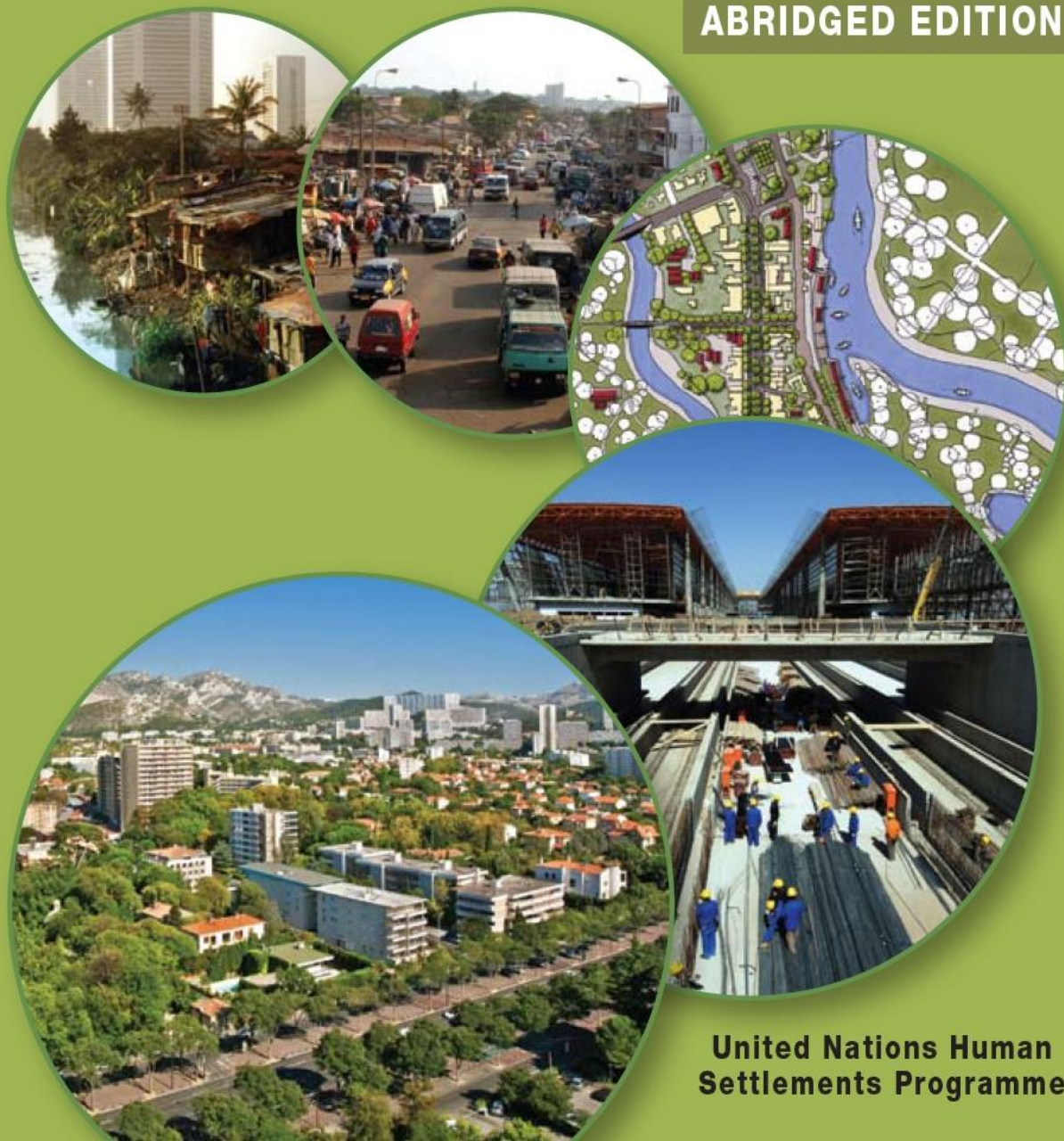


PLANNING

Sustainable Cities: Policy Directions

ABRIDGED EDITION



United Nations Human
Settlements Programme

PLANNING SUSTAINABLE CITIES: POLICY DIRECTIONS

GLOBAL REPORT ON HUMAN
SETTLEMENTS 2009

Abridged Edition

United Nations Human Settlements Programme

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INTRODUCTION

Planning Sustainable Cities: Global Report on Human Settlements 2009 assesses the effectiveness of urban planning as a tool for dealing with the unprecedented challenges facing 21st-century cities and for enhancing sustainable urbanization. There is now a realization that, in many parts of the world, urban planning systems have changed very little and are often contributors to urban problems rather than functioning as tools for human and environmental improvement. Against this background, the Global Report's central argument is that, in most parts of the world, current approaches to planning must change and that a new role for urban planning in sustainable urban development has to be found.

The Global Report argues that future urban planning must take place within an understanding of the factors shaping 21st-century cities, including:

- the environmental challenges of climate change and cities' excessive dependence on fossil fuel-powered cars;
- the demographic challenges of rapid urbanization, rapid growth of small- and medium-sized towns and an expanding youth population in developing nations, and, in developed nations, the challenges of shrinking cities, ageing and the increasing multicultural composition of cities;
- the economic challenges of uncertain future growth and fundamental doubts about market-led approaches that the current global financial crisis have engendered, as well as increasing informality in urban activities;
- increasing socio-spatial challenges, especially social and spatial inequalities, urban sprawl and unplanned peri-urbanization; and
- the challenges and opportunities of increasing democratization of decision-making as well as increasing awareness of social and economic rights among ordinary people.

An important conclusion of the Global Report is that, even though urban planning has changed relatively little in most countries since its emergence about 100 years ago, a number of countries have adopted some innovative approaches in recent decades. These include strategic spatial planning, use of spatial planning to integrate public-sector functions, new land regularization and management approaches, participatory processes and partnerships at the neighbourhood level, and planning for new and more sustainable spatial forms such as compact cities and new urbanism. However, in many developing countries, older forms of master planning have persisted. Here, the most obvious problem with this approach is that it has failed to accommodate the ways of life of the majority of inhabitants in rapidly growing and largely poor and informal cities, and has often directly contributed to social and spatial marginalization.

There are a number of key messages emerging from the Global Report, all of them contributing towards finding a new role for urban planning in sustainable urban development. One important message is that governments should increasingly take on a more central role in cities and towns in order to lead development initiatives and ensure that basic needs are met. This, to a large extent, is a result of the current global economic crisis, which has exposed the limits of the private sector – in terms of its resilience and future growth as well as the ability of the 'market' to solve most urban problems. It is clear that urban planning has an important role to play in assisting governments to meet the urban challenges of the 21st century.

As the world becomes numerically more urban, it is important that governments accept urbanization as a positive phenomenon and an effective means for improving access to services, as well as economic and social opportunities. If

urban planning is to play a more effective role as a consequence of this policy orientation, countries need to develop overall national urban strategies.

With respect to the reconfiguration of planning systems, the Global Report's message is that careful attention should be given to identifying opportunities that can be built on, as well as factors that could lead to the subversion and corruption of planning institutions and processes. In particular, urban planning needs to be institutionally located in a way that allows it to play a role in creating urban investment and livelihood opportunities through responsive and collaborative processes as well as coordination of the spatial dimensions of public-sector policies and investment.

To ensure that participation is meaningful, socially inclusive and contributes to improving urban planning, a number of minimum conditions need to be satisfied, including: a political system that allows and encourages active citizen participation; a legal basis for local politics and planning that specifies how the outcomes of participatory processes will influence plan preparation and decision-making; and mechanisms for socially marginalized groups to have a voice in both representative politics and participatory planning processes.

The Global Report identifies a number of promising trends for bridging the green and brown agendas, including:

- the development of sustainable energy in order to reduce cities' dependence on non-renewable energy sources;
- the improvement of eco-efficiency in order to enable the use of waste products to satisfy urban energy and material needs;
- the development of sustainable transport in order to reduce the adverse environmental impacts of dependence on fossil fuel-driven cars; and
- the development of 'cities without slums' so as to address the pressing challenges of poor access to safe drinking water and sanitation as well as vulnerability to natural hazards.

The report recommends a three-step process for effectively responding to urban informality: first, recognizing the positive role played by urban informal development; second, adopting revisions to policies, laws and regulations to facilitate informal-sector operations; and, third, strengthening the legitimacy of planning and regulatory systems. Two aspects are particularly important in this process: embracing alternatives to the forced eviction of slum dwellers and informal entrepreneurs, for example regularization and upgrading of informally developed areas; and the strategic use of planning tools such as construction of trunk infrastructure, guided land development and land readjustment.

Strategic spatial plans linked to infrastructure development can promote more compact forms of urban expansion focused around public transport. In this context, linking major infrastructure investment projects and mega-projects to strategic planning is crucial. An infrastructure plan is a key element of such strategic spatial plans. In this, transport–land-use links are the most important ones and should take precedence, while other forms of infrastructure, including water and sanitation trunk infrastructure, can follow.

Most urban planning systems do not have monitoring and evaluation as an integral part of their operations. The Global Report suggests that urban planning systems should integrate monitoring and evaluation as permanent features, along with clear indicators that are aligned with plan goals, objectives and policies. Urban plans should also explicitly put in plain words their monitoring and evaluation philosophies, strategies and processes. The outcomes and impacts of many large-scale plans are difficult to evaluate because of the many influences and factors that are at play in cities over time. For this reason, it makes more sense to focus on site plans, subdivision plans and neighbourhood plans, all of which are smaller in scale and more conducive to monitoring and evaluation.

A final message of the Global Report is that curricula in many urban planning schools need to be updated. This is particularly the case in many developing and transitional countries where curricula have not been revised to keep up with current challenges and issues. Planning schools should embrace innovative planning ideas, including the ability to engage in participatory planning, negotiation and communication, understanding the implications of rapid urbanization and urban informality, and the ability to bring climate change considerations into planning concerns. In addition, it should be recognized that planning is not 'value-neutral' – for this reason, urban planning education should include tuition in ethics, the promotion of social equity and the social and economic rights of citizens, as well as of sustainability.

The Global Report is published at a time when there is keen global interest in the revival of urban planning, within the context of sustainable urbanization. I believe the report will not only raise awareness of the role of urban planning in striving for sustainable cities, but also offer directions for the reform of this very important tool.



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KEY MESSAGES: TOWARDS A NEW ROLE FOR URBAN PLANNING

Even though urban planning has changed relatively little in most countries since its emergence about one hundred years ago, a number of countries have adopted some innovative approaches in recent decades. These include: strategic spatial planning; use of spatial planning to integrate public sector functions and to inject a territorial dimension; new land regularization and management approaches; participatory processes and partnerships at the neighbourhood level; new forms of master planning that are bottom-up and oriented towards social justice; and planning aimed at producing new spatial forms such as compact cities and new urbanism.

However, in many developing countries, older forms of master planning have persisted. Here, the most obvious problem with this approach is that it has failed to accommodate the way of life of the majority of inhabitants in rapidly growing and largely poor and informal cities, and has often directly contributed to social and spatial marginalization. Urban planning systems in many parts of the world are still not equipped to deal with this and other urban challenges of the twenty-first century and, as such, need to be reformed.

The major factors shaping twenty-first century cities that future urban planning must address are: firstly, the environmental challenges of climate change and cities' excessive dependence on fossil fuel driven cars; secondly, the demographic challenges of rapid urbanization, shrinking cities, ageing and increasing multicultural composition of cities; thirdly, the economic challenges of uncertain future growth and fundamental doubts about market-led approaches that the current global financial crisis have engendered, as well as increasing informality in urban activities; fourthly, increasing socio-spatial challenges, especially social and spatial inequalities, urban sprawl, unplanned peri-urbanization and the increasing spatial scale of cities; and fifthly, institutional challenges related to governance and changing roles of local government.

As a contribution to the reform of urban planning systems, a few broad and a number of specific policy directions are suggested below.

Broad policy directions

Governments, both central and local, should increasingly take on a more central role in cities and towns in order to lead development initiatives and ensure that basic needs are met. This is increasingly being recognized and, to a large extent, is a result of the current global economic crisis, which has exposed the limits of the private sector in terms of its resilience and future growth as well as the ability of the 'market' to solve most urban problems. Urban planning has an important role to play in assisting governments and civil society to meet the urban challenges of the 21st century. However, urban planning systems in many parts of the world are not equipped to deal with these challenges and, as such, need to be reformed.

Reformed urban planning systems must fully and unequivocally address a number of major current and emerging urban challenges, especially climate change, rapid urbanization, poverty, informality and safety. Reformed urban planning systems must be shaped by, and be responsive to the contexts from which they arise, as there is no single model urban planning system or approach that can be applied in all parts of the world. In the developing world, especially in Africa and Asia, urban planning must prioritize the interrelated issues of rapid urbanization, urban poverty, informality, slums and access to basic services. In developed, transition and a number of developing countries, urban planning will have to play a vital role in addressing the causes and impacts of climate change and ensuring sustainable urbanization. In many other parts of the world, both developed and developing, urban planning should play a key role in enhancing urban safety by addressing issues of disaster preparedness, post-disaster and post-conflict reconstruction and rehabilitation, as well as urban crime and violence.

A particularly important precondition for the success of urban planning systems is that countries should develop a national perspective on the role of urban areas and challenges of urbanization, articulated in some form of national urban policy. This is not a new idea, but, as the world moves to a situation in which urban populations dominate numerically, it is more important than ever before that governments accept that urbanization can be a positive phenomenon and a precondition for improving access to services, economic and social opportunities, and a better quality of life. In this context, a reformed urban planning will have to pay greater attention to small- and medium-sized cities, especially in developing countries where planning often focuses on larger cities. Countries will also need to integrate various aspects of demographic change in their urban planning policies, particularly the youth bulge observed in many developing countries, shrinking or declining cities, as well as the rapidly ageing population and increasingly multicultural composition of cities in developed countries.

Capacity to enforce urban planning regulations, which is seriously lacking in many developing countries, should be given very high priority and should be developed on the basis of realistic standards. The regulation of land and property development, through statutory plans and development permits, is a vitally important role of the urban planning system. Yet, in many countries, especially in the developing world, outdated planning regulations and development standards are, paradoxically, one of the main reasons underlying the failure of enforcement. They are based on the experience of the much more affluent developed countries and are not affordable for the majority of urban inhabitants. More realistic land and property development standards are being formulated in some developing countries, but this effort must be intensified and much more should be done to improve enforcement as well as the legitimacy of urban planning as a whole.

Specific policy directions

■ Institutional and regulatory frameworks for planning

In the design and reconfiguration of planning systems, careful attention should be given to identifying investment and livelihood opportunities that can be built on, as well as pressures that could lead to the subversion and corruption of planning institutions. In particular, urban planning needs to be institutionally located

in a way that allows it to play a role in creating urban investment and livelihood opportunities, through responsive and collaborative processes. In addition, corruption at the local-government level must be resolutely addressed through appropriate legislation and robust mechanisms.

