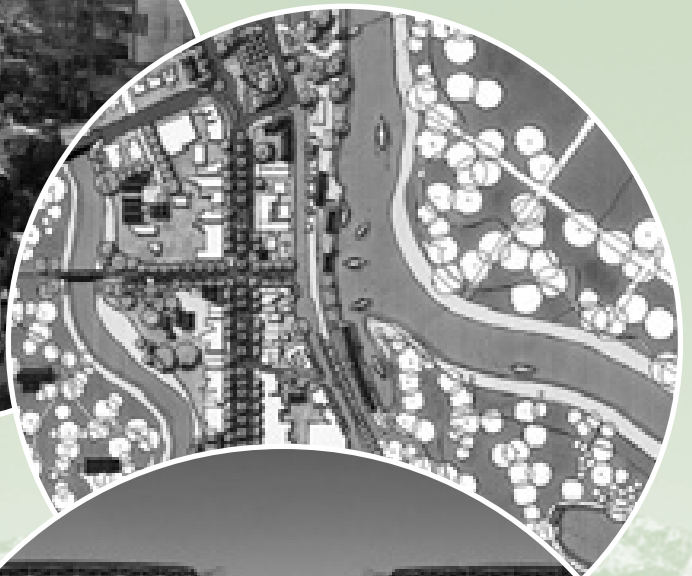


PART V

FUTURE POLICY DIRECTIONS



TOWARDS A NEW ROLE FOR URBAN PLANNING

This Global Report has sought to review recent and innovative trends in urban planning which appear to have the potential to address the urban challenges facing cities and towns in the 21st century. While such innovative planning approaches and their successes must always be seen as shaped by the very particular contexts from which they have emerged, there are, nonetheless, principles and concepts that may be shared across the globe. One important conclusion of this report is that there are no models or standard recipes for urban planning that can be applied everywhere. In fact, a review of current planning practice shows how the poor track record of planning in many parts of the world is partly due to the belief that master planning and modernist planning were such models that could be used everywhere, regardless of context.

A central argument in this report is that, while in some parts of the world, governments are using planning in positive ways to manage change in cities and towns, in other parts, little attention has been paid to the functioning of the planning system, and as such, legislation, regulations and processes are out of date, or are insufficiently reformed to be able to deal with the major challenges of the 21st century. Urban planning approaches in some parts of the world are directly constraining the ability of governments and civil society to deal with urban challenges and, indeed, may be contributing to urban problems. Nonetheless, it is also possible to argue that the challenges currently facing urban settlements are of such a magnitude that governments, in partnership with other sectors of society, will have to play a stronger role in managing urban change in the decades to come.

The purpose of this concluding chapter is to suggest a new role for urban planning. In many parts of the world, a ‘paradigm’ shift in urban planning is required to ensure tolerable urban living through the next century. This chapter first summarizes the main urban issues in various parts of the world to which planning will have to respond. There are certain issues that are important in all parts of the world and some that differ depending upon whether countries are categorized as developed, developing or transitional. The second section reviews the main findings of the Global Report, as well as the recent and innovative planning

practices which they highlight. Although the ‘success cases’ in planning are not many, they nonetheless serve to indicate that it is possible to use planning as an institutional instrument to shift urban environments in a positive direction. The fourth section, following on from the third, draws out the main elements of more positive urban planning. What is identified here are the main principles or concepts of innovative planning which might stimulate ideas elsewhere, although the actual form they would take will be influenced by context. The fifth section identifies the changes which would need to be in place, or the initiatives which might be supportive in promoting new approaches to planning. The last section provides a conclusion to the chapter.

THE MAIN ISSUES FOR URBAN PLANNING IN DIFFERENT PARTS OF THE WORLD

Some of the most important issues that urban planning has to respond to are relevant in all parts of the world, while others vary according to the nature of regional political economies. Common global issues include climate change, economic crises, income inequality and cultural diversity, among others. Context-specific issues range from urban informality, poverty and peri-urbanization in developing countries, through environmental pollution and urban shrinkage in transitional countries, to large ecological footprints and an ageing population in developed countries.

Global urban planning issues

The various regions of the world are now highly interlinked in terms of economic activity, information flow and population movement, giving rise to a common set of urban issues. At the same time, all parts of the world are also affected by global environmental change. While the nature of the impact of global environmental change varies across regions, it also presents a common issue to which planning needs to respond.

One important conclusion of this report is that there are no models or standard recipes for urban planning that can be applied everywhere

Common global issues include climate change, economic crises, income inequality and cultural diversity, among others

In responding to the impacts of climate change, urban areas need to take action of two kinds. ... mitigation and adaptation

Cultural mix also raises new demands on planners to mediate between conflicting lifestyles and expressions of culture

■ Climate change

In responding to the impacts of climate change, urban areas need to take action of two kinds. These are mitigation and adaptation. Mitigation consists of measures and policies designed to reduce the emission of greenhouse gases. Adaptation pertains to activities aimed at reducing the vulnerability or strengthening the resilience of cities to the effects of climate change. Both kinds of action require urban planning. Mitigation requires reducing the ecological footprint of urban areas, which includes a shift to public transport-based movement and planning for more efficient, compact and mixed-use city forms. Adaptive measures include relocating vulnerable settlements, improving drainage, hardening-up of infrastructure systems, and preventing new developments in areas likely to be affected by sea-level rise or floods.

■ Global economic crisis

In 2008, the global economic crisis occasioned by the instability of unregulated markets and banking systems caused by neo-liberal economic policies was revealed. Consequently, many countries have moved into recession. This will adversely affect economic growth, employment, foreign direct investment (FDI), international aid and development programmes in countries across the world. Less funding will be available for state-initiated urban and infrastructural projects. This, in turn, reinforces the need for governments to act in partnership with civil society and private-sector actors on urban development. It also reinforces the need for a developmental role for governments, as opposed to neo-liberal approaches which assumed that the 'market' on its own could solve most urban problems.

■ Energy supply and impacts

While the price of petroleum is relatively low (mid 2009), the volatility of oil prices in 2008 showed that price is no longer a predictable factor and that, in the long term, global oil supplies will begin to decline. The impact of carbon dioxide (CO₂) emissions from petroleum-driven vehicles on climate change is becoming better understood and this will also encourage a switch away from oil-dependent cities. The many towns and cities across the world which were planned on the assumption of high levels of individual car ownership will, at some stage, require retrofitting. Such urban settlements will have to introduce forms of public transport and plan bicycle and pedestrian movement networks. The growing costs of transporting food will increase the demand for urban agriculture spaces in cities. Low-density, car-dependent suburbs could be abandoned or turned to other uses. Energy-efficient buildings (low-rise, high plot coverage) will need to be accommodated in different open space and movement systems.

■ Food security

The rising cost of food in all parts of the world is a response to both fuel costs and the degradation of agricultural land, and is also likely to persist into the future. This has several implications, with the poor being most affected. Urban environments need to be planned so that they allow for

urban agriculture to become an accepted element of the urban open space system and local fresh food markets a standard part of urban infrastructure.

■ Changing population size of towns and cities

Urban population growth and decline are to be found in all parts of the world, although the latter is more common in the developed and transitional regions. In the developing regions, population growth through urbanization and natural increase is the dominant pattern, and it has been recognized that in Africa and Asia urban growth rates will remain high for some time to come. In these parts of the world, much of this settlement is, and will be, informal and incomes will be generated largely through the informal economy. If the issue of rapid growth of poor urban households is considered in combination with the above environmental and resource issues, then it is clear that those cities and towns which are able to plan where and how this new settlement takes place will be in a far better position in decades to come. Urban shrinkage also requires planning. Properly managed decline can open up important opportunities, such as releasing land for urban agriculture.

■ Income inequality

The changing nature of urban labour markets, which shows a growing polarization of occupational and income structures has, in part, given rise to greater urban income inequality in all regions of the world. This, in turn, has given rise to urban areas with stark contrasts between areas of wealth and poverty, with escalating crime levels fuelling the desire by the wealthy to spatially separate themselves from the poor. Thus, income inequality and spatial fragmentation are mutually reinforcing, leading to segregated and violent cities. Women, children and the aged feel the brunt of these processes. The challenges for planning in addressing this issue are particularly difficult, as urban planning cannot counter market forces. Rather, planning has to seek ways to promote social integration and cohesion, perhaps through a quality public space system.

■ Cultural diversity

Growing volumes of global migration has meant that cities and towns in all parts of the world have become much more multicultural. People from very different ethnic and religious backgrounds now live together in cities. This is making participatory processes around planning issues far more difficult. Cultural diversity has important implications for how built environments are managed. Planners need to seek the right balance between cultural groups attempting to preserve their identity in cities and the need to avoid extreme forms of segregation and urban fragmentation. Cultural mix also raises new demands on planners to mediate between conflicting lifestyles and expressions of culture. Conflicts around religious buildings, burial arrangements, ritual animal slaughter and building aesthetics are the new issues which planners have to increasingly tackle. There is also a growing demand for planners to play a role in preserving built environment heritage and historically

valuable urban areas, and protecting them from insensitive conversion or invasion by incompatible uses.

