orientations and panoramic vistas stand in stark contrast to the Hispanic-American designs characteristic of the surrounding Filipino lowlands. Baguio served as the summer capital of colonial Philippines between 1909 and 1913. Another American urban planning invention, the neighbourhood unit, which was originally formulated in the 1920s, later found its way to China.[36] However, it was first employed on a significant scale in China not by Americans but by Japanese colonial urban planners. This shows how the international diffusion of planning ideas is not a linear trajectory but a complex process involving 'local appropriations, (mis)interpretations, reinventions and resistances'.[37] Following Japan's military occupation of Manchuria in 1931, and subsequent to renaming the city Xinjing (Shinkyo) in 1931, the Japanese produced a five-year plan (1932–1937) that sought to reconstitute the city based on the principles of Eurocentric urban planning, particularly the neighbourhood unit concept.[38]

While the Japanese were persuaded by Western concepts of urban design, their ability to adopt such concepts in Japan was constrained by several forces, not least of which were Japan's land tenure system and its weak planning powers. Therefore, Japanese planners saw in their occupation of China an opportunity to experiment with the barrage of Western planning ideas that had become internationally prominent, especially during the period leading up to World War II and immediately thereafter. Later in the 1940s, indigenous Chinese urban planners followed in the footsteps of their Japanese colonial predecessors by employing not only the neighbourhood unit but also other Western models of planning in their human settlement development projects. For instance, the first draft of the new Greater Shanghai plan incorporated many standard features of Western spatial design. This is a function of the fact that Western-trained Chinese designers, planners and architects dominated the municipal commission that produced the 1946 plan. Features usually associated with Euro-American planning include zoning, the self-contained satellite city and the neighbourhood unit.

British colonialism had a significant impact upon physical structures, institutional reforms and urban planning education in Asia. British colonial authorities established new human settlements and influenced the development of existing ones in India, Sri Lanka, Malaysia and the Maldives. The imperative for trade dictated a need to concentrate most colonial urban development projects in port cities. Thus, for instance, Chennai (formerly Madras), Mumbai (formerly Bombay) and Kolkata (also known as Calcutta) in India, and Karachi (Pakistan), Colombo (Sri Lanka), Singapore and Hong Kong emerged as the leading beneficiaries of colonial urban development efforts in South-East and East Asia. The British

French planning ideas had the most influence on the form and structure of major Latin American cities during the last century

British colonialism had a significant impact upon physical structures, institutional reforms and urban planning education in Asia

introduced urban forms that were previously unknown in the region. Thus the concept of racial spatial segregation, which sought to separate Europeans from 'racial others', was foreign in the region, even in societies such as India that practised caste-based segregation.

In Singapore, the plan designed by Sir Stamford Raffles went beyond the 'whites' versus 'others' nomenclature that was a standard feature in British colonial town planning elsewhere.[39] British colonial Singapore contained six main ethnic groups (European, Chinese, Malay, Indian, Arab and Bugis), which were assigned to different districts within the urban centre. Zoning provided justification for implementing apparently racist spatial planning schemes. A typical example is the implementation of policies that guaranteed Europeans exclusive rights to picturesque hilltop locations, the so-called 'hill stations'. Before the end of the colonial era in India, the British had developed as least 80 hill stations throughout the country.

Institutionally, the British contributed to the development of urban planning in the region by introducing British legal and institutional frameworks for formulating and implementing planning policies. British colonial authorities are credited with the following developments that still exist to date: municipal governance structures; formalization of the land development process; a system for cataloguing and storing data on land, land uses and users; zoning regulations; and building control regulations.

A series of cholera outbreaks in the late 1800s and early 1900s gave colonial authorities the opportunity to introduce strategies recommended in Edwin Chadwick's report to combat the health consequences of the Industrial Revolution almost half a century earlier in England. The health officer for Calcutta Municipal Corporation recommended health policies for colonial India that were rooted in British public health practice. The policies sought to improve ventilation for housing units, develop good drainage systems and supply potable water to the burgeoning urban populations of the region. The same policies were subsequently recommended for Hong Kong and Singapore, and later throughout British colonies in Asia and Africa.

The Dutch also influenced planning in this region. Dutch structural engineer H. Thomas Karsten was influential in this regard.[40] Karsten, who possessed no formal training in urban planning, exhibited antipathy towards Western civilization and adopted a radical approach to spatial organization. He favoured urban planning principles that integrated Western with indigenous elements and displayed a concern for the preservation of native culture that was unusual among colonial authorities. Despite his aversion for the colonial dogma of the time, Karsten's spatial design constructs remained essentially European, as demonstrated in his planning proposals and projects.

■ Middle East and North Africa

Traces of European influence on spatial and physical structures are visible everywhere in the Middle East and North Africa. By 1914, most of the region, including all of North Africa, Cyprus and Aden, were under the occupation of European imperial powers, and the Persian Gulf states were under the control of Britain as protectorates. At the same time, Britain and Russia were closely involved with the internal affairs of Iran and Afghanistan. These powers were responsible for attempts to 'modernize' the region, including in the area of urban planning and municipal governance. Measures to reform or build key institutions, including the land tenure systems, municipal governments, building codes, public infrastructure, and spatial (planning and urban design) and physical structures (architecture and construction materials and techniques) were instituted.

Legislation dealing with urban land use, regulatory measures and spatial design structures based on the European model are commonplace throughout the region. For instance, building codes and regulations defining relationships between buildings and streets were directly imported from Europe. The increasing influence of the West, coupled with wealth from oil revenue, particularly in Saudi Arabia, Kuwait and Iraq, have accelerated the supplanting of traditional building materials such as mud and stone by Western varieties such as cement, plywood, aluminium and glass. In addition, urban planning authorities adopted the gridiron pattern of streets in new subdivisions in the region.

European colonial powers were largely responsible for introducing Western urban planning concepts and models in North Africa. Here, they encountered well-developed densely populated Islamic walled cities with no room for expansion. Accordingly, colonial urban planners had one specific mission: develop new planned spacious layouts based on European principles to serve as exclusive European enclaves.[41] In Algeria, Tunisia and Morocco, colonial urban planners developed new layouts that reflected French urban planning style as well as urban features. The new towns contained broad, straight boulevards separating city blocks, minor feeder streets and plots dividing the blocks and high-density multi-storey buildings concentrated in terraces within the centre. The inclusion of these features constituted an attempt to replicate Haussmann's design of Paris in colonial North Africa and the new layouts stood in stark contrast to the Islamic towns. Italian and British colonial planners developed plans that were less elaborate than those of their French counterparts. Nevertheless, they were successful in making indelible imprints on the urban spatial structures of Libya and Egypt.

These Western urban planning models usually resulted in the emergence of two self-contained urban sectors in cities throughout North Africa. The Islamic towns (*medinas*) continued to function in many respects as they had prior to the European conquest,[42] and the new layouts, or what the French referred to as *villes nouvelles* or *villes européennes* (European towns), functioned as independent units to serve the European settler community. This brought about *de facto* racial residential segregation. As the *medinas* grew increasingly overcrowded, they were seen as a health and security threat and the response was to build new *medinas* along traditional Islamic lines but employing Western organizational methods and principles. With rapid urbanization, informal settlements (*biddonvilles*) began to develop. In some cases these were demolished, but in others

Zoning provided justification for implementing apparently racist spatial planning schemes

European colonial powers were largely responsible for introducing Western urban planning concepts and models in North Africa

basic services were provided in a series of rectangular layouts or *cités* in suburbs of the major cities.[43]

Until the end of World War II, Western planning laws and regulations were applicable exclusively in the European towns, and were extended to the *medinas* only when public health and safety was an issue. After World War II, colonial government intervention in urban planning became more forceful through the establishment of more elaborate urban planning machinery and the creation of unified urban planning systems.

■ Sub-Saharan Africa

In sub-Saharan Africa, diffusion of planning ideas occurred mainly through British, German, French and Portuguese colonial influence, using their home-grown instruments of master planning, zoning, building regulations and the urban models of the time – garden cities, neighbourhood units and Radburn layouts, and later urban modernism. Most colonial and later post-colonial governments also initiated a process of the commodification of land within the liberal tradition of private property rights, with the state maintaining control over the full exercise of these rights, including aspects falling under planning and zoning ordinances. Some of the impacts of colonial urban planning on the structure and pattern of African cities are presented in Box 3.2.

However, it is significant to note that imported planning systems were not applied equally to all sectors of the urban population. For example, towns in colonized territories in sub-Saharan Africa[44] were usually zoned into low-density residential areas for Europeans (these areas had privately owned large plots, were well serviced and were subject to European-style layouts and building codes); medium-density residential areas for African civil servants (with modest services, some private ownership and the enforcement of building standards); and high-density residential areas (for the indigenous population who were mostly involved in the informal sector, with little public infrastructure, and few or no building controls). In East African colonies, the Asian population was placed in the medium-density zone. Spatially, the low-density European areas were set at a distance from the African and Asian areas, apparently for health reasons. Many master plans and zoning schemes today maintain this density distinction and also define single-use areas: residential, business, industrial and public. Planning laws and zoning ordinances in many cases are exact copies of those developed in Europe or the UK in the early 20th century and subsequently enforced under colonial rule.

Planning, therefore, was, and still is, used as a tool of social segregation and exclusion in many colonized territories. This reached epic proportions in South Africa where planning became the central mechanism for the apartheid government (post-1948) to achieve racially segregated cities.

Many African countries still have planning legislation based on British or European planning laws from the 1930s or 1940s, which have been revised only marginally. Post-colonial governments tended to reinforce and entrench colonial spatial plans and land management tools, sometimes in even more rigid form than colonial governments.[45]

Box 3.2 Impact of colonial urban planning upon the structure and growth of African cities

Colonialism, which in most of Africa lasted from the late 19th century until at least the early 1960s, influenced the structure and pattern of African urban growth in a number of ways. Several of today's more prominent African cites – Abidjan, Johannesburg and Nairobi – simply did not exist before colonial rule. They were founded and developed during colonial times as centres of commerce and administrative activity. More generally, however, colonialism led to the formation of an urban system that displaced the traditional networks of trade and influence that had developed over many centuries. The new system reflected colonial economic priorities, which emphasized the exploitation of Africa's mineral resources, primary agricultural production (including plantations), and transportation and communication activities. These new patterns of commerce and trade, in turn, led to higher levels and new patterns of migration as Africans sought work in mines, plantations and newly developing urban areas.

Colonial urbanization also affected the physical structure and layout of many cities. Perhaps the most obvious characteristic of colonial urban planning was the portioning of urban space into two highly distinct zones: a 'European' space that enjoyed a high level of urban infra-structure and services, and an 'indigenous' space that was marginally serviced. The relative indifference to the needs of the African majority is said to be a characteristic of urban planning that was rooted in the very fabric of the colonial state.

Source: National Research Council, 2003, p101

Enforcing freehold title for land and doing away with indigenous and communal forms of tenure was a necessary basis for state land management, but also a source of state revenue and often a political tool to reward supporters. Frequently, post-colonial political elites who promoted these tenure reforms were strongly supported by former colonial governments, foreign experts and international policy agencies. In Cameroon, for example, a 1974 legislation required people to apply for a land certificate for private landownership. However, the procedures were complex and expensive and took about seven years to complete. Few people applied; yet in 1989 the certificate became the only recognized proof of landownership and all other customary or informal rights to land were nullified.[46]

Controls over land were also extended to housing in the post-colonial period. The master plans were used (and mostly still are) in conjunction with zoning ordinances that stipulated building standards and materials for housing as well as tenure requirements. For example, without an official building permit, an approved building plan and land title, a house in Cameroon is regarded as informal.[47] Yet, securing these involves five different government agencies and is a long, circuitous and expensive process which most poor people cannot understand or afford. Inevitably, the bulk of housing in African cities is deemed as informal.

Important and capital cities in Africa were often the subject of grand master planning under colonial rule, or involving prominent international planners or architects. Remarkably, in many cases, these plans remain relatively unchanged and some are still in force. Some examples include the urban plan of Mogadishu, Somalia, drawn up between 1928 and 1930 and last revised between 1944 and 1948; the plan for Banjul, Gambia, drawn up in 1943 and used until the late 1970s; the 1944 plan for Accra, revised in 1957 and still in force; the plan for Lusaka drawn up by Doxiadis in 1968; and the master plan for Abuja, Nigeria,

In sub-Saharan Africa, diffusion of planning ideas occurred mainly through British, German, French and Portuguese colonial influence

Many African countries still have planning legislation based on British or European planning laws from the 1930s or 1940s

drawn up by US consultants in the 1970s and currently being implemented.[48] The guiding 'vision' in these plans has been that of urban modernism, based on assumptions that it has always been simply a matter of time before African countries 'catch up' economically and culturally with the West.

THE PERSISTENCE OF MODERNIST URBAN PLANNING

The preceding sections have discussed the historical emergence of particular approaches to urban planning (termed modernist planning) and how these approaches came to be adopted in large parts of the world. The section that follows discusses how and why these older forms of planning have persisted in many countries, what the reasons for this persistence might be, and what the impacts have been.

Extent of persistence of older approaches to urban planning

In recent times, growing criticism of modernist planning has emerged from the same part of the world in which it originated (Western Europe and the US), and in some countries concerted effort has been made to develop alternative approaches. Yet, modernist planning is still practised throughout the world,[49] including in countries where it has been strongly criticized. It is probably true to say that modernist planning remains the dominant form of planning worldwide. This section examines where modernist planning has persisted, why this has been the case, and what the effects of this have been.

In general, while it is possible to argue that modernist urban planning has persisted in much of the world, in individual countries and cities, the pattern is often more complex. While a broad modernist approach may have been maintained, national and local governments in many places have amended their planning systems to suit local demands, and have sometimes reformed parts of their systems and not others. It is also not unusual for innovative planning approaches to be adopted in parallel with older approaches: examples of this in Africa and Eastern Europe are cited below. Sometimes, older terminology (e.g. the term 'master plan') has been retained, but the form and process of planning may have changed considerably. Plans are often the result of highly contested political processes and there can be major differences between original intentions and final outcomes. Finally, the built urban form of cities in most parts of the world is determined only partially by planning and far more by the property development industry and private individuals: urban modernist built forms are often favoured by these sectors as well.

■ Developed regions

Much of the critique of master planning and modernist urban forms has come from the planning and architectural literature in the developed regions of the world,[50] and in practice there has been a significant shift away from it and towards strategic planning. In many European countries, strategic spatial plans now provide a framework for local redevelopment and regeneration projects, which are usually private-sector led or delivered through partnership arrangements.[51] Plans often encourage urban forms that are more compact, mixed use and sustainable. In the US, public incentives and investment are used to guide private development projects, although most cities retain a comprehensive plan and zoning scheme. In Australia, city-wide strategic plans attempt to encourage urban compaction and sustainable urban forms.[52] There have been suggestions, though, that a form of master planning has been revived in many of the new regeneration and redevelopment projects, but that this is now market-led rather than state-led master planning, with the architect and developer primarily in charge.[53] The new master plans are three-dimensional urban designs usually for prestige property developments, such as waterfronts, conference centres or shopping malls; but in all other respects they retain the qualities of old-style and discredited master planning. Modernist architectural styles still frequently prevail.

■ Transitional regions

Under communism, master planning was the dominant form of urban planning in the East European transitional countries. In the post-communist neo-liberal era, planning suffered a crisis of legitimacy; but the resultant chaotic growth of cities and environmental crises resulted in the re-establishment or revival of master planning across countries in the region after 2000. For example, the current master plan for Tbilisi (Georgia) is dated 1975; but even recent plans, such as the 2007 plan for Sofia (Bulgaria), is termed a master plan.[54] In part, this persistence has been because of a lack of resources and capacity at local government level, which has prevented innovative planning, and in part because of bureaucratic inertia. With few exceptions, such as plans involving environmental issues, citizen/stakeholder participation continues to be low throughout the region. Some planners in the region oppose citizen and stakeholder participation, contending that it is unnecessary and cumbersome. Even in the rare instances of participation, as in the Sofia master plan, only token public participation was tolerated.[55] In essence, post-communist planning in Sofia has followed the master plan approach, thereby displaying very little break from past planning traditions.[56]

There are indications of change, however. Some cities are adopting Agenda 21 processes, and some are producing strategic plans with stakeholder involvement. Authorities in Slovenia have used surveys, interview sessions, workshops and collective mapping exercises to elicit the input of citizens and other stakeholders in the planning process. In the Slovenian town of Komenda, for example, the final product has been described as a genuinely citizen-driven plan. In Serbia, civic urban networks have set up informal city websites dedicated to the public discussion of urban problems and the channelling of public concerns to municipal authorities. In Budapest, buildings in the city's older areas had deteriorated significantly during the communist

era, and during the 1970s had been marked for demolition and modernist renewal. But in the 1980s, a new rehabilitation plan was prepared, preserving the buildings, and this was successfully implemented by the district government. Most importantly, the authorities were proactive and successful in enlisting the support of private developers.[57]

■ **Developing regions**

Modernist forms of planning have shown the strongest persistence in the developing world, and have sometimes been the approach of choice in countries setting up new planning systems (China). However, there is mounting evidence suggesting that master planning is not always an appropriate management tool to deal with the kinds of problems faced by cities in the developing world.

Modernist planning remains particularly strong in those countries which were once under European colonial rule: much of Africa and parts of Asia. Many African countries still have planning legislation based on British or European planning laws from the 1930s or 1940s, and which has been revised only marginally. Planning systems in many African countries are highly centralized, top down, and non-participatory, producing rigid end-state master plans underpinned by traditional zoning schemes. As mentioned earlier, important and capital cities in Africa were often the subject of grand master planning under colonial rule, sometimes involving prominent international planners or architects. Remarkably, in many cases, these plans remain relatively unchanged and some are still in force. For example, the master plan for Abuja, Nigeria, drawn up by US consultants in the 1970s, is currently being implemented. In Francophone Africa, French planning documents that were transferred to the colonies in the 1960s have hardly been changed. For example, the last revision of the terms of reference for the preparation of urban planning documents in Côte d'Ivoire was in 1985. It was obvious that these terms of reference were not in harmony with the new constitutional context or with modern urban development practices.[58]

Planning in the sub-continent of India has had strong parallels with the African experience, given the common factor of British colonial rule. Limited health and safety measures at the start of the 20th century gave way to master planning and zoning ordinances, introduced under British rule but persisting in post-colonial times. Some 2000 Indian cities now have master plans, all displaying the problems that caused countries such as the UK to shift away from this approach, and yet the main task of municipal planning departments is to produce more such plans.[59] Bangladesh and Pakistan are also still under the sway of master planning. Recently, the growing criticism of the master plan in India led the Ministry of Urban Development to organize a national conference on the theme of Alternatives to the Master Plan. After extensive discussions and debates extending over three days, the meeting concluded that the only alternative to the master plan is a 'better' master plan.[60]

In other parts of the world, institutionalized urban planning came much later, but followed familiar patterns. In China, the City Planning Act of 1989 set up a comprehensive urban planning system based on the production of master plans to guide the growth of China's burgeoning cities. These master plans appear to have learned from some of the critiques of Western master planning. The more positive aspects of these plans, which distinguish them from old-style master plans, are that they are concerned with implementation and with social and economic aspects of cities as well as physical aspects. Furthermore, the urban forms that accompany them, although conforming to urban modernism, also incorporate new ideas about sustainable environments. As indicated earlier, other parts of South and South-East Asia were colonized by Europe and inherited their planning systems, many of which are still in existence.[61]

Countries in Latin America initially followed European modernist approaches to planning; but in recent years they have shifted away from master planning, or reformed it, to a greater extent than other developing regions. Many urban areas have attempted strategic and participatory forms of planning, master plans have been used in new and innovative ways, and some cities have successfully linked their urban plans to infrastructure development (Curitiba, Brazil).[62] Some important and innovative forms of planning and urban management (participatory budgeting and new regulatory approaches) had their origins in this region.

Why modernist approaches to urban planning have persisted

It has been noted that modernist planning (its top-down processes, the rigid end-state form of plans – master plans, and the mono-functional and sterile urban environments produced) has been strongly criticized for some decades. It has been accused of being outdated, inappropriate and, above all, ineffective, especially in cities experiencing rapid growth and change, and the pressures of globalization. It has also been argued that this approach to planning is no longer compatible with the changing role of local governments as the latter have shifted to include a wider range of stakeholders in decision-making and to be facilitative and to promote rather than act as conduits for state-led intervention. The most common criticism of master plans is that they bear so little relation to the reality of rapidly growing and poor cities, or are grounded in legislation that is so outdated, that they are not implemented or are ignored.[63] Yet, in many parts of the world, and particularly in developing countries where modernist planning was frequently inherited from colonial powers, it persists. Governments appear to be reluctant or unable to reform their planning systems. This section puts forward some reasons as to why this might be the case.

In some countries there has been a lack of capacity and skills to reform the planning system. This seems to have been one reason for the persistence of modernist planning in many of the transitional countries.[64] Here the shift away from a communist political system was recent and abrupt, and many aspects of policy had to be transformed in a short period of time. There was almost no experience in local governments of handling planning issues, and little knowledge of participatory or strategic planning processes. At the same time, communism gave way to a strong neo-liberal

ethos, in which planning was seen as a remnant of older systems of state control. Until very recently, therefore, there has been little support for state involvement in urban planning.

In other parts of the world, and particularly countries in Asia, political systems are highly centralized and there is little tradition of citizen involvement in public decision-making. In China for example, contrary to the West, governance is not based on a separation of state and society, but rather from an attempt to maintain their integration.[65] The concept of central state control over all aspects of urban growth and change through master plans fits well into these kinds of political systems and into situations where most land is in state ownership. Some countries in this region have largely done without institutionalized planning systems.[66] Local governments in these countries have been weak, and cities have been shaped by national economic development policies and rampant market forces. National governments have invested in large productive urban infrastructure projects, but have made almost no effort to attend to welfare needs or environmental issues, or to rationalize spatial development and land release.

It has been suggested that it may not always be in the interests of governments to reform their planning systems, as modernist planning places a great deal of power in the hands of government officials and politicians who might be reluctant to give this up. Modernist approaches are often land dependent, and authorities in many developing countries would not be willing to give up their control over land-related matters, as this would seriously weaken their position. Planning can be used as a 'tactic of marginalization',[67] where particular ethnic or income groups are denied access to planning services and are then marginalized or stigmatized because they live in informal or unregulated areas. Another scenario is that urban areas are covered by rigid and outdated planning regulations that are only partially or intermittently enforced, and this opens the door to bribery and corruption.[68] Master planning has been used (opportunistically) across the globe as a justification for evictions and land grabs. An example is the mass eviction and demolition, which occurred in Zimbabwe in May 2005, under the Town and Country Planning Act of 1976 (Chapter 29, section 12), which authorizes the state to demolish structures and evict people. The planning machinery was effectively mobilized to evict and demolish vendors' structures, informal businesses and homes labelled as illegal by the government.[69] Estimates show that 700,000 people either lost their homes, their source of livelihood or both, with a further 2.4 million people or 18 per cent of the Zimbabwean population being affected to varying degrees.[70]

The built and architectural forms promoted by modernist planning have also shown remarkable resistance to change, and continue to shape urban environments in the building of new capital cities (such as Abuja, Nigeria) and in new city construction in China, Dubai and elsewhere. It appears that the ideas of French architect Le Corbusier and his followers are still strongly associated with being modern, with development and with 'catching up with the West', and have thus been attractive to governments and elites who

wish to be viewed in this way. The aggressive promotion of these forms by developers, consultants and international agencies has also played a key role.

Why modernist approaches to planning are problematic

The most obvious problem with modernist planning is that it completely fails to accommodate the way of life of the majority of inhabitants in rapidly growing, and largely poor and informal cities, and thus directly contributes to social and spatial marginalization or exclusion. Furthermore, it fails to take into account the important challenges of 21st-century cities (e.g. climate change, oil depletion, food insecurity and informality), and fails to acknowledge the need to involve communities and other stakeholders in the planning and management of urban areas.

The regulatory aspects of modernist planning (land-use zoning and building regulations) have usually required people to comply with particular forms of land tenure, building regulations, building forms and construction materials, usually embodying European building technologies and imported materials, and requirements for setbacks, minimum plot sizes, coverage, on-site parking, etc. Complying with these requirements imposes significant costs and is usually complex and time consuming. In a study of nine cities in Africa, Asia and Latin America, it was found that most had planning and building standards that were unsuited to the poor.[71] The official minimum plot size in many developing countries is considerably higher than the size of plots regularly occupied in informal settlements and costs more than what many households can afford. Similarly, official standards for road reservations are far more generous in terms of land area than in capital cities of Europe where car ownership is significantly higher than in suburban areas of developing countries.[72] Those adversely affected by such unrealistic standards are the urban poor and low-income households in that they are left out of the planning arena, ending up in unplanned and un-serviced areas where poverty is endemic.[73]

The objectives of regulations relating to safety and health and ensuring access (important for fire and ambulance services at least) are necessary. However, the majority of populations in cities in developing countries live in informal settlements and survive off informal work, and on precarious and unpredictable incomes. The possibility that people living in such circumstances could comply with a zoning ordinance designed for relatively wealthy European towns is extremely unlikely. One of two outcomes is possible here. One is that the system is strongly enforced and people who cannot afford to comply with the zoning requirements are forced to move to areas where they can evade detection – which would usually be an illegal informal settlement, probably in the peri-urban areas. Alternatively, the municipality may not have the capacity to enforce the ordinance, in which case it will be ignored as simply unachievable. A common pattern in many cities is that there are core areas of economic and governmental significance that are protected and regulated, while the rest are not. In effect, people have

to step outside the law in order to secure land and shelter due to the elitist nature of urban land laws.[74] It could be argued, therefore, that city governments themselves are producing social and spatial exclusion as a result of the inappropriate laws and regulations which they adopt.

A characteristic of master plans is that they are usually drawn up by experts as end-state blueprint plans, and without consultation with communities. They are also usually underpinned by regulatory systems that are applied inflexibly and technocratically. These features impact negatively in a number of ways. In cities in developing countries, it is not uncommon that architects of master plans are either consultants who are based in developed countries or who have been trained there. Many have little under-standing of the dynamics of poverty and the peculiar nature of urbanization in cities in developing countries, or alterna-tively adhere to the older modernist belief that these cities will soon catch up economically with those in developed countries. Consultation processes could, of course, poten-tially allow such foreign experts to gain an understanding of what it means to be a poor urban dweller in the 21st century. But many such experts believe little is to be gained from consultation processes and that they know best. The result is usually that such experts generalize an understand-ing of values, lifestyles, priorities, etc. from their own part of the world to the rest. They imagine employed, car-owning, nuclear families living in formal houses with full services, in cities which are growing relatively slowly and which have strong and well-resourced local governments – when the reality in cities in developing countries is entirely different.

A further problem with physical master plans prepared by outside experts is that neither the plan nor the process of implementing it is embedded in the local institu-tional culture. Chapters 4 and 5 describe plan preparation and implementation as institutional learning processes that need to involve not only the 'town and regional planners' in government, but a range of other professionals, departments and actors in government, as well as other civil society-based stakeholders. Institutional arrangements need to shape themselves around the plan and its implementation, achiev-ing at the same time the building of capacity in government and society, and this cannot occur when the plan is drawn up by an outside expert who delivers a finished product and then departs.

The urban modernist spatial and architectural forms that are usually supported by modernist planning tend to reinforce spatial and social exclusion, and produce cities which are not environmentally sustainable. In many cities, modernization projects involved the demolition of mixed-use, older, historic areas that were well suited to the accommodation of a largely poor and relatively immobile population. These projects displaced small traders and working-class households, usually to unfavourable peripheral locations. But most importantly, they represented a perma-nent reallocation of highly accessible and desirable urban land from small traders and manufacturers to large-scale formal ones, and to government. Where attempts to reoccupy these desirable areas by informal traders and settlers has occurred, their presence is sometimes tolerated,

sometimes depends upon complex systems of bribes and corrupt deals, and is sometimes met with official force and eviction. The development of new planned urban areas has also tended to exclude lower-income groups. Cities planned around car-based movement systems ensure that those with a car have high levels of mobility and accessibility, while those without cars – the majority in developing cities – often find themselves trapped in peripheral settlements, unable to access public facilities and work opportunities. This is made worse by the low-built density developments and green buffers or wedges characteristic of modernist city forms. Low-income households, which have usually been displaced to cheaper land on the urban periphery, thus find themselves having to pay huge transport costs if they want to travel to public facilities or jobs.

The separation of land uses into zoned mono-functional areas also generates large volumes of movement, and if residential zoning is enforced, leads to major economic disadvantage for poorer people who commonly use their dwelling as an economic unit as well. Mono-functional zoning never reflected or accommodated the realities of urban life anywhere in the world, and still does not. The separation of income groups in many cities through plot size, or density, zoning is also a major drawback for poorer groups. Those who survive from the informal sector – by far the majority in developing cities – find themselves trapped in bounded areas with low purchasing power. It is precisely access to wealthier people that they need to make businesses viable. Income separation also exacerbates levels of crime in poor areas. One study in American cities[75] found that spatial segregation was the most significant of all factors, which accounted for the homicide rate in black urban areas. High crime rates lock poorer areas into a downward spiral of low property values and limited private-sector investment, and, hence, greater poverty and deprivation.

The problems associated with modernist planning discussed above, and the changing urban, economic and environmental contexts have, in part, led to the emergence of more innovative or contemporary approaches to urban planning. The next section identifies some of these newer approaches, highlighting their strengths and weaknesses.

INNOVATIVE APPROACHES TO URBAN PLANNING

New innovative approaches to urban planning have emerged in response to recent changing economic and environmental imperatives, and, in some ways, meet the normative criteria for planning systems set out in Chapter 1. While each of the approaches reviewed here has been shaped by a particular regional context, some international 'borrowing' has already occurred. An important lesson from the master planning experience is the danger of transplanting planning systems and approaches from one context to another, given the highly varied nature of urban societies across the world (see Chapter 2). The purpose of presenting the approaches below, therefore, is not to suggest models or solutions that

A characteristic of master plans is that they are usually drawn up by experts without consultation with communities

The problems associated with modernist planning, and the changing urban, economic and environmental contexts have, in part, led to the emergence of more innovative approaches to urban planning

can be taken 'off the shelf' for implementation. Rather, they offer ideas generated from 'situated' experiences that can be considered in relation to the specific urban planning issues in other places.

The new approaches are grouped under seven broad headings (see Table 3.1), dealing first with the main aspects of planning systems (directive planning and regulatory planning), then with new planning processes, and finally with new ideas about spatial forms. The seven categories are:

1   strategic spatial planning and its variants;
2   new ways of using spatial planning to integrate government;
3   approaches to land regularization and management;
4   participatory and partnership processes;
5   approaches promoted by international agencies and addressing sectoral urban concerns;
6   new forms of master planning; and
7   planning aimed at producing new spatial forms.

There is considerable overlap between these categories; some emphasize process and others outcomes, and sometimes these are combined. This section does not claim to be comprehensive in terms of capturing all of the very many innovative planning ideas that have emerged in the last couple of decades. The aim here is to focus on what appears to be the most important innovations that are being implemented in different contexts or settings.