Urban planning can and should play a significant role in overcoming governance fragmentation in public policy formulation and decision-making, since most national and local development policies and related investments have a spatial dimension. 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. Therefore, regulatory power needs to be combined with investment and broader public-sector decision-making.

To command legitimacy, regulatory systems must adhere to the principle of equality under the law, and must be broadly perceived as doing so. It is important to recognize that regulation of land and property development 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 and mechanisms for protecting the urban poor and improving their rights and access to land, housing and property must also be put in place.

The protective as well as developmental roles of planning regulation must be recognized in redesigning urban planning systems. 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. Protective regulation is necessary for safeguarding assets, social opportunities and environmental resources that would otherwise be squeezed out in the rush to develop. Regulation with a developmental intent is necessary for promoting better standards of building and area design, enhancing quality of life and public realm, and introducing some stabilization in land and property development activity, particularly where market systems dominate.

■ Participation, planning and politics

Governments need to implement a number of minimum but critical measures with respect to the political and legal environment as well as financial and human resources, in order to ensure that participation is

meaningful, socially inclusive and contributes to improving urban planning. These measures include: establishing a political system that allows and encourages active participation and genuine negotiation, and is committed to addressing the needs and views of all citizens and investment actors; putting in place a legal basis for local politics and planning that specifies how the outcomes of participatory processes will influence plan preparation and decision-making; ensuring that local governments have sufficient responsibilities, resources and autonomy to support participatory processes; ensuring commitment of government and funding agents to resource distribution in order to support implementation of decisions arising from participatory planning processes, thus also making sure that participation has concrete outcomes; and enhancing the capacity of professionals, in terms of their commitment and skills to facilitate participation, provide necessary technical advice and incorporate the outcomes of participation into planning and decision-making.

Governments, both national and local, together with non-governmental organizations, must facilitate the development of a vibrant civil society and ensure that effective participatory mechanisms are put in place. The presence of well-organized civil society organizations and sufficiently informed communities that can take advantage of opportunities for participation and sustain their roles over the longer term is vitally important if community participation in urban planning is to be effective. Mechanisms for socially marginalized groups to have a voice in both representative politics and participatory planning processes must also be established.

■ Bridging the green and brown agendas

In order to integrate the green and brown agendas in cities, urban local authorities should implement a comprehensive set of green policies and strategies covering urban design, energy, infrastructure, transport, waste and slums. These policies and strategies include: increasing urban development density, on the broad basis of mixed land-use strategies; renewable energy and carbon-neutral strategies, principally to reduce greenhouse gas emissions, as part of climate change mitigation measures; distributed green infrastructure strategies to expand small-scale energy and water systems, as part of local economic development that is capable of enhancing sense of place; sustainable transport strategies to reduce fossil fuel use, urban sprawl and dependence on car-based transit; eco-efficiency strategies, including waste recycling to achieve fundamental

changes in the metabolism of cities; and much more effective approaches to developing ‘cities without slums’, at a much larger scale, focusing on addressing the challenges of poor access to safe drinking water and sanitation and environmental degradation in cities of the developing world.

Many green innovations can, and should, be comprehensively integrated into statutory urban planning and development control systems, including planning standards and building regulations. Introducing strategies for synergizing the green and brown agenda in cities will not be possible without viable and appropriate urban planning systems. Recent experience has also demonstrated the effectiveness of combining such a regulatory approach with partnerships between government, industry and communities in the development and implementation of local sustainability innovations and enterprises.

■ Urban planning and informality

Governments and local authorities must, unequivocally, recognize the important role of the informal sector and ensure that urban planning systems respond positively to this phenomenon, including through legislation. A three-step reform process is required for urban planning and governance to effectively respond to informality: first, recognizing the positive role played by urban informal development; second, considering revisions to policies, laws and regulations to facilitate informal sector operations; and third, strengthening the legitimacy and effectiveness of planning and regulatory systems on the basis of more realistic standards.

More specific innovative and tried approaches to land development and use of space should be adopted and implemented if urban policy and planning are to effectively respond to informality. The first approach is pursuing alternatives to the forced eviction of slum dwellers and forced removal or closure of informal economic enterprises. For example, regularization and upgrading of informally developed areas is preferable to neglect or demolition. The second approach is the strategic use of planning tools such as construction of trunk infrastructure, guided land development and land readjustment. The third approach is collaborating with informal economic actors to manage public space and provide services, including through recognizing informal entrepreneurs’ property rights, allocating special-purpose areas for informal activities and providing basic services.

■ Planning, spatial structure of cities and provision of infrastructure

Strategic spatial plans linked to infrastructure development can promote more compact forms of urban expansion focused around accessibility and public transport. This will lead to improved urban services that are responsive to the needs of different social groups, better environmental conditions, as well as improved economic opportunities and livelihoods. The importance of pedestrian and other forms of non-motorized movement also requires recognition. Linking major infrastructure investment projects and mega-projects to strategic planning is also crucial.

To enhance the sustainable expansion of cities and facilitate the delivery of urban services, urban local authorities should formulate infrastructure plans as key elements of strategic spatial plans. Transport–land-use links are the most important ones in infrastructure plans and should take precedence, while other forms of infrastructure, including water and sanitation trunk infrastructure, can follow. The involvement of a wide range of stakeholders is essential to the development of a shared and consistent approach, but the infrastructure plan itself also needs to be based on credible analysis and understanding of trends and forces. The plan should also provide the means for protecting the urban poor from rising land costs and speculation, which are likely to result from new infrastructure provision.

Regional governance structures are required to manage urban growth that spreads across administrative boundaries, which is increasingly the case in all regions of the world. Spatial planning in these contexts should provide a framework for the coordination of urban policies and major infrastructure projects, harmonization of development standards, comprehensively addressing the ecological footprints of urbanization, and a space for public discussion of these issues.

■ The monitoring and evaluation of urban plans

Urban planning systems should integrate monitoring and evaluation as permanent features. This should include clear indicators that are aligned with plan goals, objectives and policies. Urban plans should also explicitly explain their monitoring and evaluation philosophies, strategies and procedures. Use of too many indicators should be avoided and focus should be on those indicators for which information is easy to collect.

Traditional evaluation tools – such as cost–benefit analysis, cost-effectiveness analysis and fiscal impact assessment – are still relevant, given the realities of local government resource constraints. Recent interest in performance measurement, return on investment and results-based management principles means that the use of these quantitative tools in urban planning practice should be encouraged.

All evaluations should involve extensive consultation with, and contributions by, all plan stakeholders. This can be achieved through, for example, participatory urban appraisal methods. Experience has shown that this can enhance plan quality and effectiveness through insights and perspectives that might otherwise not have been captured by the formal plan-making process.

Most routine monitoring and evaluation should focus on the implementation of site, subdivision and neighbourhood plans. The outcomes and impacts of many large-scale plans are difficult to evaluate because of the myriad of influences and factors that are at play in communities over time. It therefore makes more sense for monitoring and evaluation to focus on plans at lower spatial levels, i.e. site, subdivision and neighbourhood plans.

■ Planning education

There is a significant need for updating and reform of curricula in many urban planning schools, particularly in many developing and transitional countries where urban planning education has not kept up with current challenges and emerging issues. Planning schools should embrace innovative planning ideas. In particular, there should be increased focus on skills in participatory planning, communication and negotiation. Updated curricula should also enhance understanding in a number of areas, some emerging and others simply neglected in the past, including rapid urbanization and urban informality, cities and climate change, local economic development, natural and human-made disasters, urban crime and violence and cultural diversity within cities. Capacity-building short courses for practising planners and related professionals have an important role to play in this.

Urban planning schools should educate students to work in different world contexts by adopting the ‘one-world’ approach. Some planning schools in developed countries do not educate students to work in different contexts, thus limiting their mobility and posing a problem for developing

country students who want to return home to practice their skills. The ‘one-world’ approach to planning education is an attempt to remedy this and should be encouraged. A complementary measure is the strengthening of professional organizations and international professional networks. Such organizations and associations should be inclusive, as other experts with non-planning professional backgrounds are significantly involved in urban planning.

Finally, urban planning education should include tuition in ethics and key social values, as planning is not ‘value-neutral’. In this context, tuition should cover areas such as the promotion of social equity and the social and economic rights of citizens, as well as sustainable urban development and planning for multicultural cities. Recognition and respect for societal differences should be central to tuition in ethics and social values, since effective urban planning cannot take place and equitable solutions cannot be found without a good understanding of the perspectives of disenfranchised and underserved populations.

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URBAN CHALLENGES AND THE NEED TO REVISIT URBAN PLANNING

Over the last century, urban planning¹ has become a discipline and profession in its own right, has become institutionalized as a practice of government, as well as an activity of ordinary citizens and businesses, and has evolved as a complex set of ideas which guides both planning decision-making processes and urban outcomes. At certain times, planning has been seen as the activity which can solve many of the major problems of urban areas, while at other times it has been viewed as unnecessary government interference in market forces. More recently, it has been argued that systems of urban planning in developing countries are also the cause of many urban problems, and that by setting unrealistic standards, planning is promoting urban poverty and exclusion.

This Report views urban planning as a significant management tool for dealing with the sustainable urbanization challenges facing 21st century cities. While the forces impacting on the growth of cities have changed dramatically in many parts of the world, planning systems have changed very little and contribute to urban problems. This does not need to be the case: planning systems can be changed so that they are able to function as effective instruments of sustainable urban change, that is, capable of making cities more environmentally sound and safe, more economically productive and more socially inclusive (see Box 1). Given the enormity of the issues facing urban areas, there is no longer time for complacency: planning systems need to be evaluated and if necessary revised.



Urban planning is a significant management tool for dealing with the challenges facing 21st century cities

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URBAN CHALLENGES OF THE 21ST CENTURY

Future urban planning needs to take place within an understanding of the factors which are shaping the socio-spatial aspects of cities and the institutional structures which attempt to manage them. It also needs to recognize the significant demographic and environmental challenges which lie ahead.

¹ The term 'urban planning' has the same meaning in this Report as 'city planning' and 'town planning', and is used throughout to refer to planning in large cities as well as medium-sized and small urban places.

Box I The goals of sustainable urbanization

Environmentally sustainable urbanization requires that:

- greenhouse gas emissions are reduced and serious climate change mitigation and adaptation actions are implemented;
- urban sprawl is minimized and more compact towns and cities served by public transport are developed;
- non-renewable resources are sensibly used and conserved;
- renewable resources are not depleted;
- the energy used and the waste produced per unit of output or consumption is reduced;
- the waste produced is recycled or disposed of in ways that do not damage the wider environment; and
- the ecological footprint of towns and cities is reduced.

Only by dealing with urbanization within regional, national and even international planning and policy frameworks can these requirements be met.

Priorities and actions for economic sustainability of towns and cities should focus on local economic development, which entails developing the basic conditions needed for the efficient operation of economic enterprises, both large and small, formal and informal. These include:

- reliable infrastructure and services, including water supply, waste management, transport, communications and energy supply;
- access to land or premises in appropriate locations with secure tenure;
- financial institutions and markets capable of mobilizing investment and credit;

- a healthy educated workforce with appropriate skills;
- a legal system which ensures competition, accountability and property rights;
- appropriate regulatory frameworks, which define and enforce non-discriminatory locally appropriate minimum standards for the provision of safe and healthy workplaces and the treatment and handling of wastes and emissions.

For several reasons, special attention needs to be given to supporting the urban informal sector, which is vital for a sustainable urban economy.

The social aspects of urbanization and economic development must be addressed as part of the sustainable urbanization agenda. The Habitat Agenda incorporates relevant principles, including the promotion of:

- equal access to and fair and equitable provision of services;
- social integration by prohibiting discrimination and offering opportunities and physical space to encourage positive interaction;
- gender and disability sensitive planning and management; and
- the prevention, reduction and elimination of violence and crime.

Social justice recognises the need for a rights-based approach, which demands equal access to 'equal quality' urban services, with the needs and rights of vulnerable groups appropriately addressed.

Source: Partly adapted from UN-Habitat and DFID, 2002, pp18–27

MAIN FORCES AFFECTING URBAN CHANGE

Over the last several decades, global changes in the physical environment, in the economy, in institutional structures and in civil society have had significant impacts on urban areas.

Environmental challenges

The most important environmental concern now is climate change. Climate change will affect the basic elements of life for people around the world, including access to water, food production, health and the environment. Hundreds of millions of people are likely to suffer hunger, water shortages and coastal flooding as global warming increases. The poorest countries and people are most vulnerable to this threat.



The most important environmental concern today is climate change

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The global use of oil as an energy source has both promoted urbanization, and its easy availability has allowed the emergence of low density and sprawling urban forms – suburbia – dependent on private cars. An oil-based economy and climate change are linked: vehicle and aircraft emissions contribute significantly to greenhouse gas emissions. Responding to a post-oil era, in the form of public-transport and pedestrian-based movement systems, more compact cities, present new imperatives for planning.

Urbanization modifies the environment and generates new hazards, including deforestation and slope instability, thus resulting in landslides and flash flooding. The world's one billion urban slum dwellers are more vulnerable, as they are usually unprotected by planning regulations.

Economic change

Processes of globalization and economic restructuring in recent decades have affected urban areas in both developed and developing countries. Particularly significant has been the impact on urban labour markets, which show a growing polarization of occupational and income structures.

In developed countries, firms have sought lower production costs by relocating to developing countries, to less developed regions within the developed world, or even from inner city areas to suburbs.

Urban residents are disproportionately affected by global economic crises. The current global recession that began in 2008 has accelerated economic restructuring and rapid growth of unemployment in all parts of the world. One important effect of these economic processes has been the

rapid growth in the informal economy in all urban centres, but particularly in developing countries.

Future urban planning in both developed and developing countries will thus be taking place in a context of inequality and poverty and with high levels of informal activity.

Institutional change

Within the last three decades, there have been significant transformations in local government in many parts of the world, making them very different settings from those within which planning was originally conceived.

The most commonly recognized change has been the expansion of the urban political system from 'government' to 'governance', which in developed countries represents a response to the growing complexity of governing in a globalizing and multi-level context. In developing countries, the concept of governance has been promoted along with decentralization and democratization.

These shifts have had profound implications for urban planning, which has often been cast as a relic of the old welfare state model and as an obstacle to economic development and market freedom. Generally, urban planning is highly reliant on the existence of stable, effective and accountable local government, as well as a strong civil society. Many developing countries simply do not have these. Under such conditions, urban planning will continue to be ineffective.

Changes in civil society

Since the 1960s, there has been a growing unwillingness on the part of communities to passively accept the planning decisions of politicians and technocrats. Planners have come to recognize that planning implementation is more likely to be effective if it can secure 'community support'. Successful participatory planning is largely conditioned by broader state-civil society relations, and the extent to which democracy is accepted and upheld.