Urban planning issues in developing countries

While developing countries are affected by the issues discussed in the previous section, they are also affected by a range of issues that are specific to these regions of the world. These are highlighted below.

■ Urban informality

Urban growth in the developing regions of the world is distinctive in that much of the new settlement and new job creation is informal, reflecting severe levels of poverty and inequality. This is particularly the case in African urban areas, where urbanization is taking place amidst relatively low levels of economic growth. This raises a particular challenge in that conventional urban planning approaches are not designed to engage with informality and, by contrast, actively seek to formalize the informal sector. This formalization process frequently destroys livelihoods and shelter, and serves to exacerbate exclusion, marginalization and poverty. The notion that the poor have to step outside of the law in order to survive in cities is an appropriate one, as is the suggestion that conventional planning laws have often served to create informality and illegality, and have been used in eviction and land grabs. An important task for planning is to devise new forms of regulation that serve to protect both the rich and the poor, while at the same time guiding urban growth in efficient and sustainable directions.

■ Urban growth

This Global Report has emphasized the impact which urban growth will have upon towns and cities in the developing world, particularly in Africa and Asia. This growth is opening up challenges as well as opportunities for cities, and planning needs to be able to identify and respond to both of these. The need to deliver urban land at scale, linked to networks of public infrastructure, in ways which address both the mitigation and adaptation demands of environmental change is probably the biggest issue that planning is facing in these parts of the world. Significantly, earlier predictions of exploding megacities appear to have been off the mark, and much of this growth is taking place in smaller cities. For instance, most urban dwellers in Africa reside in cities of less than 500,000 people. This, in turn, increases the scale of the demand for urban professionals and managers.

■ Income inequality and poverty

This issue has been identified earlier as critical in urban areas in all parts of the world. However, it is a particularly important issue for urban planning in developing countries, given suggestions that the planning systems there often neglect the poor or even worsen their situation. Inequality is high in Latin America and Africa, while the latter, in addition, experiences high levels of poverty and prevalence of slums. In some countries, the solution to this is seen as excluding poor people from cities by implementing anti-

urban policies, or focusing on rural poverty in the hope that this will discourage people from migrating to cities.¹ However, no country in the world has ever managed to stop urbanization through either of these measures. The solution is to accept that urbanization will occur, and to use planning to address both the problems and opportunities that it presents.

■ The 'youth bulge'

An important demographic trend in developing cities and towns is the increasing proportion of young people (aged 15 to 29) relative to the adult population. While the youth can form the most energetic and innovative segment of the population, where they also comprise the bulk of the unemployed, they can be a source of social unrest and deviance, including crime. Planning for a youthful population places particular demands on urban development – in terms of the need for education and training facilities, and sport and recreational investments. It also raises demands to cope with the negative side of the youth bulge through a focus on safe public spaces and movement networks.

■ The peri-urban areas

The bulk of new growth in rapidly urbanizing cities is taking place on the urban edge, and in some parts is linking up existing settlements to form extended urban corridors. This form of growth presents a host of new planning issues in that much of this new settlement is informal, un-serviced, fragmented, has a mix of tenure systems and is beyond the boundaries of municipal governments. These areas are extremely difficult and expensive to service in the conventional way. New and incremental approaches to service and infrastructure delivery, in partnership with local communities, will have to be found. The opportunity here is that the more distributed service networks and alternative technologies (solar or wind energy) may be the most appropriate way to service these areas.

A further issue is whether the planning of peri-urban areas calls for local or regional planning action, and which level of government is best placed to deal with such areas. A combination of regional and local planning approaches may well be required.

■ Linking the green and brown agendas

This is an issue that is relevant to cities in all parts of the world, but is a particular challenge in developing countries where the development imperative is often seen as more important than achieving sustainability. However, the pace and form of urban growth in developing contexts puts even greater pressure on ecosystems. An important role for planning in these contexts is to mediate the conflicts between these often different agendas. This requires new participatory processes and partnerships, new institutional arrangements for planning, and new ways of linking planning to other relevant professionals, particularly engineers.

■ Institutional and professional capacity

In many developing countries, the decentralization agenda has not progressed very far, and many urban planning

Urban growth in the developing regions of the world is distinctive in that much of the new settlement and new job creation is informal

An important demographic trend in developing cities and towns is the increasing proportion of young people

Many transitional countries have now produced new planning legislation as the effects of a lack of planning became increasingly evident

Communist-era industries were some of the worst polluters in the world, many still remain and present serious environmental problems for planning

decisions are still taken by central government. In a context of rapid urban growth, the centre cannot cope, and the planning and land development system becomes slow, bureaucratic and unresponsive to local needs. This is often justified by citing the lack of trained planning and urban professionals to staff municipal planning offices. Some developing countries (e.g. China) have accelerated the training of urban professionals to address these growing needs; but in other parts, there is a serious shortage of supply (particularly of professionals trained to address current urban issues) and this is a hindrance to effective urban planning. The issue of planner/urban professional training, along with decentralization of decision-making, is a key one.

Planning capacity at the local level is also dependent upon the strength of civil society as this forms a critical source of input and knowledge to the planning process. In some parts of the developing world, such as Latin America, civil society has been successfully mobilized around planning and urban development issues; but in others it is weak and fragmented. How to shift from technocratic and top-down approaches to more inclusive planning processes is an important issue.

Urban planning issues in transitional countries

Planning issues in these parts of the world tend to be a combination of those found in developed and developing regions; but the political history of these regions has also influenced their current planning concerns.

■ Slow population growth and declining cities

Slow or reduced population growth, the phenomenon of shrinking cities and ageing have presented problems of dealing with deteriorating buildings and infrastructure in a context where the local tax base is severely constrained. A rapidly ageing population places an increased demand on healthcare and other facilities relating to the needs of the elderly.

■ Urban sprawl, fragmentation and inequality

Population shrinkage has occurred along with growing demands for space and facilities by an emerging wealthy class. Urban development is now strongly driven by foreign investment, which has fuelled new property development, primarily for the wealthier groups. This new growth has focused on suburban development and upmarket inner-city neighbourhoods, raising issues for planning of sprawl containment, the preservation of heritage buildings in older inner-city areas, and dealing with rapidly increasing car ownership. At the same time, planning needs to address derelict industrial sites, deteriorating public housing estates, aged and failing infrastructure, and informal settlement on the urban edge.

■ Environmental issues

Communist-era industries were some of the worst polluters in the world, and while some of these have closed, many still remain and present serious environmental problems for

planning. The rapid growth of vehicle ownership has worsened air quality, and unconstrained private property development, particularly in the form of sprawl on the urban edge, has encroached upon many open spaces and agricultural land.

■ Decentralization of government and resource constraints

Decentralization to local governments has been strongly promoted, but has not been matched by adequate funding. Consequently, local governments have relied on privatized measures to provide and run services. Urban development has become the concern of multiple parties – the once powerful public authorities, private owners, builders, developers, non-profit organizations and various interest groups. This greatly complicates the terrain within which planning has to operate. Adding to this is the fact that urban planning has been shifted to local governments which have no previous experience in dealing with these matters. New local regulatory systems and administrative processes have had to be developed from scratch.

■ The changing legislative framework for planning

Many transitional countries have now produced new planning legislation as the effects of a lack of planning became increasingly evident. Frequently, this new legislation reinforced the conventional master planning approach; but several countries adopted strategic planning in addition to master plans at the behest of international development agencies. Strategic planning has introduced new issues of city competitiveness, economic growth, municipal financial reform, improved quality of life and citizen participation. Given that strategic plans are not legally recognized, their coexistence with master plans greatly complicates the legislative environment for planning.

Urban planning issues in developed countries

In these regions, high incomes and steady growth have helped to avoid certain urban issues experienced in developing and transitional countries, but have also brought a different set of urban planning problems.

■ Socio-spatial inequalities and urban fragmentation

City competitiveness, the desire to attract foreign investment and urban development, fuelled by a booming property market (until recently) have segregated many cities and towns into elite enclaves and sprawling middle-class suburbs. But the changing structure of labour markets has left many urban residents poor and unemployed, and deteriorated public housing estates now coexist with new urban mega-projects. Achieving integrated and equitable urban environments is a major challenge for planners.

■ Environmental issues

Urban areas in the developed regions, particularly the US,

have the largest ecological footprints in the world. High levels of resource consumption and car dependence, large-scale waste generation, and low-density suburban sprawl eroding agricultural land are all serious planning issues. Urban sprawl in the US has been a particularly problematic feature and has led to major loss of natural resources. Both mitigation and adaptation strategies in relation to environmental change will have to be mainstreamed into planning if it is to affect these patterns.