Strategic spatial planning

Strategic spatial planning emerged in developed countries and has also been adopted in certain developing contexts. A variant of strategic spatial planning termed the Barcelona Model has also emerged.

Strategic spatial planning emerged in developed countries and has also been adopted in certain developing contexts

Table 3.1

New approaches to urban planning

Category	Type	Characteristics
Strategic spatial planning	• Strategic spatial planning in developed countries • Strategic spatial planning in developing regions • The Barcelona model of strategic spatial planning	Implications for planning processes and the nature of the directive plan; Barcelona model has implications for urban form: large, well-designed urban projects.
Spatial planning as institutional integration	• The new British planning system • Integrated development planning	Implications for planning processes and the nature of the directive plan. Planning's role in government is important.
Land regularization and management	• Alternatives to evictions • Influencing development actors • Managing public space and services	New approaches to regulatory aspects of planning; focus on accommodating informality.
Participatory and partnership processes	• Participatory planning • Partnerships	Focus on planning processes and state–community relations.
International agency approaches and sectoral concerns	• The Urban Management Programme • Sector programmes	Implications for planning processes and institutional location. Sector programmes are issue specific.
New master planning		New processes and regulatory approaches; implications for land market processes.
New spatial forms	• The 'compact city' • New urbanism	Focus on urban form, less on process. Reaction to modernist and unsustainable cities.

■ Strategic spatial planning in developed countries

Strategic spatial planning emerged in Western Europe during the 1980s and 1990s[76] partly in response to an earlier disillusionment with master planning, but also due to a realization that the project-based approach to urban development, which had become dominant in the 1980s, was equally problematic in the absence of a broader and longer-term spatial framework.[77] It has since spread to other developed countries such as the US, Canada and Australia, as well as to some developing countries. To date, strategic spatial planning is more prominent in the planning literature than it is in practice, but it appears to be enjoying growing support as it meets the requirements of cities in the developed world for a form of urban planning which:

• is responsive to strong civil-society (and business) demands for involvement in government and planning;
• can coordinate and integrate economic, infrastructural and social policies in space in the interests of a city's global economic positioning;
• can take a strong stand on resource protection and environmental issues, as well as on heritage and 'quality of place' issues; and
• is implementation focused.

Box 3.3 on the recently produced strategic spatial plan for Toronto is an example of a plan that contains many of these elements.

Strategic spatial planning often focuses on a process of decision-making: it does not carry with it a predetermined urban form or set of values. It could just as easily deliver gated communities, suburbia or new urbanism, depending upon the groups involved in the implementation process. However, in practice, many of the current plans promote sustainability, inclusiveness and qualities of public space. In the context of Western Europe, which is culturally and climatically highly diverse and contains a large range of different urban forms that have emerged over a long history, it is appropriate that new developments fit in with the old. Advocates of strategic spatial planning[78] argue that the place-making elements of strategic planning must be a social process involving a range of people and groups. Without this, there would be the danger of 'outside experts' delivering inappropriate urban forms, as was the case with urban modernism.

The typical strategic spatial planning system contains a 'directive' or forward, long-range spatial plan that consists of frameworks and principles, and broad spatial ideas, rather than detailed spatial design (although it may set the framework for detailed local plans and projects). The plan does not address every part of a city – being strategic means focusing on only those aspects or areas that are important to overall plan objectives. Usually these general planning goals are sustainable development and spatial quality.[79] The spatial plan is linked to a planning scheme or ordinance specifying land uses and development norms to indicate restrictions that apply to development rights. Decisions on land-use change are guided by the plan: many European systems have

three levels of policy guidance – national, regional and local. The spatial plan also provides guidance for urban projects (state or partnership led), which in the context of Europe are often 'brownfield' urban regeneration projects and/or infrastructural projects.

Strategic spatial planning also has a crucial institutional dimension. Proponents argue that the actual process of formulating the plan is as important as the plan itself. It is an active force which needs to bring about changed mindsets of those participating, as well as the development of new institutional structures and arrangements, within and between levels of governance, to carry the plan. Coordination and integration of policy ideas of line-function departments is essential (because planning is not just about the functional use of land), and the plan itself cannot achieve this coordination: new institutional relationships must evolve to do this. The plan must therefore be institutionally embedded and must act to build social capital in governance structures.[80] In theory, this could include the participatory budgeting processes that have become popular in Brazil. This is very far removed from the idea of a foreign consultant delivering a plan document and then departing.

As a process, strategic spatial planning addresses many of the problems of old-style master planning. However, much will depend upon the actual ethics and values that the plan promotes, the extent to which the long-term vision is shared by all, and the extent to which a stable and enduring consensus on the plan can be achieved. Guiding urban development is a long-term process and there is little chance of success if the plan is changed with each new election. In practice, strategic spatial planning may be seen as an ideal; but is not easy to put into practice, and there have been criticisms that economic positioning is taking precedence over addressing issues of socio-spatial exclusion. As cultural conflict increases in multicultural cities of the developed world, achieving real consensus also becomes difficult. There have also been criticisms of planning through shared governance arrangements: that it can weaken government's ability to implement local climate protection policies[81] and that it allows business interests to have undue influence in urban development.[82]

Strategic spatial planning in developed countries has emerged in a context characterized by strong, well-resourced and capacitated governments with a strong tax base, in stable social democracies, where control through land-use management systems is still a central element in the planning system, made possible through state control over how development rights are used. Cities in many developed regions are growing slowly, and while poverty and inequality are increasing, the majority are well off and can meet their own basic urban needs. It would be very problematic, therefore, to imagine that the planning problems of the cities of developing countries could be solved simply by importing strategic spatial planning.

■ Strategic spatial planning in developing regions

Strategic spatial planning has since found its way to other parts of the world, and these experiences offer further

lessons and cautions. A number of Latin American cities adopted the strategic urban planning approach in the late 1990s, with the more successful cases occurring in Cordoba, La Paz, Trujillo and Havana. Strategic urban planning is still relatively new in Latin American, with many attempts seemingly 'borrowed' from the European experience through the involvement of various think-tank agencies. One problem has been that the new strategic planning process adopted by a city administration is often abandoned when a new political party or mayor comes into power because to continue it might be seen as giving credibility to the political opposition.[83] The fact that a plan can be dropped also suggests that neither business nor civil society see it as sufficiently valuable to demand its continuation. The Bolivian approach of introducing a national law (1999 Law of the Municipalities) requiring all municipalities to draw up an urban plan based on the strategic-participatory method is one way of dealing with this, but does not prevent the content of the plan changing with administrations.

Where the strategic plan is not integrated with the regulatory aspect of the planning system, and does not affect land rights, as is usually the case, then there may be little to prevent the strategic plan from being frequently changed or discontinued (see Table 3.2). In Latin American, the very different approach required by strategic planning often encounters opposition:[84] from politicians and officials who use closed processes of decision-making and budgeting to insert their own projects and further their own political interests, and from planners who are reluctant to abandon their comfortable role as the 'grand classical planner' and take on roles as communicators and facilitators.

In Francophone African cities, strategic planning has proved useful where the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) were linked to planning, as in the city of Tiassalé in Côte d'Ivoire.[85] With support from UN-Habitat and the African Network of Urban Management Institutions, strategic plans based on the MDGs were drawn up. Integrating the MDGs within planning made it possible to rectify certain major shortcomings encountered in master planning. The approach made available a strategic spatial framework with

As a process, strategic spatial planning addresses many of the problems of old-style master planning

In Francophone African cities, strategic planning has proved useful where the MDGs were linked to planning

City	Year initiated	Present status	Comment
Cordoba, Argentina	1996	Stopped in 2000	Due to change in administration
Rosario, Argentina	1998	Ongoing	Good international positioning
Buenos Aires, Argentina	?	Ongoing	Political delays, slow
Bogotá, Colombia	1997	Stopped in 1998	Due to change in administration
Santiago, Chile	?	Stopped in 1998	Due to change in administration
La Paz, Bolivia	2000	Ongoing	Strategic plans mandatory
Trujillo, Peru	1999	Ongoing	Local Agenda 21 framework
Comas District, Lima, Peru	2000	Ongoing	Effective, inclusive
Havana, Cuba	1994	Ongoing	Three updates, inclusive, help from foreign experts

Source: Steinberg, 2005

Table 3.2

Status of strategic urban planning in Latin American cities

time horizons and indicators of objectives; gave an understanding of the realities and trends in the implementation of the MDGs at the urban level; made it possible to acquire information to identify the actions to take in order to improve living conditions and access to basic social services at the urban level; and made available indicators for monitoring the strategic plan and, thus, strengthened public accountability.

■ The Barcelona model of strategic spatial planning

In Barcelona (Spain), a variant of strategic spatial planning has claimed significant success, representing an important shift away from master planning. A city-wide strategic plan promoted a 'compact' urban form and provided a framework

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Box 3.4 Harnessing resources for delivery in Middlesbrough, UK

Middlesbrough is one of the top ten most deprived boroughs in the UK. Much of its infrastructure is outdated – an environment often dominated by a 'Victorian' economy, which has since declined. The town has a poor image and high levels of out-migration and has faced low demand for housing. The existing housing stock is unbalanced, with concentrations of social and terraced housing in particular neighbourhoods, limiting range and choice, especially in the fringe around the town centre. The quality of the environment is poor, particularly around the River Tees where the degraded landscape covers an extensive area. In Middlesbrough there is a real need to create wealth, jobs, opportunity and a better standard of physical development.

    Within Middlesbrough the delivery landscape for spatial planning was influenced by planning being perceived as a service rather than a useful mechanism for change. The range of public-sector bodies and their interrelationships were very complex and have not assisted the delivery. One of the components of Middlesbrough Council's success has been the realignment of its directorates, making sure that there is open dialogue between those leading different departments, not least between housing and planning. The first step in this was to increase the visibility of staff at the highest levels of management and to ensure an open dialogue was forthcoming, enabling barriers to be overcome. In addition, there has been strong political alignment and support, and an increasing professionalization of members, working across party. Middlesbrough has used a multidisciplinary approach, identifying areas of skills cross-over between different departments and highlighting how they can be used to further the town's development proposals.

    How is this effective? The approach:

• has developed an organization which is fit for purpose;
• has engaged political leadership;
• has worked across the local authority to achieve change; and
• has led a proactive approach.

Source: UCL Deloitte, 2006, p3

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for a set of local urban projects which had a strong urban design component. However, some see this approach to strategic planning as largely corporate planning around economic development goals (the global positioning of Barcelona) with certain social and environmental objectives attached.[86] Local projects have been driven by more pragmatic and market-related needs. Commentators on the approach[87] argue for a closer connection between strategic spatial plans and large-scale, multifunctional urban projects. But there is doubt that this will deal with the problem of elite capture of these processes and, hence, may worsen urban inequalities. This is almost inevitable under a prevailing neo-liberal ideology in Europe and very likely in developing countries with their more unequal and volatile political processes. It has been argued that the linking of these plans and projects to a strong, progressive urban politics is the only way to counter this danger.[88]

    The 'Barcelona Model' has since been 'exported' to other parts of the world, with an attempt to apply it in Buenos Aires[89] highlighting the need for caution when transferring planning ideas to contexts that are very different from their place of origin. In this case, politically induced instability meant that the institutional setting for strategic planning was not conducive to its implementation.

Spatial planning tools for integrating public sector functions

There are two innovative forms of planning that aim to achieve institutional integration and coordination as an important function of the urban planning system. The first is the new British planning system and the second is the South African integrated development planning system.

■ The new British planning system

The problem of integrating different functions of urban government is a common one, and this is seen as a potentially important role for spatial planning. The new British planning system,[90] which introduces regional spatial strategies and local development frameworks, aims to replace conventional land-use planning with spatial planning. It responds to arguments that the previous system was slow, cumbersome, legalistic, out of touch with institutional, economic and social change, insufficiently inclusive, over-concerned with process at the expense of outcomes, and inadequately grounded in defensible analysis. The new approach focuses on decentralized solutions, as well as a desire to 'join up' or integrate the functions of the public sector from the perspective of the user and to inject a spatial or territorial dimension into sectoral strategies. Box 3.4 indicates how the new approach has been adopted in Middlesbrough. There is also recognition that achieving environmental sustainability will require sectoral interests to work together and cut across traditional disciplinary and professional boundaries.[91]

    Hence, the purpose of the new spatial plans (shaping spatial development through the coordination of the spatial impacts of sector policy and decisions) is very different from the purpose of the previous land-use plans (regulating land

use and development through designation of areas of development and protection, and application of performance criteria). An unresolved issue, however, is exactly how the new spatial plans align with the development control system.

■ Integrated development planning

In post-apartheid South Africa, departmental integration has been a central goal of the new integrated development planning (IDP) system in local government.[92] Although the IDP has a peculiarly South African genealogy, it was also shaped within the emergent international discourse on governance, planning and urban management, and there appear to be elements in common with the new UK approach. The IDP is a medium-term municipal plan linked to a five-year political cycle, although aspects of the plan, including the vision and the spatial development framework (SDF), have a longer-term horizon. The SDF is a city-wide directive plan, similar to strategic spatial plans, and can indicate specific projects at the local level. The IDP manager's office in each municipality is charged with the task of needs assessment, vision development, and aligning the plans and projects of each line-function department to the urban vision.[93] The strategic spatial plan has the role of spatially coordinating these sectoral plans, as in the UK, rather than spatial goals feeding into these other plans.[94] Spatially 'harmonized' projects are then intended to direct the budget.

There is general consensus that the idea of IDPs is positive and certainly an advance on previous forms of urban management. There is also the recognition that it will take a long time for municipalities to get accustomed to this very different way of operating, and efforts must be sustained. So far, there are modest successes, but still many problems.[95] Line-function departments, including the planning department, still operate in isolation from each other with the IDP attempting to integrate the products of these functions but not their processes. Integration is therefore not yet institutionally embedded. The capital budget in many places is still shaped by the relative power of departments and by the politicians of the day, rather than by the norms of sustainability and equity. There are very few linkages between the SDFs and the land-use management system – in many places the latter dates from days of apartheid, while the SDFs are new. There is therefore a disjuncture between the zoning ordinances, many of which promote urban modernism and social exclusion, and the SDFs, which try to promote a different urban form, but lack the tools to do so. There is still no consensus at national level about how the land-use management system should operate; given the vacuum, individual provinces and cities have been attempting their own partial reforms.

Participation has come to be seen as 'professional participation', involving different departments and levels of government rather than citizens and stakeholders. In many cities, the latter takes very limited forms of participation, such as presenting the results of the IDP for public comment. Over time, the managerialist and technocratic dimensions of policy-making and planning have come to dominate, and participation remains only rhetorically impor-

tant. A recent study suggests that despite the emphasis given to good governance, the everyday reality in many municipalities is of patronage in appointments and tendering, institutional conflict, poor delivery records and financial crisis.[96]

The IDP has good intentions, which have not yet been realized. But it may still be too early to pass final judgement. What is clear to date is that it is a complex and sophisticated system, and many municipalities, and particularly politicians, lack the capacity or motivation to understand and fully implement it. Given that South Africa is a relatively well-resourced and well-governed developing country, this should provide a cautionary note regarding simplistic borrowing of the approach in less well-resourced regions.

New approaches to land regularization and management

The most challenging issue for urban planning in terms of land regularization and management has been how to address the issue of informality (see Chapter 7). The ever-expanding informal areas of cities in developing and transitional regions, and especially the peri-urban areas, are usually regarded as undesirable and in need of eradication and/or planning control. It is now recognized that such an approach simply worsens poverty and exclusion. A number of innovative alternatives to the removal of informal settlements, ways of using planning tools to strategically influence development actors, and ways of working with development actors to manage public space and provide services have emerged.[97] All of them require an attitudinal shift that recognizes the potentially positive role of informality; policies, laws and regulations which are adapted in relation to the dynamics of informality; and efforts to improve the support for, and legitimacy of, the planning system by those involved in informality.

International agreements and conventions on housing rights[98] require governments to take certain steps relating to consultation, information, the right of appeal and compensation before or during evictions. In principle, evictions should not occur at all unless they can be justified in terms of environmental or 'public good' requirements. In some parts of the world, the consultation process with slum dwellers has given rise to innovative solutions such as land-sharing, redevelopment, collaborative management of public spaces, or alternative ways of handling essential evictions.

■ Regularization and *in situ* upgrading

The regularization and *in situ* upgrading of informal settlements is always preferable to neglect or demolition. Giving household secure tenure is an important part of this, with a growing recognition that this does not need to be freehold title, which is the most costly and complex form of tenure. Alternative innovative forms of tenure in informal settlements include group tenure, usufruct or 'adverse possession'. The latter can entitle a person or community in possession of land owned by another to acquire rights to the land provided that certain legal requirements are satisfied (e.g. that the claimant does not own any other land) and that

date topography and steer development away from unsuitable areas. Phased construction of roads and water supply will guide developers to appropriate grid superblocks, within which detailed planning regulation may be phased in. An experiment with this approach is under way in Ecuador.[99]

This suggests a strategic approach to the application of planning regulation. Where many poorer cities lack the resources to carry out effective land-use management, it is better to concentrate efforts on the public realm and areas where development has major environmental and safety implications, while limiting intervention (especially detailed development regulation) in other areas, particularly middle- and low-density residential areas. Detailed planning and regulation should therefore focus on urban centres and commercial zones, public spaces, public markets and clusters of public buildings. In China and Viet Nam, this approach demonstrated that governments were reasserting their control incrementally, following a period of informal development during which the demands on governments forced them to prioritize needs other than regulating development.[100]

■ Working with informal economic actors

A third innovative approach involves working with informal economic actors to provide services and manage spaces, rather than either forced eviction of street traders or relocation to formal markets. Operators need to become organized to present their needs, and municipalities need to be flexible and willing to use collaborative approaches. Since many informal businesses operate from homes, a mixed-use zoning category needs to replace single-use residential zoning, as in the 2007 Delhi Master Plan. Dedicated market spaces should be provided for street trading. These need careful location at points of high accessibility and should offer spaces with a range of rental costs and other facilities (storage, electricity, etc.). The Warwick Junction market in Durban, South Africa[101] provides a successful solution to inner-city street trading but has required dedicated management and the involvement of a range of municipal departments. In peri-urban areas, where the provision of public services is poor, there is value in an incremental approach to service provision using community-based and informal service providers, managed by local committees, and with technical advice from city administrations.[102]

■ Capturing rising land values

Finally, there is growing interest in land laws that can capture rising urban land values (through property and capital gains taxes) by governments for redistributive purposes. The concept of *value capture* has been used in parts of the US, Canada and Latin America. Colombia introduced a new tax law in 1997 (Law for Territorial Development) that set out several ways in which local authorities could participate in rising land values: property owners could negotiate a cash payment to the municipality, could pay in kind through transfer of part of the land, or could participate in the formation of an urban development partnership.[103] Value capture is seen as an effective way to link forward planning and land-use regulations, and serves to

the occupier has been in possession continuously, without challenge from the legal owners for a specified term. Where an informal settlement is on land informally subdivided by landholders with legal ownership rights (either title or customary tenure), then registration can be based on a combination of the written evidence of transactions and the testimony of witnesses such as village elders or local officials. The experience of Phnom Penh (Cambodia) with such innovative forms of secure tenure is documented in Box 3.5. The general trend in upgrading approaches is to focus on incremental infrastructure improvements as a means of enhancing tenure security and encouraging investment in housing, rather than tenure security being regarded as a necessary precursor to other improvements.

■ Public investment in trunk infrastructure

A second innovative planning approach to informal settlement involves the use of public investment in trunk infrastructure to influence the pattern of development. A strategic plan should guide land development, and this is followed by land pooling and land banking, and the gradual extension of detailed planning and development control. It is suggested that expansion areas sufficient for 20 to 30 years ahead should be identified and defined by a grid of secondary roads for access, public transport and main infrastructure provision. Adaptations to the grid can be used to accommo-

Value capture is seen as an effective way to link forward planning and land-use regulations

control land use, finance urban infrastructure, and generate additional local revenue. One positive outcome of urbanization and urban growth is that it increases urban land values, and this potential needs to be socially harvested rather than only benefiting the private sector.

To conclude, regulation and land-use management are the most powerful aspects of urban planning; yet most reforms have concentrated on directive planning. The regulatory system is probably the most difficult to change because of entrenched legal rights and interests; but without reform in this sphere it will be extremely difficult to use planning to promote urban inclusion and sustainability.

Participatory processes and partnerships in planning

Participation and partnerships in planning emerged in liberal democracies during the 1960s, and have subsequently been the focus of criticism and refinement in planning and urban development literature (see Chapter 5). From the 1970s, participation has been strongly promoted in the developing world by non-governmental organizations (NGOs) and international development agencies. Participation and partnerships have, to a greater degree, become important elements in all of the innovative planning approaches discussed in this section.[104]

Potentially, participation in planning can empower communities and build social capital, lead to better design of urban projects and allow for participants' concerns to be incorporated within strategies. Physical planning is often accused of neglecting the social and economic dimensions of projects, and participation is a mechanism for addressing this. The general conclusion is that participation is important and necessary, but that, in practice, much of it is consultative or instrumental, providing participants with little real influence over decision-making.

Lessons from experience suggest that successful participation is dependent upon certain preconditions relating to the political context, the legal basis for participation and available resources. Successful cases of participation indicate that the following are necessary:

- measures to ensure that socially marginalized groups have a voice in both representative politics and participatory processes;
- overcoming resistance by elected political representatives by ensuring that wider participation has win–win outcomes for them;
- combining direct participation with decision-making by political representatives to resolve conflicting priorities and interests;
- overcoming resistance by professionals, including planners, through professional education and peer exchanges;
- learning from innovative participatory approaches in other sectors to improve approaches to land-use planning;
- enhancing participation at the city/strategic level by providing for direct engagement (e.g. referendums) or

indirect participation (e.g. advisory councils) to complement the representative political system; and
- support for civil society organizations to enhance the ability of poor people and marginalized social groups to exercise voice.

Innovative participatory planning approaches have occurred at the neighbourhood and at the city scale. At the neighbourhood scale there has been some success with participatory urban appraisal (PUA),[105] more inclusive participatory learning and action (PLA) (for problem identification) and community action planning (CAP). PUA/PLA has been used in many parts of the developing world and is considered an effective way of supplementing professional views by allowing people to identify and prioritize their own needs. Methods involve mapping, modelling, diagramming, pile sorting, or scoring with seeds, stones or other counters, often in small groups (see Box 3.6). CAP depends upon the formation or existence of some kind of community organization, followed by collaborative planning with experts and organizations. This approach aligns well with the notion of 'co-production', in which residents 'fill the space' which the state is unable to occupy. Negotiated arrangements with the state emerge that involve either formal participation processes or partnerships, not organized confrontations. These processes have been termed 'co-production' and are being seen as a more realistic way in which state–society engagement can take place.[106]

At the city level, one of the best-known innovative participatory approaches is participatory budgeting, which was first implemented in Porto Alegre in Brazil and has since been attempted in many other parts of the world. By 2006, it had been introduced in over 1000 municipalities in Latin America and in over 100 Western European cities.[107] While details vary from city to city; broadly, citizens participate and vote on the municipal budget in either regional or thematic 'assemblies', and form local forums to discuss how the budget should be spent in their areas. Forum delegates are involved at the council level to make final allocation decisions. Research shows that this is not a simple solution that can be imposed anywhere[108] and is not a technical process that can be detached from local political culture. The main preconditions are grassroots democracy through open local assemblies; social justice through a formula that allocates a larger share of resources to the most disadvantaged districts; and citizen control through an ongoing participatory budgeting council that monitors implementation.

Other innovative participatory processes have been linked to wider development planning approaches, rather than to spatial planning. The Kerala People's Campaign for Decentralized Planning (India) was initiated by a state government. Here, ward-level assemblies identify local needs, and these are appraised and considered by government and politicians. Projects are prioritized by locally elected institutions and incorporated within a local plan for implementation. A further approach that involves wider development issues is the CDS process, introduced by UN-Habitat and the Cities Alliance. In this process, stakeholders participate in problem identification, prioriti-

zation, visioning and development planning for the entire city.

A rather different form of participation is public–private partnerships. In developing countries, these have often developed around public infrastructure provision when municipalities lack resources or skills to provide this. In developed countries, they often take the form of private-sector planning and investment in urban projects. Frequently, these involve redeveloping urban brownfield sites, where the profit-oriented aims of the developer are aligned with the aims of municipalities for modernization, economic restructuring and physical regeneration. Urban regeneration in Cardiff (Wales)[109] is a good example of how a coalition between the political elite and private-sector commercial property development interests was central to explaining the success achieved. However, this approach, as in the case of Cardiff, tends to sideline social inclusion, equality and sustainability objectives, everyday service delivery and the achievement of high-quality urban design.

Approaches promoted by international agencies: The Urban Management Programme and sector programmes

Over the past two decades, several international development agencies have attempted to address the problems of modernist urban planning in developing and transitional countries by introducing special programmes and processes into local government systems. The aim of these programmes has been to attempt to make local authorities more responsive to other urban stakeholders, and to address particular urban issues which are considered important. In recent years, some of these 'sector action plans' have focused on poverty, gender, crime and safety, health, heritage and the environment, among others.

■ The Urban Management Programme (UMP)

Regarded as one of the largest global urban programmes, the Urban Management Programme (UMP) was established in

1986 by the Urban Development Unit of the World Bank in partnership with the United Nations Centre for Human Settlements (UNCHS) (now UN-Habitat) and funded by the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP). The Cities Alliance organization also emerged from this grouping.[110] The UMP operated in 120 cities in 57 countries, with the overall mission of promoting socially and environmentally sustainable human settlements and adequate shelter for all, and the objective of reducing urban poverty and social exclusion. In order to achieve this objective, the UMP sought to provide technical assistance in five key areas: urban land; urban environment; municipal finance; urban infrastructure; and urban poverty. The UMP also sought to strengthen the capacity of urban managers to cope with the challenges associated with rapid urban growth.[111]

In common with other recent and innovative ideas in planning, and particularly with the 'urban management' approach, the UMP attempted to shift the concept of planning and development to the whole of local government rather than belonging to one department; to promote participatory processes in local government decision-making; to promote strategic thinking in planning; and to tie local government plans to implementation through action plans and budgets. The more recent CDS, promoted particularly by the Cities Alliance, encourages local governments to produce inter-sectoral and long-range visions and plans for cities.

Observations on the success of this programme are mixed. A key contribution of the UMP is that it placed urban issues on the international agenda by creating a forum for donors and aid-related institutions to discuss urban-related issues.[112] This is particularly important in that the UMP was established at a time when urban issues and urban planning, in general, were increasingly marginalized among donor agencies. The UMP also placed issues such as urban poverty, urban environment and sustainability, and participatory governance through the inclusive mechanism of city consultations at the forefront of the development agenda of many countries and local authorities. Several weaknesses of the UMP, particularly of the participatory processes, have been identified.[113] These include difficulty with measuring the impact of the participatory processes on the performance of local authorities, and on the well-being of the poor; follow-up to city consultations has been weak; city consultations have not always brought about changes in the way in which local authorities conduct their affairs; the inability of UMP partners to remain engaged with the same city for a long period of time; and the overambitious nature of plans generated through city consultation processes have meant that there was no follow-up investment to ensure implementation. All of these problems provide further signposts for a new approach to urban planning. In 2006, UN-Habitat disengaged from the programme and transferred the work to local anchor institutions.[114]

The UMP has been extensively implemented in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania (see Box 3.7). Here, more basic problems were evident. The UMP appeared to be successfully changing one part of the planning system – directive planning – but left untouched the regulatory system, which

In 1990, the Government of Tanzania requested technical assistance from the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) to review the Dar es Salaam Master Plan. This coincided with the launch of the Sustainable Cities Programme (SCP) – an initiative of UN-Habitat in partnership with the United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP).

Regarding the location of the initiative, the Urban Development Division (UDD), as the organization responsible for preparation of master plans, wanted it to be located in the division. However, the SCP's main goal of capacity-building in local authorities meant that the initiative was placed under the minister responsible for local government in the Prime Minister's Office. This decision later adversely affected the technical support from the UDD, which also had professional planners who would later be needed for the SCP initiative.

Developing a Strategic Urban Development Plan (SUDP) had three intermediate objectives:

1   Develop a strategic development plan for Dar es Salaam, including environmental management strategies, sector investment strategies, spatial planning, financial planning and administrative/legal requirements.
2   Develop priority actions identified in the strategic development plan into fully prepared technical assistance projects and 'bankable' investment packages.
3   Strengthen local capacity to plan, coordinate and manage urban development and growth with emphasis on improved multi-sectoral coordination and community-based participation.

UN-Habitat envisioned a Strategic Urban Management Framework that is not a 'plan' as such since it does not set out a specific growth pattern that should be observed rigidly (as would a master plan). Instead, it provides options and development 'rules and principles' that need to be taken into account when making project and site-specific or area-wide investment decisions. UN-Habitat guidelines also state that the framework should not replace other plans or urban management instruments.

The process involved extensive consultations and stakeholder working groups on strategic issues, drawing on a wide spectrum of groups and actors in government and civil society. The product, the SUDP, provides development rules and principles and three alternative options for various parcels of land. Beyond this, the SUDP prescribes preferred land uses and 'a dynamic framework in which urban development activities can be coordinated via exchange of information, leveraging of resources and purposeful partnerships'. It was intended to replace the General Planning Scheme for Dar es Salaam (the old master plan) and guide general and detailed land-use plans to guide spatial development at city and district or neighbourhood levels. Due to the lengthy participation process, it was only presented to the Ministry of Lands, Housing and Settlement Development (responsible for urban and regional planning) for approval in early 2006 and has still not been approved.

Source: Nnkya, 2006a

forms a crucial part of plan implementation. The inherited land regulation system continued to entrench the inequalities. In effect, the UMP set up a parallel planning system, requiring developers first to apply to the local stakeholder committee for application approval in terms of the strategic plan, and then to submit it to the usual development control department.[115] While the real power lies with those administering the land regulations, there appears to be little advantage to developers to follow both processes, and little chance of a strategic plan being implemented. There was no clear evidence to suggest that the Dar es Salaam UMP process had been fully institutionalized.[116]

■ **Sector programmes**

The last two decades also witnessed attempts by international development agencies to promote particular sectoral or issue-specific concerns in urban plans. Some of the most important of these are:

• *The Localizing Agenda 21 programme (LA21)*: this programme was developed by UN-Habitat in 1992 following the Earth Summit in Rio de Janeiro. It offers a multi-year support system for selected secondary cities as the means to introduce or strengthen environmental concerns in their plans and operations. The specific objectives of LA21 include:

– the development and implementation of broad-based environmental action plans, focusing on context-specific aspects of municipal planning and management, and incorporating incipient and ongoing settlement improvement initiatives;
– enhancing the capacity of local authorities to integrate these action plans within strategic structure plans to stimulate inter-sectoral synergy and fulfil its pivotal role between local development actors; and
– the achievement of tangible results and visible impact for low-income communities in selected pilot towns, leading to more sustainable and equitable urban development.