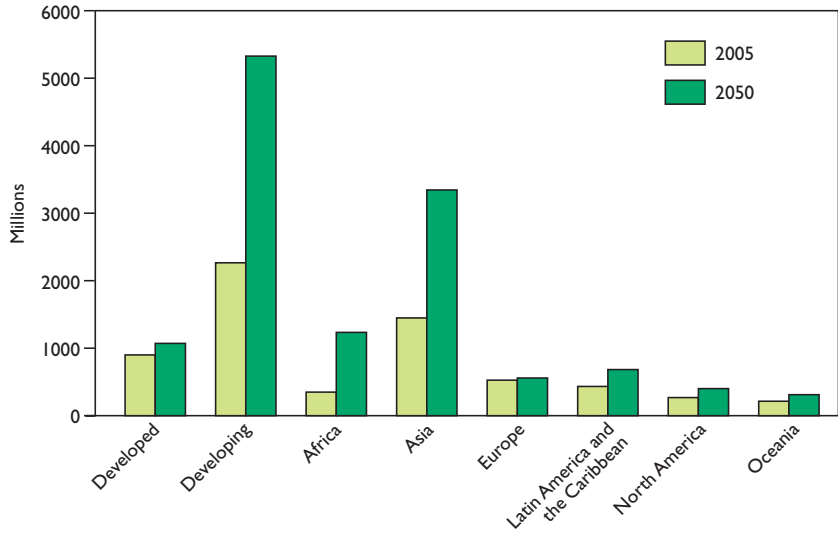
There has been a tendency in planning to assume a one-dimensional view of civil society and the role it might play in planning initiatives. The ideal of strong community-based organizations, willing to debate planning ideas, may be achievable in certain parts of the world, but civil society does not always lend itself to this kind of activity. While organized civil society has been a characteristic of Latin America, it takes very different forms in Africa, the Middle East and much of Asia, where social networks which extend beyond kinship and

Figure 1

Urban population by region, 2005–2050

Note: Asia does not include Japan.

Source: UN, 2008



ethnicity remain, to a large extent, casual, unstructured and paternalistic.

URBAN CHANGE

Changes in economic and governmental systems, in the nature of civil society, and in the nature and scale of environmental challenges, have all had major impacts on processes of urbanization and urban growth, and socio-spatial dynamics in urban settlements.

Urbanization and urban growth

The global urban transition witnessed over the last three



Urban poverty and the growth of slums have refocused attention on planning

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decades has been phenomenal. While the period 1950–1975 saw population growth divided between the urban and rural areas of the world, the period since has seen the balance tipped dramatically in favour of urban growth. In 2008, for the first time in history, over half of the world's population lived in urban areas and by 2050 this will have risen to 70 per cent. Figure 1 shows urban population growth projections by region.

Urban socio-spatial change

Planners and urban managers have to increasingly contend with new spatial forms and processes. Socio-spatial change has taken place primarily in the direction of the fragmentation, separation and specialization of functions and uses in cities.

In many poorer cities, spatial forms are largely driven by the efforts of low-income households to secure land that is affordable and in a reasonable location, often in peri-urban areas. This process is leading to new urban forms as the countryside begins to urbanize. In fact, the bulk of rapid urban growth in developing countries is taking place in the peri-urban areas.

Large cities are spreading out, engulfing nearby towns, leading to continuous belts of settlement. In Latin America, the coastal corridor in Venezuela now includes the cities of Maracaibo, Barquisimeto, Valencia, Caracas, Barcelona-Puerto La Cruz, and Cumana.

Type of plan	Description
Master plan	These are physical plans which depict on a map the state and form of an urban area at a future point in time when the plan is 'realized'. Master plans have also been called 'end-state' plans and 'blue-print' plans.
Comprehensive plan	Reflecting the belief that the planning system should plan towns (or large parts of them) as a whole and in detail. In the past, this term also suggested that wholesale clearance of the existing city should occur in order for the new comprehensive plan to be realized.
Comprehensive City Plan	Term used in China to describe an urban master plan (1989 City Planning Act)
General plan	Another term for a master plan, indicating uses and building norms for specific plots. Usually underpinned by a zoning system.
Layout plan or local plan	These are physical plans, often at a local scale, depicting details such as roads, public spaces and boundaries.
Destination plan or building plan	A plan for a specific area where substantial change is anticipated, usually in the context of a wider, strategic or 'structure' plan or 'scheme'.
Strategic spatial plan	The terms 'structure plans' and 'strategic plans' are closely related, and the latter term is now more commonly used. A strategic plan is a broader-level, selective (or prioritizing) spatial plan, usually showing, in a more conceptual way, the desired future direction of urban development. Particular decision-making processes accompany the production of a strategic plan.
Directive or development plan	A more generic term referring to structure or strategic plans.
Land use zoning	Detailed physical plans or maps showing how individual land parcels are to be used, and assigning to the landowner (which may also be the state) certain legal rights and conditions pertaining to the use and development of the land. Ideally the zoning plan aligns with the master plan.
Regulatory planning	Refers to the rights and conditions set out in the zoning plan, along with legal requirements pertaining to the process of allocating or changing land use rights, buildings and space use.

Table 1

Definitions of various types of urban plans

WHY DOES URBAN PLANNING NEED TO CHANGE?

'Modern' urban planning emerged in the latter part of the 19th century, largely in response to rapidly growing and polluted cities in Western Europe, brought about by the industrial revolution. The adoption of urban planning in this part of the world as a state function can be attributed to the rise of the modern interventionist state. Urban 'visions' proposed by the leading pioneers of urban planning in Western Europe and the US in the late 19th century were to shape the objectives and forms of planning, which in turn showed remarkable resilience through the 20th century.

Planning was seen as a technical activity in the physical planning and design of human settlements, with social, economic or political matters lying outside the scope of planning. Planning involved the production of master plans, blueprint plans or layout plans, showing a detailed view of the built form of a city once it attained its ideal end-state. The legal tool for implementing these visions was the land-use zoning scheme.

Over the years, a range of different terms have been used to describe plans. Table 1 describes the main terms in use.

While the origins of master planning were strongly influenced by values in developed countries, this did not prevent these forms of planning from spreading to almost every part of the world in the 20th century.

Given its weaknesses, master planning has been replaced in some parts of the world by processes and plans that are more participatory, flexible, strategic and action-oriented. But in many regions, particularly in developing countries, master planning and land-use zoning, used together to promote modernist urban environments, still persist.

THE 'GAP' BETWEEN OUTDATED PLANNING APPROACHES AND CURRENT URBAN ISSUES

Urban areas are now highly complex, rapidly changing entities, shaped by a range of local and global forces often beyond the control of local plans and planners. There is now a large disjuncture between prevailing planning systems and the nature of 21st century cities. These outdated forms of planning persist in so many parts of the world.

The most obvious problem with master planning and urban modernism is that they completely fail to



Post-disaster situations offer urban planning a unique opportunity to rethink past development practices

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accommodate the way of life of the majority of inhabitants in rapidly growing, largely poor and informal cities. The possibility that people living in such circumstances could comply with zoning ordinances designed for European towns is extremely unlikely. Inappropriate zoning ordinances are instrumental in creating informal settlements and peri-urban sprawl. It could be argued that city governments are producing social and spatial exclusion as well as environmental hazards, as a result of the inappropriate laws and regulations which they adopt.

A further aspect of planning which needs to change in many parts of the world is the way it has been located institutionally. In many countries, urban planning is not well integrated into governance systems and tends to operate in isolation from other departments and from the budgeting process.

WHY IS THERE A REVIVED INTEREST IN URBAN PLANNING?

The major challenges of the 21st century are currently leading to a world-wide return to planning: rapid urbanization, climate change, global recession, and resource shortages. These are issues that have significant implications for the spatial structure and functioning of urban areas. Essentially, they demand state intervention to fundamentally change the nature of cities, and this implies a need for planning. As shown below, planning can be an important tool in addressing some of the issues that confront cities, especially sustainable urbanization (environmental, economic

and social), slums and poverty, urban crime and violence, and post-conflict and post-disaster situations.

Urban poverty and the growth of slums have refocused attention on planning. Close to one billion slum dwellers reside in urban areas worldwide. Urban planning can play a key role in achieving Target 11 of the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), which seeks to significantly improve the lives of at least 100 million slum dwellers by 2020 through alternatives to new slum formation.

As countries urbanize, the issue of sustainable urbanization becomes crucial. Urban planning can play a vital role in ensuring sustainable urbanization. Achieving sustainable cities and contributing to climate protection requires planned change to the way in which cities are spatially configured and serviced. Urban planning can help mainstream climate change considerations into urban development processes.

The way in which cities are planned, designed and managed can enhance or negate safety and security. Experience has shown that it is important for safety principles to be factored into all urban design and planning. Besides, urban planning can contribute to crime prevention through better management of the urbanization process.

Introducing urban planning in post-conflict situations is a crucial step for sound urban development. It also allows for more efficient use of limited local physical, human, technical and financial resources. Post-disaster situations offer urban planning a unique opportunity to rethink past development practices and effectively prepare communities against threats and risks.

NEW APPROACHES TO URBAN PLANNING

Over the past few decades, new approaches, which seek to address the problems in traditional master planning systems have emerged. Most of these initiatives have elements in common. These elements are:

- Strategic rather than comprehensive;
- Flexible rather than end-state oriented;
- Action and implementation oriented;
- Stakeholder or community driven;
- Reflect emerging urban concerns;
- Play an integrative role;
- Focus on the planning process.

The new approaches are grouped under seven broad categories:

- *Strategic spatial planning*, which does not address every part of a city but focuses on only those aspects or areas that are strategic or important to overall plan objectives;
- *Spatial planning to integrate government or public sector functions*, including injection of a spatial or territorial dimension into sectoral strategies;
- *New approaches to land regularization and management*, which offer alternatives to the forced removal of informal settlements, ways of using planning tools to strategically influence development actors, ways of working with development actors to manage public space and provide services, and new ideas as to how planning laws can be used to capture rising urban land values;
- *Participatory and partnership processes*, which include 'participatory urban appraisal', 'participatory learning and action' and 'community action planning', including 'participatory budgeting';
- *Approaches promoted by international agencies*, which have placed emphasis on urban management and specific sectors such as the environment, crime and disasters, as well as on partnerships and participation;
- *New forms of master planning*, which are bottom-up and participatory, oriented towards social justice and aiming to counter the effects of land speculation; and
- *Planning aimed at producing new spatial forms*, such as compact cities and new urbanism, both of which are a response to challenges of urban sprawl and sustainable urbanization.

DEFINING URBAN PLANNING AND IDENTIFYING NORMATIVE PRINCIPLES

The definition of urban planning adopted in this Report is stated in Box 2.

The contexts in which urban planning operates vary across the world. It would therefore be incorrect to assume that a single new approach to planning could be developed. The following principles are thus posed as questions which can be used to assess urban planning systems and to guide revised approaches to urban planning:

Box 2 A definition of urban planning

Definitions of planning have changed over time and are not the same in all parts of the world. Earlier views defined urban planning as physical design, enforced through land use control. Current perspectives recognize the institutional shift from government to governance, the necessarily wider scope of planning beyond land-use, and how plans are implemented.

Urban planning is currently viewed as a self-conscious collective effort to imagine or re-imagine a town, city, urban region or wider territory and to translate the result into priorities for area investment, conservation measures, new and upgraded areas of settlement, strategic infrastructure investments and principles of land-use regulation. It is recognized that planning is not only undertaken by professional urban and regional planners and hence it is appropriate to refer to the 'planning system'. Nonetheless, urban (and regional) planning has distinctive concerns that separates it from, for example, economic planning or health planning. At the core of urban planning is a concern with space, whether static or in movement; the protection of special 'places' and sites; the interrelations between different activities and networks in an area; and significant intersections and nodes which are physically co-located within an area.

Planning is also now viewed as a strategic, rather than a comprehensive, activity. This implies selectivity, and a focus on that which really makes a difference to the fortunes of an area over time. Planning also highlights a developmental movement from the past to the future. It implies that it is possible to decide between appropriate actions now in terms of their potential impact in shaping future socio-spatial relations. This future imagination is not merely a matter of short-term political expediency, but is expected to be able to project a transgenerational temporal scale, especially in relation to infrastructure investment, environmental management and quality of life.

The term 'planning' also implies a mode of governance driven by the articulation of policies through some kind of deliberative process and the judgment of collective action in relation to these policies. Planning is not, therefore, a neutral technical exercise: it is shaped by values which must be made explicit, and planning itself is fundamentally concerned with making ethical judgments.

- Does the planning system recognize, and have the ability to respond to, current and impending environmental issues in ways which promote sustainability?
- Does the planning system recognize, and have the ability to promote social justice? Does it have the ability to promote global charters such as the MDGs?
- Is the planning system backed by, and aligned with progressive national constitutions and international agreements on human and environmental justice?
- Does the planning system fit within the constitutional allocation of powers and functions?
- Does the planning system recognize, and have the ability to respond to, cultural, socioeconomic and spatial diversity?
- Does the planning system facilitate and encourage open dialogue?
- Does the planning system facilitate urban built forms and infrastructural systems which are environmentally sustainable and supportive of local livelihoods and social inclusion?
- Does the planning system acknowledge the importance of informality?
- Is there sustained support for the planning system from government, from politicians, from the business sector and from both wealthy and poor communities?
- Can the planning system cope with the need for flexibility; for example, to be able to implement firm controls where the need for protection and social inclusion exist, or where market externalities occur?
- Does the planning system consider plans and implementation as interrelated processes linked to budgets?
- Are there linkages between directive and strategic spatial plans and the system of land laws and land use management?
- Are there linkages between urban plans and broader institutional visions?

- Is the planning system institutionally located and embedded so that it can play an effective role?
- Does the planning system include an approach to monitoring and evaluating urban plans?
- Are there close linkages between planning practice, the professional organizations of planning, and the planning education systems? Do planning education systems have the capacity to produce sufficient skilled graduates?
- Is there recognition that urban planning systems have limitations in terms of achieving all of the above?

ORGANIZATION OF THE REPORT

This Report is divided into five parts as follows:

- Chapters 1 and 2 provide an introduction to the need to revisit urban planning. They also describe the different urban conditions in various parts of the world.
- Chapters 3, 4 and 5 focus on the process, or procedural, aspects of urban planning. They start by discussing the emergence of modernist urban planning and newer approach, then examine trends in institutional and political forces that have shaped planning systems and the processes of decision-making in planning.
- Chapters 6, 7 and 8 focuses on the content, or substantive, aspects of urban planning. They address issues of more recent concern, which are the urban environment in relation to sustainability, urban informality, and infrastructure planning.
- Chapters 9 and 10 discuss monitoring and evaluation, and planning education, respectively – two issues that have not received sufficient attention in the past.
- Chapter 11 explores the future policy directions necessary to make urban planning more effective as a major tool for achieving sustainable urbanization.