■ Population decline and shrinking cities

Migration from poorer regions means that slow population growth, ageing and shrinking cities are less extreme than transitional regions. Nonetheless, industrial restructuring and offshore relocations have left many older industrial and mining towns without a viable economic base. In such contexts, planning has to strategize for population outflow, abandoned homes and areas, and a declining support base for commercial activities and public facilities. In many cities, migrant inflow is supporting a youthful population; but this coexists with an older cohort now making increasing demands on health facilities and retirement homes.

■ Integrating sectoral policy within governments

As city governments have become increasingly complex and sophisticated entities in charge of managing large resource flows and budgets, so the problem of achieving integration between various line-function departments, and between different levels of government has increased. This is an important issue for planning as it relies on the relationships between functions and tiers in order to achieve spatial coherence and integration on the ground. Potentially, planning can play an important role in encouraging sectoral alignment and coordination if the function is correctly positioned within governance structures.

THE MAIN FINDINGS AND CONCLUSIONS OF THE REPORT

While Chapters 2 to 10 have considered different aspects of urban planning, there are some important common principles or positions that cut across these chapters. These can be summarized as follows.

The task of reviewing current systems of urban planning and considering revised approaches must be informed by the particularities of urban contexts. These contexts differ significantly from one part of the world to another. The Global Report concludes that a failure to appreciate this in the past partly underlies the failure of planning systems in different parts of the world. New challenges that will affect towns and cities in all parts of the world, but particularly those in developing and transitional regions, require an approach to urban planning which is inclusive and pro-poor, which sees the value of working with informal systems rather than against them, which accepts the process of urbanization as inevitable but also potentially positive, and

which recognizes and addresses current major environmental and resource issues. Achieving these outcomes will, in turn, require reconsideration of planning processes and institutional arrangements: urban planning is undertaken most effectively in partnership with civil society and the market, and through institutional structures that facilitate the integrative abilities of planning, bringing together decision-making around infrastructure, public services, natural systems and the formal and informal economy in spatially coherent and developmental ways.

Diversity of urban contexts

Urban contexts vary remarkably across the world in terms of the nature and scale of growth and socio-spatial patterning of settlements. Local economies, culture and local political and institutional systems are also highly variable. At the same time, there are also continuities across contexts, and it is clear that some of the major challenges of the 21st century will affect urban areas in different ways and to varying degrees. The key regional differences which are of relevance for planning are as follows:

- Levels of urbanization are high in the developed and transitional countries, and in Latin America, but much lower in Africa. Conversely, *rates of urbanization* are low for Europe, North America and Latin America, but much higher in sub-Saharan Africa and Asia. The implication of these levels and rates of urbanization is that most new urban growth will be taking place in the poorer regions of Africa and Asia, where the planning systems and public institutions are least equipped to deal with the challenges of rapid urbanization.
- Much of future population growth will be taking place in smaller and middle-sized cities rather than the mega-cities, which are predicted to grow more slowly. This demands that governments will have to pay greater attention to small- and medium-sized cities, especially in developing countries where planning often focuses on larger cities. The phenomenon of shrinking cities is to be found in many parts of the world in response to regional economic and demographic change, but is most prevalent in the developed and transitional countries. Shrinkage also demands new planning responses.
- Informality is a dominant phenomenon in developing countries in terms of both income generation and shelter. In the developing world, informal workers comprise some two-fifths of the economically active population, but many countries have figures much higher than this. The peri-urban fringe holds a significant proportion of the urban population in developing countries and is often the fastest growing area. For example, up to 40 per cent of China's urban growth to 2025 is expected to occur in peri-urban areas. Closely related to this is the emergence of urban mega-regions.
- The current global recession will affect cities across the world in various ways. In the case of developing countries, the economic meltdown is likely to exacerbate current levels of poverty, unemployment,

Urban sprawl in the US has been a particularly problematic feature and has led to major loss of natural resources

Urban contexts vary remarkably across the world in terms of the nature and scale of growth and socio-spatial patterning of settlements

inequality, the prevalence of slums and the ability of these countries to implement urban development programmes, achieve the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) and address key environmental issues such as climate change.

The emergence and spread of contemporary urban planning

Urban settlements have been planned since the dawn of civilization. As outlined in Chapter 3, 'modern' urban planning emerged in the latter part of the 19th century. This was largely in response to the appearance, as a result of the Industrial Revolution, of rapidly growing, chaotic and polluted cities in the industrializing world. From here, this approach to planning spread throughout the world and still remains influential. However, new and innovative approaches to planning have been emerging and provide important lessons. Key points in this chapter are:

- Urban planning systems in all parts of the world have been shaped by 19th-century Western European planning, commonly known as master planning. This approach to planning carried with it particular spatial models, approaches to land classification, road layouts, specifications of built form and building materials, tenure systems, and processes of plan formulation. Western planning models can therefore be understood as culture specific, as they emerged in response to particular political systems, cultures and sets of values.
- The diffusion of Western European planning approaches occurred through a number of different mechanisms: colonialism, market expansion and intellectual exchange. Professional bodies and international aid and development agencies also played an important role in the spread of these ideas. Frequently, these imported ideas were used for political, ethnic or racial domination and exclusion rather than in the interests of good planning. This was particularly the case with colonialism, where planning was frequently bound up with its 'modernizing' and 'civilizing' mission and with control of the location and movement of the indigenous urbanizing population.
- In many developed countries, approaches to planning have changed significantly during recent decades in response to the emergence of new forms of governance and a reduced role of the state relative to the market. However, in many developing countries, the older forms of master planning have persisted. In these countries, master planning is still found to be useful, sometimes due to the very rapid rate of state-directed city-building, and sometimes as it serves the interests of elites who wish to emulate modern Western cities and whose actions inevitably marginalize the poor and the informal in cities.
- 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, thereby contributing to

social and spatial marginalization. Furthermore, it fails to take into account the important challenges facing cities in the 21st century and, to a large extent, fails to acknowledge the need to meaningfully involve communities and other stakeholders in the planning and management of urban areas.

- The newer approaches to urban planning tend to be more strategic, flexible, action and implementation oriented, and linked to budgets and larger infrastructural elements. Many of the newer approaches are particularly concerned with new institutional processes, and they seek new forms of community and stakeholder engagement, and new ways of integrating planning with other activities and departments in local government. Generally, they attempt to fit more closely with the concept of 'governance'. Many have been initiated by international agencies, and these often attempt to introduce specific concerns into the planning process – for example, environment, safety or gender issues. In many countries, aims to achieve global positioning of cities, attraction of foreign investment and urban regeneration have shaped planning efforts.
- A major weakness of the new approaches is that they tend to focus more on process often at the expense of outcomes. They also place much emphasis on the directive aspect of the planning system and neglect the underlying regulatory system and how this links to directive plans. Planning is also weak in terms of how to deal with the major issues of the 21st century, such as climate change, resource depletion, rapid urbanization and informality.

THE INSTITUTIONAL AND REGULATORY FRAMEWORK

Urban planning activity is inherently a form of governance, or collective action, and is therefore inevitably part of a wider set of processes aimed at shaping urban development with the future in mind. In its concern with physical structures and spatial arrangements, it is deeply intertwined with land and property development rights and responsibilities.

Both the governance systems and planning systems vary with geographical context. They depend upon the nature of the political, institutional and legal systems in place, the relative roles of the public, private and community sectors in development activity, institutional capabilities and professional cultures. These, in turn, can come together differently in different cities and towns. The common goal of planning systems is to manage conflicts over the use of land and to direct urban development in ways that promote human welfare and environmental sustainability, emphasizing principles of geographic, and intra- and inter-generational equity.

Key points regarding institutional and regulatory frameworks that emerged from Chapter 4 are as follows:

- Many countries and regions are attempting to reconfigure their formal government structures, and the urban

Urban settlements have been planned since the dawn of civilization

Urban planning activity is inherently a form of governance, and is therefore inevitably part of a wider set of processes aimed at shaping urban development with the future in mind

planning systems operating within them, to make them more relevant to the dynamics of contemporary circumstances. These initiatives emphasize decentralization, less hierarchical and more interactive ways of working, and greater involvement of non-state actors. Legal systems underpinning planning are also being made more flexible; but new rigidities are being introduced through national and international initiatives in environmental and human rights law.