• *The Sustainable Cities Programme*: this joint initiative by UN-Habitat and UNEP was established during the early 1990s as a facility to package urban environmental planning and management (EPM) approaches, technologies and know-how through urban local authorities. The programme is founded on broad-based stakeholder participatory or city consultation approaches. The first phase was concluded in 2001, and the second phase from 2002 to 2007. Currently, the SCP operates in over 30 countries worldwide. The approach adopted by the programme entails:

– strengthening local capacities to address urban

Box 3.8 Using planning to reintegrate displaced communities

The UN-Habitat 'urban trialogues' approach uses spatial planning to help reintegrate communities displaced by conflict back into cities. In Somalia, this implied three levels of action: a spatial structure plan, strategic projects and enabling conditions for development. The spatial structure plan provided an integrative framework so that short-term actions could contribute to long-term goals of development. Strategic projects happened immediately, in parallel with the long-term plan, to make a visible difference on the ground and to provide a way of integrating sectoral aid and actions. Enabling conditions required assistance to local government, infrastructure delivery and reviewing the legal framework to ensure rights for the poor.

The issue of land rights is a crucial one in these situations as this may have been a core reason for conflict and there are often competing or overlapping claims to land post-conflict. It has been argued that the establishment of a land management system in post-conflict context is urgent as it can help to create social and economic stability, forestall land grabs, deal with returning displaced persons, and help to restore the functions of government. However, the cadastre must be designed to cope with a highly fluid and changing situation, as well as one where claims to land are largely informal. This means that the first step is to adjudicate local land claims through community-based processes and then, instead of moving directly to a (Torrens) titling programme, to retain a deeds system since the deed is an affirmation of land rights but does not constitute them as a title does. Deeds provide evidence of rights in land that can be later rebutted by other evidence, which is crucial for restitution processes.

Source: Augustinus and Barry, 2004; UN-Habitat, 2006i

environmental priority issues;
–   enabling replication and scaling-up of EPM activities; and
–   mobilizing anchoring institutions for EPM support.
•   *The Safer Cities Programme*: this programme, which was initiated by UN-Habitat in 1996, tackles crime and violence as issues of good urban governance. The programme recognizes that crime and insecurity have been strongly affected by the impact of urbanization and, as such, have become a major preoccupation for many cities in Africa, Asia, Latin America and the Caribbean, and the Pacific. It addresses the escalating problem of urban crime and violence by developing the crime prevention capacities of local authorities. The programme's initial focus was on Africa, at the request of a group of African city mayors who were concerned about the extent of violence in their cities and wanted help with the development of prevention strategies. This provided a learning ground upon which the programme adapted, piloted and tested various tools within an internationally recognized municipal framework. To date, Safer Cities initiatives are well under way in several African cities and have been extended to Latin America, Asia and Port Moresby (Papua New Guinea) to cater for an increasing need for exchange of information, knowledge and good practice.
•   *The Disaster Management Programme*: this was established by UN-Habitat to assist governments and local authorities to rebuild in countries recovering from war or natural disasters. It attempts to bridge the gap between relief and development by combining technical expertise, normative understanding and experience. In post-conflict situations, urban planning has had an important role to play in re-establishing settlements. Recent positions argue for linking relief to development

and introducing development-oriented emergency aid. The UN-Habitat *urban trialogues* approach,[117] illustrated in Somalia, used spatial planning to help reintegrate conflict-displaced communities back into cities (see Box 3.8).
•   *The Healthy Cities Programme*: this programme was initiated by the World Health Organization (WHO) in 1986 for the main purpose of improving, promoting and maintaining conducive urban environmental health conditions by involving all relevant actors and agencies within a city.
•   *The Global Campaign on Urban Governance*: launched by UN-Habitat in 1999, the campaign attempted to encourage urban planning to be more pro-poor and inclusive. Its vision was to realize the inclusive city – a place where everyone, regardless of wealth, status, gender, age, race or religion, is enabled to participate productively and positively in the opportunities that cities have to offer. It specifically promoted the involvement of women in decision-making. In seeking to realize the inclusive city, the Global Campaign on Urban Governance proposed seven normative principles: sustainability; subsidiarity; equity; efficiency; transparency and accountability; civic engagement and citizenship; and security. These norms, which are interdependent and mutually reinforcing, hold good promise for making urban planning more effective, as they introduced new ways of planning and managing cities.
•   *The Global Campaign for Secure Tenure*: launched by UN-Habitat in 2002, the campaign aimed to improve the conditions of people living and working in slums and informal settlements by promoting security of tenure. It encouraged negotiation as an alternative to forced eviction, and the establishment of innovative systems of tenure that minimize bureaucratic lags and the displacement of the urban poor by market forces. The campaign provided an innovative rights-based approach to urban planning and management, as it was directly linked to urban citizenship, since security of tenure can solidify the right of slum dwellers to exist in the city, make claims on resources, and be active participants in settlement improvement programmes.
•   *City Development Strategy (CDS)*: this approach is promoted by the Cities Alliance and encourages local governments to produce inter-sectoral and long-term visions and plans for cities in a participatory manner. This strategy can provide a framework for spatial urban plans. The essentials of a CDS are:[118]
–   assess the state of the city and its region;
–   develop a long-term vision;
–   focus on short-term results and accountability;
–   value the contributions of the poor;
–   encourage local business growth;
–   engage networks of cities;
–   focus on implementation;
–   concentrate on priorities; and
–   foster local leadership.
•   *Gender responsiveness*: the UN-Habitat UMP programme considered various ways of mainstreaming

gender issues in local government and planning. Gender-specific participatory governance tools such as gender budgeting, women's safety audits and women's hearings were developed.[119] Box 3.9 provides examples of gender-aware planning in some European cities.

These sector programmes have been important in terms of raising particular urban issues and ensuring that they find a place in the urban planning process. The extent to which they have been successful on the ground in changing planning and management practices, and improving the lives of their target groups, varies remarkably. Usually success depends upon a range of contextual factors, including the presence of a champion organization or individual. One problem appears to have been that these programmes can easily complicate the policy environment in situations where local government capacity is already low. They may also require new forms of intra-governmental coordination that are difficult to achieve in practice. For example, in Francophone Africa, the UMP took the form of 'sector action plans' (focusing on HIV/AIDS, security or poverty); but the proliferation of these proved to be institutionally confusing and frustrating for citizens who wanted a more comprehensive range of needs addressed.[120]

A further problem is the extent to which these programmes become institutionally embedded. If local governments simply 'add them on' to their conventional planning and regulatory systems, which is usually the case, then programmes are unlikely to be sustainable or implementable. At the same time, it needs to be recognized that any such new programme can be an immediate stimulus for political manoeuvring. In the case of post-conflict and post-disaster initiatives, there are almost inevitably political issues around which groups are assisted, and whose norms and standards shape new urban developments.

In addition to these agency-driven, issue-specific programmes, there are further issues that have gained some prominence in the planning literature and are likely to be the subject of concern for planning in future years. The first is the linking of urban planning with urban development and infrastructure (see Chapter 8). A second issue is how to conduct planning in the peri-urban areas of developing countries.[121] Third is how to use urban planning to promote environmentally sustainable cities and find ways of linking the 'green' and 'brown' urban agendas,[122] as well as addressing the problem of climate change (see Chapter 6). The environmental issue has already received some attention in planning systems through Local Agenda 21 processes; but new and more far-reaching ideas and processes are required for 21st-century challenges.

New forms of master planning

In some parts of the world, traditional master planning continues, but is being used in innovative ways. In Brazil, two principles were included in the 1988 Constitution aimed at democratizing access to the city: the social function of property; and popular participation in the definition and administration of urban policies. The campaign Participatory

Master Plan: City for All (*Plano Director Participativo: Cidade de Todos*) aimed to have 1700 cities with these plans by October 2006.[123] 'New' master plans are seen as different from the old ones in that they are bottom up and participatory, oriented towards social justice and aim to counter the effects of land speculation. While conventional urban planning strives to achieve an ideal city, from which illegality and informality are banned, the new urban planning approach deals with the existing city to develop tools to tackle these problems in a just and democratic way.[124]

One important new regulatory tool within the master plans has been the Special Zones of Social Interest, first attempted in Belo Horizonte and Recife in the 1980s, and subsequently in other *favelas*. The Special Zones of Social Interest is a legal instrument for land management that can be applied to areas with a 'public interest', to existing *favelas* and to vacant public land. It is designed to ensure rights as well as access of the poor to land. It does this by facilitating the process of regularizing land rights and entitlements, protecting against speculation and other problems that can inhibit the poor's access to land. The principle behind the Special Zones of Social Interest is that in Brazil, landownership is a condition for access to many other rights (justice, credit, housing finance) and that the right of all to land is the basis for the extension of urban citizenship. The zones intervene in the dynamics of the real estate market to control land access, secure social housing, and protect against downraiding and speculation that would dispossess the poor.

New urban forms: 'New urbanism' and the 'compact city'

During recent years, there has been a reaction against urban modernist forms[125] and urban sprawl, both of which are highly car dependent, unfriendly for pedestrians and environmentally unsustainable. While low-density, sprawling

Sector programmes have been important in terms of raising particular urban issues and ensuring that they find a place in the urban planning process

In some parts of the world, traditional master planning continues, but is being used in innovative ways

cities are the norm in most parts of the world, there is a growing support for new urbanist and compact city forms, and, increasingly, planning policy documents refer to these principles (see Chapter 8).[126]

■ The compact city approach

At the city-wide scale, the 'compact city' approach argues for medium- to high-built densities, enabling efficient public transport and thresholds to support concentrations of economic activity, services and facilities (see Chapters 6 and 8). Mixed-use environments and good public open spaces are important, especially as places for small and informal businesses. Urban containment policies are common, often implemented through the demarcation of a growth boundary or urban edge, which will protect natural resources beyond the urban area and will encourage densification within it. Curitiba, in Brazil, has certain of these elements and is often cited as a good example of a planned, sustainable and public transport-based city. However, these ideas may be difficult to implement in many developing regions where strong and effective local governments are not in place, and where an extensive and growing peri-urban area makes the implementation of growth boundaries difficult and detrimental to the poor and the informal.

■ New urbanism

The new urbanism approach reflects many of the spatial principles of the compact city and the sustainable city approaches, but at the scale of the local neighbourhood. This position promotes local areas with fine-grained, mixed-use, mixed housing types, compact form, an attractive public realm, pedestrian-friendly streetscapes, defined centres and edges, and varying transport options.[127] Facilities such as health, libraries, retail and government services cluster around key public transport facilities and intersections to maximize convenience. These spatial forms have been strongly promoted in the US and have been implemented in the form of neighbourhoods such as Celebration Town[128] and Seaside. What projects such as these demonstrate is that while the intentions of new urbanism may be sound, and while alternatives to car-dependent sprawl are essential, there is a danger that they can become elite and over-planned enclaves that are not in tune with diverse and dynamic urban areas.

Most of the new and innovative approaches to urban planning discussed above are moving in the direction of the normative principles for urban planning set out in Chapter 1. Most are attempting to address what have been clear problems in traditional modernist planning approaches. It is also possible to identify some areas of commonality across the various new approaches, with most attempting to:

- be strategic rather than comprehensive;
- be flexible rather than end-state oriented and fixed;
- be action and implementation oriented through links to budgets, projects and city-wide or regional infrastructure;
- be stakeholder or community driven rather than only expert driven;
- be linked to political terms of office;

- contain objectives reflecting emerging urban concerns – for example, city global positioning, environmental protection, sustainable development, and achieving urban-related MDGs, social inclusion and local identity;
- play an integrative role in policy formulation and in urban management by encouraging government departments to coordinate their plans in space;
- focus on the planning process, with highly diverse outcomes (urban modernism, gated communities, new urbanism, compact city models) and dependent upon stakeholder influence or local policy directions; and
- shift in the direction of new urban forms that are very different from those of urban modernism: these are forms which take account of environmental and resource issues, and the need to create quality urban public spaces.

However, in many respects, planning approaches which meet all of the normative criteria have still not emerged. Some approaches meet certain criteria, but not others. Often the aims of new approaches are laudable; but their implementation remains a problem. Implementation is often dependent upon broader socio-political factors lying outside the control of the planning system. There is still a great deal of focus in the new approaches on process, often at the expense of outcomes (the nature of the urban environment produced), and a strong focus on the directive aspect of the planning system and neglect of the underlying regulatory system, and how this links to directive plans. Furthermore, planning is still weak in terms of how to deal with the major issues of the 21st century: climate change, resource depletion, rapid urbanization, poverty and informality.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

This chapter has examined the emergence of urban planning from ancient times, when it was first used to shape human settlements, to the Industrial Revolution, when it came to be seen as a tool to manage rapidly growing and industrializing cities, through its spread to the rest of the world, and into the current period when it is undergoing significant debate and change. It is clear that human beings have always acted to consciously plan and organize their settlements, and will no doubt continue to do so for the foreseeable future. However, over the last 100 years or so, a particular problem has emerged in that planning has been bound up with global processes of colonialism and imperialism, and has been used for purposes other than the creation of well-functioning and sustainable urban centres. One result of this has been that inappropriate models of planning have been adopted in various parts of the world, and for particular reasons are now very hard to change. It is generally acknowledged that planning is inevitably a political process, and cannot be detached from local and global political forces. Yet, the nature of the challenge to urban environments in the 21st century is of such seriousness that it is now imperative that planning, which is potentially a tool to address these challenges, is revised in order to play a role in the future of towns and cities.

In many respects, planning approaches which meet all of the normative criteria have still not emerged

Planning is still weak in terms of how to deal with the major issues of the 21st century: climate change, resource depletion, rapid urbanization and informality

A central focus of this chapter has been a review of innovative approaches to planning from various parts of the world, not in order to suggest new universal solutions that can be applied in all contexts, but rather to see if there are common ideas that are emerging from various parts of the world. This chapter suggests that there are such commonalities, and that city governments in all parts of the world can consider whether or not these may be useful in their particular context. Many of these new approaches are also moving closer to the normative criteria for good planning systems, set out in Chapter 1. Some of these innovative planning ideas are dealt with in greater detail in the chapters that follow.

NOTES

1 Macionis and Parrillo, 2004, p33.
2 Macionis and Parrillo, 2004, p33.
3 Ayataç, 2007.
4 Rosen, 1993.
5 Hull, 1976.
6 Hull, 1976.
7 Arimah and Adeagbo, 2000.
8 Arimah and Adeagbo, 2000.
9 'Novgorod', www.novgorod1150.com/history/spravka/.
10 Benevolo, 1967.
21 Ashworth, 1954; Peterson, 1979; Herbert, 1999.
32 Hall, 1988.
34 Cherry, 1979, p306.
14 Taylor, 1998.
15 The term 'blueprint' is borrowed from architecture and refers to the final and fully detailed design that an architect would produce for a building.
16 Taylor, 1998.
17 The Charter of Athens (initiated in 1928) and later strongly influenced by Le Corbusier was an important document (by 1944) in terms of establishing modernist urban principles.
18 Hall, 1988.
19 Hall, 1988, p176.
20 The relationship between planning systems and property rights is highly varied. In the UK development rights are nationalized. By contrast, in the US, France and South Africa there is constitutional support for private property rights (although a recent court case has recognized the right of US local government to acquire compulsorily private property in the interests of economic regeneration).
21 Cullingworth, 1993.
22 Hall, 1988.
23 Taylor, 1998.
24 Ward, 2002.
25 King, 1980, p203.
26 Papayanis, 2006.
27 The year in which each organization was established appears in parenthesis. The Garden Cities Association later became the Town and Country Planning Association.
28 The BCEOM is a semi-public company that was established in 1949 by the Ministry of French Overseas Territories specifically to execute planning and engineering projects in French overseas dependencies.
29 Rieniets, 2005.
30 Block, 1954.
31 Strobel, 2003.
32 Nedovic-Budic and Cavric, 2006.
33 CIAM stands for Congrès Internationaux d'Architecture Moderne, founded in 1928.
34 Macionis and Parrillo, 2004.
35 Hardoy, 1992.
36 Lu, 2006.
37 Lu, 2006, p370.
38 Lu, 2006.
39 Home, 1997.
40 Dutch Architects, online.
41 Christopher, 1984.
42 Christopher, 1984, p177.
43 Christopher, 1984.
44 Njoh, 1999.
45 Njoh, 2003b.
46 Njoh, 2003b.
47 Njoh, 2003b.
48 Njoh, 1999.
49 See Chapter 4 for discussions of the institutional variations that affect planning.
50 For an early critique, see Jacobs (1963). For subsequent critiques and alternative approaches to master planning, see collaborative and communicative planning (Innes, 1995; Healey, 1997); pragmatic planning (Forester, 1993); equity planning (Krumholz and Forester, 1990); strategic spatial planning (Albrechts, 2001b); multicultural planning (Sandercock, 1998). For a collection of key articles and chapters covering the development of these ideas in planning, see Hillier and Healey (2008).
51 Rakodi, 2008.
52 Garau, 2008.
53 Giddings and Hopwood, 2006.
54 Hirt and Stanilov, 2008.
55 Hirt and Stanilov, 2008.
56 Hirt, 2005.
57 Hirt and Stanilov, 2008.
58 Attahi et al, 2008.
59 Ansari, 2004.
60 Ansari, 2008.
61 Yuen, 2008.
62 Irazábal, 2008a.
63 Arimah and Adeagbo, 2000.
64 Hirt and Stanilov, 2008.
65 Leaf, 2005a.
66 Logan, 2002.
67 Yiftachel, 2003.
68 Devas, 2001.
69 Kamete, 2007.
70 Tibaijuka, 2005; Berrisford and Kihato, 2006.
71 Devas, 2001.
72 Payne, 2005.
73 Kironde, 2006.
74 Fernandes, 2003.
75 Rolnick, 1999.
76 Although it has a much longer pedigree in planning history – see Albrechts, 2001b.
77 Albrechts, 2001b; Healey et al, 1997.
78 Healey et al, 1997.
79 Albrechts, 2001b.
80 Albrechts, 2001b; Healey et al, 1997.
81 Bulkleley and Kern, 2006.
82 Swyngedouw, 2005.
83 Steinberg, 2005.
84 Steinberg, 2005.
85 Attahi et al, 2008.
86 Marshall, 2000.
87 Borja and Castells, 1997.
88 Marshall, 2000.
89 Crot, 2008.
90 Reflected in the Planning and Compulsory Purchase Act of 2004.
91 Nadin, 2007.
92 Harrison et al, 2008.
93 An example of an IDP (for metropolitan Cape Town) is available at www.capetown.gov.za (links from five-year plan).
94 Vigar and Healey, 1999.
95 Harrison et al, 2008.
96 Harrison et al, 2008.
97 This section summarizes the innovative approaches discussed in detail in Chapter 7.
98 International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights adopted by the United Nations in 1966; and the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights which allows appeal to the United Nations Human Rights Committee.
99 Angel, 2008.
100 Waibel, 2008.
101 See Chapter 7.
102 Kyessi, 2005.
103 Rojas and Smolka, 1998.
104 This section summarizes innovative planning ideas discussed in detail in Chapter 5.
105 A refinement of participatory rural appraisal, developed by Chambers (2004).
106 Mitlin, 2008.
107 Cabannes, 2006; Sintomer et al, 2008.
108 Crot, 2008.
109 Rakodi, 2008; see also Chapter 5.
110 Local Agenda 21 processes, which emerged from 1992 Earth Summit Agreements, followed a similar direction to the UMP and were later linked to the UN-Habitat urban agenda (see Allen and You, 2002).
111 Drakakis-Smith, 2000.
112 Cohen, 2005; Mehta, 2005.
113 Mehta, 2005, p7.
114 UN-Habitat, 2005.
115 Halla, 2002.
116 Nnkya, 2006a.
117 UN-Habitat, 2006g.
118 Cities Alliance, 2005.
119 UN-Habitat, 2002b.
120 Attahi et al, 2008.
121 Allen, 2003; Kyessi, 2005.
122 Scheurer and Newman, 2008.
123 Irazábal, 2008a.
124 Souza, 2003, p194.
125 See Jacobs (1963) for one of the earliest critiques of these forms.
126 Jenks et al, 1996; Jenks and Burgess, 2000; Williams et al, 2000.
127 Grant, 2006.
128 Njoh, 2008b.

4

THE INSTITUTIONAL AND REGULATORY FRAMEWORK FOR PLANNING

This chapter sets out the institutional and regulatory frameworks in which planning systems are currently situated and to which they contribute. Such frameworks vary enormously, derived as they are from the wider governance context and its particular history. Nevertheless, it is possible to identify some general trends in the contemporary development of planning systems and the activities related to them.

The purposes of planning and how it is undertaken are shaped by the wider context of governance. This wider context reflects the way in which a society thinks about issues such as how urban areas should develop; how the benefits of urban development should be distributed; and what the balance between individual rights and collective concerns should be as development proceeds. It is rare for institutional contexts and conceptions of development trajectories to be unified in some smoothly working integrated system. Instead, there are usually substantial tensions and conflicts between different sections of any society about how urban development should proceed and who should benefit from it. There are also significant disjunctions between the activities of different segments of a society's governance structure. Such tensions and conflicts are particularly acute where major changes are under way in economic, social and political conditions and in the dynamics of urban areas. Urban planning in such situations is not only tossed and turned by these changes, but its institutions and practices are themselves often active players in ongoing struggles. Planning agencies may resist evolving directions, but they may also promote new possibilities. Similarly, they may undermine opportunities for social progress and environmental sustainability, although they may also promote them.

In this chapter, urban planning processes and activities are set in this recognition of the complex, highly variable institutional contexts in which they take place. The chapter consists of seven main sections. The first section, on the relationship between planning and governance, sets the scene for the subsequent discussion on the institutional context of planning and planning agencies. The second

section, which elaborates upon the role of planning institutions and the institutionalization of planning practices, introduces the two meanings of 'institutions': one refers to wider societal norms and practices and the other to specific planning agencies and organization. These are further elaborated upon in the three following sections. The third and fourth sections discuss the significance of the legal and the land and property systems that underpin urban planning, while the fifth section focuses on the regulatory power of planning and its role in the formal government structures. The sixth section discusses the significance of regulatory roles, resources, arenas and stakeholders in the implementation of plans and planning policies. The concluding section presents a number of lessons for policy-makers.

PLANNING AND GOVERNANCE

This section is about the relationships between planning and governance. It begins by clarifying the concept of governance and how it differs from the formal structures of government. It then focuses on the challenge of achieving collective action in the realm of public affairs at a time when there is a global trend towards proliferation of actors, institutions and interests in decision-making processes. One such public activity is the management of urban change, in which planning systems, in all countries where such a system exists, make an important contribution. Within this context, planning is seen as a form of urban/place governance and, as such, is embedded in wider power relations.

Urban governance and government

The ways in which cities are governed and organized both reflect and reinforce changes in the social, economic and spatial structure of urban areas. The enormous differences between the performance of cities and countries around the world can be explained, at least partially, by differences in governance.[1] Such diversity is not a new phenomenon.

The purposes of planning and how it is undertaken are shaped by the wider context of governance

Urban planning ... institutions and practices are themselves often active players in ongoing struggles

However, there is widespread recognition that the government institutions inherited from the mid 20th century need substantial change to address the challenges of contemporary urban life. Modern urban systems are characterized by complex patterns of interdependencies between actors, institutions, functional activities and spatial organizations. One key trend has been to rethink the relation between formal government and wider society. The term *governance* has come to be used to refer to this enlarged scope.

However, the term governance is understood in two different ways: in a *descriptive* sense, it refers to the proliferation of institutions, agencies, interests and regulatory systems.[2] In a *normative* sense, it refers to an alternative model for managing collective affairs. It is seen as 'horizontal self-organization among mutually interdependent actors',[3] of whom government is only one and with only 'imperfect control'.[4] Proponents argue that such a new form of governance becomes necessary because of profound restructuring of the state. In recent decades, the restructuring trends have been reflected in a number of ways, such as:

- a relative decline in the role of formal government in the management of social and economic relationships;
- the involvement of non-governmental actors in a range of state functions at a variety of spatial levels;
- a change from hierarchical forms of government structures to more flexible forms of partnership and networking;
- a shift from provision by formal government structures to sharing of responsibilities and service provision between the state and civil society; and
- the devolution and decentralization of formal governmental responsibilities to regional and local governments.

In today's complex urban systems, controlling, managing or even steering the fragmented and often competing societal interests is beyond the capacity of the state as an agent of authority. Thus, formal governments are no longer the key locus for integration of urban relationships, but merely one of many actors competing for access to resources and control of urban planning agendas. Thus, UN-Habitat has defined urban governance as:

> *The sum of the many ways individuals and institutions, public and private, plan and manage the common affairs of the city. It is a continuing process through which conflicting or diverse interests may be accommodated and cooperative action can be taken. It includes formal institutions as well as informal arrangements and the social capital of citizens.[5]*

The challenge of urban governance

The trends in urban governance mentioned above have led to the expansion of policy-making space to engage a wider range of actors. However, at the same time, it has led to institutional fragmentation, multiplication of agencies,

complex webs of relationships, reconfiguration of networks, disparity of powers and responsibilities across different tiers and departments of governmental and non-governmental institutions, increasing role of market forces, and confusion over 'who does what'.[6] In urban planning processes, for example, actors are drawn from beyond the boundaries of the formal institutions of government, spread among public, private and civil society sectors, and straddle jurisdictional boundaries.[7] These actors represent diverse, and sometimes conflicting, policy objectives and interests.

In this context, and irrespective of whether a normative or descriptive interpretation of governance is adopted, a key concern is how to meet the challenge of these governance situations. This challenge is about 'achieving collective action in the realm of public affairs, in conditions where it is not possible to (merely) rest on recourse to the authority of the state'.[8] It is about how collective action can emerge from a diverse set of interests; how new forms of integration can be created out of fragmentation; and how new forms of coherence can emerge out of inconsistency, in the realm of public affairs.[9] One such public affair is the management of urban change and development, to which planning systems aspire to play a central role. Such a role is implemented through both specific planning actions and the creation of ground rules and instruments for actions by other stakeholders in urban futures.

Planning, urban governance and power relations

Given the diversity of actors and interests involved in managing urban futures, it becomes evident that planning is not just about formulating ideas, policies and programmes, but also about implementing these through collective actions. It is in this context that planning is seen as a form of urban (or place) governance; as a result, planning is embedded in power relations. Power in this context refers to power *to* act as much as power *over* the action of others.[10] In the social relations of governance processes, both forms of power exist and remain in tension.[11]

The significance of power *to* act (or enabling power) stems from the move from a traditional model of hierarchical authority related to the formal structure of a political system to a situation where the power is diffused between those in formal political positions and other stakeholders. These actors exercise different forms of power. Those with access to either resources such as information, expertise and finance (e.g. planning professionals and experts), or rules and accountability (e.g. elected politicians) may have *command-and-control power*. Others with key positions in the social and economic structures (e.g. landowners, developers and infrastructure/property investors) may have *systemic power* (e.g. through access to substantial financial resources or ownership of land). A third group with the ability to lobby and mobilize effective local campaigns (e.g. environmental and community groups) may have *bottom-up power*. This latter is illustrated by Kobe (see Box 4.3) where, despite the centralized government structure in Japan, a kind of bottom-up design of planning institutions emerged

Formal governments are no longer the key locus for integration of urban relationships, but merely one of many actors competing for access to resources and control of urban planning agendas

Planning is not just about formulating ideas, policies and programmes, but also about implementing these through collective actions

from civil society protest in the 1960s called *machizukuri*. This later shaped the Japanese government decentralization efforts and the building of capacity in local government and civil society.

This dispersion of power among various actors means that although those with systemic and command power may have an advantage in urban governance relations, they can only make use of their position if they turn that power into *enabling* power. This is the power to achieve collective action. Hence, the effectiveness of urban planning and governance depends not only upon the assumed command-and-control power of a master plan, but upon the persuasive power that can mobilize actions of diverse stakeholders and policy communities to contribute to collective concerns.[12] The likelihood of such enabling power to emerge is higher in the societies where power is more diffused and is transparently exercised so that checks and balances can be put in place. On the contrary, in the societies where power is concentrated, and exercised through corruption and coercion, such consensual processes pose a formidable challenge. In these circumstances, where local government is either non-existent or lacks accountability and transparency and the civil society is weak, the tensions between 'power to' and 'power over' are often resolved in favour of the latter. Worse than that, planning systems often become the instrument for exercising power *over* the weak, the less vocal and the poor, whether explicitly considered or through unthinking practices.[13] In such situations, settlement planning becomes an instrument of repression rather than accommodation. So, for enabling power to flourish from governance processes, it is paramount that checks and balances are in place to promote transparency, accountability and inclusive participation in planning processes,[14] all of which are the main ingredients of good governance, as elaborated upon below.

Promoting 'good governance'

The normative perspective on governance has provided a way of promoting policy measures aimed at decentralization, privatization and democratization of government functions. During the 1980s, driven largely by multilateral organizations such as the World Bank and United Nations agencies, this agenda was strongly pursued as a way of unblocking the institutional and governance barriers to socio-economic development. However, by the end of the 1980s, the emphasis began to shift away from the rolling back of the state towards promoting 'good governance' in which formal government structures, particularly at the local level, were to play an important role in meeting the challenge of collective action. This was based on the idea that, in both developed and developing countries, formal government (if elected through democratic processes) continues to play a significant role in shaping the governance processes at various spatial levels.[15] This recognition is particularly important in urban planning since rights to the use and development of land are significantly affected by formal law.

Thus, since the late 1990s, 'good governance' has become the mantra for development in developing countries, with planning being seen as a key promoter of such an ideal. However, it has come to mean different things. In general, there has been a tendency to see urban governance simply in terms of urban management (i.e. the operation and maintenance of a city's infrastructure and services). However, it is increasingly recognized that urban governance processes are not merely managerial processes and are, indeed, heavily politicized struggles over distribution of resources and quality of places. This is particularly clear in relation to urban planning.[16] Hence, for many multi-lateral organizations, including the United Nations, good governance is about a desired standard of practice for which common values or norms can be identified, with emphasis being placed on human and civil rights, and democratic and participatory practices. UN-Habitat, for example, defines good governance as an efficient and effective response to urban problems by accountable local governments working in partnership with civil society. The main characteristics of good urban governance are:

- *sustainability* – balancing the social, economic and environmental needs of present and future generations;
- *subsidiarity* – assigning responsibilities and resources to the closest appropriate level;
- *equity of access* to decision-making processes and the basic necessities of urban life;
- *efficiency in delivery* of public services and in promoting local economic development;
- *transparency and accountability* of decision-makers and all stakeholders;
- *civic engagement and citizenship* – recognizing that people are the principal wealth of cities, and both the object and the means of sustainable human development; and
- *security* of individuals and their living environment.[17]

Applied to the urban level, these normative ideas provide encouragement to a trend towards urban governance processes that are able to integrate social, economic and environmental agendas and relate these to people's daily life experiences. However, whether and how such a trend is able to evolve, and how urban planning practices develop, depends upon the institutional dynamics of particular contexts.