UNDERSTANDING THE DIVERSITY OF URBAN CONTEXTS

The urban contexts in which planning occurs differ across the world. This chapter examines the following dimensions of urban diversity: urbanization and demographic trends; city size and spatial forms; level of economic development and poverty; and vulnerability to natural and human-induced hazards. Each of these dimensions and its planning implications are discussed with respect to developed, transitional and developing countries. The underlying premise of this chapter is that urban planning initiatives are unlikely to succeed without an adequate understanding of the diversity of urban contexts.

URBANIZATION AND DEMOGRAPHIC TRENDS

The world began experiencing unprecedented rates of urbanization in the early 20th century. Urban growth rates averaged 2.6 per cent per year between 1950 and 2007. This period witnessed a quadrupling of the world's urban population from 0.7 to 3.3 billion, thus increasing the level of urbanization from 29 per cent in 1950 to 49 per cent in 2007 (Table 2). Perhaps more noteworthy is that in 2008, the proportion of the world's population living in urban areas exceeded 50 per cent. This trend is expected to continue, as 70 per cent of the world's population is expected to live in urban areas by 2050.

The world's urban population growth rate has slowed down to 1.8 per cent per year. While the level of urbanization in developed countries had reached 50 per cent more than half a century ago, this level will not be attained in developing countries until 2019.

Developed countries

The process of urbanization is much more advanced in the developed regions of the world. About 74 per cent of the population lives in cities (Table 2). Urban population growth is low – the average growth rate between 1975 and 2007 was 0.8 per cent and this is expected to decline to 0.3 per cent between 2025 and 2050. International migration accounts for about one-third of urban growth in developed countries. Another demographic feature is the rapidly aging population, as indicated by the increasing proportion of the population aged 60 and above.

Transitional countries

A major demographic trend in transitional countries is the negative population growth rate experienced by several cities. It has been observed that 75 per cent of Eastern European cities witnessed a decrease in their population between 1990 and 2005. This was due to increased migration to the European Union, negative economic trends, rising rates of mortality and decreasing fertility rates. The collapse of the Soviet Union contributed to the decline in urban population and affected many aspects of urban living. Another demographic trend experienced during the last few decades is the rapidly aging population.

Developing countries

About 44 per cent of the population of developing countries lives in urban areas (Table 2). This is expected to grow to 67

Region	Urban population (million)					Percentage urban				
	1950	1975	2007	2025	2050	1950	1975	2007	2025	2050
World	737	1518	3294	4584	6398	29.1	37.3	49.4	57.2	69.6
More developed region	427	702	916	995	1071	52.5	67.0	74.4	79.0	86.0
Less developed region	310	817	2382	3590	5327	18.0	27.0	43.8	53.2	67.0
Africa	32	107	373	658	1233	14.5	25.7	38.7	47.2	61.8
Asia	237	574	1645	2440	3486	16.8	24.0	40.8	51.1	66.2
Europe	281	444	528	545	557	51.2	65.7	72.2	76.2	83.8
Latin America and the Caribbean	69	198	448	575	683	41.4	61.1	78.3	83.5	88.7
North America	110	180	275	365	402	63.9	73.8	81.3	85.7	90.2
Oceania	8	13	24	27	31	62.0	71.5	70.5	71.9	76.4

Table 2

Global trends in urbanization, 1950–2050

Source: UN, 2008, pp3–5

per cent by 2050. The average annual urban population growth rate was 3.1 per cent between 1975 and 2007. This is expected to decline to 2.3 per cent for the 2007 to 2025 period, and 1.6 per cent for 2025 to 2050. As shown in Figure 2, developing regions – particularly Africa and Asia – are experiencing the fastest rate of urbanization. This can be attributed to high levels of natural increase and an increase in rural-urban migration. An important demographic trend in developing countries is the high proportion of young people (15–29). By 2030, 60 percent of those living in urban areas of developing countries will be under the age of 18.

Planning implications of urbanization and demographic trends

The urbanization and demographic trends described above have a number of very important implications for the future of urban planning. The most significant of these are briefly examined below.

The statistics showing rates and levels of urban growth and the demands associated with these can be very daunting. In some context, this has formed the basis for the negative disposition towards urbanization. Urbanization should be seen as a positive phenomenon and a pre-condition for improving access to services, economic and social

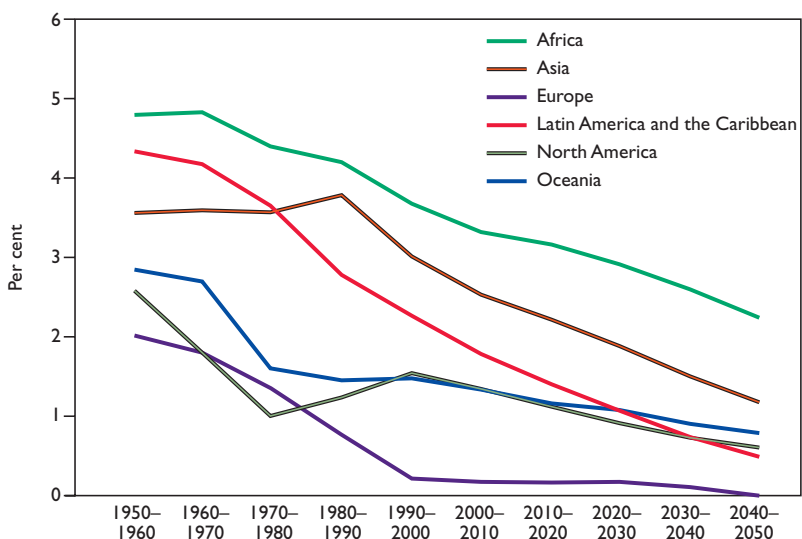


Figure 2

Average annual rate of change of urban population

Source: UN, 2008



Urban planning will have to pay attention to the needs of the youthful population

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opportunities, and a better quality of life for a country's population.

Urban planning in developing countries, particularly in Africa and Asia, needs to respond to the rapid pace of urbanization. Among the most significant challenges of urban planning today and in the next few decades is how to address the housing, water supply and sanitation needs of a rapidly urbanizing population. Urban planning will also need to adequately manage the urban development process, as unmanaged or chaotic urban growth is a significant obstacle to sustainable urban development.

Urban planning in developing countries will have to pay attention to the needs of the youthful population. While the youth can form the most energetic and innovative segment of the population, if unemployed, they can be a source of social disruption. Planning for a youthful population places particular demands on urban development in terms of the need for education and training facilities, as well as investment in sports and recreational facilities.

The planning challenges arising from urban shrinkage in both transitional and developed countries range from determining how to meet the cost of under-used infrastructure, to identifying alternative uses for abandoned social facilities, huge swaths of vacant housing units as well as commercial and industrial facilities. Planning for an ageing urban population requires innovation, as a rapidly ageing population places increased demand on healthcare, recreation, transportation and other facilities for the elderly.

Increasing waves of international migration have meant that urban areas are increasingly becoming multicultural. Urban planning will need to seek the right

balance between cultural groups seeking to preserve their identity in cities and the need to avoid extreme forms of segregation and urban fragmentation. Conflicts around religious buildings, burial arrangements, ritual animal slaughter and building aesthetics are issues which urban planners increasingly have to tackle.

CITY SIZE AND SPATIAL FORMS

The world's urban population of 3.3 billion is unevenly distributed among urban settlements of different sizes. Fifty-two per cent of the world's urban population resides in cities and towns of less than 500,000 people. A similar picture is painted for developed and developing countries, as 54 and 51 per cent of their urban population, respectively, live in such cities. As cities experience demographic growth, they tend to expand spatially. One consequence of this process is the merging of previously non-adjointing towns and cities. The physical expansion of urban areas either through metropolitanization, peri-urbanization or urban sprawl presents a major challenge for urban planning in all parts of the world.

Developed countries

Collectively, about 63 per cent of the urban population in developed countries is concentrated in intermediate and small size cities, with just 9.8 per cent residing in megacities. A common thread running through cities in developed countries is that urban densities have been declining, thus contributing to the problem of urban sprawl. The problem of urban sprawl has been more severe in North America, where, as far back as the early-1900s, a significant segment of the population owned cars. The problem is less severe in Western Europe, where rates of car ownership that had been attained in the US in the 1930s were not reached until the 1970s.

Transitional countries

The transitional countries have only one megacity – Moscow (10.4 million) – and no urban agglomeration with a population between 5 and 10 million. The centralized decision-making structure permitted the state to establish compact, highly dense cities with functional public transport systems. The absence of real estate markets ensured the allocation of land use by the state instead of free market mechanisms. Collectively, these features produced densely-



Increasing waves of international migration have meant that urban areas are becoming multicultural

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packed and highly regulated cities with dominant centres. The political and economic reforms initiated in the 1990s are gradually altering this structure.

Developing countries

While developing countries contain 14 of the world's 19 megacities, only 8.4 per cent of their urban population resides in such cities. A greater proportion of the urban population (61.4 per cent) lives in cities of less than one million inhabitants. Developing countries are also experiencing problems related to peri-urbanization. In particular, peri-urbanization has contributed to the escalation of infrastructure and service delivery costs. A distinguishing feature in city growth in developing countries, particularly in Latin and Africa, is urban primacy. This poses complex planning challenges, particularly because of its tendency to contribute to problems such as urban sprawl, congestion and environmental degradation.

Planning implications of city size and spatial form

Despite the demographic importance of small and intermediate cities, urban planning efforts in developing countries have focused disproportionately on the problems of large metropolitan areas. If small and medium cities are to fulfil their potential, then they should form part of the urban planning agenda for developing countries in the 21st Century.

Urban sprawl – be it suburbanization in North America, peri-urbanization in Africa, or metropolitanization

in Asia and Latin America – are all products of either inappropriate or ineffective planning regulations. Issues that planning will have to address in this regard include: the many social, economic, physical and environmental problems, including upgrading of informal peri-urban settlements; provision of public transport and other trunk infrastructure; as well as effective planning and governance in cooperation with adjoining local authorities.

A key issue that 21st century urban planning in developing countries will have to contend with is the increasing levels of informality associated with contemporary urban patterns.. Formalization processes often have destroyed livelihoods and shelter, and have exacerbated exclusion, marginalization and poverty in developing world cities. For urban planning in developing countries to be relevant and serve the greater good, it must identify innovative ways of dealing with informality.

URBAN ECONOMIC CONTEXTS

Global urbanization is taking place within the context of the worst economic recession since 1945. The current global recession has several implications for urban areas. First, global economic growth is expected to shrink by 1.3 per cent in 2009. This implies that less funding will be available for urban development and capital projects. Second, higher levels of unemployment are envisaged in various sectors of the economy, but particularly in finance, construction, automotive and manufacturing industries, as well as in the tourism, services and real estate sectors – all of which are closely associated with urban areas. The global unemployment rate for 2008 was 6 per cent. This is expected to increase to 7.1 per cent in 2009. Third, following the increase in the rate of unemployment, poverty levels are expected to rise. Furthermore, the global economic crisis could exacerbate income inequality.

Developed countries

Problems such as poverty, homelessness, crime, and other social pathologies are re-emerging in developed countries. In addition, developed countries are suffering their worst recession since World War II, as economic growth is expected to contract by 3.8 per cent in 2009. The worsening economy has seen unemployment in many developed countries rise to its highest level in recent times, with very negative consequences on the economies of urban areas. Income inequality within developed countries has been widespread



A key issue that 21st-century urban planning in developing countries will have to contend with is the increasing level of informality

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since the mid 1980s. This has affected most countries, with large increases observed in Canada and Germany.

Transitional countries

The period of transition from centrally-planned to market-based economies has been associated with dramatic increase in the levels of poverty, unemployment, and inequality within former communist countries. With the start of the economic recovery, unemployment rates began to decline since 2000. These gains could be eroded by the current global economic crisis. For instance, in the Commonwealth of Independent States and Baltic states, economic growth is expected to shrink by 5.1 and 10.6 per cent respectively, in 2009. Unemployment across the region is also on the rise. In Latvia and Lithuania, the unemployment rate for February 2009 was 14.4 and 13.7 per cent, respectively. With an unemployment rate of 8.1 per cent in January 2009, Russia is facing its highest rate since March 2005.

Developing countries

Rapid urban growth in developing countries, particularly in Africa and Asia will be taking place within a context of a relatively weakened economy. Although the global economic crisis has its roots in developed countries, its impacts will be felt on the urban economies of developing countries as well. Economic growth in developing countries is expected to fall from 6.1 per cent in 2008 to 1.6 per cent in 2009. Apart from exacerbating unemployment and poverty, the slump in

economic growth could severely reduce the availability of financial resources for state-initiated urban development programmes. The decline in economic growth could undermine the ability of developing countries to achieve the MDGs. Economic recession in developed countries may affect the flow of foreign direct investment, official development assistance and remittances to developing countries.

Urbanization in developing countries is taking place amid increasing levels of urban poverty, one of whose spatial manifestations is the proliferation of slums. Over a third of the urban population in developing countries resides in slums. Related to this is another major urban economic trend in the developing world, which is increasing inequality.

Planning implications of urban economic contexts

The twin problems of urban poverty and the proliferation of slums should be at the top of the planning agenda in many developing countries. Urban planning should strive to reduce poverty through pro-poor programmes that emphasize equity, participation and social justice. Planning can address the problem of slums and informal settlements through upgrading programmes, which entail the provision or improvement of infrastructure and basic services such as water, sanitation, garbage collection, storm drainage, street lighting, paved footpaths and streets.

With few exceptions, levels of intra-urban inequality across the world have been increasing. Urban planning can address the issue of inequality through redistributive policies that give priority to low-income groups and areas. The provision of schools, basic health services, water supply and sanitation in poor neighbourhoods will, in the long-run, contribute to reducing the level of inequality within cities. In cities of developed countries, urban planning will have to contend with the spatial manifestations associated with the various forms of social exclusion and marginalization that migrants and other minority groups face.

Many countries are experiencing economic uncertainty and decline on account of the ongoing global recession. This implies that less funding will be available for state-initiated urban development programmes. In developing countries, urban development programmes such as slum upgrading and prevention projects, as well as urban regeneration and poverty reduction initiatives, will be adversely affected. So too will the achievement of the MDGs. All of this reinforces the need for governments to act in partnership with civil society and private sector actors – both formal and informal – on urban planning issues.

In an era where formal employment opportunities across the world are dwindling due to the global economic recession, urban planning can play a key role in facilitating livelihoods through local economic development. Local economic development is a community-empowering, participatory process in which local governments, local communities, civil society, as well as the private and public sectors work together to stimulate and improve the local economy of a given area. Urban planning could also create the enabling conditions for employment to thrive by adopting more flexible land-use management or zoning systems that allow mixed land uses, as opposed to mono-functional zoning that seeks to segregate different activities.