- The presence of large-scale land and property developers, some working on a global scale, has been expanding substantially. These create challenges for national and local planning practices that are seeking to promote greater equity and environmental sensitivity in urban development. The functional dynamics of larger urban areas now operate at a much wider scale than is encompassed by administrative boundaries, making the coordination of equitable and sustainable urban development far more difficult. This requires that planners work with other actors to implement plans and projects in interactive and collaborative ways.
- The institutional context for urban planning has a significant effect on the forms and outcomes of planning. The configuration of agencies and responsibilities, as well as the systems and practices within these are important. Planning can be used for both positive and negative ends. Therefore, in the design and reconfiguration of planning systems, careful attention needs to be given to identifying opportunities that can be built on, as well as pressures which could lead to the subversion and corruption of planning institutions.
- Urban planning can play a significant role in overcoming governance fragmentation in decision-making and policy formulation, both within local government and between tiers of government. It can do this most effectively through building horizontal and vertical relationships using place and territory as loci for linking planning with the activities of other policy sectors, such as infrastructure provision. Thus, regulatory power needs to be combined with investment power.
- The regulation of land and property development activity is a vitally important role of the planning system. However, it is sustained not just by formal law, but also by social and cultural norms. In designing planning systems, all forms of land and property development activity, formal and informal, must be taken into account. Drawing informal practices into the realm of formal law can be damaging to them, and it is often necessary to work 'between' legal systems and traditions to achieve overall public benefits.
- Regulation has an important proactive as well as protective dimension. Statutory plans and permit-giving regulate the balance between public and private rights in any development project, as well as providing the authority for conserving important community assets. Urban land development can take on a chaotic and exploitative form when it occurs outside of the framework of planning and land management. This is well illustrated in the peri-urban areas of Jakarta.²

Participatory planning

Chapter 5 showed that one of the most important shifts in urban planning during the last century has been from an expert-driven technocratic activity to one that is inclusive of relevant stakeholders and communities. This has come about largely as a result of the shift to the notion of governance as well as strong pressures on governments to strengthen democracy and decentralization. If urban planning is a form of collective action, then it follows that planning processes should be opened up to include wider policy communities and stakeholders. However, there has been much debate on how to do this, with some arguing that processes can also be disempowering and that the aim of reaching consensus is idealistic. Some key points emerging from Chapter 5 are:

- There are several important reasons for supporting participatory planning processes: they offer an important learning process for communities and stakeholders, as well as planners, and the enriched exchange of knowledge and ideas leads to better plans; communities are more likely to 'take ownership' of planning outcomes, which is important for their long-term sustainability; participation can help to avoid or reduce conflicts between and within stakeholders and communities and with government; and forms of direct and participatory democracy are necessary to complement formal democracy in order to consolidate democratic practice. Steering processes towards achieving consensus amongst a wider group of stakeholders, rather than a small group of policy elites, has become an important part of planners' toolkits.
- Experience shows that a number of preconditions need to be in place for participation to occur. The most important is the existence of a political system that allows and encourages active citizenship. There also needs to be the legal basis for participation which incorporates requirements for participation and how it will affect planning; processes must be timely, fair and transparent and involve all relevant stakeholders; planning professionals must have the commitment and skills to incorporate participation; local governments must have sufficient resources and responsibility to make participation worthwhile; and stakeholders and communities must be sufficiently organized and informed.
- Achieving participation that is meaningful, socially inclusive and contributes to improving spatial planning requires certain measures. Socially marginalized groups should have a voice in both representative politics and participatory processes; elected political representatives should also be involved to avoid the sense that they are being undermined by participatory processes; civil society organizations should be supported and recognized; and participation at the city-wide level should also be promoted using referendums or advisory councils.
- The outcome of interactive processes amongst wider networks may lead in different directions. Some policy community members may become defensive of their own policy territory and competencies and, hence,

The institutional context for urban planning has a significant effect on the forms and outcomes of planning

One of the most important shifts in urban planning has been from an expert-driven technocratic activity to one that is inclusive of relevant stakeholders and communities

Empowerment and self-mobilization is of little value to poor communities if it is not part of a wider redistributive project

withdraw from the network or act against it. Or it may lead to the emergence of new and innovative ideas and solutions for urban problems. Inclusive processes do not necessarily result in 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.

- Even if spaces for participation are provided, this does not mean that all people have equal voice. They may be part of wider social groups with cultural norms and expectations that may constrain their ability to voice their views. Women, in particular, may be affected in this way.
- Empowerment and self-mobilization is of little value to poor communities if it is not part of a wider redistributive project. If the political commitment to redistribution is not there, then the only way for the poor to achieve change is through wider social movements.
- There is a major difference between periodic and intensive participatory exercises, when plans are being prepared or revised, as well as continuing engagement in agenda-setting, monitoring, policy review and decision-making. What may be feasible on a periodic basis is not necessarily feasible or appropriate on an ongoing basis. Sustaining direct democracy alongside representative democracy depends upon ongoing support from elected representatives and institutionalizing participatory channels.

Integrating the green and brown agendas

The goal of a sustainable city is to reduce its ecological footprint from consumption of the natural systems used by the city, while simultaneously enabling human systems to be optimized for improving the quality of urban life. Thus, integrating the green and brown agendas serves to reduce the ecological footprint from land and resources while enhancing the ecological base of the city. Chapter 6 concluded that achieving this objective requires a revised role for planning, in relation to the following:

- Urban areas can be powered by renewable energy techniques and technologies, from the region to the building level. Renewable energy enables a city to reduce its ecological footprint and, if using biological fuels, can be part of a city's enhanced ecological functions. Integrating the green and brown agenda will require strategies to progressively tap local resources. This will involve recognizing renewable resources in and around a city as part of the capital base of the city and establishing ordinances on buildings that facilitate the application of renewable energy.
- Carbon-neutral cities are able to reduce their ecological footprint through energy efficiency and replacing fossil fuels, and by creating offsets in the bioregion. This can be enforced through planning schemes that mandate standards for significant reductions in carbon in all

development and offset CO₂ emissions through purchasing of carbon credits, especially through tree planting.

- Cities can shift from large centralized power and water systems to small-scale and neighbourhood-based systems, including expansion of 'green infrastructure'. The distributed use of power and water in a city can enable a city to reduce its ecological footprint, as power and water can be more efficiently provided and used. Incentive packages can be created for technologies such as photovoltaic cells, grey water systems and water tanks within the context of local plans for the governance of community-based systems, as well as region-wide strategies for recycling sewage.
- Eco-efficiency strategies link industries to achieve fundamental changes in the industrial metabolism of cities and move cities from a 'linear' to a 'closed-loop' metabolic system. Producing energy and materials from waste is one example of this.
- A green infrastructure strategy, which includes wetlands, forests, parklands etc., can enhance the green agenda across the city through biofuel, food, fibre, biodiversity and recreation pursuits. Intensive greening of cities can create biodiversity corridors, provide biofuels and biomass energy, reduce run-off and feed aquifers, and can be linked to local urban agriculture projects.
- A place-based strategy should ensure that the human dimension is driving all others. It recognizes that human well-being is a central element of a sustainability strategy. The focus of this approach is making cities more self-sufficient in a range of different ways, from job creation and food production to energy production. This strategy also aims at reflecting the uniqueness of 'place' in all urban developments, as opposed to faddish copying of plans and architecture from elsewhere.
- Cities, neighbourhoods and regions can be designed to use energy sparingly by offering walkable, transit-oriented options for all, supplemented by renewably powered electric plug-in vehicles. A sustainable urban transport strategy incorporates an integrated, efficient and affordable public transport system (which may need to link formal and informal providers); a non-motorized transport system (cycling and pedestrian infrastructure), and a curb on car-dependent suburbs.
- Cities without slums can be achieved through concerted action at the local, national and international levels to meet the specific targets of the MDGs on slums, drinking water and sanitation. This requires innovative approaches that can enable slums to be upgraded on the basis of sustainability principles. In this context, attention must be paid to environmental safety, human rights and the economic productivity concerns of slum dwellers. In the short-term, however, cities and national governments must address, comprehensively and vigorously, the most pressing brown and green agenda challenges of poor access to safe drinking water and sanitation, adequate housing, and degrading environmental conditions – which are all interrelated.