What matters is that the development of urban governance capacities helps to promote effective urban planning. However, the relation between governance capacity and the capacity for effective planning works both ways. Efforts to improve planning systems and practices can help to strengthen governance capacity. It is clear that planning practices and institutions are active players in shaping urban futures; yet they are, at the same time, shaped by the wider social and institutional context within which they operate.[18]

The effectiveness of urban planning and governance depends ... upon the persuasive power that can mobilize actions of diverse stakeholders and policy communities to contribute to collective concerns

Urban governance processes are ... heavily politicized struggles over distribution of resources and quality of places

PLANNING INSTITUTIONS AND THE INSTITUTIONALIZATION OF PLANNING PRACTICES

Urban planning, as a field of governance, is performed through, and has effects on, a wide range of institutions in society. These may be both formal government agencies and less formalized ways of undertaking and regulating development. More broadly, specific agencies are shaped by the wider institutions in society through which, for example, land and property rights are established, the legitimacy of governance action secured and the distribution of material resources achieved. Given the contemporary challenge to urban planning to integrate diverse agendas in contexts where governance power is fragmented and diffused,[19] it is important to consider the institutional context for urban planning at both the specific and the broader level. This section first sets out a general approach to understanding institutions and then considers the implications for, and trends in, urban planning institutions. This is done first at the broad governance level and then at the specific level of planning agencies and organizations. The section concludes by commenting on the challenges for the design of planning systems.

Institutions as wider norms and practices

Earlier generations of planners gave only limited attention to the institutional context for urban planning. However, experiences since then have highlighted the significance of institutional contexts and their dynamic evolution for any public policy area, including urban planning. It is thus important to understand the broader norms and practices that frame the ways in which, for example, conflicts are dealt with, resources are allocated and action is taken in the realm of public affairs – in other words, how things get done.

All societies have norms and practices that govern specific areas of activity, but these can be very different from one place to another. Figure 4.1 attempts to summarize the range of possible institutions, understood in this broad sense. At a very broad level are the interacting spheres of formal government systems and public agencies, markets and other processes driven by economic considerations, and the worlds of civil society, including all kinds of voluntary agencies and informal practices.[20] Within these, various specific institutions may play a significant part in how urban development occurs. Economic activity may be pursued by large international corporations, substantial businesses, small- and medium-sized enterprises and all kinds of forms of production and exchange that operate below the radar of formal recognition. Within the state sphere, formal government and legal structures may coexist with all kinds of informal political practices that may undermine the declared logic and values of formal systems. Within civil society, often considered as less formalized, powerful institutions may exist, reflecting family loyalties, cultural and religious traditions, and older political and legal systems suppressed by, for
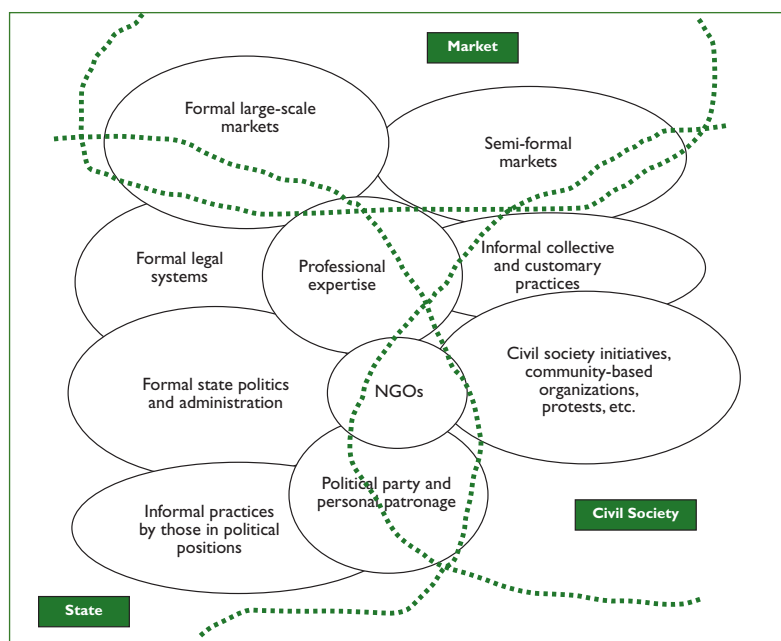
example, former colonial regimes.[21] Political activists and professional experts often find themselves negotiating between sets of institutions and the wider spheres of the state, economy and civil society. Each of these has its own particular set of norms and practices, although affected by interaction with other systems. These not only structure the distribution of access, rights of redress, and the relation between individual and collective considerations, but also establish the legitimacy of specific practices, such as those related to urban planning.

Figure 4.1 suggests a way of 'scoping' the broad institutional context for urban planning. A key issue for effective urban planning at present is the capacity to integrate a range of social forces in an urban area and mobilize them to address actions to improve daily life conditions. Examples where this has been achieved suggest that such capacity is promoted where formal government and legal systems are respected and considered legitimate, where there are a plurality of groups in civil society and among economic actors demanding governance attention to the quality of the urban environment, and where there are rich linkages between the spheres of the state, economy and civil society. Such a situation helps to keep all spheres co-evolving with each other as conditions change. Here, formal planning systems may play a constructive role so long as attention and respect is continually given to how formal organizations and procedures interact with the often less formal ways of organizing within civil society and the variety of forms which economic activity can take. Within developed countries, such institutional conditions are found in, for example, The Netherlands, and in cities such as Portland, US,[22] and Vancouver, Canada,[23] which have an international reputation for the quality of their urban environments and the contribution made to these by their urban planning systems.[24] But examples can also be found where respect for civil society initiative is slowly won after years of campaigning, as in Kobe, Japan (see Box 4.3), or where participatory initiatives undertaken with international aid slowly grow to transform a

Urban planning, as a field of governance, is performed through, and has effects on, a wide range of institutions in society

Box 4.1 Developing participatory urban planning practices in Kitale, Kenya

Kitale is a rapidly expanding secondary town about 380km north-west of Nairobi, Kenya. By 2001, the town's annual population growth rate of 12 per cent had outstripped the capacity of the local authority to plan and manage the town's development effectively, and to provide land, infrastructure, housing and other services. As a result, 65 per cent of the 220,000 population lived in slums and informal settlements. Thus, the international non-governmental organization (NGO) Intermediate Technology Development Group (ITDG) designed and implemented a participatory action research project to address these problems.

The project sought to develop, test and disseminate a partnership approach to the planning of urban space with local institutions, with the overall goal being to enhance the effectiveness of city and municipal planning and management. In aiming to achieve economically, socially and environmentally sustainable local development, as well as an effective participatory governance framework for urban planning and management, the project brought together three methodologies: participatory planning, partnership and local development. Three slums areas were selected, through a participatory process, as sites to pilot innovative institutional frameworks through which sustainable slum and urban upgrading interventions could be developed and implemented.

In carrying out the project, ITDG adopted the multiplicative strategy in which NGOs achieve results through deliberate influence, training, networking and policy reform. Hence, the project has had a significant impact upon the institutional and regulatory framework for urban planning and service delivery in Kitale town. The experience from Kitale has also influenced urban planning practice more widely in Kenya.

Source: Majale, 2008

Box 4.2 Struggles between formal land rights and customary land rights in Moshi, Tanzania

Moshi is a major town in Tanzania, designated in national government strategy during the 1970s as a 'growth pole'. Following this, national government planners prepared a master plan to show how land should be used and developed over a 20-year period. Much of this had already experienced some development intensification under the system of customary land rights. Local communities in and around Moshi knew little about the existence of the plan until their land came to be affected by urban expansion projects. In one instance, residents of a village discovered accidentally some years later that their village was designated for urban extension. The implication was that they would lose their customary rights, with little compensation. As various village groups checked out the situation more carefully, the scale of urban expansion became clearer. Protest built up, which the national government tried to suppress.

At the heart of the protest was the question of who should have the right to appropriate the land value arising from urban development. In both the formal system of land rights, which is normally applied in urban areas, and in the customary tenure system, plots could be bought and sold. As the scale of the urban area grew, and despite the formal view that land had only 'use value', not exchange value, plots were bought and sold under both systems. As the struggle between the two tenure systems developed, it sometimes took the form of direct action, with plot boundary markers positioned according to the master plan being removed by local people. The protesters were able to exploit legal loopholes in the status of the master plan to lodge a court action against the plan's provisions and the national government's actions. They were eventually successful; but the legal process took a long time, by which time many residents had experienced displacement of some kind. In addition, the climate of uncertainty as to which land allocation practice would prevail was exploited by well-placed influential people, who were able to get hold of well-positioned plots and thus benefit from the land value uplift generated by urbanization.

Source: Nnkya, 1996, 1999

previously weak local governance capacity, as in the case of Kitale, Kenya (see Box 4.1).

However, in some contexts, formal government and law may have little respect and legitimacy. In many parts of sub-Saharan Africa, such institutions are sometimes seen as a colonial inheritance, often subverted into a mechanism to promote the personal and political interests of elites.[25] In this context, pre-existing ways of organizing how urban land is used and developed may jostle with formal urban planning arrangements introduced in colonial and post-colonial times, creating uncertainty and confusion as to where the authority to resolve conflicts over access to urban resources lies.[26] In such situations, customary governance traditions have sometimes grown in importance as a way of organizing access to urban resources and opportunities.[27]

However, neither political patronage nor customary practices are likely to promote equity[28] or give consideration to the complexity of the way in which development and infrastructure relate to each other, and social, environmental and economic issues interact in urban environments. This is well illustrated by the case of urban fringe development in Enugu, Nigeria, where customary and formal state practices together controlled access to plots.[29]

Many urban initiatives, especially those directed to improve living conditions in slums, have sought to introduce different ways of working to counteract tendencies towards exploitation by dominant elites or confused struggles over the control of ownership and access to key urban resources. A number of developing countries have adopted policies to convert illegal occupancy of land into formal legal land rights, thereby enabling access to formal finance.[30] This evolution, however, has not been welcomed by all. Sometimes communities rightly fear 'gentrification': the process whereby more affluent groups displace the original residents. In other situations, people's poverty is such that formal ownership and access to loan finance has little relevance.[31] Instead, they may feel that customary and informal systems provide more secure tenure, as the example of Moshi in Box 4.2 shows.

A focus on institutions in this broad sense (i.e. as norms and procedures) thus implies that, whenever planning is promoted, attention should be paid to 'competing rationalities'[32] of the various institutions involved. The agencies of planning 'systems' are themselves active agents in these evolutions, promoting some sets of norms and resisting others. It is also important to recognize that these institutions are not static. They are themselves in continuous evolution as they interact with each other and with the challenges of dealing with a changing world. These institutional complexities are increasingly being recognized and creative ways are sought to move towards fairer, more transparent, inclusive and integrative institutions for allocating key urban resources.

Institutions as specific agencies and organizations

The narrower meaning of institutions refers to specific configurations of agencies and organizations that operate

within the parameter of wider norms and practices. A 'planning system' and its specific agencies and organizations fall within this meaning of institutions. Formal planning systems consist of bundles of public and private rights, agency authority, coordination mechanisms and procedural protocols that are defined by formal political and legal authorities. This, however, is not to suggest that informal planning systems do not exist.[33]

Many of today's planning systems in developed countries were designed in the mid 20th century.[34] During this time it was common to assume that nation states had a hierarchical arrangement of government responsibilities. The national level provided a framework of laws governing land-use regulation, powers of land assembly and the balance between public and private rights in land and property development activity. The national level also articulated key national policy objectives and provided grants and subsidies to promote particular kinds of development. These then might be further developed at an intermediate level, perhaps by provinces or other regional or intermediate bodies. Municipalities were charged with preparing plans to encapsulate their development policy in the light of higher-tier policies and the local conditions of their areas. They were also expected to carry out development and regulatory activity within the framework set by national and regional levels of the system. It was then assumed that development would occur as defined in formally agreed plans.

In some countries, this arrangement really did work as expected. This was especially so where levels of government worked in cooperative partnership, where the wider institutional context encouraged an integrated governance landscape, and where formal institutions were accepted as the dominant legitimate sources of authority. This is the case in most of the countries in North-West Europe. In many other countries, however, all kinds of disjunctions appeared. Here, implementation problems ranged from tensions between levels and sectors of government, to tensions between competing institutions and agencies for developing and regulating urban development processes.[35] This has sometimes led to the creation of special agencies to bypass difficulties with the existing arrangements. For example, agencies have been created to deal with particular projects, such as new town development coordination and special partnerships for major development projects or a major area reconfiguration project.[36] Designing the agency structure of a planning system cannot therefore be readily approached with some kind of ideal template. Instead, attention should be paid to how, in a specific institutional context, different government agencies may relate to the different tasks that are central to the guidance and management of urban development futures.

Formal planning systems are inserted into an array of pre-existing arrangements, derived from one or more of the broad institutions outlined above. They provide ground rules for proactive development (managing urban extension, redevelopment and reconfiguration), and for regulating the flow of change in the built environment. By extension, they may also have a role in managing change in less-urbanized landscapes. They may or may not be part of a larger project

focused on the social, economic and environmental development of urban areas. Furthermore, they may operate at various spatial levels from neighbourhood to transnational levels.

The variety in agency forms and relations implies that there is no one 'model' of the agency structure of a planning system. What is an appropriate structure needs to be worked out in specific contexts, in relation to the evolving wider governance landscape.[37] However, irrespective of the diversity, there are a number of critical issues that can make or break an effective planning system. These are the:

- nature of the political and legal systems that underpin urban planning activities, and the cultures of respect for the legal system and trust in its impartiality;
- local specificity of land and property markets;
- location of planning agencies within formal government structures;
- degree of vertical and horizontal policy integration and institutional coordination;
- extent to which power and responsibilities are devolved and decentralized;
- appropriateness of planning tools and resources for planning tasks; and
- quality of human and intellectual capital.

These will be further elaborated upon in the subsequent sections of this chapter. First, however, it is important to highlight the significance of institutional design in urban planning.

The institutional design and redesign of urban planning systems

A key factor in the promotion of effective governance capacity is the design of formal planning systems. These structure what legal and administrative powers and instruments are available to formal government agencies to shape development processes and which agencies are given the formal powers to define how instruments are to be used to pursue specific planning tasks. These tasks centre on the:

- ongoing management of built environment change;
- promotion of development – physical, social, environmental and economic – and the relation between development and infrastructure provision;
- protection of environmental resources; and
- preparation of strategies and policies to guide how the other three tasks are performed.

Current planning systems vary in the emphasis given to each of the above, and in the breadth given to each task. In many countries, formal planning systems have been narrowed down into land-use allocation frameworks, allocating sites to specific uses and, frequently, formal development rights to owners. This practice is referred to in European debates as 'land-use planning' in contrast to a more developmentally focused 'spatial planning'.[38] In many developing countries with a British colonial inheritance, such site-allocation

Formal planning systems are inserted into an array of pre-existing arrangements

The design of formal planning systems ... structure what legal and administrative powers and instruments are available to formal government agencies to shape development processes

planning is known as 'master planning', as opposed to an active form of development planning.[39] In Latin America and Mediterranean Europe, planning systems require the preparation of a 'general municipal plan', which assumes that the site allocation and developmental objectives of urban planning can be combined. The result has been a very cumbersome system that is frequently bypassed or modified by *ad hoc* 'variations'.[40]

How urban planning is actually practised, however, is the result of the way in which the formal institutional design of a planning system interacts with other dimensions of governance dynamics, both formal and informal. There is repeated criticism that planning practices fail to achieve what system designers expected. Often, this is because the designers failed to pay attention to the wider institutional context, and the tensions and struggles within it. System designers have also often overemphasized a top-down hierarchical structure. More recently, following the general trend towards more decentralized governance arrangements, some system designers have sought to give more flexibility for local autonomy. Such an approach has been energetically pursued in Brazil.[41] However, there is an ever-present danger in decentralized systems that the wider impacts of local action will be neglected.

A widespread global trend in recent years has been to redesign planning systems to make them more relevant to contemporary urban conditions. In these efforts, increasing attention is being paid to institutional contexts and how to encourage more active and inclusive governance capacity within them. Such redesign initiatives may arise where new regimes come to power, determined to make a difference to urban conditions, as in Brazil, and earlier in Barcelona, Spain.[42] Alternatively, they may be driven by social movements, concerned about daily life conditions and environmental consequences, or by a government facing new pressures, and thus realizing that the planning system needs to be reconfigured.[43] What is important in any initiative to redesign a planning system, however, is to pay careful attention to the institutional context within which it is situated and to how planning system initiatives will interact with the evolution of that context.

LEGAL SYSTEMS AND THE DISTRIBUTION OF RIGHTS AND RESPONSIBILITIES

Formal legal systems are central in defining the extent, nature and location of the regulatory powers of planning systems. They not only define such rights but also legitimate the limitation of such rights, often for public purposes. In the context of urban development, legal systems have far-reaching implications. They define the system of urban government, they establish the system of urban planning and regulation of land development, and they delimit the powers of urban planners and managers.[44] Legal systems thus define rights and responsibilities with respect to access to, and the enjoyment of, urban opportunities. Commonly, these are understood as access to housing, land and property, rights to

the 'use and development' of a property, and rights to resources held 'in common'. But there are also wider considerations, such as the right to satisfy basic needs (rights to adequate housing; work opportunities; clean water; education, health and social welfare; safety and security; good air quality; and freedom from polluting nuisances); the right of access to the ambiences and opportunities that a city offers; the right to participate in the governance of one's place of living; and the right to safeguard assets considered important not only for current well-being but for that of future generations. Indeed, social movements, non-governmental organizations (NGOs), local authorities and others have been promoting 'the Right to the City'.[45] In recent years, international covenants on human rights and national human rights law have come to have a significant impact upon planning law.[46]

Urban planning systems and regulatory planning practices are significantly shaped by the prevailing legal system. This happens, in part, through the use of the legal system to resolve planning-related disputes. In some countries, such as the US, it is often said that the legal system has become the primary arena where urban planning policies are defined.[47] In other countries, the legal system exerts its influence by the judgements made in various courts (supra-national, national and sub-national), and the enforcement practices which these judgements legitimate. People conform in expectation of such judgements, unless policy frameworks and the formation of legal judgements become unstable, arbitrary or irrelevant to people's situation. Then recourse to the courts, typically more available to the more affluent and powerful, becomes more common.

For poorer people, formal institutions may fail to make provision for their needs and/or may not be seen as legitimate or effective. For instance, in many African countries, it is increasingly being suggested that the regulatory framework governing the delivery of residential land plots is so encumbered by bureaucratic procedures and regulatory norms and standards that areas allocated in formal plans for housing become unaffordable and unavailable for low-income settlements.[48] If this is the case, informal (often formally illegal) practices for accessing needs and opportunities may develop, such as land invasion, property subdivision, and acquisition for private purposes of spaces intended for public uses. These practices may be backed locally by informal institutions that develop their own norms and standards.[49]

Throughout the world, there are different principles which govern legal systems. These derive from cumulative histories and lead to diverse forms of constitutions, political representation and policy-making traditions.[50] For example, in Western Europe, some countries draw on public administrative law developed in Napoleonic times (e.g. France, Germany and Austria). This is based on creating a complete set of abstract rules and principles prior to decision-making. In contrast, the British legal family (which includes Britain and Ireland) has evolved from English Common Law and the principle of precedent, which is based on the accumulation of case law over time. It offers far fewer rules and those that exist have been built up gradually by individual law cases.

A widespread global trend in recent years has been to redesign planning systems to make them more relevant to contemporary urban conditions

What is important in any initiative to redesign a planning system, however, is to pay careful attention to the institutional context within which it is situated and to how planning system initiatives will interact with the evolution of that context

This has allowed greater administrative discretion and improvisation. These differences in legal styles have had ramifications for the administrative systems and the relationships between central and local governments, as well as for planning systems.[51]

From an international perspective, there are many more legal traditions. One classification identifies seven different traditions of law that have some influence in the world today.[52] However, there has been little work relating these general legal traditions to their expression in planning law in different parts of the world. If there is a general tendency in formal planning law, it is towards more precise specification of rights and responsibilities. On the one hand, this helps to advance the rights of neglected groups, such as women and children, the disabled, and specific minorities, and to enshrine environmental standards into planning system requirements. On the other hand, such legal specification builds rigidities into planning systems and expands opportunities for litigation.

Litigation over planning issues itself seems to be an emerging global trend. This is most clearly the case in developed countries; but the opportunity for legal challenge has also been important in situations where customary law challenges formal law. This was the case on the rural–urban periphery in Moshi, Tanzania (see Box 4.2).

In addition to substantial variation in legal systems, there are major differences in the cultures of respect for legal systems, too. In the US, for example, citizens are very proud of their legal system. They see it as an important safeguard of the individual rights of every American. In other places, formal legal systems are often perceived as something 'outside', remote and unable to appreciate the worlds in which low-income people live their lives.[53] In this context, recourse to illegal land subdivision may often be judged more efficient and equitable than the cumbersome processes of an underfunded and sometimes corrupted planning system.

The legal system of a country and the cultural context in which it is used and abused has a significant impact upon the design of a country's planning system and upon how its practices evolve. The legal assumptions underpinning a planning system and its practices are often not recognized, especially where the design of a planning system has been imported from elsewhere. This often leads to problems in transferring an imported practice into a new context. Japan provides an interesting historical case. German ideas for managing the control of development and land assembly were influential among early 20th-century planners in Japan; but the political power of individual property owners was such that they were resisted within Japan itself. However, they were actively developed in the areas that Japan colonized, notably Korea and parts of north China.[54]

In designing or redesigning planning systems, therefore, it is important to note that the regulatory power of planning is underpinned by legal systems that define a number of key areas, including:

- Who holds the right to develop land and the institutional location of this right?

- What provisions are made for the appropriation of land for urban development purposes?
- What provisions are made to enable affected stakeholders to participate in and object to planning decisions?
- How and how far are public realm benefits (betterment) extracted from private development initiatives?
- How are disputes resolved?

Rights to develop land are sometimes held by the state. This is the case in many socialist regimes where land is formally nationalized. In the UK, the 1947 Town and Country Planning Act was considered innovative at the time because it 'nationalized' the right to development land. Since then, the right to develop has been granted by local planning authorities in the form of a planning 'permission'. In many other countries, the right to develop is lodged formally in a zoning ordinance or planning scheme, which specifies land uses and building norms. Once this is agreed upon, landowners have a right to develop according to the scheme. This last arrangement appears to give considerable certainty and transparency to stakeholders. However, preparing and agreeing such plans may take a long time, and development activity may rapidly overtake such schemes once agreed. Such plans are thus often criticized and bypassed as too inflexible and out of date for contemporary conditions.

Most planning systems contain provisions for the *appropriation of land for planning purposes*, such as providing public facilities and infrastructures, and to assist in assembling sites for major projects. These are likely to remain important tools where, for example, land resources are needed for major infrastructures. How and how frequently these provisions are used depends upon the political context. In countries where governments are trusted to promote public welfare, such 'compulsory purchase' of 'eminent domain' may be seen as legitimate. The only issue may be arriving at a fair price. But in countries where the ownership of a plot of land is seen to be a primary expression of individual liberty and/or where government is regarded as continually infringing individual liberty, as in the US, then such compulsory purchase, often termed 'expropriation', may be resented and resisted. Such a situation applies in Japan, where site assembly in major urban reconfiguration projects has to proceed by the consent of all affected owners through *land readjustment* mechanisms.[55] Most developing countries have legislation that enables governments to purchase or appropriate land in the interest of the public at large, either at or below market prices.[56]

The legal underpinnings of a planning system are also important in defining *rights to participate in and to object to planning strategies, policies and decisions*. Since restricting an individual owner's right to develop as they wish and purchasing a property for a public purpose against an owner's will are major limitations of property rights, most systems contain provisions for the owner to object to a decision made. These objections may be heard in some form of semi-judicial enquiry or directly in the courts. But there is also always the question about the rights to object of other affected parties, such as neighbours, or those concerned about the wider economic, social and environmental impacts of a policy. Many

planning systems contain provisions for these 'third parties' (i.e. after the planning authority and the property owner) to object to a plan or to a permit decision. Such objections may then be heard in enquiry processes and the courts.

A major issue in urban development is the way in which the *costs and benefits of the value created by development are distributed*. Where land is publicly owned, in theory the state incurs both costs and benefits. This was the case until recently in Sweden and The Netherlands, where urban development land was held in public hands. However, the experience of having land in public ownership does not always inspire confidence that such objectives will be achieved. Public agencies which come to be landowners may fail to consider its value to an urban area generally. They may become mired in patronage politics, distributing access to plots to party supporters, friends and relations. Publicly owned sites may also be vulnerable to invasion. But in contexts where developers are private owners, the issue of who pays for the wider development impacts of a project becomes very important. This has led to the specification of requirements under planning law for 'developers' contributions' to urban infrastructures. There is a trend in developed countries to enlarge the scope of these contributions, although these are generally negotiated rather than specified in formal law.[57] It is an impossible task to keep track of all current mechanisms that attempt to ensure that public realm benefits and return value created by the urbanization process lead to public realm improvements for an urban community as a whole. The mechanisms provided need to reflect the taxation system in play, and the way in which infrastructures and other community facilities are provided and managed in any situation. But they must also reflect the extent to which value in urban land and property accumulates and how patterns of value play out in different parts of an urban area.

Resolving disputes over rights and responsibilities in the urban planning field may lead to formal appeals to legal courts, although planning systems may have semi-judicial or less formal mechanisms for dispute resolution. In countries where informal institutions and corrupted formal systems are actively present in urban development processes, any kind of formal redress for injustices is not easy to achieve. This is particularly the case in developing countries where urbanization is proceeding apace. Affected parties then have to resort to political action or some form of direct action. The result is that many poorer residents can find that their rights to occupancy and to the public realm are threatened. Even where the formal planning system is well established and reasonably respected, it may prove so complex, costly and time consuming that many find it difficult to access.

LAND AND PROPERTY OWNERSHIP AND DEVELOPMENT INSTITUTIONS

The regulatory practices associated with planning systems lie at the intersection between public purposes, the institutions of land and property ownership, and property development activity. Sometimes, as in some socialist contexts, these are all represented by public agencies, but not necessarily in coordination with each other. In societies where land is held in private ownership, this intersection is primarily between 'public' and 'private' interests, or, more widely, the relation between state action and market action. How planning systems operate, in practice, and how far the legal underpinnings of systems are brought into the forefront of attention depends upon political will and governance cultures, as discussed in the previous section. To understand the practices associated with urban planning in any situation thus requires paying attention to, first, specific institutional structures of land and property ownership and, second, the dynamics of property development activities. Both of these vary from place to place, both within countries and between countries. This is particularly important as it is these structures which are often responsible for major inequalities in a society.

For example, in the UK, large landowners played a major role in urbanization during the 19th century. Indeed, the relations that built up between landowners and developers came to shape the country's development industry in the late 20th century.[58] In Sweden and The Netherlands, in contrast, urbanization in the mid 20th century was a state activity, with all development land held in public ownership. This not only had a major impact upon the form of urbanization, but also shaped the building companies which evolved to deliver housing policy.[59]

In urban contexts, property rights may develop into very complex bundles. Most cities and towns, in both developed and developing countries, contain a range of land tenure and property rights systems. In the latter, in addition to formal rights (freehold, leasehold, public and private rental), there may also be customary and religious tenure options, and various types of unauthorized/informal tenure.[60] In addition, there may be competition between different 'institutions' within a society over which system of defining rights should prevail.[61] Working out such ownerships can be enormously complex, creating difficulties for urban reconfiguration projects.

Urban property development is also affected by whether land units are held in small or large lots. In many countries, land units are small, sometimes because of pre-urban subdivision to provide plots for owners' children, sometimes as a result of land reform movements. In Japan, urban land has typically been owned in small plots. In older areas, this has led to an urban form of single buildings, often several storeys high and closely packed together along narrow streets, as each owner has maximized the value of their plot. In newer areas, development has sprawled out across rural areas on individual small farm plots. A similar sprawling can be found in the urban agglomerations of northern Italy and is appearing around many expanding urban agglomerations in China. In contrast (and as noted above), until recently, all undeveloped land around urban areas allocated for future development in The Netherlands and Sweden was held in public ownership. Municipalities then provided large serviced sites to developers, who then built blocks of dwellings to plan specifications. One outcome of

this process was the formation of what subsequently became quite large housing associations (managing rental properties) and major housing development companies.[62]

Increasingly, in developed countries, a large-scale development industry has emerged, including builders of individual houses, large construction companies, land developers, real estate agencies, financial investors and mortgage lenders. Some of these companies have gone on to become major global players, developing residential, commercial and leisure projects all over the world. In such situations, the fortunes of the industry may have a major impact upon national economies, as has become all too clear in the global financial crisis that started in 2008. This investment orientation may also be found in informal housing markets, where development institutions on a considerable scale may emerge. The challenge for planning systems is then to extract public realm benefits from the activities of very powerful players, both economically and politically. In this regard, the 2004 London Spatial Development Plan established a policy that all residential developments over a certain size should ensure that 50 per cent of the dwellings provided were 'affordable'.[63] It has also been argued that planning systems should play a role in 'smoothing' market cycles by stabilizing expectations, creating an adequate flow of sites for development, and perhaps even acting 'counter-cyclically' to the primary economy.[64]

An important dimension of understanding the context for any kind of urban planning is, then, a grasp of locally specific land and property development dynamics. This is sometimes referred to as the need to understand land and housing markets, and the markets for other forms of property development, such as offices, retail projects, industrial parks and tourist enclave developments. However, it is only recently that attention has been given to the dynamics of local urban development markets, to the existence of multiple layers of property market in any locality, and to the relation between marketized and non-marketized property (i.e. property in public ownership and property that has no value). Many now argue that the economic discussion of land and housing markets needs to give more attention to the institutional dimensions through which market players and market practices are constructed.[65]

In many rapidly urbanizing contexts in developing countries, poorer people struggle to find any place to 'dwell'. Their orientation is towards 'use' value. However, in such situations, some places are much better situated than others in relation to opportunities to make a living or to services. Demand for such locations may be huge, but supply very limited. This may indicate that planning strategies should seek to expand not only the provision of housing but the provision of well-located places within the urbanizing area, and of the infrastructure required to move between them. It also means that those interested in making money out of the urban development process (landowners, property developers and investors) will seek to find and exploit the development potential of such sites. This can lead to serious displacement effects.[66]

In such contexts, too, individual owners as well as major companies may come to think of their property as an

investment. They may store their savings in acquiring more dwellings, which they rent out. Or they may modify existing dwellings to create rental space. Any planning policy that proposes a lowering of value in some parts of a city to achieve changes in spatial arrangements of some kind is then likely to be fiercely resisted. In areas where upgrading projects are pursued (to improve the living conditions of residents), poorer residents often find it worthwhile to sell their dwelling in order to realize immediate returns, to pay off debts or just to release more fluid capital, and move somewhere less well located and provided for. This is one reason why such upgrading often leads to the 'gentrification' of low-income neighbourhoods.