LOCATION AND VULNERABILITY TO NATURAL AND HUMAN-MADE DISASTERS

Cities are highly vulnerable to the effects of natural and human-made disasters due to a complex set of interrelated processes. Since 1975, there has been a fourfold increase in the number of recorded natural disasters. While all continents report more natural disaster events, on average, the rate of increase has been highest for Africa, where a threefold increase in natural disaster events has been experienced in the last decade alone. Human-made disasters have seen a tenfold increase from 1975 to 2006, with the greatest rates of increase being in Asia and Africa.

Location is a major determinant of the type and frequency of natural hazards a city may experience. Eight of the 10 most populous cities are located on earthquake faults, while 90 per cent of these cities are in regions vulnerable to destructive storms (Table 3). Due to their favourable location, coastal areas are densely populated and have large concentrations of economic activities. However, populations within coastal areas are at risk from sea level rise and extreme weather events such as tropical cyclones and flooding – all associated with global warming.

Developed countries

Flood, wind storms, earthquakes and volcanoes are the most common forms of natural disasters affecting developed countries. The human impacts of natural disasters vary remarkably between developed and developing countries. While economic loss in absolute terms is high in developed countries, human loss is low. This is a result of the high levels of investment in disaster mitigation. Developed countries account for less than 10 per cent of the world human loss due to natural disasters. In 1999, the US reported two to three times as many natural disasters than Bangladesh; yet, Bangladesh experienced 34 times more deaths. The distinguishing characteristic is the high technical capacity for early-warning systems, disaster preparedness and risk reduction in the developed world, all of which are lacking in many developing countries.

City	Population (million)	Disaster risk					
		Earthquake	Volcano	Storms	Tornado	Flood	Storm surge
Tokyo	35.2	X		X	X	X	X
Mexico City	19.4	X	X	X			
New York	18.7	X		X			X
São Paulo	18.3			X		X	
Mumbai	18.2	X		X		X	X
Delhi	15.0	X		X		X	
Shanghai	14.5	X		X		X	X
Kolkata	14.3	X		X	X	X	X
Jakarta	13.2	X				X	
Buenos Aires	12.6			X		X	X

Table 3

Ten most populous cities and associated disaster risk, 2005

Source: Chafe, 2007, p116

Transitional countries

Some of the countries in East and Central Europe have difficult topographies and are located in areas that place them at risk to natural and human-induced disasters. Many of the countries are landlocked, sit on, or are surrounded by, steep mountains that are frequently disturbed by seismic activity, heavy rains, avalanches, landslides, and earthquakes. Serbia, Montenegro and Kosovo suffered from serious flooding in November and December 2007. Human-induced disasters, such as the massive explosion at an arms depot in Albania in March 2008, also tend to occur more frequently in this region.

Developing countries

Developing countries have experienced the fastest rate of increase in the incidence of natural and human-made disasters over the last three decades. Since these countries are rapidly urbanizing, they face increased risks in the future from natural disasters. Cities in developing countries suffer disproportionately from the impacts of natural disasters. This is a function of the inability of authorities to manage pre- and post-disaster situations. Consequently, natural disasters tend to claim more lives than in developed countries. Indeed, 98 per cent of the 211 million people affected by natural disasters between 1991 and 2000 resided in developing countries. While economic losses in absolute terms are low in comparison to developed countries, they are 20 times greater as a percentage of GDP.

Planning implications of vulnerability to natural and human disasters

Land-use planning can serve as a valuable tool for mainstreaming disaster risk reduction into urban development processes. Land-use planning provides a framework within which interventions to partner local actors for risk mapping and community resilience building can be undertaken. This includes partnerships between municipal governments, community groups and the private sector. Familiar planning tools such as zoning, community participation, Geographic Information Systems, and information and education programmes are all essential to mainstreaming risk reduction into the land-use planning process.

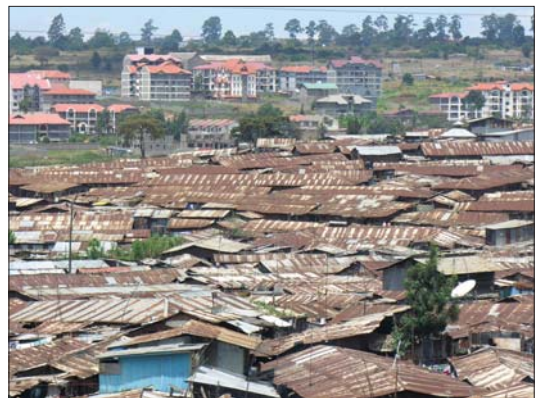
Urban planning can play an integral role in developing building codes that ensure safety standards in components of the built environment. Most countries have building codes

aimed at ensuring that construction meets a minimum standard of disaster resilience. However, in some cases, codes might not be as appropriate as they should be. A major challenge that planning is likely to face is enforcing adherence to building codes, particularly in developing countries.

Urban planning can play a major role in protecting critical infrastructure and services such as electricity, water and sanitation, telecommunications, transportation systems and health services. Protecting such vital infrastructure and services will influence response and reconstruction capacity and minimize secondary and indirect losses, such as the disruption in the flow of goods and services in the period after a disaster has struck a city.

Urban planning can contribute to post-disaster rehabilitation of human settlements, as municipal authorities and local governments are best placed to coordinate reconstruction efforts. Partnerships with community groups and international development and humanitarian agencies are necessary in post-disaster planning. Post-disaster situations, particularly in developing countries, offer urban planning a unique opportunity to rethink past development practices, improve the sustainability of human settlements and effectively prepare communities against risks.

In order to cope with the effects of climate change through rising sea levels, cities all over the world, but especially in developing countries, will need to implement innovative adaptation and mitigation strategies. Urban planning can contribute to implementing some of these strategies. Adaptation for cities entails such diverse actions as increasing the resilience of infrastructure, changing the location of settlements, and implementing practices that enhance sustainable development. Mitigating climate change



Urban planning can address the issue of inequality through redistributive policies

through reduction of greenhouse gas emissions in cities requires immediate action, alongside adaptation. These are areas where urban planning holds very good promise.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

For urban planning to effectively respond to the diversity of urban contexts, it is important that urbanization is viewed as a positive phenomenon. Besides planning for rapid urban growth, planning will have to pay greater attention to small and medium size cities. Urban planning will need to respond to the youth bulge observed in many developing countries, shrinking cities, rapidly ageing population and multi-

culturalism in both developed and transitional countries. Twenty-first century urban planning in developing countries will have to address the twin problems of poverty and slums, as well as contend with increasing levels of informality. A consequence of the current economic recession is that funding for state-initiated urban and infrastructural projects will become scarce. This in turn underlines the need for governments to act in partnership with civil society and private sector actors on urban development. Finally, in all parts of the world, but especially in developing countries, urban planning can serve as a valuable tool for mainstreaming disaster risk reduction into urban development processes.

THE EMERGENCE AND SPREAD OF CONTEMPORARY URBAN PLANNING

This chapter deals with the emergence and spread of contemporary, or modernist, urban planning. It also examines the various innovative or new approaches to urban planning which are being attempted in both developed and developing countries. 'Modernist planning' refers to the approach to urban planning which developed in the post-1850 urban industrial period in Western Europe and other advanced capitalist countries. The innovative approaches discussed in this chapter should not be viewed as models that can be applied in all contexts. While planning has common purposes, tasks and types, the form these take will be shaped by the social and cultural norms of particular places.

EARLY FORMS OF URBAN PLANNING

Urban planning is as old as human settlement itself, and archaeologists have uncovered evidence of urban planning in the Middle East and North Africa, Latin America, Asia, and Sub-Saharan Africa.

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

area of about 1,100 acres and contained as many as 50,000 inhabitants.

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

Latin America had urban civilizations of great antiquity such as the Maya, Aztec and Inca civilizations. Located in the Yucatan, the Mayans became prominent around 250 AD in present-day southern Mexico, Guatemala, western Honduras, El Salvador and northern Belize. The Mayans were already living in urban settlements by 2600 BC. The Inca Empire stretched for about 2,500 miles from Quito in present-day Ecuador to the Maule River in Chile. Evidence of an elaborate ancient architecture includes temple-pyramids, palaces and observatories. The urban infrastructure of the Incas includes 14,000 miles of well-planned and maintained footpaths.

Cities dating back to about 3,500 BC existed in Mohenjo-Daro in the Indus Valley and at Harapa in the Punjab. These cities had sophisticated spatial design structures, well-designed systems of covered drainage and

broad paved streets. In ancient China, cities were typically constructed around a gridiron street pattern. Cities were often enclosed within walls as in ancient Greek cities. Up until the Tang Dynasty (618–907 AD), urban planning in ancient China was rigid and highly centralized. A more decentralized form of planning emerged following the demise of the Tang Dynasty.

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

East and Central Europe also has a history of urbanization dating back thousands of years. Nesebar (in present-day Bulgaria) is one of Europe's oldest cities. The city's spatial structure was largely influenced by the Greeks who colonized the region. This explains urban design features such as the acropolis, a temple of Apollo, an agora and a wall with Thracian fortifications. Dubrovnik is a historic city founded in the 7th century. As far back as 1272, Dubrovnik had well-developed urban planning regulations, which included elements addressing matters of general welfare, health and sanitation.



Old Jericho is believed to be the first city on earth

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THE EMERGENCE OF MODERNIST PLANNING

Modernist planning emerged in the latter part of the 19th century, in response to rapidly growing and polluted cities in Western Europe, brought about by the industrial revolution. From the outset, it was influenced by two sets of factors: technical and ideological. The first set of factors accounted for planning's efforts to combat the negative externalities of industrialization and urbanization. Planning was used as a tool for attaining political and ideological goals by the state, or by the ruling class. It was not uncommon for middle and higher income groups to use planning as a way of maintaining their property values and excluding 'less desirable' low-income residents, ethnic minorities and traders from their areas.

Three components characterized planning for most of the 20th century.

- It was seen as an exercise in the physical planning and design of human settlements, and hence while it responded to social, economic or political issues, it was not seen as the task of planning to intervene in these matters.
- Planning involved the production of master plans or layout plans showing a detailed view of the built form of a city in its ideal end-state.
- It was viewed as a normative task that should be driven by a particular set of values which described the ideal living environment.

Early British town planning was strongly influenced by the radical and utopian socialism of the time and a nostalgic longing for the village life of medieval England. One of the most influential planning forms of the time, the Garden City, developed by Ebenezer Howard, represented an attempt to recreate this village life through bringing 'green' back into towns.

In France, the ideas of Le Corbusier in the 1920s and 1930s established the ideal of the 'modernist' city. The ideal city was neat, ordered and highly controlled. Slums, narrow streets and mixed use areas were to be demolished. In the United States, visions of the ideal city were different. Frank Lloyd Wright's solution to the problems of rapid industrialization in New York took the form of low density, dispersed cities with each family on its own small plot.

While the spatial forms promoted in the planning visions tended to vary, the nature of the master plans which produced them had more in common. The close partner to the master plan was the development control system, which



One of the most influential planning forms of the time, the Garden City, was developed by Ebenezer Howard

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was the legal tool through which it would be implemented. This modernist concept of planning, which emerged in response to a particular and context, spread throughout the world.

THE GLOBAL SPREAD OF MODERNIST PLANNING

The planning systems in many parts of the world have been imposed or borrowed from elsewhere. In some cases, these *foreign* ideas have not changed significantly since they were imported. Planning systems are based on particular assumptions about the time and place for which they were designed, but these assumptions often do not hold in other parts of the world and are often inappropriate in the context to which they have been transplanted.

Modernist planning ideas were imposed on, or adopted in countries in developing and transitional regions. The main conduits for the spread of urban planning ideas were colonial governments, educational and scientific institutions, professional associations and journals, and international development agencies and consultancies.

Transitional countries: Eastern and Central Europe

Industrialization and urbanization came later in Eastern Europe than it did in the West. But by the early 20th century, countries in Eastern Europe were looking to the West for

planning solutions to address their growing cities. The Soviet Union was keen to avoid the uncontrolled urban growth seen in the West and planning ideas which offered: "...decentralization, low density and even shrinkage were perceived as desirable alternatives". Ebenezer Howard's Garden City model was therefore particularly attractive. Besides the Garden City model, the comprehensive planning scheme developed by Patrick Geddes and the master plan were adopted.

Latin America

French planning ideas had the most influence on the form and structure of major Latin American cities during the last century. For instance, traces of Le Corbusier's ideas are visible in many urban structures in the region. One of the best known projects influenced by Le Corbusier was Lucio Costa's plan for Brasilia, which demarcated city space into functional zones, the use of superblocks and tower blocks, the generous provision of green space, and the priority accorded to motorized vehicular traffic. Costa incorporated the ideas of Le Corbusier into the design of the Gustavo Capanema Palace (*Palacio Gustavo Capanema*) located in downtown Rio de Janeiro, and his plan for Brasilia. From the 1900s, the cities of Latin America were expanding at an alarming rate, and sprawling suburbs developed as the middle class sought new residential locations. To remedy the situation, authorities modified the Garden City model to take the form of the 'garden suburb', located within cities rather than outside them.

Southeast and East Asia

Some of the more important planning influences came through countries which were not colonizing powers. Prominent in this regard is the US. The City of Baguio, Philippines was the first major human settlement with design roots in the US to be established in Asia. It was designed by the famous Chicago architect, Daniel Hudson Burnham, the founder of the City Beautiful movement. Another American urban planning invention, the neighbourhood unit, later found its way to China.

British colonial authorities established new human settlements and influenced the development of existing ones in India, Sri Lanka, Malaysia and the Maldives. The British introduced urban forms that were previously unknown in the region. Thus the concept of racial spatial segregation, which sought to separate Europeans from 'racial others,' was foreign

in the region, even in societies such as India that practiced caste-based segregation. Institutionally, the British contributed to the development of urban planning in the region by introducing their legal and institutional frameworks for formulating and implementing planning policies.

Middle East and North Africa

European colonial authorities were largely responsible for introducing Western urban planning concepts and models in the region. They encountered well-developed densely populated Islamic walled cities with no room for expansion. Consequently, they developed new layouts based on European principles to serve as exclusive European enclaves. In Algeria, Tunisia and Morocco, the layouts reflected the French urban planning style. The new towns contained broad straight boulevards separating city blocks, minor feeder streets and plots dividing the blocks and high density multi-storey buildings concentrated in terraces within the centre. Italian and British colonial planners developed plans that were less elaborate than those of the French.

These Western urban planning models usually resulted in two separate urban entities. The Islamic towns (*medinas*) continued as they had prior to colonization, and the new towns (*villes nouvelles* or *villes européennes*) served the needs of the European community. This brought about de facto racial residential segregation.

Sub-Saharan Africa

In Sub-Saharan Africa, diffusion of planning ideas occurred mainly through British, German, French and Portuguese colonial influence. Imported planning systems were not applied equally to all sectors of the urban population. For example, towns were zoned into low-density residential areas for Europeans; medium-density residential areas for African civil servants or, in Eastern and Southern Africa, for Asians and mixed-race people; and high-density residential areas for the indigenous population. Spatially, the low-density European areas were set at a distance from the African areas, apparently for health reasons.