Integrating the green and brown agendas serves to reduce the ecological footprint from land and resources while enhancing the ecological base of the city

Urban informality

Many governments consider informal housing and economic activities to be a sign of their failure and, hence, something to be removed. This is most unfortunate, as informality is often the only way in which the poor in many cities can survive. This was recognized in the Plan of Action of the first United Nations Conference on Human Settlements, held in Vancouver (Canada) in 1976, which stated that the 'informal sector' had proved its ability to meet the needs of the less advantaged in many parts of the world, despite the lack of public recognition and assistance. If one purpose of revisiting urban planning is to see how it can promote more inclusive and equitable cities, then a central focus of this must be to seek ways to plan with informality. Key points on this that emerged from Chapter 7 of this Global Report are as follows:

- The nature of urban development processes and limitations on the resources available to even the best endowed governments mean that public agencies must work in conjunction with private actors. Planners therefore need to base their activities on a sound understanding of the processes of urban expansion and change, in particular the motives and actions of actors in private property development processes, both large and small scale, formal and informal. It is important to note that informality occurs in various forms throughout most cities, and not just in slums or informal settlements. Furthermore, it is not only poor people who live or work informally. Informality is, therefore, found in many different types of urban areas and within a range of income and social groups.
- It is important to consider all forms of land and property development activity, and not just those located in the 'formal' sector, when considering how development in an urban area is being produced and what mechanisms are available to 'regulate' it to achieve public realm benefits. Drawing 'informal' practices into the purview of formal law may have some benefits; but it could also have damaging effects, especially on the poorest, if there is 'over-regulation'.
- Many approaches to planning and development regulation are ineffective or produce results that exclude and marginalize the urban poor and the informal sector. Sometimes they produce illegality, as those who cannot afford to comply attempt to circumvent them. Plans and regulations may not be sensitive to the different needs and priorities of the 'informal sector'. Planning can learn from practices in the informal sector, identifying and building on their strengths, and addressing their weaknesses.
- Very often, formal planning and regulation systems impose demands that poor groups cannot meet, as well as imposing cultural attitudes to land and tenure that may conflict with beliefs and social practices. Such regulations can produce major bottlenecks in the urban land supply system.³ The Enugu case described in Chapter 7 demonstrates how the informal system of land supply has been meeting needs, but has drawn on

elements of the formal legal system in order to secure protection of rights in land. This suggests ways of combining elements of both the formal and informal land delivery systems.

- In many countries, governments have limited resources and limited legitimacy. They need to be more innovative in determining how limited resources can be used most effectively and how they can build public support for regulation. Only when land administration is streamlined, and there is public acceptance of the need for restrictions on property rights, will the wide enforcement of development controls be feasible.
- Peri-urban areas are some of the fastest expanding areas of cities in the developing world, as the urban poor move to the urban edge in search of cheaper and more flexible land and shelter. Settlement processes, outside of municipal jurisdictions, may occur through customary tenure systems, private land sale or both. Conflicts are frequent. These processes are giving rise to extensive and fragmented areas of informal settlements, where the public provision of infrastructure and services is very difficult. New approaches to planning and service provision are required in such areas.
- The concentration of trunk infrastructure and services in defined areas can attract settlement to particular parts of the urban fringe. Incremental *in situ* upgrading can improve quality of life, as long as it does not displace households through the imposition of costs and controls. Guided land development ahead of informal settlement can avoid many later problems. Creating public-private partnerships in land development can help land pooling and rationalization.
- Planning in peri-urban areas needs to combine approaches from regional, rural and urban planning. A wider range of planning tools than is conventionally the case needs to be used. These include more appropriate forms of appraisal, engagement, action and implementation, as well as consolidation.

Spatial structure of cities and provision of infrastructure

Studies of urban growth show the massive expansion in the spatial footprint of cities over the past decades. The 'unbundling' of infrastructure development through forms of corporatization, privatization, developer-driven growth and the dominance of urban mega-projects has contributed to this. The spatial structure and degree of densification of the built environment also has a major impact upon urban efficiency, sustainability and spatial equity. Current trends in urban development towards sprawl, fragmented development and car domination have increased social marginalization. As shown in Chapter 8, planning has an important role to play in shaping city growth and structure through the strategic location and development of trunk infrastructure:

- The compact mixed-use and public transport-based city is generally more environmentally sustainable, efficient

Many governments consider informal housing and economic activities to be a sign of their failure and, hence, something to be removed

The spatial structure and degree of densification of the built environment also has a major impact upon urban efficiency, sustainability and spatial equity

Monitoring and evaluation have considerable potential to enhance decision-making capacity in urban planning organizations

To date, evaluation has not been of central interest to planners and local or metropolitan authorities

and equitable. More compact urban forms have made some contribution to managing peripheral urban growth; the importance of inner-city development, the usefulness of some smart growth principles and the role of transit-oriented development have been noted. At a local scale, the development of healthy and inclusive cities involves planning of environments offering a range of services, facilities and amenities, and which recognize the needs of various groups, including those of women, and which support the livelihoods of the urban poor. Pedestrian movement systems, particularly for lower-income groups, also require recognition.

- Traditional approaches to planning attempted to align land-use planning with infrastructure provision through a comprehensive master planning approach, and through the public provision of infrastructure. Thus, infrastructure provision was intended to follow spatial planning. This has not happened, as urban development has increasingly been driven by private-sector property developers and informal settlement processes. Where the urban planning function has been sidelined, urban development has also been shaped by public investments in transport and water treatment infrastructure.
- Strategic spatial plans linked to infrastructure development can promote more compact forms of urban expansion focused around public transport, as well as improve urban services, environmental conditions, economic opportunities and livelihoods on the existing urban periphery and in new development. Linking major infrastructure investment projects and mega-projects to strategic planning is also crucial. Spatial planning needs to work more closely with the planning of infrastructure at both a city-wide and more localized level if it is to have an impact upon the way in which cities develop, and their sustainability, efficiency and inclusiveness.
- A growing number of cities are including an infrastructure plan as a key element of a strategic spatial plan. Although several plans attempt to coordinate investment and development across a range of sectors, it is argued that transport–land-use links are crucial, and that other forms of infrastructure can follow. The involvement of a wide range of stakeholders is critical to the development of a shared and consistent approach; but the plan itself also needs to be based on credible analysis and understanding of trends and forces.
- In many cities, growth is occurring across municipal boundaries, and regional structures will often be required to manage growth and to develop appropriate planning strategies. Planning in these contexts should provide a framework for the coordination of urban policies and major projects, and an avenue for public discussion on these issues.

Monitoring and evaluation of urban plans

Monitoring and evaluation have considerable potential to enhance decision-making capacity in urban planning organizations. Monitoring and evaluation methods can assess plan

impacts and outcomes, and thereby permit the evaluation of plan performance. Evaluation findings can be used to demonstrate the utility of urban planning to stakeholders and decision-makers, to inform and guide planning practice, and to make informed decisions. To date, evaluation has not been of central interest to planners and local or metropolitan authorities; but for the above reasons, there is a growing interest in evidence-based decision-making and programme evaluation. Chapter 9 made a number of important observations on this issue:

- *Ex ante* evaluation has a long history in planning as a way of assessing the appropriate choice of plan alternatives. The usual technique of cost–benefit analysis is now considered too restrictive and has been complemented with more sophisticated models. Formative and summative (*ex post*) evaluations consider the quality of the output of processes and plans. These, in turn, may evaluate plan ‘conformance’ (were the goals of the plan realized?) or plan ‘performance’ (the qualitative outcomes and impacts of the plan and the process).
- There is extensive debate over the indicators for monitoring and evaluation; but at least some should be spatially referenced, assessing the distribution of services, facilities and impacts of plans. Planning evaluators caution against the use of too many indicators and suggest a focus on those where information is easy to collect. There is a temptation to complicate these processes and they can become expensive and time consuming. The time element is important – it may take five to ten years before a planning impact can be measured.
- Technical analysis is a necessary but insufficient condition for successful plan evaluation. Participation by stakeholders can enhance plan quality and effectiveness through the contribution of insights, intelligence and perspectives that might not have been captured by the formal plan-making process. They can help to evaluate the effectiveness of a plan and to position successive plans by offering critiques of plan performance.
- Tools such as cost–benefit analysis, cost-effectiveness analysis and fiscal impact assessment will continue to be relevant, given the realities of local government resource constraints. Greater interest in performance measurement, return on investment and results-based management principles also means that these quantitative tools have a strong role in planning practice. There is a place for both qualitative and quantitative research tools in evaluation practice.
- The outcomes and impacts of long-range plans are difficult to evaluate because of the myriad of influences and factors that are at play. However, site plans, subdivision plans and neighbourhood plans may be more conducive to monitoring and evaluation because these tend to be more tangible types of plans. Similarly, it should be easier to design and manage monitoring and evaluation processes, and indicators, in smaller places, in places where the database is sound, and in municipalities where little change occurs over time.

- There is no single approved method and the quality of indicators is more important than the number of indicators. There is generally no need to collect and analyse excessive amounts of information; but there should be clarity about the purpose of the evaluation, the knowledge sought and the role of indicators in that context. Leadership is critical and such processes require a champion to promote them as credible and important.