These experiences all raise challenges for urban planning and for the designers of planning systems to find ways to 'manage' land and property markets and development processes generally; to reduce exploitative effects; to distribute 'rights to the city' more equitably; to provide more and better located neighbourhoods; and to negotiate for public realm benefits. The way in which urban planning is approached may thus come to have a significant 'market-shaping' role.[67]

PLANNING SYSTEMS, AGENCIES AND REGULATION

As mentioned above, planning systems and their specific agencies and organizations belong to the narrower meaning of institutions. What have become known as 'planning systems' refer to a collection of agencies, procedures, instruments and protocols that are often sanctioned by the formal state, backed by formal law, and linked especially to rights to develop and use housing, land and property. Hence, there is no one 'model' of the agency structure of a planning system that applies to all contexts. Yet, as noted above,[68] there are a number of critical issues that can make or break an effective planning system. The following sub-sections elaborate upon these issues.[69]

Planning regulation

Urban planning involves both proactive interventions in the way in which urban areas are developed, and regulatory interventions which aim to shape how others undertake their own activities. Although often portrayed as negative restriction, regulatory interventions may have both protective and developmental intent. *Protective* regulation is justified on the basis of safeguarding assets, social opportunities and environmental resources that would otherwise be squeezed out in the rush to develop. The justification for regulation with a *developmental* intent is to promote better standards of building and area design, enhancing quality of life and public realm, and introducing some stabilization in land and property development activity, particularly where market systems dominate.

Notwithstanding the diversity of planning regulation, a key issue for the design of planning systems centres on

Planning systems should play a role in 'smoothing' market cycles … and perhaps even acting 'counter-cyclically' to the primary economy

The economic discussion of land and housing markets needs to give more attention to the institutional dimensions through which market players and market practices are constructed

where regulatory 'power' is situated in a wider governance context and how it is practised. It is often assumed that such power resides in formal government decisions and the legal support of judicial systems. But another source of regulatory power is social acceptance. In some countries, enforcement action against those who flout planning regulations is sometimes initiated as a result of the protests of neighbours, who ask their local planning authority to take up a case. In such circumstances, a plan and its regulatory provisions become 'owned' by a community. But regulations change the balance of private, collective and public rights in development. They alter rights to develop land and property in particular ways. This may have major consequences on land and property values and on who can get access to land and property. In effect, such regulations may come to structure land and property development 'markets' and development processes. Such effects on land and property rights are therefore intensely political.

The location of planning agencies and formal responsibilities

Planning systems operate at various spatial levels ranging from national to neighbourhood levels. The 'agencies' of planning systems are commonly thought of as located in formal government authorities. There is, however, significant variation in which level of government is given formal responsibility for which activity. There is also variation in the institutional location of the 'checks and balances' on planning agencies. For example, in the highly centralized systems of China, the UK, Japan and some transitional countries, national government has strong planning powers and can rule over the final approval of local plans. Unlike Europe and Japan, Canada and the US lack a national body of legislation regulating local and urban planning. Instead, such responsibilities rest with states and provinces with a high level of autonomy assigned to municipalities. However, even here, national (or federal) governments may play a key role through controlling substantial budgets for urban development purposes. The experience of a successful urban regeneration project in Paris provides a good example (see Box 8.6).

The distribution of formal responsibilities within planning systems has an important structuring effect on planning practices. For example, formal systems specify in law who has the power to use the different planning tools, to change them and to oversee how they are used by others.[70] While there are significant variations between different countries, the patterns of responsibilities often involve more than one level of government and spread to other public and private agencies. At one end – in countries such as Australia, Canada and the US – the national level merely provides enabling legislation or adjudication, allowing municipal- or regional-level governments to develop their approaches. At the other end – in countries such as Cambodia, China, Japan and the UK – national governments keep tight control over the planning system and its practices. Similarly, in Anglophone sub-Saharan countries, the institutional and regulatory framework for urban planning rests, in most cases, at the national government level, or in countries with

a federal government structure, concurrently at the federal and state government levels. Local governments are expected to operationalize the policies that are mainly formulated at the upper levels. While many countries in Eastern and South-Eastern Asia (such as Malaysia and the Philippines) have adopted decentralization, others have remained highly centralized (such as Cambodia, China and Mongolia).[71] Most European planning systems seem to have achieved a balance somewhere between the two extremes.[72] These divisions of responsibilities matter because they serve to generate the formal arenas where planning strategies are legitimized, decisions about the use of regulations and the allocation of resources for public investment and responsibilities are confirmed, and conflicts are adjudicated upon.[73]

A major criticism of top-down systems of planning is that national government planners often have no access to place-specific knowledge and, hence, ignore specific local conditions and assets. Plans may reflect a static universal template that fails to adjust to changing local conditions. It is reported that physical urban growth in Chengdu, China, has taken place in the opposite direction to that foreseen and planned for in its master plan.[74] While Viet Nam has embraced the decentralization of plan preparation to the provincial and city levels, in practice plans are drafted by national government planning institutes. Similarly, in Belarus, regional and municipal plans may be prepared by a national body rather than by local authorities, resembling a rigid style of planning.[75]

In cases where the local level of government has considerable autonomy, a municipality and its planning office take a leading role. The energetic transformation of Barcelona, Spain, is such a case, as is the well-known case of the introduction of 'participatory budgeting' in Porto Alegre, Brazil.[76] In many developing countries, a municipal planning office will rely on the advice of a higher tier of government. Alternatively, it may draw on consultancy advice or work through a 'planning commission'.[77] Where municipalities aim to coordinate their activities in a form of 'integrated area development', then the planning department of a municipality may become part of the central municipal executive, as in Durban, South Africa.[78]

Aside from formal statutory planning agendas, a widespread global trend has been the formation of special 'partnership' agencies focused on particular development tasks.[79] These may take very many different forms, and vary significantly in their autonomy and transparency. They also tend to raise questions as to their formal legitimacy. In some cases, informal agencies created through neighbourhood or other civil society initiative may be acknowledged as a *de facto* 'planning agency' (see Box 4.3). Agencies may also be created through initiatives funded by external aid programmes.[80] These may or may not find a future once aid has been withdrawn, depending upon how relations with other parts of the governance 'landscape' develop.

Decentralization and local capacity

Despite variations, local responsibility is a feature of most urban planning systems. It is at the local level that the inter-

relationship of different factors and initiatives becomes most visible as these affect urban environments. The local level is also significant in the implementation of planning policies. However, the framework for local planning policies and practices is often shaped by wider policy priorities that are set at international, national and regional levels. The relationships between these levels and the extent of national control over local urban planning vary considerably across the world.

In many parts of the world, emphasis has been put on decentralization of power and responsibilities to the local level. Empowering local government has been considered a basis for democratization, which, along with accountability and markets, made up the three 'development themes' of the 1990s across developing countries. The desire for local empowerment was partly driven by an emerging consensus that local government is best placed to seek urban solutions and urban participation.[81]

A study undertaken in the early 1990s showed that, of a sample of 25 developing and transitional countries with populations of more than 5 million, most claimed to be undertaking decentralization efforts.[82] In Africa, in countries such as Botswana, Ethiopia, Kenya, Tanzania and Uganda, legislation during the 1990s enacted devolution of functions, power and services.[83] In Nigeria, all urban planning responsibilities were devolved to the local government level in the late 1980s. In Asia, the Philippines 1991 Local Government Code is considered as one of the most revolutionary government reform laws, transferring power to local government and providing for more active participation of people at the local level.[84] Indonesia launched its 'big bang' decentralization policy in 2001, effectively devolving almost all government functions to local governments.[85] Lebanon has recently experienced a review of its municipalities to examine the extent to which they have been capable of efficient service delivery and post-war reconstruction.[86]

In Latin America, the debt crisis and structural adjustments coincided to produce a new relationship between state, local government, civil society and markets. Less exclusive, more grassroots-oriented groups, based on neighbourhood mobilization, women's movements and environmental lobbies emerged.[87] Europe, too, saw a new regional movement in the 1990s, with devolution of power to regional governments taking place in countries such as France, Italy, Spain and the UK, albeit with different degrees of autonomy.

This devolution has highlighted the issue of the capacity of local administrations to meet the challenges they face. The motivation for, and the pattern of, decentralization initiatives differ considerably in different countries, leading to various degrees of local empowerment. For example, in Ghana, local political authorities were mostly created as a concession to demands for decentralization; but the elected local councils were not given the power to appoint the municipal executives and heads of department.[88] In Brazil, however, decentralization was part of a general process of more democratic government and constitutional reform, and municipalities became responsible for providing local services, land-use planning and control.[89]

Box 4.3 Civil society planning initiatives in Kobe, Japan

In Japan, local government and urban planning capacity have been underdeveloped until very recently. Civil society struggles over Kobe's neglected inner-city neighbourhoods in the 1960s – triggered by serious environmental deterioration – were maintained over two decades, and led to innovative practices in local area management in which citizens took the initiative in developing local area guidelines for managing change. Such initiatives have come to be known in Japan as *machizukuri*, or 'community development', activities. In this way, a kind of bottom-up design of planning institutions has emerged. In Kobe, such initiatives produced informal master plans, which later became formalized as new national legislation provided the powers to make use of them.

These experiences influenced emerging local government practices from the 1980s onwards, both in Kobe itself and in Japan more widely. The Kobe experience helped to shape new planning legislation, and the city became one of the earliest to make use of these new powers. These initiatives became a valuable resource in the aftermath of the 1995 earthquake. By 2007, Kobe was one of 17 cities in Japan designated to have a higher degree of municipal autonomy in policy areas, including social welfare, public health and urban planning.

Source: Healey, 2008

However, decentralization of authority has often taken place without any accompanying strengthening of the resources available to local governments. Decentralization by itself is not sufficient for effective urban planning.[90] It is paramount that local responsibilities go hand in hand with adequate resources in terms of finance and human capital. For example, in many sub-Saharan countries, local governments are receiving fewer resources at a time when urbanization rates are increasing, unemployment is rising and informal settlements spreading.[91]

Policy integration and institutional coordination

Institutional structures and mechanisms for decision-making, cooperation and power partitioning can significantly influence the successful implementation of urban planning tasks. Given the complexity of contemporary urban systems, the capacity for effective urban planning depends upon coordination of interdependent actors within and beyond the formal structure of government.[92] The fragmentation of governance institutions has already been underlined. Today, formal government functions relevant to urban development are typically spread across the tiers of government or departments within local government and between local and national governments. They may even involve relations across regional and national borders. Creating horizontal and vertical coordination between various levels of government, as well as between government and NGOs, and achieving integration between disparate responsibilities and different policies have become a key challenge for effective governance. What this involves is illustrated in the *European Spatial Development Framework*, which considers such coordination as a prerequisite for effective urban planning and development (see Figure 4.2).[93]

Vertical coordination refers to coordination of policies and programmes between different tiers of governments, ranging from the supra-national level to national and sub-national levels. Such coordination is particularly pertinent in

Decentralization of authority has often taken place without any accompanying strengthening of the resources available to local governments
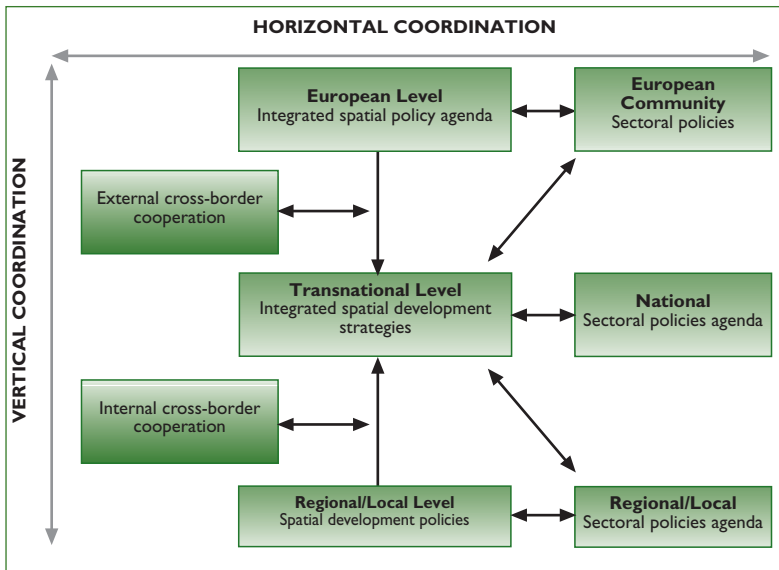
The need for … coordination underpinned a raft of partnership initiatives during the 1980s and 1990s

the context of emerging devolution and decentralization of power and responsibilities. It encourages a form of multi-level governance. This is defined as the existence of overlapping competencies among multiple levels of governments and the interaction of political actors across these levels. In many countries, multilevel governance includes public, private and civil-society actors. The private sector is often involved as a result of privatization policies, particularly with respect to infrastructure and services, such as water supply, waste management, energy and transport. NGOs may be involved through an implicit transfer of responsibilities from the state. Civil society organizations may be involved as representatives of the people, and also because of their knowledge of local problems.[94]

Horizontal coordination involves two aspects. One concerns policy integration across different policy sectors at any given spatial level. The other is about institutional coordination, particularly between constituent municipalities of a given city-region. The organization of policy into separate functions (such as health, education, transport, economic development, etc.) has a useful logic but also presents a major obstacle for effective urban governance. In Eastern and South-Eastern Asian countries, for example, planning, budgeting and economic development tend to fall under the remit of separate government ministries. In Indonesia, spatial planning occurs independently of budgetary programmes and economic development plans. This greatly reduces the effectiveness of urban planning and often leads to implementation problems. In Viet Nam, the planning process is highly fragmented, with three plans (namely, the spatial, the socio-economic and the development plans) that each fall under a different ministry.[95] Furthermore, there is little communication or teamwork between these ministries during the planning process. As a result, 'paper plans' are formulated that are never implemented.[96]

Various initiatives have been put in place in different countries to achieve better policy coordination at the urban level. Many countries have sought to promote agencies with political and executive powers at the level of metropolitan

regions in order to meet the challenges presented by growing megacities. But these have often encountered resistance.[97] Experiences from Brazil suggest that, with time, it may be possible to overcome such resistances.[98]

The second aspect of horizontal coordination is about cooperation and coordination between different municipalities on strategic issues that cut across administrative boundaries (see Figure 4.2). Within these institutionalized forms of cooperation, voluntary participation of municipalities is seen as an added value. The aim is to produce and implement coordinated strategies that cut across the administrative boundaries to overcome potential conflicting approaches from each municipality and to capture any synergies from collaborative working.[99] In some cases such collaboration even cuts across national boundaries. For example, following the construction of Øresund Bridge, Malmö and Copenhagen work together on strategic planning to address issues that do not respect national borders. In countries such as Latvia and Estonia, legal mandates have been put in place for horizontal coordination between neighbouring regions. This means that all urban development plans must be in concordance with those of their neighbours.[100]

Indeed, the need for (or the rhetoric of) coordination underpinned a raft of partnership initiatives during the 1980s and 1990s. Amongst the multiple benefits of such partnerships, building consensus and capacity and creating synergy are frequently mentioned.[101] In some cases, national governments and supra-national bodies have attempted to actively steer processes of coordination and create the conditions for positive-sum partnerships. At the local level, municipalities have an important role to play in promoting new forms of governance and enhancing local institutional capacities for urban planning. This is because they are situated at the crossing point between the traditional vertical axis of power and public administration and the horizontal axis of partnership between government, private sector and civil society that is being promoted worldwide.

However, there are still difficulties in achieving such coordination and consequent integration of urban development initiatives. One is the mismatch between administrative and functional boundaries. There have been some attempts to create administrative areas around *city-regions* and *metropolitan areas*. A famous instance from the US is Portland's metropolitan region.[102] Often, it is transport and water management issues that encourage such a perspective, although concerns about urban sprawl may be another motivation.[103] However, given that such functional boundaries are multifaceted and dynamic, formal restructuring of municipalities may not be the right course of action.[104] Instead, a more flexible and voluntary cooperation among the constituent municipalities of the city-region may be more productive. This, however, has to be encouraged and incentivized by national government. Such a practice has emerged in France.[105] The current reform of the UK planning system encourages the development of multi-area agreements among the constituent municipalities of eight major city-regions as a way of addressing cross-boundary strategic planning and policy issues. In South Africa, the Gauteng provincial government is taking advantage, and also

mitigating the effects, of 'the fact that a continuous polycentric urban region in the province will soon be equivalent to some of the largest cities in the world'.[106]

Despite the difficulties, instances where urban governance arrangements that promote policy integration and institutional coordination focused on place qualities have emerged. Place and territory become mechanisms around which the spatial consequences of policies and proposals in various policy sectors can be considered. The strategic role of planning in integrating other policy areas as well as linking urban development ideas to urban investment programmes is increasingly recognized by governments and other stakeholders. In the UK, for example, a major reform of the planning system was instituted in 2004, in parallel with wider decentralization initiatives, to promote a more integrated and developmentally focused approach to planning.[107] An example of planning's integrative and coordinative role is the Strategic Plan of Riga (Latvia), which functions as the key umbrella document providing conceptual guidance for other planning and regulatory documents.[108] Elsewhere – for example, in South Africa (see Box 4.4) – integrated development planning has been introduced as a way of overcoming the lack of intergovernmental coordination, with varying degrees of success.

But in many situations, planning offices and the plans that they produce struggle to perform such a role. Government departments often compete for ministerial favour. The urban planning function may be a weak part of local government, and local government itself may be weak and disregarded by those actually engaged in urban development processes. Nevertheless, there is an increasing recognition that the spatial dimension and a focus on place (over which planners claim some expertise) provide a valuable integrating opportunity.

PLAN FORMULATION AND IMPLEMENTATION

The traditional view of the relation between plan and implementation saw it as a linear process of survey and evidence-gathering, policy formulation and, finally, implementation. This presents the relationship between evidence and policy and between policy and action as unproblematic and straightforward. In practice, however, as stressed throughout this chapter, the process is far more complex. Notwithstanding such complexities and the political nature of planning processes, strategies and plans are only useful if they are likely to be implemented, in the sense of having effects on urban development processes in line with intentions. Thus, planning must be about conceiving urban strategies alongside a consideration of the governance capacity to deliver them.

Urban planning has been much criticized for failing to adequately consider implementation issues. There is a considerable legacy from the 20th century of grand plans with little actual realization on the ground. Implementation has often proved particularly problematic when plans were developed out of obligation, statutory or otherwise, or from

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Box 4.4 Integrated development plans in South Africa

In 2000, a new form of local government transformed the role of local authorities in South Africa, from one with limited service provision and regulatory powers to a broad developmental one. A key element of this was the introduction of integrated development plans that reorient the planning and budgeting functions of local authorities towards addressing local development needs. In addition to balancing basic economic priorities between local needs and strategic opportunities, integrated development plans were also aimed at overcoming historic racial divisions and inequalities, and the deep social rifts and functional dislocation inherited from the apartheid past.

Every municipality must produce five-year strategic plans that promote integration by balancing the three pillars of sustainability – economic, social and environmental – and coordinating actions across sectors and spheres of government. Integrated development plans do this by linking and integrating: equal spheres of government (vertical coordination); sectors (horizontal coordination); and urban and rural areas. The plans must articulate a vision for the development of the municipal area, as well as development objectives, strategies, programmes and projects. They are reviewed annually through a participatory process involving local communities and stakeholders.

Source: www.communityplanning.net/makingplanningwork/mpwcasestudies/mpwCS07.htm

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an overambitious political project. However, traditional master planning and the rational-comprehensive planning tradition tended to see implementation as synonymous with the *control* of urban systems, often with military precision. If that did not happen, the process of plan formulation was seen as a failure and plans were ridiculed as 'paper tigers'. However, this limited view of planning processes fails to recognize the role of fine-grained adjustments and intangible processes of change over time in implementation. A wider view of planning processes considers implementation as a social learning process for all parties involved. Within this perspective, tools of implementation are not limited to regulatory and fiscal measures, but also include other modes, such as collaborative practices. In such interactive learning processes, the process of formulating and expressing planning policies is seen itself as part of the process of putting policies into effect.[109] Based on this interactive view of the planning process, this section focuses on current and emerging planning tools and resources, policy communities, stakeholders and planning arenas.

Planning tools and resources

In order to undertake the key tasks of urban planning listed above,[110] planning effort needs to be directed at mobilizing and coordinating a range of tools and resources. Table 4.1 summarizes, in a general way, the tools and resources needed to pursue each task. The tools indicated may be consolidated into five types: plans; regulatory measures; resource mobilization; human capital; and consultation and collaborative practices. The first four of these are discussed in this sub-section, while the last is discussed in Chapter 5.

■ Urban plans

Planning is commonly associated with the formulation and implementation of plans for neighbourhood areas, cities, city-regions and regions at national and, indeed, transnational and supra-national levels.[111] The term 'plan' (in

The strategic role of planning in integrating other policy areas ... is increasingly recognized by governments and other stakeholders

Planning must be about conceiving urban strategies alongside a consideration of the governance capacity to deliver them

Task	Tools
Ongoing management of built environment change	Restrictions (i.e. specification of limits, etc.) Requirements (i.e. specification of contributions to the public realm) 'Street-level' management
Development promotion	Direct development by the public sector Acquisition of development land and property by government Encouragement by financial incentives Coordination and mobilization efforts
Strategies, policies and plans	Knowledge and information Specification of key principles and criteria Plans and visions Production of plans with 'statutory' power Coordination activities

Source: derived in part from Lichfield and Darin-Drabkin, 1980

Table 4.1

Planning tasks and tools

The power of a plan has a lot to do with the authority accorded to it in formal law

relation to urban planning work) refers to a statement, diagram, written policies and perspectives, or other document expressing intentions for the future development of an area. The form and contents of urban plans are often shaped by higher-tier plans, either as part of a traditional hierarchical planning system or within a more 'multilevel' form of coordination. Some countries produce national spatial plans and policy statements. Others have regional, sub-regional or sectoral plans and strategies that are expected to frame urban plans. These are almost always merely part of the governance apparatus applicable in a territory, leading to the necessity of coordination both horizontally and vertically.

Plans may come in different forms and may be expected to perform one or more of the following tasks:

- Provide a list of actions to be undertaken (an agenda).
- Provide principles or rules to guide subsequent actions (a policy statement).
- Provide an image of what could come about (a vision).
- Provide a fully worked out development scheme (a design).
- Provide guidance on sets of interrelated decisions about action now, linked to specific contingencies anticipated in the future (a strategy).[112]

Box 4.5 Planning system reform in Lombardy, Italy

During the early 1990s, after major corruption scandals involving payments by developers to political parties, efforts were made across Italy to introduce a new, more policy-focused and technically informed approach to urban planning. Powers to define planning instruments were devolved to regions, and municipalities were strengthened by the introduction of elected mayors. There had been much discussion among the planning community in Italy about how to overcome the rigidity of the main planning tool, the *piano generale regolatore*, which combined both a strategic view of how an area should develop and a specific land-use zoning function.

Working in parallel, the Lombardy region and the Commune of Milan evolved a new suite of planning instruments. These separated the expression of a strategic framework (since 2005 called a *documento di piano*) from the formal specification of development rights and constraints to be specified in a *piano delle regole* (plan of regulations). These were complemented by a *piano dei servizi*. The purpose of this third plan was to indicate infrastructure requirements, both physical and social. These provided the basis for making transparent demands on developers for service contributions. These three documents provided the basis for a new type of overall plan, the *piano di governo del territorio*, which would finally replace the old *piano generale regolatore*.

Source: Healey, 2007, pp110–113; see also Mazza, 2004

The power of a plan has a lot to do with the authority accorded to it in formal law, through national government advice or through customary practices.[113] The importance of plans in guiding individual decisions over plots of land derives directly from this. In planning systems where the right to develop is enshrined in a zoning ordinance (such as parts of the US), the plans that express this carry a lot of weight in deciding what can take place on an individual plot. In more discretionary systems (such as in the UK), a plan is more an information tool, a statement of what the city government wishes to see happen in a place. This may then become an important point of reference for those involved in urban development, shaping their own decisions. As discussed above,[114] planning systems across the world vary in the relation between the granting of development rights and the role of a plan. There is also substantial variation in the extent to which formally approved plans are given attention and enforced.

Early attempts at planning were often very top down, led by a single planner sometimes with a very singular vision of what the future city should look like. In developing countries, this was typified by the importation of ideas from developed countries,[115] often led by an expatriate 'celebrity planner'.[116] During the latter half of the 20th century, urban plan-making became a more complex process – the product of the ideas of professional teams rather than individuals. However, they often took a great deal of time to prepare and were out of date by the time they were finalized. As a consequence, many critics became concerned that the production of such plans had become overly complex both in procedural terms, through consultation processes and the like, and in terms of the data considered necessary to predict future needs and to provide for them. A further problem was that monitoring the performance of plans becomes more important, but more difficult to do in transparent ways. The development of performance indicators has, in recent years, become an important accompaniment to such plans.[117]

Partly as a consequence, there has been a significant shift from large-scale master planning to more action-oriented participatory planning, often focused on specific urban areas or projects – as highlighted in Chapter 3. Such efforts can encompass accommodating growth through the provision of new settlements or urban extensions, or it could involve the regeneration of specific small urban areas. These experiences have led to two developments in urban plan-making. The first is to separate indicative strategies for urban areas from plans that grant specific development rights. This practice is well established in North-West Europe. Box 4.5 provides an interesting case from Italy, where such a separation is being attempted in a country with a tradition of general municipal plans where city-wide strategies and the allocation of development rights were previously merged.

The second development is to focus on making plans to mobilize and encourage action with respect to specific parts of an urban area. Such plans are often prepared through stakeholder partnerships and provide both a 'development framework' for specific actions and a proto-contract

for agreements on specific projects. The emerging framework for an emerging 'edge city' at an infrastructure node in Amsterdam, The Netherlands, provides such an example (see Box 4.6). This case underlines the importance of connecting such development frameworks to the wider context and ensuring that attention to the integration of social, environmental and economic issues with such major projects is maintained.[118]

The move away from grandiose master planning reflects a view that narrowing the complexity of the plan can help to focus attention on what is really of most significance to a city at a given time. This often means that hard choices have to be made in the light of available resources. This may mean that a city-wide plan focuses on a few key actions, such as the laying of an infrastructure grid.[119]

■ Regulatory measures

As noted above, planning regulations are vital tools for planning systems.[120] Such regulations fall into a number of different areas. Where property rights are nationalized, they revolve around managing issues, such as where particular forms of development may take place; the particular mix of land uses on a site; and the quality of building expected there (design, energy, efficiency, etc.). Such development regulations are often combined with building regulations. The latter are increasingly important, both in encouraging more sustainable building practices and in recognizing the role of appropriate building technologies in less developed countries. Here, regulations are used in tandem with a development plan in which development locations are determined. But regulation has a flip-side. Without being able to limit development in other parts of the city, plans to develop in specific, wanted places may not be realized. In Cork, Ireland, a city-region plan sought to direct development from the congested east to the less developed west of the region. But without sufficient power to regulate development in the east, this ambition was only partially achieved.[121] Many countries suffer from this situation, especially where urban planning regimes do not extend beyond urban area boundaries established before major bursts of urbanization.

City governments also typically have other important legal powers.[122] One set of powers relates to the *assembly of land* for major development and redevelopment projects. Where land is mostly owned by the private sector, compulsory purchase and land-assembly powers are very common.[123] In India, for example, the Delhi Development Authority owns a significant proportion of the land, which it has acquired through compulsory large-scale land acquisition policies that have been implemented since 1957. However, the 'compulsory purchase' or 'expropriation' of land by state agencies often leads to substantial conflict and injustice.[124] Some countries (e.g. Brazil) lack such instruments altogether.[125]

Another important mechanism, usually linked to the granting of a development permit, allows the negotiation of *developer contributions* to infrastructure and other community development objectives. These are considered in the sub-section below.

The ability to *appeal* against the above regulatory decisions is also an area with considerable global variation. Where appeals are allowed, the right to appeal may be limited to the developer and not to 'third parties'. In other systems, appeals are allowed only on the grounds of a failure of due process. Some appeals are heard in legal courts. In some planning systems, semi-judicial processes have been established, as in the British public enquiry and the French *enquete publique*.[126] Both processes tend to be slow; but the latter also provide important arenas in which issues are aired publicly, contributing to the long-term social learning processes that can be so important in creating good public policy.[127]

■ Resource mobilization

A critical issue in effective urban planning is to relate strategies, policies and specific proposals to the resources that could achieve them. The range of fiscal measures deployed in planning systems is constantly evolving. For a considerable time governments have used financial inducements and disincentives to direct development to particular parts of a country, region or city. Such incentives are often used alongside the relaxation of planning restrictions in a particular area, as in the example of employment zones in the US, enterprise zones in the UK and special economic zones in Southern Asia.[128] The creation of zones where certain uses are permitted without recourse to the normal regulatory planning regime is often accompanied by incentives for business to consider locating in such a place. While such policies can improve the conditions in the immediate area, they are often criticized for displacing activity from other areas and failing to create additional economic activity. Therefore, there have to be good reasons – for example, high levels of unemployment in an area – to deploy such policies. Otherwise municipalities may compete with each other for scarce inward investment, offering larger and larger incentives. Continual relaxation of regulatory frameworks may also lead to degraded environmental conditions.

Planning regulations are vital tools for planning systems

Building regulations … are increasingly important

'Compulsory purchase' or 'expropriation' of land by state agencies often leads to substantial conflict and injustice

Financial measures can also be deployed to extract community benefits from a development. During the mid 20th century, it was often assumed that formal government (the state) should pay for public infrastructures. Sometimes private developers were required to pay charges for hook-ups to infrastructures (UK and US) or a general 'urbanization' charge (Italy). In large developments, they might be expected to provide buildings for schools, community centres and health facilities. But, in good times (i.e. when urbanization was proceeding apace and property values were rising), the landowner and developer typically captured the increase in land value resulting from well-serviced urbanization. For cash-strapped municipalities dealing with deficiencies in community facilities, physical infrastructures and low-cost housing, this has always seemed unjust.

As a result, in situations where development activity is mostly undertaken by private developers of some kind, negotiation practices have evolved through which agreements are reached about who should pay for what. These are variously called development exactions, developers' contributions, planning gain, betterment and 'value capture'.[129] It is sometimes thought that these are underhand negotiations, leading to the 'buying' of authority to develop. Where patronage politics prevails, this eventuality is quite likely. However, if the negotiation process is transparent and the beneficiaries known, developers will be more accepting of planning authorities' demands, and include this when calculating the price to pay for land they have to purchase. In other words, such negotiation practices have evolved reasonably well where governance policies have some coherence and stability, and are conducted in a transparent way. Clearly, they also require personnel with a grasp of development situations and who are skilled in negotiating for the public realm. However, if such coherence and stability is lacking, and if what developers provide for public realm benefits becomes diverted to some kind of patronage, then the legitimacy of the practice may be called into question.

The potential for 'underhand' dealing and for strong developers to exploit weak municipalities in negotiations over public realm benefits may lead to arguments for the use of an alternative tool in the form of a standard payment related to the size and scale of a development project in some way. This may be taken as a tax, in which case it is likely to flow into national treasuries or general municipal funds. Or it may be taken as an earmarked charge, allocated for specific public realm assets. It is often argued in the UK that the general gains from property development are best collected through the 'capital gains' that are part of the general tax paid by any development project. But most developers acknowledge that claims for contributions to address specific adverse impacts upon a community are justified. In this way, they become 'shaped' by planning expectations.[130]

Thus, given the right governance context, developer contributions are a useful way to address the externalities that arise from particular developments. This can be difficult in conditions of rapid urban growth where the provision of infrastructure and services often lags behind the pace of physical change. Such contributions typically require careful case-by-case negotiation. The transparency and certainty of the parameters of such negotiations can be greatly enhanced if these are stated in authoritative plans. Linking such financial measures to spatial plans can help in ensuring fairness and in responding to the pace of change.[131]

There are thus several measures that can be used to provide resources for urban development activities. What makes the difference to the effectiveness of urban planning strategies is the careful linkage between actions indicated in plans and strategies, the use of regulatory instruments, and the provision of resources to carry a strategy forward. Many plans and strategies become discredited where such linkages are weak.