Planning laws and zoning ordinances in many cases are exact copies of those developed in Europe or Britain in the early 20th century. Many African countries still have planning legislation based on British or European planning laws from the 1930s or 1940s, which have been revised only marginally. Post-colonial governments tended to reinforce and entrench colonial spatial plans and land management tools.

Problems of modernist urban planning

Growing criticism of modernist planning has emerged from the same part of the world in which it originated (Western Europe and the US). While some countries have made concerted efforts to develop alternative approaches, modernist planning is still practised throughout the world, including countries where it has been strongly criticized. Modernist planning remains the dominant form of planning in most parts of the world.

There are several problems associated with modernist planning:

- It fails to accommodate the way of life of the majority of inhabitants in rapidly growing, and largely poor and informal cities.
- It fails to take into account the important challenges of 21st century cities.
- It does not involve communities and other stakeholders in the planning and management of urban areas in meaningful ways.
- Complying with regulatory aspects of modernist urban planning imposes significant costs that are too high for the poor and is usually complex and time-consuming.
- In cities in developing countries, it is not uncommon that architects of master plans are either consultants who are based in developed countries, or who have been trained there. Many have little understanding of the dynamics of poverty and the peculiar nature of urbanization in cities in developing countries, or alternatively adhere to the older modernist belief.
- A further problem with physical master plans prepared by outside experts is that neither the plan nor the process of implementing it is embedded in the local institutional culture.
- The spatial forms which are supported by modernist planning tend to reinforce spatial and social exclusion, and produce cities which are not environmentally sustainable. In many cities, modernization projects involved the demolition of mixed-use, older, historic areas that were well suited to the accommodation of a largely poor and relatively immobile population.

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

INNOVATIVE APPROACHES TO URBAN PLANNING

The purpose of presenting these approaches is not to suggest models or solutions which can be taken ‘off the shelf’ for implementation. Rather, they offer ideas generated from ‘situated’ experiences which can be considered in relation to the specific urban planning issues in other places. The new approaches are grouped under seven broad headings (see Table 4). There is considerable overlap: some approaches emphasize process and others outcomes, and sometimes these are combined.

Strategic spatial planning

Strategic spatial planning emerged in Western Europe in the 1980s and 1990s partly in response to the problems of master planning. A strategic spatial planning system contains a directive, long range, spatial plan, and broad and conceptual spatial ideas, rather than detailed spatial design. Being strategic, the plan focuses on only those aspects or areas that are important to overall plan objectives.

One problem has been that the new strategic plan is often abandoned when a new political party or mayor comes

into power, because to continue it might be seen as giving credibility to a political opposition. Where the strategic plan is not integrated with the regulatory aspect of the planning system, and does not affect land rights, as is usually the case, then there may be little to prevent the strategic plan from being frequently changed or discontinued.

Spatial planning as a tool for integrating public sector functions

The problem of integrating different functions of urban government is an important role for spatial planning. The new British planning system, which introduces Regional Spatial Strategies and Local Development Frameworks, focuses on decentralized solutions, as well as a desire to integrate the functions of the public sector and inject a spatial or territorial dimension into sectoral strategies. The purpose of the new spatial plans, which is “shaping spatial development through the coordination of the spatial impacts of sector policy and decisions”, is very different from the purpose of the previous planning system. In South Africa, departmental integration has been a central goal of the new Integrated Development Planning system in local government.

Category	Type	Characteristics
Strategic spatial planning	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Strategic spatial planning in developed countries Strategic spatial planning in developing regions The Barcelona model of strategic spatial planning 	Implications for planning processes and the nature of the directive plan; Barcelona model has implications for urban form: large, well-designed urban projects.
Spatial planning as institutional integration	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The new British planning system Integrated development planning 	Implications for planning processes and the nature of the directive plan. Planning's role in government is important.
Land regularization and management	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Alternatives to evictions Influencing development actors Managing public space and services 	New approaches to regulatory aspects of planning; focus on accommodating informality.
Participatory and partnership processes	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Participatory planning Partnerships 	Focus on planning processes and state–community relations.
International agency approaches and sectoral concerns	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The Urban Management Programme Sector programmes 	Implications for planning processes and institutional location. Sector programmes are issue specific.
New master planning		New processes and regulatory approaches; implications for land market processes.
New spatial forms	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The ‘compact city’ New urbanism 	Focus on urban form, less on process. Reaction to modernist and unsustainable cities.

Table 4

New approaches to urban planning

Approaches to land regularization and management

The most challenging issue for urban planning in terms of land regularization and management has been how to address the issue of informality. The expanding informal areas of cities in developing and transitional regions are usually regarded as undesirable and in need of eradication and/or planning control. Yet it is now well-recognized that such an approach simply worsens poverty and exclusion. New planning ideas suggest alternatives to the removal of informal settlements, such as regularization and in-situ upgrading of such settlements; public investment in trunk infrastructure to influence the pattern of development; working with informal economic actors to provide services and manage spaces, rather than either forced eviction of street traders or relocation to formal markets; and capturing rising urban land values for redistributive purposes.

Participatory processes and partnerships in planning

Participation and public-private partnerships have become important elements in all the innovative planning approaches. Potentially, participation in planning can empower communities and lead to better design of urban projects. Successful participation is dependent on certain pre-conditions relating to the political context, the legal basis for participation and available resources. At the neighbourhood scale, there has been some success with Participatory Urban Appraisal and the more inclusive Participatory Learning and Action, followed by Community Action Planning. At the city scale, one of the best-known innovative participatory



Potentially, participation in planning can empower communities and lead to better design of urban projects

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approaches is Participatory Budgeting, which first occurred in Porto Alegre in Brazil and has since been attempted in other parts of the world.

Approaches promoted by international agencies

Over the past two decades, several international agencies have attempted to address the problems of modernist urban planning by introducing special programmes and processes into local government systems.

■ The Urban Management Programme

The Urban Management Programme, established in 1986 by the World Bank in partnership with UNCHS (UN-Habitat), is the largest global urban programme to date. The programme focused on providing technical assistance and capacity building in five key areas: urban land, urban environment, municipal finance, urban infrastructure and urban poverty. In common with other recent ideas in planning, it attempted to shift the responsibility for planning to the whole of local government rather than being the responsibility of only one department, to promote participatory processes in local government decision-making, to promote strategic thinking in planning, and to tie local government plans to implementation through action plans and budgets.

■ Sector programmes

The most important of these have been:

- *The Localizing Agenda 21 programme:* This emerged from the 1992 Earth Summit. It offers a multi-year support for secondary cities, as the means to introduce or strengthen environmental concerns in their plans.
- *The Sustainable Cities Programme:* A joint initiative by UN-Habitat and UNEP, it was designed to build capacities in environmental planning and management through urban local authorities.
- *The Safer Cities Programme:* This was initiated by UN-Habitat to tackle the problem of urban crime and violence by developing the crime prevention capacities of local authorities.
- *The Disaster Management Programme:* This was established by UN-Habitat to support countries recovering from natural disasters or wars.
- *The Healthy Cities Programme:* Initiated by the World Health Organization, this programme aims to improve, promote and maintain conducive urban environmental health conditions.



Promotion of gender mainstreaming issues in local government and planning is important

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- *The Global Campaign on Urban Governance*: This was launched by UN-Habitat in 1999 to encourage urban planning to be pro-poor and inclusive. Its vision was to realize the inclusive city.
- *The Global Campaign for Secure Tenure*: This was launched by UN-Habitat in 2002 to improve shelter for the urban poor by promoting security of tenure in informal settlements.
- *City Development Strategy*: Promoted by the Cities Alliance, City Development Strategies encourage local governments to produce inter-sectoral and long range visions and plans for cities.
- *Gender responsiveness*: This has included promotion of gender mainstreaming issues in local government and planning. Examples include Gender Budgeting and Women's Safety Audits.

New forms of master planning

In some parts of the world, traditional master planning and regulatory systems continue, but these instruments are being used in innovative ways. In Brazil, 'new' master plans are seen as different from the old ones, in that they are bottom-up and participatory, oriented towards social justice and aim to counter the effects of land speculation. One important new regulatory tool is the Special Zones of Social Interest. This is a legal instrument applied to areas with a 'public interest'. It intervenes in the dynamics of the real estate market to

control land access, secure social housing, and protect the poor against down-raiding and speculation, which would dispossess them.

New urban forms: The 'compact city' and 'new urbanism'

While low-density, sprawling cities are the norm in most parts of the world, there is growing support for 'compact city' and 'new urbanism' ideas. At the city-wide scale, the 'compact city' approach argues for medium to high built densities. Urban containment policies are common, often implemented through the demarcation of a growth boundary or urban edge designed to protect natural resources beyond the urban area and to encourage densification inside it.

New urbanism adheres to similar spatial principles but at the scale of the local neighbourhood. It promotes a vision of cities with fine-grained mixed use, mixed housing types, compact form, an attractive public realm, pedestrian-friendly streetscapes, defined centres and varying transport options. Facilities such as health, libraries, retail and government services cluster around key public transport stations and intersections to maximize convenience.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

Human beings have always acted to consciously plan their settlements, and will continue to do so for the foreseeable future. However, over the last century, planning has been bound up with global processes of colonialism and imperialism, and has been used for purposes other than the creation of well-functioning and sustainable urban centres. Consequently, inappropriate models of planning have been adopted in various parts of the world. The problems of modernist planning have in turn led to the emergence of more innovative approaches. An overview of innovative approaches to planning from various parts of the world has been provided, not in order to suggest new universal solutions which can be applied in all contexts, but to see if there are common ideas which are emerging from various parts of the world. This chapter suggests that there are such commonalities, and that city governments in all parts of the world can consider whether or not these may be useful in their particular contexts.

THE INSTITUTIONAL AND REGULATORY FRAMEWORK FOR PLANNING

The institutional and regulatory frameworks in which planning systems are situated vary enormously, derived as they are from the wider governance context and its particular history. The purposes of planning and how it is undertaken are shaped by the wider context of governance. This wider context reflects the way a society thinks about issues such as: how urban areas should develop; how the benefits of urban development should be distributed; and what the balance between individual rights and collective concerns should be as development proceeds. There are usually substantial tensions and conflicts between different sections of any society about these issues. Urban planning institutions and practices are themselves often active players in such struggles.

This chapter reviews recent trends in the relationship between planning and governance and the role of planning institutions and the institutionalization of planning practices. It also discusses the significance of the legal and the land and property systems which underpin urban planning, the regulatory power of planning and its role in the formal government structures, and the significance of regulatory roles, resources, arenas and stakeholders in the implementation of plans and planning policies.

PLANNING AND GOVERNANCE

Modern urban systems are characterized by complex patterns of interdependencies between actors, institutions, functional activities and spatial organizations. One key trend has been

to re-think the relation between formal government and the wider society. In recent decades, government restructuring has been reflected in a number of ways, such as:

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

While these trends have led to the involvement of a wide range of stakeholders, it has also led to: institutional fragmentation, multiplication of agencies, complex webs of relationships, reconfiguration of networks, disparity of powers and responsibilities across different tiers and departments of governmental and non-governmental institutions, increasing role of market forces, and confusion over 'who does what'.

Given the diversity of actors and interests involved in managing urban futures, it becomes evident that planning is not just about formulating ideas, policies and programmes, but also about implementing these through collective actions. It is in this context that planning is seen as a form of urban



Urban planning is a major local government responsibility, as in the case of Shanghai's City Planning Office in China

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(or place) governance; and as a result, planning is embedded in power relations.

The effectiveness of urban planning and governance depends not only on the assumed command and control power of a master plan, but on the persuasive power which can mobilize actions of diverse stakeholders and policy communities to contribute to collective concerns. The likelihood of such enabling power to emerge is higher in the societies where power is more diffused and transparently exercised, so that checks and balances can be put in place. Where local government is either non-existent or lacks accountability and transparency and the civil society is weak, the tensions between 'power to' and 'power over' are often resolved in favour of the latter. In such situations settlement planning becomes an instrument of repression rather than accommodation.

Since the late 1990s, 'good governance' has become the mantra for development in developing countries, with planning being seen as a key promoter of such an ideal. At the same time, it is increasingly being recognized that urban governance processes are not merely managerial processes. They are heavily politicized struggles over distribution of resources and quality of places. It is also important to note that while the development of urban governance capacities helps to promote effective urban planning, efforts to improve planning systems and practices can also help to strengthen governance capacity.

PLANNING INSTITUTIONS AND THE INSTITUTIONALIZATION OF PLANNING PRACTICES

Urban planning, as a field of governance, is performed through, and has effects on, a wide range of institutions in society. A focus on institutions, in a wide sense, as norms and procedures implies that, whenever planning is promoted, attention should be paid to 'competing rationalities' of the various institutions involved. The agencies of planning 'systems' are themselves active agents in these evolutions, promoting some sets of norms and resisting others. It is also important to recognize that these institutions are themselves in continuous evolution as they interact with each other and with the challenges of dealing with a changing world.

A more narrow meaning of institutions refers to specific configurations of agencies and organizations which operate within the parameters of the wider norms and practices. A 'planning system' and its specific agencies and organizations fall within this meaning of institutions. Formal planning systems consist of bundles of public and private rights, agency authority, coordination mechanisms and procedural protocols which are defined by formal political and legal authorities.

Many of today's planning systems in developed countries were designed in the mid-20th century, and were built on the assumption that nation states had a hierarchical arrangement of government responsibilities. The national level provided a framework of laws governing land-use regulation, powers of land assembly and the balance between public and private rights in land and property development activity. The national level also articulated key national policy objectives and provided grants and subsidies to promote particular kinds of development. Municipalities were charged with preparing plans to encapsulate their development policy, in the light of higher tier policies and the local conditions of their areas. They were also expected to carry out development and regulatory activity within the framework set by national and regional levels of the system. It was then assumed that development would occur as defined in formally-agreed plans. In some countries, this arrangement really did work as expected. In many other countries, however, all kinds of disjunctions appeared.

There is no one 'model' of the agency structure of a planning system. What is an appropriate structure needs to be worked out in specific contexts, in relation to the evolving wider governance landscape. However, irrespective of the

diversity, there are a number of critical issues which can make or break an effective planning system. These are discussed in the sections below.

How urban planning is actually practised, however, is the result of the way the formal institutional design of a planning system interacts with other dimensions of governance dynamics, both formal and informal. There is repeated criticism that planning practices fail to achieve what system designers expected. Often, this is because the designers failed to pay attention to the wider institutional context, and the tensions and struggles within it. More recently, following the general trend towards more decentralized governance arrangements, some system designers have sought to give more flexibility for local autonomy. Such an approach has been energetically pursued in Brazil.