Urban planning education

Chapter 10 examined whether urban planning education and planning schools worldwide have the capabilities needed to lead the next generation of planning practice in light of the challenges facing urban settlements. The chapter undertook an inventory of planning schools and curricula worldwide, and concluded as follows:

- There are major regional differences in the nature of planning education across the globe, and in many countries there is no university-level training in urban planning. Two-thirds of schools surveyed for this Global Report teach both physical design and policy approaches; but the rest tend to emphasize one or the other.
- Planning curricula updating and reform are required in many transitional and developing countries where curricula have not been revised to keep up with current challenges and issues. Some planning schools in developed countries do not educate students to work in different contexts, thus limiting their mobility. The 'one-world' approach to planning education is an attempt to remedy this. The few schools that emphasize only one facet of the profession rather than both physical design and policy/social science perspectives may need to broaden their curricula in order to prepare professionals for the diverse demands in developing and transitional countries.
- A more widespread diffusion of innovative planning ideas into educational curricula is called for, particularly the ability to engage in participatory planning, understanding the implications of rapid urbanization, especially in developing and transitional regions, and the ability to bring climate change considerations into planning concerns.
- It is now recognized that planning is not a technical or 'value-neutral' profession – hence, the inculcation of necessary values needs to occur in the educational process. The promotion of social equity, sustainability and a recognition and respect for societal difference are all key values. Effective planning cannot be done without skills to assist in understanding the perspectives of disenfranchised and underserved populations and in finding equitable solutions to their needs.
- Planning schools in developing and transitional countries would be stronger if a larger proportion of their academic staff held doctoral degrees. Programmes to encourage the earning of doctorates by current

faculty and requirements for upgrading entry credentials would be important improvements.

- Planning schools, especially in developing and transitional regions, need resources to access published scholarship and to interact with professional and scholarly networks. Many planning schools are poorly linked to national and international educational and professional networks, and with accrediting bodies. Libraries are often woefully inadequate in some parts of the world, as is access to information and communication technology.

MAIN ELEMENTS OF A REVISED ROLE FOR URBAN PLANNING

This section draws on insights that cut across the chapters – which are summarized above. The first part of this section offers some overarching elements of a revised role for urban planning, and the second part some more specific aspects of this role.

Overarching aspects of a new role for urban planning

There are a number of overarching, or broad, elements that need to be recognized if urban planning is to play a significant and positive role in developing cities that are environmentally liveable, economically productive and socially inclusive. These range from acceptance of the need to revise or reform urban planning, through the ways in which innovative approaches and practices in urban planning are implemented, to how the relationship between urban planning and the market is addressed.

■ The need to revisit urban planning

A major conclusion of this Global Report is that urban planning systems and approaches in many parts of the world are not equipping governments with the necessary tools to deal with key urban issues of the 21st century. The nature and scale of current and impending urban problems are of such a magnitude that government and civil society interventions to manage urban change will be imperative. Earlier ideas that the 'market' would resolve all urban inefficiencies and externalities now seem much less supportable, although it is clear that the market has an important role to play in partnership with government and civil society. While planning in some parts of the world has been less effective, it nonetheless remains the central tool available to society to effect change. For planning to be an effective tool, urban planning systems in many parts of the world will need to be revised.

■ Planning innovations must be shaped by the context in which they occur

Following on from a realization of the need to revisit urban planning, an important conclusion of this report is that there is no one model or system of urban planning that can be

Planning curricula updating and reform are required in many transitional and developing countries

The nature and scale of current and impending urban problems are of such a magnitude that government and civil society interventions to manage urban change will be imperative

Environmental change will place demands on a range of urban professionals and urban planners

Urbanization should be seen as a positive phenomenon and a precondition for improving access to services, economic and social opportunities, and a better quality of life

applied in all parts of the world. A central insight from the report is the great diversity of urban conditions which exists across the globe. The Global Report finds that one important reason underlying the failure of urban planning in developing countries is, in part, the importation of 'foreign' models and approaches. Usually, these models are based on assumptions regarding the institutional context of planning (including the form of political system, as well as state effectiveness and capacity), the demographic and economic context within which planning has to operate, and the nature of civil society, which do not hold in the importing country. When this occurs, the result is ineffective and inappropriate planning. While it is certainly possible to generalize about urban planning ideas and concepts, the way in which these might be used will be highly dependent upon contextual factors.

■ Embedding innovative ideas

This Global Report emphasizes that planning is a form of governance, or collective action, and is therefore inevitably part of a wider set of processes. The review of attempts to change planning systems shows that, very often, new approaches are simply 'bolted on' as an additional and parallel process to conventional practices and regulations, leaving the underlying system to continue with business as usual. And where there is a clash between the norms and values driving innovative planning ideas, and those affected by such ideas, then there is a tendency to selectively ignore or use new ideas and combine them in various ways with conventional practices. Innovative planning ideas will only have an effect if they articulate closely with the institutional arrangements, and cultural values and norms of the context in which this is taking place.

■ Urbanization as a positive phenomenon

The statistics showing rates and levels of urban growth and the demands associated with these can be very daunting. It would be unfortunate if the emphasis on these dynamics in the report gave rise to the impression that urbanization is a negative process and should in some way be curbed or halted by governments. History shows that this is simply not possible. Even the most severe of anti-urbanization measures from an earlier period of Chinese history, or from the South African apartheid era, were not able to stem the flow of people to the cities in the long term. Similarly, the effects of rapid urbanization in the form of informal settlement and job creation should not simply be viewed as negative features of cities to be removed or hidden.

Urbanization should be seen as a positive phenomenon and a precondition for improving access to services, economic and social opportunities, and a better quality of life for a country's population. In most countries, cities generate the bulk of gross domestic product (GDP); they are the 'engines of economic growth' and centres of innovation. This suggests that capitalizing on the positive potentials of urban growth should be placed high on the agenda of governments, and national urban development plans should be developed as a framework for regional and local urban planning.

Seeing urbanization as a positive force also implies that all urban citizens should be made to feel 'at home' in the city.⁴ This implies an acceptance and appreciation of the many different ways in which urban communities conduct their daily lives. New roles for planning involve paying attention to urban social and economic diversity, and finding ways to harmonize their coexistence. It also involves the identification and expression of social identity, such that a 'sense of place' is encouraged in urban areas rather than simply copying globally branded urban and architectural forms.

■ The environmental challenge

Over the next decades, cities and towns in all parts of the world will have to make adjustments that may be more profound than at any other time in their history. These will be in response to climate change and resource depletion; but these factors are also likely to create social conflict. Coastal settlements will face the challenge of responding to different coastlines and sea levels, some settlements will face new water shortages, while others will need to find ways of dealing with the effects of flooding – and all urban places will have to change their dependence upon oil as an energy source. Reconfiguring cities from car dependent to public transport-based and non-motorized movement systems may be the most significant spatial change that has to be faced.

What these changes imply is that governments will have to return to an interventionist role in cities not seen since the post-war period in the developed world, and perhaps never seen in parts of the developing world. Those countries which have adopted the model of the 'developmental state' will be best positioned to deal with these changes, assuming that they have the capacity and will to implement this model. Those urban governments that fail to intervene, or do not have the capacity to do so, could be left with devastated cities and depleted populations. Environmental change will place demands on a range of urban professionals and urban planners. But unless the institutional and legal frameworks are in place, and far greater numbers of planners are appropriately trained, then this significant mechanism for urban change will not be available.

■ Relationship of urban planning to the market

New approaches to planning have also recognized the need to redefine the relationship between the planning system and the economy (the market). One important implication of rapid urbanization and city growth has been an escalation in urban land prices (excluding countries where land is under public ownership) and urban development driven increasingly by land speculation and developer-led projects. This is placing unforeseen demands on urban infrastructure, as well as resulting in fragmented and inefficient urban growth and negative social and environmental impacts. The urban planning system is potentially an important tool for governments to better manage these forces; but to do this, the system needs to change.

Planning has traditionally been perceived as simply 'red tape', stifling economic progress. Unless the planning system can be seen to provide an efficient and useful service

for the private sector (directing infrastructure to where it is needed and delivering commercial land speedily), it will always be subjected to attempts to bypass, subvert or corrupt it. The other side of this coin, however, is that the planning system must be firm enough to deal with the externalities of private development and to extract public financial gain (betterment, value capture, exaction and development taxes) where it is due. The degree of flexibility within any planning process may therefore vary: very firm decisions may need to be made by public authorities about environmental protection and socio-spatial exclusion; but a more flexible approach might be needed with regard to the form and direction of private-sector activity – formal and informal.

Related to the foregoing is a need to recognize that land-use regulations are generally quite good at preventing development and the protection of areas, but are not very good at making development happen. This is where the directive planning system is crucial, playing a role in directing public budgets, shaping projects, coordinating sectoral spending and negotiating with the private sector.

Specific aspects of a new role for urban planning

The previous section has set out some overarching aspects of a new role for planning. This section considers some more specific aspects of this new role, related to guiding planning values, planning processes and products, planning tools and its institutional location.