■ Human capital

Undertaking the coordinative and integrative work that is at the heart of effective urban planning is a complex task, demanding considerable expertise. As highlighted in Chapter 10, lack of adequately trained personnel with necessary knowledge and expertise is reported as a major constraint for effective urban planning in many parts of the world. An extreme example is Cambodia, where the absence of expert knowledge and personnel has culminated in what is effectively the suspension of urban land-use planning after the cessation of international funding during the late 1990s. In many other developing countries, the shortage of skilled staff at the local level and the brain drain are a major obstacle in effective urban planning.[132]

The absence of planning skills, in many developing and transitional countries, has sometimes led to the importation of consultancies and practitioners from developed nations to devise plans and policies. Historically, there was much transfer from developed to developing countries.[133] As emphasized in Chapter 3, such externally prepared master plans often missed the critical issues for a city. Today, international consultancies are much more likely to have local offices and to work with planners in the places they are employed. But they also often work from a limited palette of ideas, and with a narrow understanding of the implementation potential of these ideas, given questions of understanding and institutional capacity in particular places.

Furthermore, cities themselves are keen to emulate the success of other cities, looking to transfer ideas without enough attention as to whether they may work when removed from their particular situation. This is not to say that places should not learn from each other, but that this learning should not seek to copy exactly from another situation in the manner of a recipe.

Policy communities, stakeholders and planning arenas

Throughout this chapter, the importance of relating planning interventions to a good understanding of local conditions has been stressed. Urban areas, even in one region of one country, vary in their geography and economic possibilities. They also vary in the specific configuration of their institutional dynamics, as expressed through the actors, agencies, networks and arenas where urban issues that need policy attention are identified and addressed. In designing a

Given the right governance context, developer contributions are a useful way to address the externalities that arise from particular developments

Lack of adequately trained personnel with necessary knowledge and expertise is … a major constraint for effective urban planning

planning system and in working in a particular urban context, it is important to give attention to:

- the *networks and policy communities* that form around particular policy activities, development tasks and implementation activities;
- the *stakeholders* whose actions, interests and values are affected by urban development issues; and
- the *arenas* available for interaction between stakeholders and networks.[134]

In many cases, planners find themselves part of a national 'community' of planners, as well as of local communities of municipal or community development workers. In the past, planners have sometimes tended to insulate themselves within their professional communities or within a wider '*policy community*',[135] including stakeholders such as larger developers and energetic pressure groups. Such policy communities can develop their own 'silo' mentalities, making interaction with other groups difficult. Recent trends towards more interactive forms of planning have underlined the importance of a more externally oriented way of interacting with and drawing together the many 'communities' and networks that are involved in creating urban development futures.

   If urban planning is to be inclusive, it is paramount that wider groups of *stakeholders*, including those who may not recognize that they will be affected, are identified and engaged in decision-making processes.[136] These include a wide range of people, but may be categorized as follows:

- those whose interests are affected by urban planning processes (i.e. households, businesses, community or neighbourhood associations, and landholding/owning interest groups);
- those who control relevant implementation interests (i.e. politicians, planners, major investors and implementation agencies drawn from a wide variety of governmental, non-governmental and private-sector organizations); and
- those who possess relevant information and expertise needed for dealing with the wide spectrum of issues to be addressed and the variety of instruments to be applied (i.e. NGOs, business organizations, academics and other experts).[137]

Inclusive processes, however, do not necessarily lead to consensus. While the enlarged network of social relations enhances planners' access to knowledge resources, new ideas, and human and social capital, it may also generate tensions and conflicts over power and responsibilities. The outcome of such interactive processes among this wider network may lead in different directions. It may lead certain policy community members to become defensive of their own policy territory and competencies and, hence, to either withdraw from the network or to act against it. Or it may lead to the emergence of new and innovative ideas and solutions to urban problems. Once again, steering the process towards the latter to achieve some degree of agree-

ment among a wider group of stakeholders, rather than a small group of policy elites, has become an important part of the planners' toolkit. With this aspiration in mind, the late 1980s laid the foundations for a new approach across Africa by focusing on the themes of accountability, markets, democratization and decentralization.[138] Several countries in sub-Saharan Africa – including Kenya, Mozambique, South Africa, Tanzania and Uganda – have responded in varying degrees to these pressures by opening up and broadening the urban planning process to an increasingly wide spectrum of stakeholders or popular participation through supportive legislative frameworks.[139] However, such participation is still limited primarily to forms of consultation. In practice, NGOs are incorporated within the formal decision-making processes on planning matters only in very limited cases.[140]

   Policy arenas are the institutional sites where members of policy communities come together to develop ideas and actions for urban futures. They act as nodal points for stakeholders and are places where critical decisions are made. Sometimes, they are fixed in time and space and are formally defined by planning rules, or they may be fluid and *ad hoc*. Such arenas may be a local council chamber, the office of a planning authority, a law court, a semi-judicial enquiry process, an informal community development group, or a business association. Such arenas occur at various locations and over time – for example, at different levels of formal government and/or in less formal *ad hoc* arrangements between key stakeholders.

   The critical point to recognize about arenas is that they vary in who gets *access* to them, both in terms of presence and voice. Differentiated access can be due to:

- formal codes of engagement as defined by law (e.g. in the UK, the 'examination in public' of plans is only open to those invited to it);
- cultural norms and social codes (traditional hierarchies);
- implicit internal practices (style and language, user-friendliness); or
- power relations.

In the Balkan region, for example, the primary formal planning arena continues to be the formal hearing, which is relatively open; but the input of private parties in plan implementation often subverts formal plans through the bribing of politicians and planning officials.[141] In countries such as the Czech Republic, the establishment of regional development agencies in the early 1990s, which involved public–private partnerships in urban planning and development, is considered to be a welcome departure from the above practices.[142]

   Given the differentiated access to planning arenas, there is always potential for struggle over which arena to use for which issue and at what stage in the development of that issue. In Brazil, for example, attempts to establish a Metropolitan Parliament with political authority to integrate the work of municipalities in large cities such as Curitiba were strongly resisted by a number of municipalities who were concerned about losing their power over their own jurisdiction.[143]

Another important issue to consider is the relationship between different types of arenas and the weight that they carry in the decision-making processes. Far too often, two trends can be observed. First, the more 'open-access' arenas become segmented off from the main nodes for urban policy development. This implies that the discussion in the wider forums has less leverage in the final decisions made. Hence, the voices of citizens, less-organized environmental groups and small businesses do not get heard in the main nodes of policy development. Second, the agenda is set by the public sector and the participants are 'the usual suspects' (i.e. the same group of people appearing in different arenas in slightly different combinations and compositions). Participation of any 'outside' stakeholders is marginal and policy is made, often behind closed doors, by a small, yet powerful, group of government officials and a few large businesses. Such marginalization of informal forums and their late inclusion in the process leads to a sense of democratic deficit and distance between governments and citizens in urban policy processes.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

Throughout this chapter, it has been stressed that the institutional context for urban planning has a significant effect on its forms and outcomes. It has also been underlined that institutional contexts are highly variable to specific times and places. Hence, in 'learning from the experience of others', it is important to appreciate such specificities. Because of this variety, identifying general trends is a difficult challenge and may serve to mask important local specificities in the institutional and regulatory frameworks for urban planning. With these reservations, it is nevertheless possible to identify the following *key trends* that are widely shared in different parts of the world:

- Many countries and regions are attempting to reconfigure their formal government structures, and the urban planning systems that operate within them, to make them more relevant to the dynamics of contemporary circumstances.
- Such initiatives tend to emphasize the decentralization of authority from nation states to cities and regions, less hierarchical ways of working, and greater involvement of actors from outside formal government, supported by more interactive ways of working.
- This is resulting in increasing variety in the form of agencies involved in urban planning, and presents difficult challenges of accountability and legitimacy.
- The legal systems underpinning planning regulation are being modified in many countries to allow greater flexibility and interactions; but at the same time new rigidities are appearing, introduced through national and international initiatives in environmental and human rights law.
- This situation is encouraging two related responses. One is an increase in litigation as a way of resolving planning disputes. The other is a counteracting

movement to avoid litigation through developing negotiation and collaborative practices.
- While much land and property development is still carried out by state agencies, and/or individuals and small operators, the presence of large-scale land and property developers, some working on a global scale, is expanding substantially. These create challenges for national and local planning practices that are seeking to promote greater equity and environmental sensitivity in urban development.
- In large urban complexes, there is an increasing mismatch between administrative boundaries and the functional dynamics of an urban area, which leads to major problems in coordinating development activity and integrating the social, environmental and economic dimensions of development.
- In this context, approaches to the formulation and implementation of plans have moved from assuming that a planning authority could control how development takes place, to recognizing that all parties need to learn from each other about how to shape future development trajectories.
- These trends not only require sufficient skilled people able to undertake the complex work of formulating and implementing plans and projects, but also mean that existing planners may need to shift their skills towards more interactive and collaborative ways of working. This adds to a general shortage of people, especially outside the developed world, with skills in planning work.

Given the general trends above, and recognizing the importance of understanding the institutional specifics of each situation, the following *general policy lessons* should be highlighted:

- Initiatives to improve planning systems need to pay careful attention to the specific institutional dynamics of particular nations, regions and cities. Successful experiences elsewhere cannot easily be transferred, although much can be learned from them.
- It is important to consider how planning agencies are related to formal and *de facto* government structures, particularly the degree of decentralized power and the potential for horizontal and vertical policy coordination.
- Planning systems need to be surrounded by checks and balances on the use of investment and regulatory resources in order to limit the arbitrary use of planning measures by powerful groups. Without building general trust in the probity of planning systems, it is difficult to build up societal support for planning institutions and instruments.
- While planning systems need the support of a legal framework that defines rights and responsibilities with respect to land and property development and contributions to the public realm, it is helpful to resist over-legalization and the rigidities and time-consuming processes that accompany this.

- Planning measures, where they have material effects, play a significant role in shaping land and property market behaviour. It is helpful to focus explicitly on this role in relation to local conditions.
- Planning systems' regulatory power needs to be combined with investment power, in an integrated and proactive way, in order to release the potential of many different kinds of actors to contribute to the urban development process.

- Where planning systems and practices lack strength, respect and trust, it is helpful to focus initially on actions that bring clear benefits to many and build the ground for greater respect in the future. Such positive experiences help to build local capacity to address more complex issues.

NOTES

1 World Bank, 1997; UNCHS, 2001a.
2 Le Galès, 1998; Cars et al, 2002.
3 Jessop, 2000, p15.
4 Rhodes, 1997, p8.
5 UN-Habitat, 2002a, p14.
6 Batley, 1993; Davoudi and Evans, 2005.
7 See sub-section on 'Policy integration and institutional coordination'.
8 Stoker, 2000, p93.
9 Davoudi, 2005.
10 Dyrberg, 1997; Healey, 2007.
11 Davoudi and Evans, 2005.
12 See sub-section on 'Policy communities, stakeholders and planning arenas'.
13 See Attahi et al, 2008; Irazábal, 2008a.
14 See Chapter 5.
15 Brenner, 2000.
16 See sections on 'Planning institutions and the institutionalization of planning practices', 'Legal systems and the distribution of rights and responsibilities' and 'Land and property ownership and development institutions'.
17 UN-Habitat, 2002a.
18 See section on 'Planning institutions and the institutionalization of planning practices'.
19 See earlier section on 'Planning and governance'.
20 This is a widely used broad grouping to describe the overall composition of a society; see, for example, Urry, 1981.
21 See Attahi et al, 2008; Irazábal, 2008a.
22 See Abbott, 2001; Ozawa, 2004.
23 See Punter, 2003; Sandercock, 2005.
24 See also the case of Freiburg (Germany) in Scheurer and Newman (2008).
25 Gilbert and Healey, 1985; Payne, 1997; UN-Habitat, 2004b.
26 For an example, see Box 4.2.
27 Glenn, 2007, p87.
28 Equity is here referred to as 'equity of treatment', bearing in mind people's diverse life situations and capacities.

29 See Ikejiofor, 2008.
30 de Soto, 2000; Gilbert, 1998. See also UN-Habitat, 2007b, pp140–143.
31 See UN-Habitat, 2007b, pp140–143.
32 Watson, 2003; Geertz, 1983.
33 See Box 4.2.
34 See Chapter 3.
35 See sub-section on 'Policy integration and institutional coordination'.
36 See Salet and Gualini, 2007.
37 See earlier section on 'Planning and governance'.
38 See Albrechts, 2001a; Faludi and Waterhout, 2002.
39 Okpala, 2008.
40 See Irazábal, 2008a; Healey, 2007, Chapter 4.
41 See Irazábal, 2008a; also Petersen, 2008.
42 See Marshall, 2004.
43 Devas, 1993. See also the case of Kenya in Yahya (2002).
44 McAuslan, 1993.
45 Mitchell, 2003; UN Millennium Project, 2005. See also www.hic-net.org.
46 See, for example, the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, and the General Comments prepared by the United Nations Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights; UN-Habitat and OHCHR, 2002; UN-Habitat, 2002c, 2007b (Chapters 6 and 11), 2008a.
47 Cullingworth and Caves, 2003.
48 See Kironde, 2006; Payne, 2005; Payne and Majale, 2004.
49 See earlier section on 'Planning institutions and the institutionalization of planning practices'.
50 Glenn, 2007.
51 See Newman and Thornley, 1996; Davies et al, 1989.
52 Glenn, 2007. He calls these the Chthonic (or orally based), the Talmudic, Civil Law, Islamic, Common Law, Hindu and Asian.
53 Fernandes and Varley, 1998; Payne, 2005; Kironde, 2006; Glenn, 2007.
54 Sorensen, 2002. See also Chapter 3.

55 See Sorensen, 2002. A similar practice has been reported in Zhuhai, China (see Li, 2008).
56 However, UN-Habitat (2007b, p127) has earlier noted that:
The power of states to expropriate carries with it several fundamental preconditions. When housing, land or property rights are to be limited, this can only be done: subject to law and due process; subject to the general principles of international law; in the interest of society and not for the benefit of another private party; if it is proportionate, reasonable and subject to a fair balance test between the cost and the aim sought; and subject to the provision of just and satisfactory compensation. Once again, if any of these criteria are not met, those displaced by such expropriation proceedings have a full right to the restitution of their original homes and lands.
See also UN-Habitat, 2008a.
57 See European experience in this area in Healey et al (1995); Campbell and Henneberry (2005); CEC (1997).
58 Ball, 1983; Healey, 1998.
59 Needham et al, 1993.
60 UN-Habitat, 2004b, 2007b (Chapter 5), 2008a.
61 See the Moshi case in Box 4.2.
62 Needham et al, 1993.
63 Mayor of London, 2004; Bailey, 2009.
64 See Barras, 1987; Harvey, 1985; Webster and Lai, 2003.
65 Mattingly, 1993; Buckley and Kalarickal, 2005.
66 UN-Habitat, 2007a, 2007b.
67 See Healey, 1992.
68 See the section on 'Planning institutions and the institutionalization of planning practices'.
69 Issues surrounding the appropriateness of planning tools and resources are discussed in the section on 'Plan formulation and implementation'.
70 See the earlier section on 'Legal systems and the distribution of rights and responsibilities'.
71 Yuen, 2008.
72 See sub-section on 'Urban governance and government'.

73 Vigar et al, 2000.
74 Yuen, 2008.
75 Hirt and Stanilov, 2008.
76 Abers, 1998; Baiocchi, 2003; Marshall, 2004.
77 The US 'planning commission' is a group of appointed citizens who review and advise local governments (see Hopkins, 2001, p167).
78 See Breetzke, 2008.
79 See earlier sub-section on 'Institutions as specific agencies and organizations'.
80 See the case of Kitale (Kenya) in Majale (2008).
81 It was also driven by regional traditions, tribal wishes for autonomy, demand for self-control and growing self-confidence of local voters (Hall and Pfeiffer, 2000).
82 Dillinger, 1994, p1.
83 UN-Habitat, 2002b.
84 Tapales, 1996; Hall and Pfeiffer, 2000.
85 Yuen, 2008.
86 Nassar, 2008.
87 Irazábal, 2008a.
88 Dillinger, 1994, p9.
89 World Bank, 1998, cited in Hall and Pfeiffer, 2000.
90 See the sub-section on 'Planning tools and resources'.
91 Okpala, 2008.
92 Jessop, 1997, p96. See also earlier section on 'Planning and governance'.
93 CEC, 1999, para 74–76.
94 UNCHS, 2001a.
95 Yuen, 2008.
96 See section on 'Plan formulation and implementation'.
97 See, for example, Salet et al (2003) for the European experience.
98 Irazábal, 2008a.
99 See, for example, the experience of French inter-communal initiatives in Motte (2007).
100 Garau, 2008; Hirt and Stanilov 2008.
101 See Chapter 5.
102 See Abbott, 2001; Ozawa, 2004.
103 See Salet and Gualini (2007) for European experiences; see also Owens (2008).

104 For a critical review of the concept of the city-region, see Davoudi (2008).

105 Motte, 2007.

106 South African Cities Network, 2004, p167.

107 See Office of the Deputy Prime Minister, 2004; RTPI et al, 2007.

108 Hirt and Stanilov, 2008.

109 Good examples of such interactive strategy formation can be found in the Welsh Spatial Plan (see Welsh Assembly Government, 2003; Harris and Thomas, 2009), and in the development of neighbourhood development guidelines in Vancouver (Punter, 2003).

110 See earlier sub-section on 'The institutional design and redesign of urban planning systems'.

111 The *European Spatial Development Perspective* is a good example (CEC, 1999).

112 This is adapted from Hopkins (2001, Chapter 3).

113 See section on 'Planning systems, agencies and regulation'.

114 See Chapter 3 and the earlier section on 'Legal systems and the distribution of rights and responsibilities'.

115 See, for example, Jenkins et al, 2007.

116 See Chapter 3.

117 See Chapter 9.

118 See Moulaert et al, 2000; Salet and Gualini, 2007.

119 Mabogunje, 1990.

120 See section on 'Legal systems and the distribution of rights and responsibilities'.

121 See Haughton et al, forthcoming.

122 See section on 'Legal systems and the distribution of rights and responsibilities'.

123 See Alterman, 1988.

124 See note 56 above.

125 UN-Habitat, 2006b.

126 See CEC, 1997.

127 Owens and Cowell, 2002.

128 Ansari, 2008; Allmendinger and Thomas, 1998.

129 Alterman, 1988; Healey et al, 1995.

130 This emerges very clearly in the development of design regulation in Vancouver (Punter, 2003).

131 See, for example, Breetzke, 2008.

132 Yuen, 2008, p37.

133 Ward, 2002; Jenkins et al, 2007. See also Chapter 3.

134 After Vigar et al, 2000.

135 Marsh and Rhodes, 1992.

136 See Chapter 5.

137 UNCHS, 1995.

138 Hall and Pfeiffer, 2000.

139 Matovu, 2006.

140 See Wekwete, 1997, p540.

141 Hirt and Stanilov, 2008.

142 Hirt and Stanilov, 2008.

143 Irazábal, 2008a.

PLANNING, PARTICIPATION AND POLITICS

One of the most important shifts in planning during the last few decades has been from a view of it as an expert-driven technocratic activity to one that is inclusive of relevant stakeholders and communities (see Chapter 3). This fits with the shift from government to governance and its implications for the role of local/municipal government, which is also affected by moves to strengthen democracy and a concomitant wave of decentralization. However, there are many debates and tensions in the notions of governance and participatory planning. For example, there are debates about how participatory planning can be in the context of deep socio-economic differences and power imbalances.

The focus of this chapter is on participation and politics as it relates to planning. It begins by reviewing forms of citizen participation and then the characteristics of participatory urban planning. Given the centrality of gender to the ideals of citizen participation in urban planning, this is briefly examined next. Subsequently, the extent and nature of participation in urban planning in different parts of the world and political contexts are reviewed. The factors that influence approaches to participation in urban planning and their outcomes, as well as some of the pitfalls and challenges, are identified. Specific examples of innovative participatory urban planning experiences are then presented and their wider applicability reviewed. Finally, lessons from these experiences, as well as challenges, are taken into account in identifying ways to enhance participation in urban planning.

CHARACTERISTICS AND FORMS OF PARTICIPATORY URBAN PLANNING

Participation implies that planning is not a purely technocratic exercise in which policies and decisions are made by professionals in conjunction with authoritarian political power holders or even by elected representatives alone. It incorporates voice, responsiveness and accountability. Voice refers to the expression of citizen preferences and opinions through both the electoral process and other channels. Without responsiveness, consultation and the expression of views may not influence plan proposals and planning decisions. Policies and plans mean little unless they determine the allocation of resources and decision-making; therefore, ways of ensuring that views are heard and acted upon – accountability – are also essential.

Attempts to develop a more sophisticated conceptual basis for participatory approaches have drawn on theories of democratic politics and urban planning theory to distinguish between *communicative* and *collaborative* approaches. Communicative (or deliberative) planning is based on a belief that better decisions are reached if they emerge out of a process of knowledge-sharing and dialogue between those concerned. Collaborative planning implies a process of debate, deliberation and consensus-building (i.e. joint decision-making). The underlying rationale for these approaches can be traced to democratic theory, which holds that active citizenship has intrinsic value. It suggests that participation provides an education in democratic practice, fosters a sense of belonging, leads to acceptance of collective decisions, encourages bureaucratic responsiveness and accountability, and brings collective knowledge and new ideas to bear on decision-making. Rather than a technocratic exercise carried out by experts, planning is conceived of as an interactive communicative activity. The result is considered to be more appropriate policy and fewer implementation problems.

Participation is an umbrella term for a variety of approaches and it is useful to distinguish between different forms and purposes of participation. A typology is suggested in Table 5.1 to illustrate this. However, even this more detailed typology simplifies the reality, and it should be borne in mind that actors' motivations for permitting or engaging in participation are mixed and different approaches can coexist.

The typology suggests a continuum from 'weak' to 'strong' forms of participation. Citizen control over decision-making is generally regarded as the most transformative and empowering form of participation. It is based on interactive processes of learning and self-mobilization, in which local groups take control over decisions and actions independent of external organizations, while developing links to obtain resources and technical assistance and keeping control over these resources.[1]

Citizen control over decision-making is generally regarded as the most transformative and empowering form of participation

Form	The purpose of participation	What 'participation' means to the implementing agency	What 'participation' means for those involved	Potential approaches
Nominal	Display, manipulation	Legitimization to show that it is doing something; pre-empt opposition	Inclusion, in the hope of gaining access to potential collective or individual benefits	Token representation on decision-making bodies
Consultative	Assembling useful information	Better informed decision-making with no loss of control	Policies and plans that are more appropriate, but with no guarantee that the outcomes of consultations are taken into account	Information collection through systematic data collection, consultative processes, responses to proposals
Instrumental	A means of increasing effectiveness and stretching external resources further	Efficiency to draw on beneficiaries' resources, increase cost effectiveness, and improve the prospects for successful operation and maintenance	Access to facilities and services that are normally provided only to those that can afford to pay	Contributions to costs (money, labour, etc.)
Representative	To give people a say in decision-making through the political system or specific channels	Sustainability; established systems are used for the expression of voice, improving responsiveness and ensuring accountability; provides a means of organizing and aggregating different views	Leverage, direct or indirect influence	Representative electoral political system (national and local government; decision-making and advisory bodies at city or local level)
Transformative	Both a means and an end	Partnership with non-governmental actors; collaborative decision-making and implementation	Joint analysis and development of plans; empowerment to enable people to define objectives, make their own decisions, control resources and take action	Governance arrangements that involve partnerships or 'contracts' between government and citizen groups; devolution of powers, responsibilities and resources

Source: based on Pretty, 1995; White, 1996, pp7–9; Cornwall, 2008, p273

Consultative and instrumental forms of participation are commonly associated with efficiency and effectiveness arguments – planners and project initiators provide for participation in order to improve the information available to them, reduce costs and ensure the achievement of project objectives. Consultation is essential and can improve transparency and responsiveness, resulting in more appropriate policies and plans that take the needs of different actors into account. Likewise, the need to stretch government resources and address affordability issues, as well as to ensure the 'ownership' and maintenance of services provided, may justify instrumental approaches.

However, consultation implies that the main decisions are taken by external agents (including officials, funding agencies and elected representatives), who may or may not take into account all of the views expressed, especially those of socially marginal groups. Moreover, in both developed and developing countries, consultation is widely used to legitimate decisions that have already been made and its outcomes are used selectively or potentially disregarded by those in power.[2] Thus, in addition to its functional value, participation may be used purely as a tokenistic legitimizing device.

Whether government offers substantive or only nominal opportunities for citizen participation, the outcomes are unpredictable. Even strong forms of participation do not necessarily challenge existing distributions of wealth and power and ensure that the interests of the marginalized are taken into account, while weak forms may both improve planning and provide opportunities for more meaningful approaches to be gradually introduced.[3] To ensure that citizens' views are taken into account during policy formulation *and* implementation, ways of ensuring accountability are also needed, including transparent modes of decision-making, answerability to both those affected and the electorate at large, and the ability to sanction state institutions if necessary.

Citizen participation in urban planning can take a variety of forms:

- It occurs at different levels, including local, city-wide and supra-city levels.
- It can be initiated by different actors, including government agencies, elected politicians, communities and other actors.
- It occurs at different stages in the planning process, including identification of needs, preparation of plans or formulation of policies, implementation and evaluation.
- It relates to a variety of planning and decision-making processes, including the formulation of a broad vision, policy or plan-making, proposals for particular activities or areas, and periodic resource allocation through budgeting processes.
- It varies depending upon stakeholders' capacities (e.g. time, resources, awareness of rights and opportunities to participate) and identity. This is especially so with regards to gender, as elaborated upon subsequently.

Many of the innovative participatory practices adopted in towns and cities do not relate specifically to the preparation of land-use and spatial plans. Rather, they influence the preparation and implementation of multi-sectoral economic and social development strategies, as well as annual budgeting processes and local projects focusing on improvements in services and housing. Although general development programmes, sectoral policies and municipal budgeting do, of course, have spatial dimensions, they are not always dealt with systematically.

GENDER IN PARTICIPATORY URBAN PLANNING

A key objective of participatory planning is to ensure that all concerned stakeholders, including socially marginalized groups, are able to influence decision-making. In doing so, planners need to consider the differences in stakeholders' capacity to engage in participatory processes. One of the most fundamental shortcomings of planning in this regard has been the unequal manner in which men and women have been incorporated within the planning process both as professionals as well as stakeholders. This has been a major focus of participatory urban planning in recent times.

Since the early beginnings of classical planning traditions in the late 19th century in Western Europe (see Chapter 3), a male-oriented model has been persistent. The dominance of men in the profession during these early times impacted upon the way in which planning was conceptualized and developed. The approach to planning that emerged was homogeneous, tended to favour 'white males' and made patriarchal assumptions about women. Women were seen to be limited to the private realm (i.e. the home), while the public realm was designed for men's use. What resulted was a built environment favouring the male citizen and one that reinforced stereotypical gender roles, including that of women as housewives. This approach became ingrained in planning education, theory and practice, including the development of modern planning in the 20th century. These models were further dispersed worldwide primarily through colonial imposition, but also through voluntary adoption by countries (see Chapter 3). Male-oriented planning models remained largely unchallenged until the second wave of feminism in North America during the 1960s and the resultant women's liberation movement.[4]

Since the 1960s, a growing body of research has highlighted the limitations of a male-oriented planning model and emphasized the importance of women's interactions with the built environment.[5] An increasing number of women entered the planning profession and, in time, their work influenced the development of approaches and tools for enhancing the gender-sensitivity of planning processes and outcomes.[6]

The general critique of blueprint approaches to urban planning during the 1970s gave further credence to those lobbying for the inclusion of women's concerns in planning. Early approaches to planning were critiqued for having failed to improve the lives of disadvantaged social groups and even having adverse impacts upon them. This led to a rethinking of policy-making and planning, and in particular pointed to the need for wider participation at both national and local levels. There were attempts to develop 'bottom-up' approaches to planning as an alternative or complement to 'top-down' planning in order to make decision-making more responsive and effective. The new approach to planning practice was to be 'people centred', less technocratic, more culturally sensitive and more explicitly pro-poor.

By the 1980s local governments and international bodies, unable to ignore the concerns of women, began to consider how to integrate their needs within planning. The United Nations, for example, actively promoted the importance of women in development through major conferences, conventions and campaigns, including the United Nations Decade for Women from 1976 to 1985. The concept of gender mainstreaming was also introduced during this period, arguing for the need to integrate gender within every stage of the policy-making process.

These developments have had far-reaching effects on current thinking on the design of urban environments, transport systems and housing. The need to provide opportunities for both men and women to participate equally in plan-making is also widely accepted. However, there remains a gap between policy and practice in many countries. Procedurally, women in urban areas are often significantly under-represented in decision-making processes.[7] The challenges that men and women face in their day-to-day lives in cities and therefore the priorities that they would like to be addressed through planning are different. This is the case in terms of employment (see Chapter 7), land and housing (see Chapter 7), and infrastructure (see Chapter 8). The employment status and average earnings of men and women vary greatly; women are often disadvantaged with regards to land and housing ownership rights, while physical infrastructure provision often excludes consideration of women's needs and priorities. Thus contemporary urban planning is still critiqued for failing to address such specific needs of women and men. Participatory approaches, especially those that are more transformative, offer much potential to address gender imbalances with regards to both the procedural and substantive aspects of urban planning.

GLOBAL TRENDS IN URBAN PLANNING, PARTICIPATION AND POLITICS

The extent to which bureaucratic and technocratic approaches to planning have been replaced or complemented by participatory approaches varies across the world. In this section, global trends in urban planning and participatory practice are summarized and some of the factors that explain differences between regions and countries identified.

Developed countries

Formal procedures for allowing the public to participate in planning decisions have long existed in developed countries, as mentioned in Chapter 4. They generally involve rights to object to or appeal against proposals or development decisions, and public hearings prior to plan approval.[8] Civil law systems are generally associated with zoning approaches to planning, in which there is scope for participation in plan preparation; but decisions on applications for development permission that comply with the zoning provisions are purely administrative (e.g. France). In contrast, common law systems (e.g. the UK) are associated with discretionary approaches to development control, in which the plans are guidance documents, which constitute only one of the

Women in urban areas are often significantly under-represented in decision-making processes

Formal procedures for allowing the public to participate in planning decisions have long existed in developed countries

factors taken into account in decisions. In such a system, there is scope for participation in both plan preparation and development regulation.[9]

Developed countries invariably have representative democratic political systems, although the distribution of planning powers and responsibilities between levels of government varies. The power to make planning decisions typically lies with local elected politicians, subject to rights reserved by central governments to approve plans, decide on major or contentious planning proposals, and provide or withhold funds. Elected representatives have a responsibility to take the views of their constituents into account and to balance conflicting interests. Levels of citizen participation are generally higher at the local level, although sometimes as part of urban renewal programmes or in opposition to proposed construction projects rather than as part of forward planning. For example, in the US, participation has been mandated in urban renewal programmes since the 1960s, although the emphasis has often been on improving communication rather than sharing power.[10]

In addition to the voice and accountability exercised through periodic elections, lobbying and advocacy play an important role. In some countries, such as the UK, this is generally relatively low key and small scale. In others, such as the US, it is large scale and highly organized, while in some countries a few highly organized formal interests are very close to government (e.g. big business and trade unions).