LEGAL SYSTEMS AND THE DISTRIBUTION OF RIGHTS AND RESPONSIBILITIES

Formal legal systems are central in defining the extent, nature and location of the regulatory powers of planning systems. They define the system of urban government, establish the system of urban planning and regulation of land development, and delimit the powers of urban planners and managers. In recent years, international covenants on human rights and national human rights law have come to have a significant impact on planning law.

Legal systems are, for example, important to resolve planning-related disputes. In some countries, such as the US, it is often said that the legal system has become the primary arena where urban planning policies are defined. In other countries, the legal system exerts its influence by the judgements made in various courts, and the enforcement practices which these judgements legitimize. Litigation over planning issues seems to be an emerging global trend. This is most clearly the case in developed countries, but the opportunity for legal challenge has also been important in situations where customary law challenges formal law.

For poorer people, formal institutions may fail to make provision for their needs and/or may not be seen as legitimate or effective. For instance, in many African countries, it is increasingly being suggested that the regulatory framework governing the delivery of residential land plots is so encumbered by bureaucratic procedures and regulatory norms and standards that areas allocated in formal plans for housing become unaffordable and unavailable for low-income settlements. If this is the case, informal practices for

accessing needs and opportunities may develop, such as land invasion, property sub-division, and acquisition for private purposes of spaces intended for public uses.

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

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

- Who holds the right to develop land and the institutional location of this right?
- What provisions are made for the appropriation of land for urban development purposes?
- What provisions are made to enable affected stakeholders to participate in and object to planning decisions?
- How and how far are public realm benefits extracted from private development initiatives?
- How are disputes resolved?

LAND AND PROPERTY OWNERSHIP AND DEVELOPMENT INSTITUTIONS

The regulatory practices associated with planning systems lie at the intersection between public purposes, the institutions of land and property ownership, and property development activity. To understand the practices associated with urban planning in any situation thus requires paying attention to firstly, specific institutional structures of land and property ownership and secondly, the dynamics of property development activities. Both of these vary from place to place, both within countries and between countries. This is particularly important, as it is these structures which are often responsible for major inequalities in a society. For example, in the UK, large landowners played a major role in urbanization in the 19th century. In Sweden and the Netherlands, in contrast, urbanization in the mid-20th



Well-maintained records are essential for effective urban planning institutions

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century was a state activity, with all development land held in public ownership. This not only had a major impact on the form of urbanization, but also shaped the building companies which evolved to deliver housing policy.

In urban contexts, property rights may develop into very complex bundles. Most cities and towns contain a range of land tenure and property rights systems. In addition to formal rights, there may also be customary and religious tenure options, and various types of informal tenure. There may also be competition between different ‘institutions’ within a society over which system of defining rights should prevail.

The challenge for planning systems is to extract public realm benefits from the activities of very powerful players, both economically and politically. It has been argued that planning systems should play a role in ‘smoothing’ market cycles, by stabilizing expectations, creating an adequate flow of sites for development, and perhaps even acting ‘counter-cyclically’ to the primary economy.

In areas where upgrading projects are pursued (to improve the living conditions of residents) poorer residents often find it worthwhile to sell their dwelling to realize immediate returns, to pay off debts or just release more fluid capital, and move somewhere less well-located and provided for.

Such experiences raise challenges for urban planning to find ways to ‘manage’ land and property markets and development processes generally; to reduce exploitative effects; to distribute ‘rights to the city’ more equitably; to provide more and better located neighbourhoods; and to negotiate for public realm benefits.

PLANNING SYSTEMS, AGENCIES AND REGULATION

What have become known as ‘planning systems’ refer to a collection of agencies, procedures, instruments and protocols that are often sanctioned by the formal state, backed by formal law, and linked especially to rights to develop and use housing, land and property. Notwithstanding the diversity of planning regulation, a key issue for the design of planning systems centres on where regulatory ‘power’ is situated in a wider governance context and how it is practised. It is often assumed that such power resides in formal government decisions and the legal support of judicial systems. Yet, another source of regulatory power is social acceptance.

Planning systems operate at various spatial levels ranging from national to neighbourhood levels. The ‘agencies’ of planning systems are commonly thought of as located in formal government authorities. There is, however, significant variation in which level of government is given formal responsibility for which activity. There is also variation in the institutional location of the ‘checks and balances’ on planning agencies. For example, in the highly centralized systems of China, Great Britain, Japan and some transitional countries, national government has strong planning powers and can rule over the final approval of local plans.

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

at the national government level, or in countries with a federal government structure, concurrently at the federal and state government levels. In cases where the local level of government has considerable autonomy, a municipality and its planning office take a leading role. The energetic transformation of Barcelona, Spain, is such a case, as is the well-known case of 'participatory budgeting' in Porto Alegre, Brazil.

Aside from formal, statutory planning agendas, a widespread global trend has been the formation of special 'partnership' agencies focused on particular development tasks. In some cases, informal agencies created through neighbourhood or other civil society initiative may be acknowledged as a *de facto* 'planning agency' (see Box 3).

In many parts of the world, emphasis has been put on decentralization of power and responsibilities to the local level. In Africa, for example, in countries such as Botswana, Ethiopia, Kenya, Nigeria, Tanzania and Uganda legislation in the 1980s and 1990s enacted devolution of functions, power and services. European countries, such as France, Italy, Spain and the UK, also experienced devolution of power to regional governments, albeit with different degrees of autonomy. However, decentralization of authority has often taken place without any accompanying strengthening of the resources available to local governments.

Given the complexity of contemporary urban systems, the capacity for effective urban planning depends on coordination of interdependent actors within and beyond the formal structure of government. Today, formal government

Box 3 Civil society planning initiatives in Kobe, Japan

In Japan, local government and urban planning capacity have been under-developed until very recently. Civil society struggles over Kobe's neglected inner-city neighbourhoods in the 1960s led to innovative practices in local area management in which citizens took the initiative in developing local area guidelines for managing change. Such initiatives have come to be known in Japan as *machizukuri*, or 'community development', activities. In this way, a kind of 'bottom-up' design of planning institutions has emerged. In Kobe, such initiatives produced informal 'master plans', which later became formalized as new national legislation provided the powers to make use of them. These experiences influenced emerging local government practices from the 1980s onwards, both in Kobe itself and in Japan more widely.

Source: Healey, 2008



Public display of planning application notices is common in developed countries

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functions relevant to urban development are typically spread across the tiers of government or departments within local government and between local and national governments. They may even involve relations across regional and national borders. Creating horizontal and vertical coordination between various levels of government as well as between governments and NGOs and achieving integration between disparate responsibilities and different policies has become a key challenge for effective governance.

PLAN FORMULATION AND IMPLEMENTATION

Urban planning has been much criticized for failing to adequately consider implementation issues. Implementation has often proven particularly problematic when plans were developed out of obligation, statutory or otherwise, or from an over-ambitious political project. Traditional master-planning tended to see implementation as synonymous with the control of urban systems. A wider view of planning processes considers implementation as a social learning

process for all parties involved. Within this perspective, tools of implementation are not limited to regulatory and fiscal measures, but also include other modes, such as collaborative practices.

To undertake the key tasks of urban planning, planning effort needs to be directed at mobilizing and coordinating a range of tools and resources. Table 5 summarizes the tools and resources needed to pursue each task.

As noted above, the power of a plan has a lot to do with the authority accorded to it in formal law, through national government advice or through customary practices. In planning systems where the right to develop is enshrined in a zoning ordinance (such as parts of the US), the plans which express this carry a lot of weight in deciding what can take place on an individual plot. In more discretionary systems (such as in the UK), a plan is more of an information tool, a statement of what the city government wishes to see happen in a place.

During the last decades, there has been a significant shift from large-scale master planning to more action-oriented participatory planning, often focused on specific urban areas or projects. This has led to a separation of indicative strategies for urban areas from plans which grant specific development rights. Box 4 provides an interesting case from Italy, where such a separation is being attempted in a country with a tradition of general municipal plans where citywide strategies and the allocation of development rights were previously merged.

As noted above, planning regulations are vital tools for planning systems. Development regulations are often combined with building regulations. The latter are



Granting or refusal of planning permission is an important mechanism for development control

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increasingly important, both in encouraging more sustainable building practices, and in recognizing the role of appropriate building technologies in less developed countries. City governments also typically have other important legal powers. One set of powers relates to the **assembly of land** for major development and re-development projects. Another important mechanism, usually linked to the granting of a development permit, allows the negotiation of **developer contributions** to infrastructure and other community development objectives. The ability to **appeal** against the above regulatory decisions is also an area with considerable global variation.

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

Table 5

Planning tasks and tools

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

Box 4 Planning system reform in Lombardy, Italy

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

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

Source: Healey, 2007, pp 110–113

A critical issue in effective urban planning is to relate strategies, policies and specific proposals to the resources which could achieve them. The range of fiscal measures deployed in planning systems is constantly evolving. For a considerable time governments have used financial inducements and disincentives to direct development to particular parts of a country, region or city. Such incentives are often used alongside the relaxation of planning restrictions in a particular area, as in the example of Employment Zones in the US, Enterprise Zones in the UK and Special Economic Zones in Southern Asia. However, financial measures can also be deployed to extract community benefits from a development. In situations where development activity is mostly undertaken by private developers, negotiation practices have evolved through which agreements are reached about who should pay for what.

The potential for 'underhand' dealing, and for strong developers to exploit weak municipalities in negotiations over public realm benefits may lead to arguments for the use of an alternative tool, in the form of a standard payment related to the size and scale of a development project in some way. This may be taken as a tax, in which case it is likely to flow into national treasuries or general municipal funds. Or it may be taken as an earmarked charge, allocated for specific public realm assets. Thus, given the right governance context, developer contributions are a useful way to address the externalities that arise from particular developments.

Undertaking the coordinative and integrative work which is at the heart of effective urban planning is a complex task, demanding considerable expertise. Lack of adequately trained personnel with necessary knowledge and expertise is a major constraint for effective urban planning in many parts of the world. An extreme example is Cambodia where the

absence of expert knowledge and personnel has culminated in what is effectively the suspension of urban land-use planning after the cessation of international funding in the late 1990s. In many other developing countries, the shortage of skilled staff at the local level and the brain drain are a major obstacle in effective urban planning.

It is important that planning interventions are related to a good understanding of local conditions. Urban areas, even in one region of one country, vary in their geography and economic possibilities. In designing a planning system and in working in a particular urban context, it is thus important to give attention to:

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

CONCLUDING REMARKS

The institutional context for urban planning has a significant effect on its forms and outcomes. Hence, in 'learning from the experience of others', it is important to appreciate local specificities. With this in mind the following **general policy lessons** may be highlighted:

- Initiatives to improve planning systems need to pay careful attention to the specific institutional dynamics of particular nations, regions and cities.

- It is important to consider how planning agencies are related to formal and *de facto* government structures, and in particular the degree of decentralized power and the potential for horizontal and vertical policy coordination.
- Planning systems need to be surrounded by checks and balances on the use of investment and regulatory resources, to limit the arbitrary use of planning measures by powerful groups.
- While planning systems need the support of a legal framework which defines rights and responsibilities, it is helpful to resist over-legalization and the rigidities and time-consuming processes which accompany this.
- Planning measures, where they have material effects, play a significant role in shaping land and property market behaviour.
- Planning systems' regulatory power needs to be combined with investment power, in an integrated and pro-active way, to release the potential of many different kinds of actors to contribute to the urban development process.
- Where planning systems and practices lack strength, respect and trust, it is helpful to focus initially on actions which bring clear benefits to many and build the ground for greater respect in the future.

PLANNING, PARTICIPATION AND POLITICS

The focus of this chapter is on participation and politics as it relates to planning. It reviews forms of citizen participation in urban planning, the extent and nature of participation in urban planning in different parts of the world and political contexts as well as innovative approaches in this regard. Lessons from these experiences are taken into account in identifying ways to enhance participation in urban planning.

CHARACTERISTICS AND FORMS OF PARTICIPATORY URBAN PLANNING

Participation implies that planning is not a purely technocratic exercise in which policies and decisions are made by professionals in conjunction with political power holders. It incorporates voice, responsiveness and accountability. Voice refers to the expression of citizen preferences and opinions through both the electoral process and other channels. Consultation and the expression of views may not influence plan proposals and planning decisions in the absence of responsiveness. Policies and plans mean little unless they determine the allocation of resources and decision making, so ways of ensuring that views are heard and acted upon – accountability – are also essential.

Participation is an umbrella term for a variety of approaches and it is useful to distinguish between different forms and purposes of participation (Table 6). Citizen control over decision-making is generally regarded as the most transformative and empowering form of participation. Consultative and instrumental forms of participation are

commonly associated with efficiency and effectiveness arguments.

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



The electoral process enables the expression of citizens' preferences

GLOBAL TRENDS IN URBAN PLANNING, PARTICIPATION AND POLITICS

In this section, global trends in urban planning and participatory practice are summarized and some of the factors that explain differences between regions and countries identified.

Developed and transitional countries

Formal procedures for public participation in planning decisions have long existed in developed countries. Invariably, these countries have democratic political systems and elected representatives have a responsibility to take their constituents' views into account and balance conflicting interests.

In recent years, a great variety of tools and techniques for citizen participation in urban planning have been widely applied at both city and local levels in developed countries. In some countries such as Canada, the US and Australia, governments have provided technical and financial support for ordinary citizens to participate in public review processes. Even so, it is not always easy to secure wide citizen participation, with the result that specific organized interests exert more influence to advance their own interests and some social groups are under-represented (e.g. women, youth and ethnic minorities). Therefore, more extensive and radical participation in decision making remains exceptional.



Street politics give citizens a voice, especially in developed countries

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Form	What 'participation' means to the implementing agency	What 'participation' means for those involved
Nominal	Legitimization to show it is doing something, pre-empt opposition	Inclusion, in the hope of gaining access to potential collective or individual benefits
Consultative	Better informed decision making with no loss of control	Policies and plans that are more appropriate, but with no guarantee of the outcomes of consultations are taken into account
Instrumental	Efficiency, to draw on beneficiaries' resources, increase cost effectiveness, and improve the prospects for successful operation and maintenance	Access to facilities and services that are normally provided only to those that can afford to pay
Representative	Sustainability; established systems are used for the expression of voice, improving responsiveness and ensuring accountability; provides a means of organizing and aggregating different views	Leverage, direct or indirect influence
Transformative	Partnership with non-governmental actors; collaborative decision-making and implementation	Joint analysis and development of plans; empowerment to enable people to define objectives, make their own decisions, control resources and take action

Table 6

The form and meaning of citizen participation

The nature of citizen participation in urban planning has evolved differently in transitional countries of Europe. In the communist period, participation was merely a formality, taking the form of pseudo-open public hearings and ceremonial exhibitions during which the public was allowed to see master plans. Since 1989, however, most transitional states have introduced new legislation that includes provisions for participation. In the Czech Republic, for example, environmental non-profit organizations have promoted participation in environmental planning hearings.