■ The guiding values of planning

There is now broad agreement within the planning field that planning is a value-driven activity and not just a technical one. Planning systems need to shift away from what were often their original objectives – using land to entrench privilege and exclusion, and controlling the location and nature of the living environments of the poor. This may well imply shifting away from objectives that have to do with aesthetics, global positioning, and ambitions of local elites to replicate American or European lifestyles, to the far more demanding objectives of achieving inclusive, productive, equitable and sustainable cities. It is necessary to recognize that such values are unlikely to be universal in the sense that they are equally important or have the same meaning everywhere. Unless planning values articulate closely with the values of the society in which it is taking place, urban planning is unlikely to be socially and institutionally embedded to the extent required for it to be effective.

■ Shifts in the form of plans

In the mid 20th century, many thought that the best way to undertake urban development was to prepare a plan, which then was expected to be followed by all those ‘producing’ the city. Accordingly, physical outcomes would be as shown in the plan. However, over time, it has been realized that planning agencies usually lacked sufficient power and/or stability to exercise such control over all the agencies involved in urban development. Instead, plan-makers have

had to give more attention to the way in which other agencies operate, and recognize the limits of their ability to predict future development trajectories. Essentially, the purpose of planning is not just to produce planning documents, but to set in motion processes that will improve the quality of life of urban residents.

A key shift in thinking about planning activity in both developing and developed countries has been to advocate a more proactive, flexible approach to intervening in urban development trajectories than was promoted by the so-called ‘master planners’. However, in some circumstances, precisely specified designs for the future may be useful, and in cases where natural environments have to be protected or avoided, then firmness and not flexibility may be required. What is important is to find the mix of agencies and instruments to maintain careful attention to promoting and safeguarding what is considered to be in the collective interest. Urban planning needs to concern itself with the qualities of space and place: the form, scale and identity of urban places which people will experience on a daily basis.

■ Shifts in planning processes

In some parts of the world, parallel with the shift away from rigid master plans has been a change in thinking about how plans are produced and who should be involved in their production and implementation. There is now widespread acceptance that effective plans cannot be produced only by trained professionals (planners), but require the input, involvement and support from communities and stakeholders. Research and experience in both the planning and development studies fields have shown the value of participatory approaches in planning, but have also shown the great difficulties and pitfalls involved in such processes. It is important to recognize that planning is inevitably political, and is usually at the heart of conflicts over land and resources. A central role for planning is the mediation of these conflicts. There is also the recognition that planners are not the only professionals to be involved in planning: a wide range of professionals in related, and often specialist, fields also need to be involved.

■ Shifts in urban form

There is some agreement that an equitable and sustainable city will have the following spatial features: higher densities but low rise; mixed uses; public transport based; spatial integration; a defined and protected open space system; and an urban edge to prevent sprawl. At the same time, there is an awareness that this spatial model may be far easier to achieve in developed countries. In developing countries, municipal governments may not have the capacity to bring about compliance with these ideas, and an urban edge may negatively affect the poor by raising urban land values and removing the possibility of settlement in a peri-urban belt beyond the edge. However, achieving these principles in different contexts remains a worthwhile goal. Promoting the ‘compact city’ requires a close link between planners and engineers involved with urban infrastructure, and an infrastructure plan needs to be a central element in the spatial plan. It would also benefit from a sound monitoring and

The planning system must be firm enough to deal with the externalities of private development and to extract public financial gain ... where it is due

There is now widespread acceptance that effective plans ... require the input, involvement and support from communities and stakeholders

A central challenge for planning is devising ways of supporting, protecting and including the poor and the informal in urban areas, while at the same time being careful not to destroy their livelihoods and shelters with excessively stringent legal and process requirements

One potential role of planning is to provide a mechanism for sectoral integration since all sectoral policies and programmes have spatial implications

evaluation process so that the benefits and costs of these spatial aspects could be tested.

■ 'Urban modernism' as a problematic built form model

Most cities in the world have, in part, been shaped by early 20th-century urban modernist thinking. This promotes a belief that the 'good modern city' is spacious, uncluttered, efficient, clean, ordered, offers grand views (particularly of state and civic buildings), and does not contain informal activities. This 'good city' is also assumed to have high-rise buildings, wide roads prioritizing cars, and the separation of different land uses. Currently, this urban vision takes the form of mega-projects delivering commodified versions of waterfronts, theme parks, and retail and leisure centres. This image of a desirable city is usually strongly promoted by property developers and architects, and in developing countries, by politicians who believe that this demonstrates an ability to modernize. However, this model of built form cannot produce cities that are sustainable, equitable and inclusive. In fact, it promotes the opposite by excluding the poor and encouraging unsustainable consumption patterns. Various chapters in this Global Report have pointed to alternative built forms that are more likely to achieve the new and important goals of sustainable urban development.

■ Planning with and for informality

This report has emphasized that in developing countries, many urban inhabitants secure livelihoods and shelters informally. Informality will shape the bulk of new urbanization in Africa and Asia. This report has also argued that inappropriate planning regulations have created informality and illegality, as the poor are forced to step outside of these laws in order to survive. A central challenge for planning is devising ways of supporting, protecting and including the poor and the informal in urban areas, while at the same time being careful not to destroy their livelihoods and shelters with excessively stringent legal and process requirements. Creative ideas have begun to emerge: developing new or innovative forms of tenure and land delivery that articulate with customary laws; the provision and servicing of land ahead of informal settlement; ways of retrofitting services within informally settled areas; and providing public spaces and infrastructure for informal trade.

■ Revisiting both directive and regulatory aspects of the planning system

Many efforts at planning reform in the past have focused on planning processes while ignoring planning outcomes, and have focused on the *directive planning* aspect of the system while ignoring the regulatory or land-use management aspect. Hence, attempts to introduce strategic and participatory planning processes as a way of replacing technocratic and comprehensive master planning have usually left untouched the underlying legal framework of planning. Consequently, these new ideas have simply been 'added on' as a parallel set of activities to the conventional master planning and regulatory process, while the latter has continued to operate as usual. Evidence from the transitional

countries, Latin America and Africa confirms this observation.

Experience from various parts of the world shows that it is often not too difficult to change the nature of directive plans; but it is far more difficult to change the regulatory system as this usually affects people's rights in land, and sometimes requires compensation if rights are abrogated. Besides, politicians are often reluctant to change the regulatory system for a variety of reasons. Consequently, the regulatory system often contradicts the directive plan, making the latter impossible to implement. It is also more difficult to change planning outcomes as the status quo may be supported by the property development industry and individual or community views on a desirable lifestyle. Nonetheless, necessary changes to land-use management or zoning systems include allowing for a greater mix of land uses and urban forms; permitting more flexible land-use categorizations that include informal settlements; and allowing for performance-based criteria rather than use-based criteria for approving land-use change. In some developing countries, it is also important to find new ways of linking the regulatory planning system with indigenous forms of land rights and use.⁵

■ Planning and institutional integration

As urban governments become more complex and specialized, there has been a growing awareness of the need to achieve sectoral integration within government and between levels of government. One potential role of planning is to provide a mechanism for sectoral integration since all sectoral policies and programmes have spatial implications. Such a role is also important in terms of plan production and implementation as it encourages planners to work together with other urban professionals and benefit from their areas of expertise.

Different ways of achieving this have been covered in this Global Report. The South African integrated development planning approach is intended to link the work of sectoral departments to each other and to the municipal budgeting process, and to align the plan with the actions of other levels of government. Participatory budgeting processes also serve as a way of linking the work of departments to particular areas and action plans. Municipal programmes such as the Localizing Agenda 21 Programme, the Safer Cities Programme, the Healthy Cities Programme, the Sustainable Cities Programme and the Urban Management Programme have all served to link urban planning to wider urban issues and, hence, to encourage integration. Processes such as the drawing up of a CDS help to integrate the sectoral work of municipalities. Introducing cross-cutting issues, such as dealing with the MDGs, also requires different departments, professionals and levels of government to work together.

■ Planning scales

While the focus in this Global Report has been on urban planning, it is clear that planning at the urban or local scale cannot operate in isolation from planning at the regional, national or even supra-national scales. Certain urban

problems can only be dealt with at the regional or national scale, and certain elements of the environment and infrastructure require planning attention above the level of the urban. Achieving coordination across scales and the correct allocation of legal powers and functions at the various levels is important for urban planning. Many cities now extend well beyond their municipal boundaries and include adjacent municipalities and rural areas as well. The concept of the city-region, which has important economic potential and attractiveness, is now recognized in many parts of the world as requiring coordinated and integrated spatial planning and management.

CONTEXTUAL AND INSTITUTIONAL CHANGES NEEDED TO MAKE URBAN PLANNING MORE EFFECTIVE

A number of preconditions are necessary for achieving more effective urban planning in various parts of the world. Obviously, these preconditions will vary from region to region, and the ideas presented here are highly generalized.