In recent years, a great variety of tools and techniques for sharing information and consulting with citizens have been widely applied at both city and local levels. Despite this, it is not always easy to secure wide citizen participation in urban planning, with the result that specific organized interests exert more influence to advance their own interests. Some social groups are under-represented (women, youth, ethnic minorities and mobile groups), and this under-representation has been addressed in various ways, such as quotas and proportional representation. Some governments also provide technical and financial support for ordinary communities and citizens to participate in public review processes (e.g. Canada, some states in the US and parts of Australia). Elsewhere, professional planning organizations provide such support on a largely voluntary basis (e.g. the Planning Aid service in the UK).

Research shows that both elected politicians and planners in developed countries may have reservations about participatory approaches to planning. The former may feel threatened, both because of their conception of their own role as elected representatives with delegated power and because of the need to balance various interests and priorities. The latter sometimes feel that participation takes too long, slows up decision-making and adds to the cost of planning. Therefore, more extensive and radical participation in decision-making remains exceptional, and the agenda rarely goes beyond the 'organization of consensus'.[11] In practice, of course, consensus cannot always be reached and some groups are more influential than others.

In transitional countries of Europe the nature of citizen participation in urban planning has evolved differ-ently. On paper, some participation was a legal requirement in most communist countries (especially Yugoslavia[12]). However, in reality, state and regional economic plans were prepared by political elites who supposedly represented the interests of all citizens. Political goals were then turned into urban spatial projects by built environment professionals. Participation was therefore merely a formality, taking the form of pseudo-open public hearings, which attracted mostly technocratic elites, and ceremonial exhibitions during which the public was allowed to see master plans.

Since 1989, in contrast, most transitional states have introduced new legislation that includes provision for participation. Participatory mandates stem from new consti-tutional provisions, as well as spatial planning laws that resemble those in many Western European countries. Broad participation often occurs in environmental planning (e.g. in hearings following environmental impact assessments of particular projects). In the Czech Republic, for example, active environmental non-profit organizations have promoted participation in environmental planning hearings.[13] Nevertheless, even when attempts are made to increase the scope for participation, it is frequently tokenis-tic.[14] Furthermore, planners (most of whom are architects and engineers) continue to advance technical solutions to urban problems. As such, master planning, with its pursuit of an idealized urban future at a city-wide scale, persists and, unlike local plan proposals and specific construction projects, generates little citizen interest.

An additional obstacle is the underdevelopment of civil society or its dominance by a few large, often Western-funded, non-governmental organizations (NGOs). Where governments permit civil society participation, they often prefer to deal with a few large non-profit organizations that are easier to interact with and less likely to be perceived as threatening.[15] In those countries that have opted for a market economy but maintained strong centralized govern-ment, notably Russia, significant obstacles to participation remain. Even where the old urban regimes have been replaced by ostensibly democratic ones, many continue to be dominated by members of the communist elite[16] and partici-pation occurs mainly through government-approved non-profit organizations.[17] Where a settlement has not yet been reached with respect to the form of democracy and governance, including Ukraine, Albania and other countries marked by political and ethnic conflicts, the political regimes governing cities operate in an unstable context marked by weak institutions and scarce resources. There is little effec-tive governance and urban management, let alone scope for participation.

Sub-Saharan Africa

The colonial legal inheritance has greatly influenced the nature of, and scope for, participation in urban planning in most of sub-Saharan Africa. A comprehensive master planning approach was generally enshrined in the inherited colonial legislations, which required governments to seek the opinions of interested parties through public surveys and hearings on draft plans, while maintaining the ultimate

decision-making authority. In the post-independence period, the expectation that governments would take responsibility for development was associated with a technocratic approach to national development planning that inhibited the direct involvement of citizens or other non-governmental stakeholders in planning and decision-making. Radical revisions to the inherited legislative base for this technocratic blueprint approach to planning have been rare, despite its failure to provide effective guidance for rapid urban growth.[18] The post-independence period has also been marred by unstable government alternating between authoritarian and democratic rule (with periodic or long-standing civil conflict in many countries), further restricting the consolidation of participatory planning processes.

During the 1970s in many cities, the need to solve urgent problems led to the adoption of an action-oriented approach linked to individual sectors or projects (e.g. upgrading of informal settlements or the provision of serviced plot areas for low-income housing). Sometimes, those affected were consulted, although their views did not necessarily have much influence on the proposals. Often, low-income households were expected to participate by contributing their labour to infrastructure installation and improvement, as well as construction of their own houses.[19]

Since the 1980s, the inability of government agencies to implement urban development plans and the irrelevance of these to the majority of residents living in informal settlements led to attempts to revise planning legislation and adopt more realistic, flexible and participatory approaches to urban planning. These have often been facilitated by external agencies, including through the Sustainable Cities Programme,[20] the Urban Management Programme,[21] the Municipal Development Partnership[22] and the CDS approach.[23] Furthermore, state withdrawal from basic service provision led some communities to more proactively seek to influence key urban decisions. For example, in West African countries such as Mali, Senegal and Burkina Faso, structural adjustment in the 1980s resulted in the formation of various types of community-based organizations (CBOs) that fought for increased participation in urban management.[24]

The scope for democratic participation has further increased since democratization and decentralization during the 1990s. In Francophone West Africa, public hearings serve as the main vehicle for participation in plan preparation. Hearings last at least two months, are widely publicized and record all observations on, and objections to, draft master or subdivision plans. Yet, in practice, organized interests rather than individuals participate in this way, unless their individual properties are affected, and all major decisions are taken by the government.[25]

Upgrading and rehabilitation projects continue to provide more meaningful opportunities for participation than urban plan preparation, although often those funded by international agencies remain pilot projects whose approaches are not replicated on a large scale (e.g. Yentala in Niger; Nylon in Cameroon; Sokoura in Aboisso, Côte d'Ivoire). An example of a recent large-scale project is Dalifort in Dakar, where three structures for participation

were established: an advisory committee comprised of area representatives, important people and religious leaders; sectoral technical committees (women, health, environment, etc.); and a local business initiative involving all plot owners. Local planning offices enabled staff to work with residents to identify problems and develop appropriate solutions, using participatory diagnosis and planning tools.[26]

On the whole, in much of sub-Saharan Africa, although some countries such as Mali, Burkina Faso and Guinea have prepared local participatory planning guides,[27] serious efforts to involve citizens in decision-making are uncommon and participation often takes the form of consultation, which may or may not result in influence. Moreover, the institutional base for effective urban management and planning is weak and often in a state of flux. Local governments mostly have a limited revenue base, inadequate technical and administrative skills, and insufficient autonomy, despite renewed attempts to decentralize in the 1990s. There are especially wide gaps in capacity and resources for effective urban management between large metropolitan areas and smaller municipalities. Even where local government has a strong mandate and is relatively well resourced, as in South Africa, lack of appropriate skills in local government and weak civil society organizations hinders effective participation.[28] In practice, therefore, decisions tend to be made by technocrats, with some input from elected representatives.

There has been considerable discussion about whether, given the weakness and limited legitimacy of local governments and methods of decision-making, a role could be played by traditional authority structures. In some African cities, customary authorities (family, lineage, chief) continue to supply affordable land for residential use through processes of informal subdivision, both for allocation to eligible members of indigenous communities and for sale. In addition, especially in countries where the colonial authorities adopted a system of indirect rule, customary authorities retain a role in the administration and management of local areas. Often, their decision-making style is deliberative and consensual. They may, therefore, demonstrate methods for participation, consultation and decision-making that could be emulated and play a role in certain governance tasks (e.g. land administration and dispute resolution). However, their potential contribution to participatory planning should not be overestimated. In many cities, direct rule eliminated traditional authority structures or substituted government appointees for traditional leaders (as in Kenya). Moreover, traditional authority structures are hierarchical and patriarchal, often disadvantaging women and young people. Authority and participation in decision-making only apply to the relevant indigenous group, which is increasingly irrelevant as in-migrants swell city populations and increase their diversity.

Asia

Democratic local government in the urban areas of Southern Asia has shallow roots. Before recent reforms, it either did not exist (e.g. in Pakistan during periods of military rule) or

In much of sub-Saharan Africa … serious efforts to involve citizens in decision-making are uncommon

Democratic local government in the urban areas of Southern Asia has shallow roots

Box 5.1 People's campaign for decentralized planning, Kerala, India

The State of Kerala launched a participatory planning process in 1996 that aims to strengthen democratic decentralization by identifying local needs and establishing local development options and priorities through local consultation and participation. The basic nested structure of participation in the annual planning and budgeting cycle of Kerala's decentralized planning has four stages:

1   mobilization of citizens for identification of felt needs;
2   systematic appraisal of felt needs by development seminars comprised of local representatives, local political representatives, officials and experts;
3   conversion of recommendations of the development seminars into projects by task forces; and
4   prioritization of the projects by elected local self-government institutions and incorporation within a local plan for implementation.

The local participatory process is supposed to be linked into longer-term district and state planning processes.
      Assessments of the campaign experience range from the adulatory to the critical. Evaluations that consider urban and rural areas separately have been limited. However, a thorough state-wide evaluation of the first stage of the campaign (1996–2001) in 2002 found that:

•   There has been substantial fiscal devolution: 35 to 40 per cent of the state development budget is allocated to local governments, mostly grants in aid that are directly under the control of the municipalities.
•   Local governments have power to plan, fund and implement a full range of development policies and projects, subject to compliance with state policy and advice. So far, about 1200 plans and more than 100,000 projects have been prepared.
•   The participatory process, which is repeated annually in all local government areas, has been institutionalized. There are high levels of socially inclusive participation, although levels have declined over the years.
•   The process was perceived by all types of actors involved (including opposition party politicians) to have had positive developmental impacts, the primary beneficiaries of which were the poor.
•   The campaign is judged to have reduced corruption and increased transparency and accountability of both representatives and officials.
•   The campaign has resulted in increased citizen voice. Measures to encourage the establishment of women's neighbourhood groups and women's participation in the planning process have resulted in a dramatic increase in women's representation and voice. While traditionally, strong organizations (trade unions and parties) have continued to be active, disadvantaged groups have been able to participate.
•   The positive achievements 'have significantly increased the legitimacy of democratic local government and widened the political space for local politicians and civil society. Citizens now expect more of local government, and such expectations are what sustain democratic practice.'

A number of factors were important for the success of the campaign from 1996 to 2001, and the institutionalization that has subsequently occurred. These must be taken into account in any assessment of whether the Kerala experience is transferable. They include political commitment, clear procedures and guidance by the state government, capacity-building through a massive training programme at the local and district level, and the ability to build on the experience and draw on the volunteers of civil society organizations.
Source: Chettiparamb, 2007; Heller et al, 2007

was frequently suspended by central government, with officials being nominated to run municipalities. Conceptions of urban planning in countries of the region and the legislative basis for it have changed little, despite the patchy trend towards more democratic local government since the 1990s. Despite the shortcomings of conventional master planning, there is limited evidence of alternatives being seriously entertained among planners.[29] There is not much provision for participation in plan preparation, by elected representatives, private-sector interests or urban residents, in general. Government is often highly fragmented. Although there is a trend towards greater decentralization, capacity is often restricted, particularly at the local level.

    Nonetheless, some countries in the region have made significant progress with regards to participatory urban planning. In India, for example, the federal and state governments have adopted a variety of measures to increase citizen participation and the responsiveness and accountability of government at all levels. Since a constitutional amendment in 1992, municipalities have become the principal represen-

tative platforms for the urban population, with the electoral representation of women and weaker sections of society assured. The Ministry of Urban Affairs has produced guidelines for preparing citizens' charters for municipal services, and charters have been prepared by some cities, such as Delhi and Mumbai. Some widely known attempts to develop a participatory approach to planning have also emerged in India, including the preparation of city development plans under the Jawaharlal Nehru National Urban Renewal Mission and the Kerala People's Campaign for Decentralized Planning (see Box 5.1). However, in practice, the autonomy of local government in India is limited by continued state government control over the decentralization of decision-making and limited resources, as well as external appointment of the chief executive.[30] Progress with democratic decentralization has been even more limited in other countries, including Pakistan,[31] Bangladesh and Nepal.

    The ability of both local communities and disadvantaged groups to hold government to account depends upon their ability to organize. Advocacy and lobbying, as well as

the use of public interest litigation, are, however, often dominated by elite interests (e.g. in Delhi).[32] Most commonly, residents in low-income areas have to access local power holders through clientelist links with local parties, politicians and bureaucrats, often mediated through informal community leaders or brokers. Studies show that political access in India is less amongst people living in the poorest slums than amongst those who are better established, but that even the poorest communities can gain access to sources of authority if they are well organized.[33] Furthermore, in some cities strongly organized civil society, including high-profile NGOs, work on behalf of poor residents. They have developed tools such as citizen report cards to assess the performance of government agencies and to hold them to account. In addition, they support the organization and networking of CBOs.

In East and South-East Asia, many countries, particularly the transitional economies, have a weak democratic tradition, with limited civil liberties and political rights. Although this is changing in most countries, the pace of change varies greatly. Formal strategic and spatial planning for urban development and growth in this region is frequently not well provided for at either central or local government levels, with outdated legislation still in place in many countries. Stakeholders therefore play a minimal part in the planning process.[34]

In several countries of East and South-East Asia, government is highly centralized and top down, although economic reforms and globalization have induced changes, especially in the transition economies. In China and Viet Nam, for instance, a master planning approach, in which plans were production-oriented technical documents intended to determine land allocation and infrastructure development, has gradually evolved from project-based detailed control planning to more strategic spatial planning. The latter combines elements of both socialist and market-oriented approaches to planning (see Box 5.2). Government institutions are beginning to acknowledge their role as enablers of development as opposed to mere service providers, and both inter-agency cooperation and public consultation are becoming more widespread.

At a local level, community-driven development approaches to basic service provision are being pursued in a number of countries. These involve participatory demand-driven support to defined communities, in which poor people and their organizations are treated as active partners and are often solely responsible for the project planning, implementation, monitoring and management. For example, community-driven approaches have been used in post-disaster areas in Indonesia, such as the North Java Flood Control Sector Project, reconstruction after the 2006 earthquake in Yogyakarta, and rehabilitation and reconstruction after the 2004 tsunami in Aceh and Nias. Facilitated and coordinated by government agencies, communities have been able to contribute information, voice their opinions and make decisions pertaining to such projects.[35] In Cambodia, Thailand and the Philippines, federations of the urban poor made up of community-managed savings and credit groups have worked with national and local governments to design

> **Box 5.2 Urban planning and participation in China**
>
> In China the urban administrative system is a nested hierarchy of spatial units. Conceptually, public opinion can be assembled at the lowest (*xiazhu*) level (units of as few as 15 to 20 households) and channelled up the pyramid. While sometimes claimed to be a system of direct or delegative democracy, the emphasis is on consensus and a unitary conception of the public good. It has been observed that, in practice, the hierarchy of spatial units functions as a mechanism for downward control and the centralized delivery of societal goods. This hierarchy is overlain by a system of *danwei* (urban production or work units, through which jobs are provided). Marketization has shifted the locus of power down the hierarchy because the control of local units over property has enabled the rise of town and village enterprises and diversification of their functions. The local administrative units have considerable autonomy. Urban spatial planning was reinvigorated in the 1980s as a statist top-down administrative exercise motivated by the desire to direct and regulate investment in the market economy. The 1983 and 1989 planning acts provided for master plans, a strong role for planners and a stronger role for the *jiedao* (sub-district or street committee) and *danwei* units through their control over land. The acts have emphasized an essentially technical approach to urban spatial planning with regulatory structures that perpetuate a depoliticized decision-making environment.
>
> Thus, the state's priority and the function of the planning system are to achieve economic development while maintaining social and spatial control. Most influence is exercised by centrally appointed local leaders, whose primary allegiance is to central government, which determines their career progress. They are judged by their ability to use local units' fiscal autonomy to deliver local development, in compliance with centrally set goals and regulations. There are new urban actors, which include consumers' and citizens' groups, although investors are the most important. However, there is limited scope for citizens, especially the floating population, to have a say in decision-making. Instead of being accountable to local residents, leaders are answerable to the upper levels of government and new developments are more about checking corruption and limiting the clientelist practices and actions of local officials through elite scrutiny than about democracy and participation.
>
> *Source:* Leaf, 2005a; Leaf and Hou, 2006, p574

and implement programmes to provide housing and sanitation to slum dwellers.[36]

The presence of organized civil society varies greatly between countries within the region of East and South-East Asia, from the most developed in the Philippines to countries such as China, Viet Nam and Cambodia, which do not emphasize civic participation and do not yet have a vibrant civil society. Even in countries that have attempted to deepen democracy in recent years, civil society organizations are not necessarily well developed (e.g. Indonesia, especially outside Jakarta). Lack of awareness and understanding of the aims of, and arrangements for, decentralization and participation amongst the urban population can hinder both. Interest in participation and the capacity to become involved is lacking for various reasons, including a preoccupation with meeting basic needs, and fear and distrust of government institutions.[37] Other barriers to participation include high levels of diversity in urban areas and limited capacity of government agencies and CBOs. Despite the existence of promising examples of participation at the city and local levels, in most countries in the region urban planning remains a top-down process.[38]

Latin America and the Caribbean

In Latin America and the Caribbean, there were limited attempts to introduce participation before the 1980s,

In East and South-East Asia, many countries ... have a weak democratic tradition

usually on a project-specific basis and limited to consultative or instrumental forms of participation – for example, in projects to build self-help housing or regularize informal settlements. Critics noted that these token efforts failed to ensure that disadvantaged groups gained access to adequate housing, work and political rights.

During the 1980s, economic crises increased poverty, eroded the resource base for clientelist politics and fuelled pressures for political change. Mobilization of civil society organizations contributed to widespread democratization at both the national and local levels. More recently, social revolts against neo-liberal policies and their impacts have led to the establishment of a number of leftist governments. The impacts of this more recent transformation are still unfolding.[39]

Throughout the region, the need for the newly elected democratic governments to establish their political credibility and the growing importance of municipal government led to experiments with participatory governance to complement representative democracy. Many of the best-known cases have emerged in cities governed by political parties of the left. However, governments run by political parties with widely different political ideologies are now experimenting with deliberative forms of governance, in part to increase their legitimacy in the face of a citizenry that is increasingly mobilized and sceptical about progress with democratic consolidation. They engage citizens in decision-making between elections through collective dialogue and decision-making on policy and resource allocation, both directly and through neighbourhood councils, in coordination with elected bodies.

The extent to which participatory approaches have been institutionalized in national or local legislation varies across the region, with countries such as Brazil and Bolivia having made the most progress.[40] The best-known and most widely emulated of these is probably participatory budgeting, which will be considered in more detail later in this chapter. In addition, building on a longer tradition and influenced by government practices in the US, elected government may be complemented by various consultative and advisory councils, which make the views and expertise of important urban stakeholders available to elected governments.

Other arenas for the exercise of political voice in the region include the media and public spaces. Different types of media are widely used to convey information and there is increasing use of participatory media, and information and communication technologies. For example, in the Ajusco foothills of Mexico City, newspapers have been used to inform residents how to obtain land titles and services.[41] Television and radio stations and internet websites (including some government websites) may conduct public polls to gauge opinions regarding planning matters with a view to setting priorities or resolving conflicts. These allow people to appreciate the complexity of issues and the pros and cons of alternative solutions, and can potentially involve more people than could possibly participate in face-to-face consultations.

Street politics, meaning the enactment of demonstrations in public spaces to make claims and call the attention of decision-makers, the media and the public at large to broad issues or particular grievances, are also a long-standing way of exercising political voice in Latin American cities. The design and creation of such spaces and regulations about their use are both symbolically and practically significant, an important focus of planning attention.[42]

Despite the significant political changes and participatory initiatives outlined above, approaches to planning in the region have not changed commensurately or kept pace with new ideas about governance.[43] Technocratic planning persists. It may in certain circumstances achieve positive results (e.g. Curitiba; see Box 5.3), although it is often ineffective, hindered by a lack of political will, technical expertise and adequate data. Physical planning has been used to improve or beautify formal parts of cities, and in some cases to upgrade informal settlements. Although some of these plans balance physical and social aspects, many are criticized for their neglect of social dimensions.

At the same time, planning is often heavily politicized, with party-based issues frequently trumping technical expertise or community inputs. Participatory approaches are hindered by short political time horizons and clientelism. Implementation problems are particularly severe during periods of political transition and uncertainty, where distrust between those loyal to different political factions in the past hinders planning initiatives by new governments. For example, in countries with newly elected left-leaning governments, old oligarchies and bureaucracies continue to resist change.[44]

Differential openness to more participatory planning in the region is explained largely by the political orientation of governments. Where deliberative arrangements such as those referred to above have been introduced, they have increased citizens' agency, altered top-down relationships, opened communication channels between governing agencies and citizens, tilted resource allocation towards poorer people, and responded directly to the expressed needs of participants.[45] However, they may also pit communities against each other in a competition for resources, have limited leverage over total municipal resources, fail to deal with city-wide issues, enable more organized groups to gain at the expense of poorly organized groups, and be manipulated by political or economic elites.

To be effective, therefore, neighbourhood-level community organizations need to be linked to both wider networks and the representative political system. They are also likely to need support, including measures to build the capacity of under-represented groups such as women or minorities to participate. They seem to have been most successful when they complement rather than replace vibrant representative democracy.[46]

Factors shaping the processes and outcomes of participatory urban planning

Some of the factors that determine the opportunities for participatory planning, as well as its form and outcomes, can be identified from the above regional overviews:

Mobilization of civil society organizations contributed to widespread democratization at both the national and local levels

Planning is often heavily politicised with party-based issues frequently trumping technical expertise or community inputs

To be effective … community organizations need to be linked to both wider networks and the representative political system

- the formal and informal characteristics of the political system, which influence the motives of those who are politically active at the city level; the scope for involvement in policy formulation and resource allocation by elected representatives, residents and other interests as well as appointed officials; and who may initiate participation, including government, external actors such as NGOs or donors, and citizens' organizations;
- the legal basis for local governance and planning, which determines whether local political arrangements include provision for representative bodies (elected local government, advisory bodies, etc.) and participatory processes (including specification of whether the outcomes of participation must be taken into account in plan-making), as well as the types of plans that governments are required to prepare and their ability to regulate land use and development;
- the historical evolution of planning, which reflects both ideas about its nature and purpose and its relationship to the state;
- the allocation of responsibilities for planning, implementation and development regulation between levels of government, local government and other agencies, which influences the scope for cooperation and partnership, the level at which planning and decision-making occurs, and the accessibility of political forums;
- government capacity, especially at the local level, which influences awareness of approaches to participation, as well as its potential benefits and pitfalls; the availability of appropriate skills to prepare and implement plans; and the availability of resources to respond to locally articulated needs and priorities;
- citizens' awareness of their entitlements to political representation and participation, as well as their capacity to organize, identify their needs and articulate their priorities; and
- the scale and scope of planning, which influences the opportunities for meaningful participation – the incentives for participation and the likelihood of practical benefits are greater at the community level, especially when adequate resources are made available to tackle the issues identified, than they are at the wider metropolitan or city level, which is harder for citizens to comprehend, is more remote from their everyday lives, and produces results only in the longer term.

INNOVATIVE APPROACHES TO PARTICIPATORY URBAN PLANNING

Increasingly, the need for direct participation in planning is recognized, and in some countries and cities, determined efforts have been made to develop innovative ways of involving a wide range of stakeholders in decision-making. Some of these approaches will be reviewed in this section. The analysis will start at the community level and then examine participation in strategic planning at the city level. In order

> **Box 5.3 Modes of decision-making for planning, Curitiba, Brazil**
>
> During a period of authoritarian government in Brazil, the appointment of a particularly well-qualified and forward-looking mayor in Curitiba (who was later re-elected several times) led to the development of new approaches to urban planning and implementation that have been internationally recognized. To guide discussions on the municipal master plan (*Plano Diretor*), first an advisory commission and then an independent public institution, the Institute of Urban Planning and Research of Curitiba (*Instituto de Pesquisa e Planejamento Urbano de Curitiba*), was created. This entity, set up in 1965, was able to overcome bureaucratic inertia by including representatives of all relevant government departments on its council. Although initial plan preparation did not provide opportunities for wide citizen participation, members of the economic elite were consulted and benefited from the plan. The continuing existence of this planning agency, backed by successive mayors and governors, ensured effective plan implementation.
>
> However, it has not been possible to institute effective government and planning for the Curitiba Metropolitan Region, in which rival municipalities continue to resist any loss of their decision-making power to the metropolitan body composed of their mayors. The municipality has, over the years, devised innovative ways of involving citizens in managing and improving the city. Nevertheless, relatively weak civil society organization and limited accountability have resulted in failure to acknowledge many persistent problems, particularly those facing lower-income residents.
>
> *Source: Irazábal, 2006*

for other countries and cities to learn from these approaches, it is important to not only describe the positive experiences but also identify the constraints and obstacles faced. Analyses of whether participatory approaches to planning have improved implementation are few and far between, not least because of the relatively recent adoption of many of the approaches discussed, the timescale required for implementing urban plans, and the general paucity of *ex post* evaluations of urban plans (see Chapter 9).

Participation in local planning

Participatory planning at the community level has, in recent years, taken many different forms, with varying outcomes. A variety of terms are used for these approaches, although in practice they have common characteristics, especially a focus on identifying needs and priorities, devising solutions, and agreeing on arrangements for implementation, operation and maintenance. The process of identifying needs and priorities is often called participatory urban appraisal, while arriving at proposals and implementation arrangements is frequently called community action planning. Typically, the primary motivation has been upgrading or regeneration to improve housing and infrastructure, rather than land-use planning.

Participatory urban appraisal has its roots in participatory rural appraisal methods.[47] It has been demonstrated that such methods can be used, with appropriate adjustments, in urban areas, where communities are larger, populations more transient and pressures on residents' time greater. Participatory urban appraisal methods are, however, primarily for collecting community-level information and undertaking preliminary needs assessment. They need to be complemented by systematic city-wide data that is capable of small area disaggregation with respect to critical service provision and well-being indicators, as well as by social group

Participatory urban appraisal methods are ... primarily for collecting community-level information

(gender, age, etc.). In addition, participatory urban appraisal provides information inputs into decision-making rather than itself being a decision-making tool and therefore needs to be taken further in a process of participatory action research or community action planning.[48]

Various actors may initiate a participatory process at the local level, including governments, external agencies, communities, CBO federations and NGOs (see Box 5.4). The appropriate organizational arrangements for participation and planning at the local level vary depending upon the size and social characteristics of an area and the nature of the political system. The nature and outcome of participation at the 'community' level depends, amongst other things, upon the source of the initiative and the nature of relationships between communities, NGOs and the urban administrative and political system.[49] Sometimes these are collaborative. In the Philippines, for example, CBOs are more likely to emerge in municipalities where politicians are open to collaboration than those where they are hostile. The former are likely to be municipalities where the votes of *barangay* (neighbourhood) residents are important to those holding political control. The attitudes of elected politicians also affect CBOs' sense of agency, with those experiencing hostility finding it harder to sustain collective action.

Just as frequently, however, relationships between communities and the broader political systems are characterized by clientelism or confrontation. In the former circumstances, claims and demands are traded for votes and neighbourhoods are in competition; the latter occurs especially where informal settlements are illegal and threatened by eviction. There is a potential intermediary role for suitable NGOs in facilitating a process of participatory urban appraisal and community action planning, especially if local government is associated with unsuccessful past interventions, municipal staff or residents have a limited understanding of participatory methods, or political control at the city level is not pro-poor. In some circumstances, community organizations are susceptible to elite capture; but participation may also create local democratic spaces in which new local leaders can emerge and citizens' expectations of their interactions with government shift, contributing to democratic consolidation.[50] In addition, poor communities do not exist independently of the external

economic, organizational and political context, nor can they be self-sufficient with regard to resources. Even where community-level participation and activity are appropriate, therefore, neighbourhood planning needs to be linked to wider political and administrative systems.

Participation in city-level and strategic decision-making

Even if some community action planning is desirable and some community initiatives are feasible, city-level planning and support is essential. In addition, many policies and decisions are strategic in the sense that they refer to a wider geographical area and longer timescale than those typically dealt with in community action planning. Depending upon the size of the urban centre, intermediate, city and metropolitan arrangements are needed for the aggregation of local plans, setting broader objectives, allocating resources and resolving conflicts over priorities. Experience of participation at the city level is illustrated below through a review of participatory budgeting and the CDS.

■ Participatory budgeting

Participatory budgeting originated in Brazil and is now being emulated more widely in Latin America and beyond. In addition to democratization and decentralization, the 1988 constitution in Brazil provided several mechanisms for deliberative democracy and public oversight, especially at the local level. Building on earlier experiments in several municipalities and increased volumes of municipal finance, participatory budgeting was adopted in an increasing number of cities during the 1990s, following the landmark experience of Porto Alegre. In Porto Alegre and many other cities, the arrangements have four elements:

> *The first is the delegation of sovereignty by elected mayors in a set of regional and thematic assemblies which operate through universal criteria of participation. Every citizen can participate and vote on budget issues in [these] … assemblies. The second characteristic is the combination of different elements of participation rooted in alternative participatory traditions, such as direct participation and the election of local councillors. The third element is the principle of self-regulation. The rules for participation and deliberation are defined by the participants themselves and are adapted or changed every year … The fourth element is the attempt to invert the distribution of public goods through a combination of participation and technical decisions.*[51]

Since 1989 in Porto Alegre, 16 regional and 5 thematic plenary assemblies participate in the budget preparation process. In the first round of assemblies each year, city officials present audiences with general information about the city budget and participants elect their representatives to year-round forums. Following neighbourhood meetings

during which residents identify their priorities for infrastructure investment, a second round of assemblies is held. At these, delegates are elected for each district and negotiate district-wide priorities in district budget forums. Finally, district delegates to the Municipal Budget Council decide how to distribute available funds between districts. The council and district forums monitor investment and engage in a broader dialogue with service-providing agencies. Evaluations show that participatory budgeting in Porto Alegre has:[52]

- strengthened civil society by encouraging the development of open and democratic civic associations and triggering wider participatory processes;
- given previously excluded groups influence over decision-making (although the poorest are generally not involved in the participatory process);
- brought investment to neglected communities;
- provided a partial alternative to clientelist political practices by enabling the Workers Party (*Partido does Trabalhadores*) mayor to circumvent the legislative body on which the party was in a minority; and
- probably helped to re-elect the Workers Party mayor who introduced it.

In order to ensure that women and men participated more equally in budgeting meetings, the Women's Coordination Group of Brazil introduced three initiatives in 2002 aimed at increasing women's participation. First, mobile play areas were installed at meeting locations to allow women with childcare responsibilities to bring children and attend meetings. Second, information about the process was distributed in areas where meetings were to take place in order to encourage women to participate. Third, meetings between government officials and women's groups were held to discuss how to encourage women to participate. One of the outcomes of this was to create a thematic forum on women, specifically looking at issues for women in communities.[53]

Participatory budgeting spread to a large number of Brazilian cities (170 by 2005) and has been emulated around the world, with support from the World Bank and the Urban Management Programme. The arrangements and outcomes have varied, both within Brazil and elsewhere. An analysis of the Brazilian experience, for example, argues that the conditions that account for participatory budgeting's success in Porto Alegre are not necessarily present in all Brazilian cities.[54] Cities that have developed successful and long-lasting participatory budgeting systems tend to have strongly developed civic associations, especially in lower-income neighbourhoods; a previous tradition of participation; a reasonable level of prosperity so that there are meaningful resources for redistributive investment; and a unified (generally left-wing) governing coalition committed to fostering participation.

Evaluations further indicate that participatory budgeting processes in Brazil are not technical processes that can be detached from local political structures and relationships and power dynamics, all of which affect both the design of the process and its outcomes. For positive results, the process must be based on three basic principles:[55] grassroots democracy through open local assemblies; social justice through the allocation of a larger share of resources to the most disadvantaged districts; and citizen control through an ongoing participatory budgeting council that monitors implementation. Enshrining the requirements for, and basic parameters of, participatory budgeting in law, as some municipalities have done, may be useful, although this can also reduce a municipality's ability to adapt the process in the light of experience.[56] In addition to the conditions in which participatory budgeting flourishes, transparency is critical for a successful process: revealing the resources available, clear and uniform criteria to guide priority-setting and redistribution between districts, and monitoring actual investment. Where there is opposition from the elected councillors (because of ideological differences or resentment that budget forums are usurping their role) or too many key expenditure decisions are made by the executive, participatory budgeting is less successful.

The context must be also characterized by a culture of participation. Participatory budgeting is not a substitute for healthy local politics, based on a representative political system and effective political parties. It cannot by itself produce 'more democracy, social justice and transparent administration'.[57] Nowhere is this illustrated more graphically than in Buenos Aires (see Box 5.5), where the lack of political commitment, dearth of developed civic associations, and political and institutional features that favoured middle-over low-income participation hindered the introduction and implementation of effective participatory budgeting processes.

In addition, although participatory budgeting can grow out of participatory plan-making at the city level (or vice versa), a major challenge is the relationship between participatory budgeting and a city's long-term strategic and development plans.[58] For this reason, in the health sector, parallel deliberative councils have been established in some Brazilian cities for city-wide decision-making.[59]

By 2006, it was estimated that participatory budgeting had been introduced in more than 1000 of the 16,000 municipalities in Latin America, and by 2007, it had been tried in seven (mainly west) European countries (over 100 cities).[60] Evaluations of these participatory budgeting experiences show an even greater variety of arrangements and outcomes than in Brazil.[61] A review of the experience of 25 municipalities in Latin America (including Brazil) and Europe finds that the resources allocated for participatory budgeting range from 1 to nearly 100 per cent of the municipal budget, with the proportion being non-transparent and/or politically contested in some cities.[62] Another study in more than 20 European cities concludes that many of the consultative processes not only fall short of true participatory budgeting, but also that only what they term 'Porto Alegre adapted for Europe' results in 'empowered participatory governance'.[63]

■ City Development Strategies (CDSs)

In developing countries, especially outside Latin America, many of the attempts to encourage and support greater participation in city-wide planning have come from outside,

Participatory budgeting ... has ... given previously excluded groups influence over decision-making

Cities that have developed successful ... participatory budgeting systems tend to have strongly developed civic associations

especially from the international agencies, including the World Bank and UN-Habitat, under the auspices of the Urban Management Programme, the Sustainable Cities Programme and, more recently, the Cities Alliance. The approach currently being promoted by the Cities Alliance focuses on CDSs. These are approaches to city-based strategic planning that use similar participatory processes to develop an action plan for equitable growth in cities, although their format, scale and priorities vary. To date, over 150 cities worldwide have been involved in developing City Development Strategies.[64] Current approaches to the production of CDSs draw on earlier experiences in developed countries.[65] Although the importance of consultation is accepted, the intention is that stakeholders participate in problem identification, prioritization, visioning and development planning, rather than merely commenting on draft plans. The participatory process is intended to lead to an agreed vision, goals and priorities for a city, a set of strategies and action plans, and the establishment of institutional mechanisms to secure implementation, monitoring and evaluation.

It is, however, recognized that resources may constrain the scope of participation. Moreover, it may not be possible to consult all the stakeholders at the same time; stakeholders' capacity to advance their views varies, and greater weight is likely to be attached to the views of those who provide political or financial support to the government in question. The final product may also vary depending upon the:

- stage of development of a city and the opportunities and threats it faces;
- stage of development of the CDS, many of which start by addressing a specific sector or issue, only adopting a multi-sectoral approach later; and
- scale of the problem or size of the city, although the general approach is usable in both large and small towns and cities.[66]

There are few independent evaluations of the CDS approach, let alone of the outcomes of CDSs. There is limited evidence on whether this approach is producing better results in terms of wide stakeholder involvement, more effective implementation and more satisfactory outcomes than conventional plan preparation processes. However, it has generated considerable support amongst

City Development Strategies … use … participatory processes to develop an action plan for equitable growth in cities

local governments, professionals and international agencies. Focusing on the participatory element and drawing on comparative evaluations of CDS experience[67] and detailed studies of Bagamoyo and Dar es Salaam (Tanzania) and Johannesburg (South Africa),[68] the positive outcomes of the participatory approach adopted during the preparation of CDSs include the following:

- Joint identification of needs and priorities in key sectors leads to improved coordination and greater coherence of the efforts of local and international partners, as well as acceptance amongst stakeholders that not all problems can be addressed simultaneously because of resource limitations.
- Consultative and participatory mechanisms are developed, strengthened and consolidated, and they are regarded by those involved as important, although the extent to which they become part of the established planning process varies.
- Processes of wide stakeholder consultation help to identify local needs and priorities, especially those of groups that are poorly understood by planners and do not have an effective voice in the political system.
- A broader range of solutions is considered than in conventional master planning.[69]

However, the evaluations note a number of common challenges:

- Building participatory approaches and consensus requires time.
- Few cities have established any means for assessing how effective or systematic their participatory processes are, and they are not always institutionalized as part of the ongoing planning process.
- There may be resistance to wide and lengthy participatory processes from both planners and other officials (because they are time consuming and may not produce consensus or clear pointers on priorities), and elected representatives (who consider it their job to make decisions) (as seen in Johannesburg; see Box 5.6).
- Concentration on participatory planning at the expense of broader political processes may threaten the process and content of planning, while participation may not tackle entrenched power inequalities.
- Achieving a balance between economic development, service provision and environmental sustainability is a major challenge for any city, and participatory planning may not be able to resolve the conflicts between priorities.

ENHANCING PARTICIPATION IN URBAN PLANNING

Lessons from the experience reviewed above suggest a number of ways in which participation in urban planning can be enhanced and also point to a number of pitfalls to be

Box 5.6 Towards a City Development Strategy, Johannesburg, South Africa

The Johannesburg City Development Strategy (CDS) emerged (with limited external assistance) out of the local demand for a post-apartheid vision for the city. By 1997 the four municipalities into which the city was divided had spent their way into a serious financial crisis, partly as a result of poor revenue collection, a huge backlog in services in poor black areas and a rates boycott by wealthy residents. By 2000 the transitional arrangements had been phased out and the first integrated metropolitan government was established. Institutional changes included the production of an interim management plan (iGoli, 2002). A long-term city visioning process (iGoli, 2010) was initiated, driven by research and data collection by external consultants and managed by a project team advised by a steering committee comprised of key stakeholders from the business sector, communities, labour unions and government.

Building on established local practices of negotiation and consensus-building, an extensive process of consultation was undertaken in 2000 through a stakeholders' forum, focus groups and a city summit. However, following elections at the end of 2000, the commissioned research was drawn into a separate process of internal policy formulation, which resulted in the adoption in 2002 of a long-term strategy (Johannesburg 2030), with a strong focus on the economy. Between 2003 and 2005, this was integrated with a newly formulated human development agenda and the existing environmental management plan to produce a revised strategy (2030 City Development Strategy). Opposition to the restructuring of municipal services associated with iGoli 2002 (including limited privatization) crystallized around the New Privatization Forum, which linked trade unions, leftist intellectuals and emerging popular movements, and led to a breakdown of relations between the council and the trade unions. The production of Johannesburg 2030, therefore, did not involve the wider public. Backed by councillors and the African National Congress, it focused on positioning Johannesburg as a competitive emergent global city. However, formal processes of participation, including electoral representation, ensured the consideration of pro-poor concerns in the CDS. In response to both external and internal critiques of CDS proposals, more attention is being paid to improving services and living conditions and reducing poverty in ongoing planning processes.

Sources: Parnell and Robinson, 2006, p345; Lipietz, 2008, p135

avoided. It is clear that no one model of participation can be adopted in all situations, as emphasized in Chapters 3 and 4. Participation can be enhanced by matching its form to the conditions in a particular city; but it is also possible to encourage wider and more meaningful participation by addressing the factors outlined below, to create a favourable environment and adequate support system.

An enabling political context and system

Participation implies a more active concept of citizenship than electoral democracy usually assumes. However, participatory processes that involve a wide range of stakeholders do not occur in isolation from the political system, the nature of which influences the likelihood that participation in plan-making will occur and be welcomed. Table 5.2 identifies types of urban political systems and the forms of participation that are likely to be possible in each identified.

The importance of the political context in determining the scope for, and likely outcomes of, participation does not mean that supporters should not advocate stronger forms of participation even in unpromising political contexts. But it does sound a note of caution and provide guidance on selecting forms of participation that are likely to produce results, at least while support is developed for more ambitious approaches.

Participatory processes ... do not occur in isolation from the political system

Table 5.2

Political systems and the scope for participation

Modes of urban politics and governance	Forms of participation				
	Nominal	Consultative	Instrumental	Representative	Transformative
Inclusive democratic: politicians are elected on the basis of a strong social contract and a rights-based programme that addresses both the priorities of the majority and the needs of minority and marginalized groups, to whom they are accountable.		✔	✔	✔	✔
Corporatist: politicians and powerful civic leaders are the key decision-makers. They negotiate only with the most important interests, usually elite business interests or trade unions, whose support they need to realize their political objectives.	✔	✔	✔	✔	
Managerialist: politicians and appointed officials are the key decision-makers. Their goals are practical, often placing considerable emphasis on strong government, effectiveness and efficiency.	✔	✔	✔	✔	
Pluralist: competing interests are assumed to be sufficiently well organized to exercise influence over the political process, the role of which is to mediate between competing interests while achieving public objectives. Politics is conceived of as a bargaining process.	✔	✔	✔	✔	
Populist: these emerge where politicians (often a single politician such as an elected mayor) mobilize popular support as a way of setting and implementing their political agenda and maintaining themselves in power. Municipal goals appear to address the priorities of the majority, but are, in practice, symbolic: resource allocation does not match them.	✔	✔	✔		
Oligarchical: in this variety of populist governance, members of the elite hold political power. They mobilize popular support to legitimize their dominance and maintain themselves in power.	✔	✔	✔		
Clientelist: relations between politicians, bureaucrats and citizens are particularistic and personalized. Pragmatic exchange relations guarantee decisions that advance the interests of constituents in return for electoral support.	✔		✔		
Authoritarian: in these non-democratic political systems, rule at the city level is by an appointee of the national leader (or single political party) backed by a subordinate bureaucracy. Government is by command, concessions are obtained as personal favours, only welfare-providing NGOs are tolerated, and community-level organization tends to be a mechanism for control over the population rather than a means for residents to exercise their political rights.	✔		✔		

Source: based on DiGaetano and Strom, 2003, p366; Rakodi, 2004, p92

Recent governance thinking stresses that government agencies cannot and should not take sole responsibility for urban planning and management, but rather work in partnership with other actors. Civil society and private actors have important roles in the practice of participation and can contribute to developing political support for participatory approaches. Their involvement in direct democracy and transformative participation can consolidate democratic practice and lead to reform of the formal political system.[70] However, many of the serious problems faced by cities cannot be tackled effectively by non-governmental actors. Responsive and accountable formal political institutions are needed for effective urban governance.

Civil society and private actors have important roles in the practice of participation

A strong legal basis for planning and participation

For participation in plan-making to be … influential, a strong legislative basis is needed

Conventional planning legislation typically allows for draft plans (prepared by technical planning organizations within or outside government) to be made available for a limited period for residents and others to comment upon. The specification of those who are permitted to comment may be narrow or wide. They may include only those directly affected or wider groups and interests. The planning agency may or may not be required to take into account the suggestions or objections in the production of the final plan, which is typically approved by a government agency or political executive. Provisions for ensuring that all of those interested know that the plan is available vary from minimal to extensive. Procedures for recording the results of consultation also vary, with some countries specifying public hearings by independent officials to ensure that all those with an interest get a fair hearing. Initiatives to extend participation beyond the minimum specified by the legislation may be taken within the urban planning system, but are also often associated with interventionist policies (such as regeneration and renewal), rather than the plan-making process *per se*. For participation in plan-making to be both substantive and influential, a strong legislative basis is needed, although the arrangements may vary between countries and between national and city levels. Brazil's Cities Statute is an excellent example of such legislation (see Box 5.7).

In addition to the plan preparation process, there may also be provisions for 'participation' in the legislation governing development regulation. Typically, those who have the right to comment upon or object to an application for development permission are those directly affected, although often this also depends upon the scale and significance of the proposed development, with major infrastructure or urban development proposals being subject to wider consultation than minor applications. However, there is more scope to express opinions on applications for development permis-

sion in 'discretionary' planning systems than in 'zoning' systems, in which decisions on development applications are purely administrative and based on legal frameworks.

In countries with well-developed local government and planning systems, the legislative frameworks for local government and planning have periodically been revised. During the 1990s, changes to the legislation governing local government often aimed at democratic decentralization, although the extent to which national governments have been willing to give local governments significant roles, resources and autonomy varies. Planning legislation has been revised in the light of changing conceptions of the role and nature of planning, changing circumstances and challenges, and in a quest to make planning more effective. However, often revisions to planning legislation are overdue. When they occur, the provisions regarding participation should be strengthened, made applicable to multi-sectoral urban development planning, and not restricted to the urban land-use plan preparation process. While inserting requirements for consultation and collaborative approaches in legislation is insufficient to ensure real and equal commitment by all local governments, without a mandatory requirement, opposition from vested interests, including political actors, or changes in political control can reduce citizens' rights to participate.

Understanding the pitfalls of participatory approaches

Experience has shown that participatory approaches to planning have considerable potential for producing more appropriate pro-poor and redistributive plans and proposals and enhancing the likelihood of implementation. However, methods and tools appropriate for the context, form and purpose of participation, resources available and stakeholders involved are all important factors.[71]

If participation by low-income groups in the design of projects is not accompanied by a wider redistributive programme, they may see few improvements in their living conditions. Giving people a say in inconsequential decisions is unlikely to generate lasting enthusiasm for the participatory process or to empower them. Local participation in projects with immediate practical outcomes should therefore be accompanied by opportunities to participate directly or indirectly in decisions related to the allocation of resources at the city level, lest poor residents become disillusioned with its outcomes.

Decisions about who will be consulted or invited to participate are sometimes taken by politicians or officials rather than stakeholders themselves, biasing the outcomes of participation. In addition, different categories of stakeholders may not take advantage of opportunities provided by consultative and participatory processes. These may be well-organized powerful stakeholders who feel that they can exert influence more effectively through other channels (e.g. lobbying and political representation). There may also be disadvantaged social groups who have little political voice, are fragmented and poorly organized, lack confidence or time, lack knowledge of municipal functions and processes, or fear reprisals. In addition to measures to improve their

> **Box 5.7 The City Statute, Brazil**
>
> The enactment of the City Statute of Brazil in 2001 represented a groundbreaking development with regards to the creation of an inclusive local decision-making framework for cities. The statute consolidates the role of municipalities in the development of policies and responses to address multiple challenges of urbanization in Brazil. Mandated by the national constitution and the Cities Statute, municipalities in Brazil with a population of more than 20,000 are expected to adopt a master or comprehensive planning approach.
>
> The City Statute in Brazil has been further promoted with the formation of the Ministry of Cities in 2003. This institution works with states, municipalities, civil society organizations (CSOs) and the private sector in the areas of housing, environmental sanitation, transport and mobility and other related urban programmes.
>
> In 2004, a Cities' Council was created to add a further instrument for democratic management of the National Urban Development Policy. This is a collegiate body of a deliberative and advisory nature, which guides the formulation and implementation of the National Urban Development Policy and other policies and planning processes. Currently, the council is comprised of 86 members (49 civil society and 37 government representatives), with 9 observers representing state governments, each of which has also been mandated to establish Cities Councils.
>
> *Source:* Irazábal, 2008a

representation and effectiveness in the formal political representative system, specific actions are needed to ensure that such groups can and do participate, including building their knowledge and organizational capacity, and designing events and activities tailored to their needs.

Gender equality in planning, for instance, seeks to enhance the involvement of women who are often marginalized from decision-making. It does so in two key areas: within the political, administrative structures and mechanisms of a city, and within the consultative and participatory structures of a city. As theories and practices about community participation in planning have evolved, so too has the understanding of the importance of gender in participation.[72] A plethora of tools and practices now exist to aid gendered participation in decision-making processes, including:

- gender disaggregation of data (as part of general data disaggregation);
- gender budgeting (as part of participatory budgeting);
- women's hearings (as part of city consultations);
- women's audits (especially of safety);
- training programmes for women community leaders and councillors; and
- facilitating the formation of networks of women's groups, leaders and representatives.

It is also important to recognize that the outcomes of participation are unpredictable. Participation may yield limited benefits if intended beneficiaries choose not to take part or the outcomes are ignored by decision-makers. However, even limited participation (e.g. consultation) can bring hidden issues and voices into the open in a way that they cannot be ignored by the state. Instrumental participation, for instance, can supplement genuinely limited public resources, enable users to influence project design, encourage ownership of services provided and commitment to their maintenance, and provide a springboard for increasing the

Gender equality in planning ... seeks to enhance the involvement of women who are often marginalized from decision-making

Participation may yield limited benefits if ... the outcomes are ignored by decision-makers

accountability of public agencies. While strong forms of participation that provide stakeholders with influence or control over decisions are desirable, where these are not (yet) feasible, 'weaker' forms should not be neglected. In all cases, not least because the outcomes of participation cannot be guaranteed, it is important to ensure that participatory procedures themselves are fair and inclusive.

Sufficient resources to support participatory processes

Participatory approaches to urban planning demand resources and time. In addition to political and official commitment, they need adequate financial resources and appropriately trained facilitators and planners, with a good knowledge of a range of appropriate tools.

Commitment to participation by both politicians and planning agencies is essential. For the former, the benefits of participation (responsiveness to voter needs, wide ownership of decisions and commitment to implementation) must be seen to outweigh any potential threats to their role and decision-making responsibilities. Planning agencies vary in their openness, organizational objectives and needs, geographical scope, substantive influence on decision-making and responsibilities. Their commitment will depend upon an appreciation of the benefits of participation: improved information, better and more acceptable policies and proposals, political backing for implementation, and partner commitment to resource allocation and implementation. To achieve these beneficial results, municipal councils and planning agencies must allocate adequate human and financial resources to initiating and sustaining participatory processes.

Facilitators, who may or may not be urban planners themselves, need a good knowledge of the potentials and pitfalls of participation. As well as a technical knowledge of planning issues, they need respectful attitudes to all social groups, political awareness, the ability to select and use appropriate participatory methods, and negotiating and consensus-building skills. Commonly, planning courses do not include these skills. Even if planners themselves are not the most appropriate facilitators of participatory processes, their training needs to incorporate a good grounding in social analysis, the participatory methods available and ways of taking the outputs into account in plan preparation. When it is not possible to reach consensus during the participatory processes, decisions should balance conflicting views and interests. Often, planners themselves do not take such decisions. However, they can have a significant influence on those who do by the way in which they (selectively) use the outputs from participation and draft policies and plans.

Participation thus poses a number of ethical issues for planners. As noted above, when facilitating participation in plan-making, they have considerable influence over the selection of participants, choice of methods, and what happens to the results. Facilitators' and planners' own social attitudes and political allegiances may be obstacles to wide and inclusive participation. They may also be faced with dilemmas if politicians or bureaucrats in other departments are less committed to inclusive and pro-poor processes. The

laws and regulations that specify requirements for participation in planning, professional bodies and planner's training can all play an important role in providing them with ethical guidance and protecting them if they come under pressure not to adhere to the specified practices.

Participatory mechanisms relevant to the scale and purpose of planning

The need and opportunities for participation may differ depending upon the scale of planning. Experience shows that participation is more likely to occur if the outcomes affect people's everyday lives. In this case, those interested generally participate to protect their own interests. This can be positive if planning proposals can be improved to better reflect stakeholders' needs and priorities, as in many upgrading and regeneration projects. However, it can also be negative if proposals that are important to the achievement of higher-level objectives or that have wide social benefits are opposed because of their anticipated adverse effects on a few.

Issue-based participation can help to broaden coalitions among different communities to influence decision-making and higher levels of government.[73] It is harder to ensure political interest and wide participation in strategic and long-term policy-making and planning, which seems remote to many citizens, and which has time horizons longer than typical political terms of office. As a result, city-wide participatory processes may be dominated by business and property interests. By building on local participation in practical projects, however, local actors can be interested in wider issues and enabled to make constructive inputs into city-wide planning.

In every city, at least two levels of participatory political representation and planning are needed (i.e. the neighbourhood/community and city levels). In the largest cities and metropolitan areas, three are more likely to be desirable (i.e. the neighbourhood, sub-metropolitan and metropolitan levels). This will ensure that local politicians are accessible to residents, that local plans and service delivery are responsive to local needs, that administrative efficiency and cost effectiveness in service delivery are achieved, and, where appropriate, that metro-wide strategic issues are addressed. To ensure that there are opportunities for a variety of stakeholders to participate at these levels, delegative and advisory arrangements are needed, as well as a means of aggregating the diverse outcomes of bottom-up processes.

Participatory approaches to planning may be more feasible at the city scale in small cities than in large metropolitan areas. Wide participation is likely to be most practical at the local or neighbourhood level. Direct democracy is more appropriate at the sub-metropolitan than the metropolitan level. Thus, as the scale at which decisions need to be taken increases, it is inevitable that only a small subset of those affected can participate.

There is a difference between periodic intensive participatory exercises when plans are prepared or revised and continuing engagement in agenda-setting, monitoring, policy review and decision-making. What may be feasible on a periodic basis (e.g. opinion surveys, large city-level

meetings, wide consultations, referendums) is not necessarily feasible or appropriate on an ongoing basis. Therefore, in order to sustain direct democracy alongside representative democracy, it is necessary to institutionalize participatory channels and strengthen the organizational capacity of disadvantaged sections of the city population, as well as secure ongoing support from elected representatives.

The ineffectiveness of conventional land-use planning has led to the emergence of multi-sectoral approaches to urban development planning and management. In many cities, the links between the two are weak. Greater attention needs to be given to linking land-use planning with multi-sectoral planning and management, including harmonizing the arrangements for direct and indirect participation in decision-making.

Successful participation: Conditions and characteristics

Conditions for meaningful and inclusive participation can be identified from the experiences reviewed in this chapter, although, as noted above, participation may yield useful and unexpected results even when not all these conditions apply. These conditions can, in turn, be linked to the following features of successful participation:[74]

- committed city leadership, both political and bureaucratic;
- a conducive national policy and legislative framework, with support from higher levels of government;
- suitable political arrangements at the city or metropolitan level to ensure coordination and accountability, complemented by provision for direct and indirect participation;
- participation that is broad and inclusive involving all relevant stakeholders, especially disadvantaged groups with multiple channels for participation to involve all social groups at various levels of government;
- timeliness – opportunities for participation that can influence decision-making;
- a high likelihood of outputs being adopted through prioritization and sequencing of action;
- open, fair and accountable processes, which are comprehensible, transparent and based on clear ground rules;
- skilled, independent and flexible facilitation by planners to be built through professional education, continuing professional development and peer exchanges;
- a distinction between short- and long-term objectives, with rapid progress on selected short-term actions to build legitimacy and sustain commitment, and proposals linked to investment plans and a financing strategy;
- a willingness to strive for consensus, backed up by conflict resolution techniques and sound political decision-making;
- support for and collaboration with civil society and community organizations and learning from their proven methods for organizing and empowering the poor;
- tools appropriate to the form and purpose of the participatory process;

- monitoring and evaluation processes to track progress and outcomes and learn from experience, including mechanisms for citizen involvement in supervising implementation;
- provision of long-term support to cities by their associations, national governments, bilateral donors or international agencies, and promotion of knowledge-sharing between them; and
- closer links in legislation and practice between multi-sectoral urban planning and management and land-use planning so that promising participatory approaches can benefit land-use plan preparation and planning decisions.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

A number of factors have led to consultation and mobilization increasingly forming part of the urban planning process, although participatory influence on decision-making has often been limited. First, it was recognized that consultation could improve the information available to planners and result in more appropriate policies and plan proposals. Second, it became clear that mobilization of citizens' contributions of labour and money could lead to a greater sense of ownership of local infrastructure and facilities (including commitment to maintenance), as well as supplementing scarce government resources. Finally, there was increasing recognition that conventional approaches to planning were ineffective in dealing with either rapid growth or urban regeneration. Increasing numbers of cities have therefore adopted more collaborative processes of strategic development planning linked to action programmes and investment plans. In this, they were often assisted by international programmes, such as the Urban Management Programme, the Sustainable Cities Programme and the Cities Alliance and its predecessors.

At the same time, it has been observed that much participation is consultative or instrumental and provides participants with little real influence over plans or public expenditure. Even more recently, methods for empowering poor urban people through the establishment of savings groups, detailed community surveys undertaken by residents themselves, and networking of savings and community groups have demonstrated that people are willing and able to participate effectively if they are supported to do so and receive practical benefits as a result. Moreover, experiences have shown that small-scale neighbourhood participation can be scaled up into meaningful city-level processes of budgeting or informal settlement upgrading.

The main positive lessons from the review of participation in urban planning in recent decades are that:

- Approaches to urban development planning and management can be improved by the adoption of collaborative approaches in the preparation of CDSs that involve all the main stakeholders, and result in agreement on priorities, actions and the allocation of responsibilities between relevant agencies.

Increasing numbers of cities have therefore adopted more collaborative processes of … planning

- Participation in project planning can result in more appropriate design and significant resident contributions, leading to improved living conditions in low-income settlements.
- Participation by residents in planning and implementing practical improvements in the areas where they live and work, municipal budgeting and local plan preparation has positive outcomes. Participation at the local level can also be aggregated and scaled up to play a role in city-level planning and resource allocation.

However, for participatory approaches to be adopted and have these favourable outcomes, certain conditions need to be satisfied. These particularly apply to stronger forms of participation that involve empowerment leading to citizen influence or control over decision-making. A number of challenges also need to be addressed to ensure that participation is meaningful, socially inclusive and contributes to improving spatial planning.

NOTES

1   Pretty, 1995; White, 1996.
2   Cornwall, 2008, p270.
3   Cornwall, 2008, p271 see also Cooke and Kothari, 2001.
4   Greed and Reeves, 2005.
5   Notable contributions include Jane Jacobs (1963) *The Death and Life of Great American Cities* and Dolores Hayden (1980) *What Would a Non-Sexist City Look Like? Speculations on Housing, Urban Design and Human Work.*
6   See Moser, 1993.
7   UNIFEM, cited in Todes et al, 2008.
8   Garau, 2008, p29.
9   Booth, 2005.
10   Day, 1997.
11   Garau, 2008, p30.
12   Golobic and Marusic, 2007.
13   Carmin, 2003.
14   Hirt and Stanilov, 2008.
15   Hirt and Stanilov, 2008.
16   Pagonis and Thornley, 2000.
17   Farmer and Farmer, 2001; Babjanian, 2005.
18   Attahi et al, 2008; Okpala, 2008.
19   Attahi et al, 2008.

20   See www.unhabitat.org/content.asp?cid=5025&catid=540&typeid=19&subMenuId=0.
21   See www.unhabitat.org/categories.asp?catid=374.
22   See www.mdpafrica.org.zw/.
23   See www.citiesalliance.org/index.html.
24   Attahi et al, 2008.
25   Attahi et al, 2008.
26   Attahi et al, 2008.
27   Attahi et al, 2008.
28   Buccus et al, 2008.
29   Ansari, 2008.
30   Ansari, 2008.
31   Siddiqui and Siddiqui, 2004.
32   Ansari, 2008.
33   Benjamin, 2000; Jha et al, 2007.
34   Yuen, 2008.
35   Yuen, 2008; http://web.world-bank.org/WBSITE/EXTERNAL/TOPICS/EXTSOCIAL DEVELOPMENT/EXTCDD/0,,menuPK:430167~pagePK:149018~piPK:149093~theSitePK:430161,00.html.
36   Garau et al, 2005.
37   Yuen, 2008.
38   Yuen, 2008.
39   Irazábal, 2008a.
40   Irazábal, 2008a.

41   Diaz Barriga, 1996.
42   Irazábal, 2008b.
43   Irazábal, 2008a.
44   Irazábal, 2008a.
45   Irazábal, 2008a.
46   Selee, 2003; Souza, 2007; Irazábal and Foley, 2008.
47   Chambers, 1994a, 1994b, 1994c, 2004.
48   See, for example, Hamdi and Goethert, 1996.
49   Ward and Chant, 1987; Mitlin, 2004.
50   Mitlin, 2004.
51   Avritzer, 2006, pp623–624.
52   Abers, 1998; Jacobi, 1999; Souza, 2001; Houtzager, 2003; Avritzer, 2006.
53   Women's International News, 2003.
54   Avritzer, 2006; see also UN, 2009.
55   Sintomer et al, 2008.
56   Schönleitner, 2004.
57   Sintomer et al, 2008, p176.
58   Cabannes, 2004a, p41.
59   Schönleitner, 2004.
60   Cabannes, 2006; Sintomer et al, 2008.
61   See Cabannes, 2004b.
62   Cabannes, 2004a.

63   Sintomer et al, 2008.
64   Cities Alliance, www.citiesalliance.org/activities-output/topics/cds/cds-work-with-ca.html.
65   For example, Wellington (New Zealand), Toronto (Canada), Chattanooga (US), Barcelona (Spain), Glasgow (UK), Brisbane (Australia) (GHK, 2000).
66   For example, see Halla (2005) on the small town of Bagamoyo, Tanzania.
67   In 11 cities: ECON Analysis and Centre for Local Government (2005), and 4 cities: Universalia (2006).
68   Kombe, 2001; Halla, 2005; Parnell and Robinson, 2006; Sheikh and Rao, 2007.
69   For example, Haiphong, Viet Nam (GHK, 2000).
70   Houtzager, 2003.
71   A number of guides and toolkits are available (see Plummer, 2000; UNCHS, 2001b).
72   Seaforth, 2002.
73   Irazábal, 2008a.
74   See also Newman and Jennings, 2008.