Prioritizing an urban policy at the national scale

In some regions of the world, particularly in Africa and parts of Asia, there is, unfortunately, some ambiguity about the importance of urbanization, some aversion to the urbanization process, and sometimes mistaken assumptions that urban problems can be addressed mainly through increased attention to rural development. There are even international donor and aid agencies that reinforce this belief.

However, some countries have recognized the futility of this position and have moved ahead to integrate urban policy at the national scale and to highlight the importance of cities. Brazil provides a good example through the establishment of the Ministry of Cities. A major UN-Habitat objective is to have urban issues reflected in national development strategies, poverty reduction strategies and United Nations Development Assistance Frameworks.⁶ A national urban policy should set out a framework for urban settlements and urbanization policy that can serve to coordinate and align national sectoral policies, and an overall set of normative criteria which can guide urban planning and development.

National constitutions and preambles to national legislation need to contain a commitment to basic principles of social and environmental justice and sustainability, and an acknowledgement of the importance of rights to access urban opportunities. For example, the Brazilian Ministry of Cities aims 'to fight social inequalities, transforming the cities into more humanized spaces, and extending the access of the population to housing, sanitation and transport'.⁷ A national urban policy should also set out a national spatial perspective that considers the long-term balance between

urban and rural, and between different kinds and locations of urban settlements. The European Spatial Development Perspective is one example of such a perspective, but at a continental scale.

Planning legislation

In some parts of the world, national planning legislation is very dated and is still strongly shaped by colonial planning legislation. Yet, as this Global Report has argued, urban areas have changed significantly in recent decades and are now very different places from those that gave rise to earlier planning legislation. Moreover, in the coming decades, a set of new urban challenges will have to be faced, and governments need to be positioned to address these. An important precondition for more effective urban planning is that national legislation is up to date and is responsive to current urban issues.

An important aspect of planning legislation is that it should consider the different planning tasks and responsibilities which need to be allocated to various levels of government and administration. In some parts of the world, the planning function is highly centralized in national government, requiring even minor urban planning decisions to be approved at national level. This leads to top-down bureaucratized planning, little chance for communities and stakeholders to become involved in planning issues, and huge backlogs in the decision-making process. Depending upon issues such as the size of territory, it is likely that there will be a need for certain planning decisions to be made at a regional scale as well as the urban scale.

Decentralization of urban planning functions

Ideally, decisions on urban planning issues should be made as close as possible to those affected by them. This implies the decentralization of urban planning decisions to the urban level of government, which is also an important precondition for opening up planning debates to urban communities and stakeholders. The decentralization of urban planning decisions requires effective local governments, greater capacity in terms of urban planning professionals, and more resources at the local level. It may also require a reconsideration of municipal boundaries in areas where urban development has outgrown older administrative limits.

The urban planning function within municipalities

In many parts of the world, urban planning forms a separate department within municipalities, giving rise to the problem of achieving integration between planning and other line-function departments. Where there is poor coordination between spatial planning and other departments involved in the location of infrastructure and facilities, then urban space can become highly fragmented and inefficient. It has also been argued in this Global Report that there needs to be a much higher level of integration between spatial plans and infrastructure plans. At a municipal level, a CDS can set out

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an overall vision to guide the work of all sectoral departments and political representatives. Within municipalities, coordinating structures and forums need to be set up to ensure communication between departments, between levels of government and with communities and stakeholders.

Monitoring and evaluation of urban plans

This Global Report has pointed to the important role that can be played by the monitoring and evaluation of plans and planning processes, which is to assess the impact of plans and to indicate to the broader public how planning affects urban development. Yet, the use of monitoring and evaluation in planning is not widespread, partly due to a lack of capacity and the time-consuming nature of these exercises. Current research in this field points to the importance of monitoring and evaluation, even if relatively few indicators are used and there is a reliance on existing information.

Urban research and data

Planners are sometimes accused of producing unrealistic plans that do not connect with the complex realities of social, economic and spatial change in cities. One reason for this is often a lack of research and information, particularly information on spatial characteristics of cities. Frequently, useful information may be held by international agencies and research departments, but is not consolidated and made available in ways that can be accessed by professional planners. The idea of an urban observatory⁸ is a useful mechanism for collating this information, as are national state of the cities reports.⁹

Research and publication on plans and planning is taking place; but it is skewed in terms of where it is being produced and there are bottlenecks in its distribution. Most planning research occurs in well-resourced universities and institutions, primarily in the developed countries, and focuses on planning issues in this part of the world. Far fewer researchers in developed countries do planning research that is relevant to developing countries, and poorly resourced universities in developing countries manage to do far less. Language is an important barrier to the dissemination and sharing of this research, particularly since most publication in planning occurs through English-language journals. For example, 31 developed countries, mostly Anglophone, account for 98 per cent of the most cited papers in planning.¹⁰

City planning networks for sharing information and experience

Strong international networks, websites and regular conferences are important for any profession to share information and experience, to build the profile of the profession and to encourage students to join the profession. In the case of planning, however, these networking channels are not well developed, even in developed regions. Some networks that have been functioning – for example, the International

Society of City and Regional Planners has strong representation in some regions but not in others. The Global Planners Network (GPN) is a professional network that emerged subsequent to the 2006 World Urban Forum, and is an indication of the readiness of planners to link with each other. However, these networks still need building and support, must reach to those parts of the world which do not yet have strong representation, and need to begin the process of debating planning values and approaches. Regular international professional planning conferences and websites would assist this process.

Planning education

In many developing and transitional countries, planning curricula, just like planning legislation, have not been updated for a long time and are unable to produce planning professionals that are able to address current and future urban challenges effectively. Accreditation and other quality assurance processes are uneven regionally. In many developing and transitional countries, the annual production of new planning graduates is very small, leading to major capacity constraints. China has been successful in increasing the production of new planners, since planning has taken on a central role in the development of new urban areas. Planning professionals are also increasingly mobile internationally; but their training is often highly specific to the country in which they have been educated.

Recently, planning schools have been active in building new international networks. Nine regional planning associations are now linked through the Global Planning Education Association Network (GPEAN) and hold global planning conferences every five years. Yet, capacity within the associations is uneven, relying largely on volunteer work. A strong planning schools network able to compare and debate planning education is an important precondition for more effective urban planning.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

This chapter has summarized the main findings and insights from the previous chapters in this Global Report, and has drawn on these to consider a new role for urban planning, and the requirements needed to make this new role possible.

The central argument in this report is that planning systems in many parts of the world are not up to the task of dealing with the major urban challenges of the 21st century, and need to be revisited. In some parts of the world, planning systems have contributed to the problems of spatial marginalization and exclusion of the poor. However, there is no one model planning system or approach that can be applied in all parts of the world to solve these problems. Revised planning systems must be shaped by, and be responsive to, the contexts from which they arise, and must be institutionally 'embedded' within the practices and norms of their locale. At the same time, there are common global issues to which these revised planning systems must address.

This Global Report has pointed to the important role that can be played by the monitoring and evaluation of plans and planning processes

A strong planning schools network able to compare and debate planning education is an important precondition for more effective urban planning

Many parts of the world are facing rapid urban growth and change, often under conditions of poverty and unemployment. Cities in all parts of the world are facing the challenges of climate change; more recently, all are facing these issues within the context of global economic crisis. As the growth and strength of the private sector become less certain, governments are increasingly being expected to take on a more central role, to lead development initiatives and to ensure that basic needs are met. Urban planning has an important role to play in assisting governments and civil society to meet these challenges.

If urban planning is to play a more effective role, certain preconditions are necessary. Countries need to develop a national perspective on the role of urban areas, articulated in some form of national urban policy. As the

world moves to a situation in which urban populations dominate numerically, it is imperative that governments view urbanization as a positive phenomenon and a precondition for improving access to services, economic and social opportunities, and a better quality of life. This, in turn, requires that urban planning is institutionally located in a way that allows it to play a key role in creating urban opportunities through responsive and collaborative processes. Urban planning can play a crucial integrating role in terms of coordinating the actions of different functions, tiers of government and stakeholders; but this requires careful institutional design. Finally, planning requires strengthening through stronger professional organizations and networks, more effective planning education, better urban databases and more robust planning research.

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NOTES

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| 1 UN Millennium Project, 2005. | 4 UN Millennium Project, 2005. | 8 UN-Habitat Urban Observatory Programme: http://ww2.unhabitat.org/programmes/guol/ . | <i>State of the World's Cities</i> report every two years. |
| 2 Rakodi and Firman, 2008. | 5 Ikejiofor, 2008. | | |
| 3 See the case of Enugu (Ikejiofor, 2008). | 6 UN-Habitat, 2007b. | 9 Currently encouraged by UN-Habitat, which publishes <i>The</i> | 10 King (2004) in Stiffl and Mukhopadhyay (2007). |
| | 7 Irazábal, 2008a. | | |