Nevertheless, even when attempts are made to increase the scope for participation in transitional countries, it is frequently tokenistic. In countries which have maintained a centralized government such as Russia, significant obstacles to participation remain. As such, master planning, with its pursuit of an idealized urban future at a citywide scale, persists and, unlike local plan proposals and specific construction projects, generates little citizen interest. The under-development of civil society and its dominance by a few large, often Western-funded, non-governmental organizations (NGOs) is a further hindrance.

Sub-Saharan Africa

In the period following independence from colonial rule, governments often adopted a technocratic approach to national development planning that restricted the direct involvement of citizens or other stakeholders in planning and decision-making. Radical revisions to the inherited legislative base for this technocratic approach have been rare, despite its failure to provide effective guidance for rapid urban growth. The post-independence period has also been marred by unstable governments, further restricting the consolidation of participatory planning processes.

Since the 1980s, the inability of government agencies to implement urban development plans and the irrelevance of these to the majority of residents living in informal settlements led to attempts to revise planning legislation and adopt more participatory approaches. The scope for democratic participation further increased since democratization and decentralization in the 1990s. Even so, upgrading and rehabilitation projects provide more meaningful opportunities for participation than urban plan preparation as illustrated in countries such as Niger, Cameroon, and Cote d'Ivoire.

In sum, serious efforts to involve citizens in decision making are uncommon in much of Sub-Saharan Africa and participation often takes the form of consultation, which may or may not result in influence. Moreover, the institutional

base for effective urban management and planning is weak and often in a state of flux. Most local governments have a limited revenue base, inadequate technical and administrative skills and insufficient autonomy. In practice, therefore, decisions tend to be made by technocrats, with some input from elected representatives.

Asia

Democratic local governance in the urban areas of Southern Asia has shallow roots. Despite the patchy trend towards more democratic local government since the 1990s, urban planning practices and the legislative basis for it have changed little in the region. There is limited evidence of alternatives to conventional master planning being seriously entertained among planners, in spite of its shortcomings. There is not much provision for participation in plan preparation, by elected representatives, private sector interests or urban residents in general. Government is often highly fragmented and capacity and resources are limited at the local level.

Nonetheless, some countries in the region have made progress with regards to participatory urban planning. In India, for example, the federal and state governments have adopted a variety of measures to increase citizen participation and government responsiveness and accountability at all levels. However, in practice, local government autonomy in India is restricted by limited resources, continued state government control over decision making and the external appointment of officials.

In East and South East Asia also, many countries, particularly the transitional economies, have a weak democratic tradition, with limited civil liberties and political rights. Strategic and spatial planning for urban development and growth in this region is frequently not well provided for, with outdated legislation still in place in many countries. Even in countries that have attempted to deepen democracy in recent years such as Indonesia, civil society organizations are not necessarily well developed. Furthermore, interest in participation and the capacity to become involved is lacking for various reasons, including a fear and distrust of government institutions. Although community-derive development approaches to basic service provision are being pursued in a number of countries, stakeholders play a minimal part in the urban planning process on the whole.

Latin America and the Caribbean

Attempts to introduce participation in Latin America and the Caribbean before the 1980s were limited. In the 1980s,

economic crises and increased poverty eroded the resource base for clientelist politics and fuelled pressures for political change. Throughout the region, the need for newly elected democratic governments to establish their political credibility and the growing importance of municipal government led to experiments with participatory governance. Strengthened mobilization of civil society organizations further contributed to widespread democratization at both national and local levels.

The extent to which participatory approaches have been institutionalized in national or local legislation varies across the region and is explained largely by the political orientation of governments. Where deliberative arrangements have been introduced, they have increased citizens' agency and responded directly to the expressed needs of participants. Countries such as Brazil and Bolivia have made the most progress in this regard.

Despite the significant political changes and participatory initiatives in the region, approaches to planning have not changed commensurately or kept pace with new governance ideas about governance. Technocratic planning persists and although it may in certain circumstances achieve positive results, it is often ineffective, hindered by a lack of political will, technical expertise and adequate data. At the same time, planning is often heavily politicized and manipulated by elites.

INNOVATIVE APPROACHES TO PARTICIPATORY URBAN PLANNING

Increasingly, the need for direct participation in planning is recognized and in some countries and cities, determined efforts have been made to develop innovative ways of involving a wide range of stakeholders in decision-making. Some of these approaches are reviewed in this section.

Participation in local planning

A variety of terms are used to refer to local participatory planning approaches. In practice, though, they have common characteristics, especially a focus on identifying needs and priorities, devising solutions, and agreeing on arrangements for implementation, operation and maintenance. The process of identifying needs and priorities is often called participatory urban appraisal, while arriving at proposals and implementation arrangements is often called community action planning.



Local residents should be able to determine plan implementation and resource distribution

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Participatory urban appraisal methods are primarily for collecting community level information and undertaking preliminary needs assessment. For this reason, they need to be complemented by systematic city wide data disaggregated by service provision, wellbeing indicators, social groups etc. In addition, participatory urban appraisal is not a decision-making tool and thus needs to be taken further in a process of community action planning.

The outcome of participation at the 'community' level depends, amongst other things, on the source of the initiative and the nature of relationships between communities, NGOs and the urban administrative and political system. Sometimes these are collaborative but, just as frequently, they are characterized by clientelism or confrontation.

Even where community level participation is appropriate, it needs to be linked to wider political and administrative systems. This is so because poor communities do not exist independently of the external economic, organizational and political context and nor can they be self-sufficient with regard to resources.

Participation in city level and strategic decision-making

City-level planning is essential for strategic policies and decisions that refer to a wider geographical area and longer time scale than those typically dealt with in community action planning. Experience of participation at the city level is illustrated through a review of participatory budgeting and city development strategies.

Participatory Budgeting

Participatory budgeting originated in Brazil and is now being emulated more widely in Latin America and beyond, following the landmark experience of Porto Alegre. Key elements of participatory budgeting in Porto Alegre and many other cities include the creation of regional and thematic assemblies in which every citizen can participate and vote on budget issues and the principle of self-regulation whereby the rules for participation and deliberation are defined by participants.

Evaluations show that participatory budgeting in Porto Alegre has strengthened civil society by encouraging the development of open and democratic civic associations, given previously excluded groups influence over decision-making and brought investment to neglected communities.

The arrangements and outcomes of participatory budgeting elsewhere have varied, both within Brazil and beyond. Reviews of these experiences indicate that certain conditions are necessary for participatory budgeting to be successful, including strongly developed civic associations; a previous tradition of participation; a reasonable level of prosperity; and a unified governing coalition committed to fostering participation. Transparency, including revealing the resources available and uniform criteria for redistribution of resources, is also critical for a successful process. A further challenge is linking participatory budgeting with a city's long term strategic and development plans.

City Development Strategies

City development strategies are approaches that use participatory processes to develop an action plan for equitable growth in cities, although their format, scale and priorities vary. The intention is for stakeholders to participate in problem identification, prioritization, visioning and development planning, rather than merely commenting on draft plans. The participatory process is intended to lead to an agreed vision, goals and priorities for a city, a set of strategies and action plans and the establishment of institutional mechanisms for implementation, monitoring and evaluation.

The city development strategy approach has gained considerable support amongst local governments, professionals and international agencies. The positive outcomes it has generated include improved coordination and coherence of the efforts of local and international partners; development and strengthening of consultative and participatory mechanisms; enhanced understanding of local

needs and priorities; and consideration of a broader range of solutions than in conventional master planning.

However, evaluations also note a number of common challenges. Few cities have established any means for assessing how effective or systematic their participatory processes are, and these are not always institutionalized as part of the ongoing planning process. There may also be resistance to wide and lengthy participatory processes from planners, other officials and elected representatives. In addition, concentration on participatory planning at the expense of broader political processes may threaten the process and content of planning, while participation may not tackle entrenched power inequalities.

ENHANCING PARTICIPATION IN URBAN PLANNING

Lessons from the experiences reviewed above suggest that it is possible to encourage wider and more meaningful participation by addressing the factors outlined below.

An enabling political context and system

The political context is a key determinant of the scope for, and likely outcomes of, participation. Governments must therefore establish a political system that allows and encourages active participation and genuine negotiation, and is committed to addressing the needs and views of all citizens and stakeholders.

In this regard, recent governance thinking stresses that government agencies cannot and should not take sole responsibility for urban planning and management, but rather work in partnership with civil society and private actors. Their involvement in direct democracy and transformative participation can consolidate democratic practice and lead to reform of the formal political system. However, many of the serious problems faced by cities cannot be tackled effectively by non-governmental actors. Responsive and accountable formal political institutions are needed for effective urban governance.

A strong legal basis for planning and participation

For participation in plan making to be both substantive and influential, a strong legal basis which specifies how outcomes of participatory processes will influence plan preparation and decision-making is required. Brazil's City Statute is an

Box 5 The City Statute, Brazil

The enactment of the City Statute of Brazil in 2001 represented a groundbreaking development with regards to the creation of an inclusive local decision making framework for cities. The Statute consolidates the role of municipalities in the development of policies and responses to address multiple challenges of urbanization in Brazil. Mandated by the national constitution and the Cities Statute, municipalities in Brazil with a population of more than 20,000 are expected to adopt a master or comprehensive planning approach.

The City Statute in Brazil has been further promoted with the formation of the Ministry of Cities in 2003. This institution works with states, municipalities, civil society organizations and the private sector in the areas of housing, environmental sanitation, transport and mobility and other related urban programmes.

In 2004, a Cities' Council was created to add a further instrument for democratic management of the National Urban Development Policy. This is a collegiate body of a deliberative and advisory nature, which guides the formulation and implementation of the National Urban Development Policy and other policies and planning processes.

Source: Irazabal, 2008

excellent example of such legislation (Box 5).

In the 1990s, changes to the legislation governing local government often aimed at democratic decentralization, although the extent to which national governments have been willing to give local governments significant roles, resources and autonomy varies. Often, however, revisions to planning legislation are overdue. When they occur, the provisions regarding participation should be made applicable to multi-sectoral urban development planning rather than being restricted to the urban land use planning process.

While inserting requirements for consultation and collaborative approaches in legislation is insufficient to ensure real and equal commitment by all local governments, without a mandatory requirement, opposition from vested interests, including political actors, or changes in political control can compromise citizens' rights to participate.

Understanding the pitfalls of participatory approaches

The ideals of participatory approaches and the outcomes they generate are often quite divergent. An awareness of the shortcomings of participatory approaches and measures to counter these are therefore necessary if urban planning is to be effective.

For instance, if participation by low income groups in the design of projects is not accompanied by a wider redistributive programme, they may see few improvements in their living conditions. Local participation in projects with immediate practical outcomes should therefore be accompanied by opportunities to participate directly or indirectly in decisions related to the allocation of resources

at the city level, lest poor residents become disillusioned with its outcomes.

It is also possible that different categories of stakeholders, such as disadvantaged social groups fail to take advantage of opportunities provided by consultative and participatory processes. Thus, in addition to measures to improve their representation and effectiveness in the formal political representative system, specific actions are needed to ensure that such groups can and do participate, including building their knowledge and organizational capacity, and designing events and activities tailored to their needs.

Sufficient resources to support participatory processes

Participatory approaches to urban planning are demanding of resources and time. In addition to official commitment, municipal councils and planning agencies must allocate adequate human and financial resources to initiating and sustaining participatory processes.

It is also necessary to enhance the capacity of professionals, in terms of their commitment and skills to facilitate participation, provide necessary technical advice and incorporate the outcomes of participation into planning and decision making.

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



Citizen control over decision-making is the most empowering form of participation

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Participatory mechanisms relevant to the scale and purpose of planning

Participatory approaches need to be tailored to match the scale and purpose of planning. Experience shows that participation is likely to be higher if the outcomes affect people's everyday lives. In contrast, it is harder to ensure political interest and wide participation in strategic and long term policy making and planning, which seems remote to many citizens, and which has time horizons longer than a typical political term of office. Thus, as the scale at which decisions need to be taken increases, it is inevitable that only a small sub-set of those affected can participate. By building on local participation in practical projects, however, local actors can be interested in wider issues and enabled to make constructive inputs into citywide planning.

There is a difference between periodic intensive participatory exercises when plans are prepared or revised and continuing engagement in agenda setting, monitoring, policy review and decision-making. What may be feasible on a periodic basis is not necessarily feasible or appropriate on an ongoing basis. Therefore to sustain direct democracy alongside representative democracy, it is necessary to institutionalize participatory channels and strengthen the organizational capacity of disadvantaged sections of the city population, as well as secure ongoing support from elected representatives.

Successful participation conditions and characteristics

The following conditions for meaningful and inclusive participation can be identified from the experiences reviewed in this chapter:

- Committed city leadership, both political and bureaucratic;
- A conducive national policy and legislative framework, with support from higher levels of government;
- Suitable political arrangements at the city or metropolitan level to ensure coordination and accountability;
- Participation that is broad and inclusive, involving all relevant stakeholders, with multiple channels for participation;
- Open, fair and accountable processes, which are comprehensible, transparent and based on clear ground rules;
- Timeliness – opportunities for participation that can influence decision making;
- A high likelihood of outputs being adopted, through prioritization and sequencing of action;
- A distinction between short and long term objectives, with rapid progress on selected short term actions to build legitimacy and sustain commitment, and proposals linked to investment plans and a financing strategy;
- Skilled, independent and flexible facilitation by planners;
- Tools appropriate to the form and purpose of the participatory process;
- A willingness to strive for consensus, backed up by conflict resolution techniques;
- Support for and collaboration with civil society and community organizations and learning from their proven methods for organizing and empowering the poor;
- Monitoring and evaluation processes to track progress and outcomes and learn from experience;
- Closer links in legislation and practice between multi-sectoral urban planning and management and land use planning.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

Increasing numbers of cities have adopted more participatory approaches to urban planning linked to action programmes and investment plans. The main positive lessons from the review of these experiences in recent decades are that:

- Urban planning and management can be improved through the adoption of collaborative approaches that involve all key stakeholders, and enable agreement on priorities, actions and the allocation of responsibilities between relevant agencies;
- Participatory planning at the project level can result in more appropriate design and significant resident contributions, leading to improved living conditions in low income settlements; and
- Participation by residents in planning and implementation of practical improvements in the areas

where they live and work, in municipal budgeting and in local plan preparation has positive outcomes and can be scaled up to play a role in city level planning.

However, it has been observed that much participation in urban planning is only consultative, or instrumental, and gives participants little real influence over plans or public expenditure. Thus, as illustrated in this chapter, certain conditions need to be satisfied for participatory approaches to be adopted and have favourable outcomes. These particularly apply to stronger forms of participation that seek to promote citizen control over decision-making. A number of challenges must also be addressed to ensure that participation is meaningful, socially inclusive and contributes to improving urban planning.

BRIDGING THE GREEN AND BROWN AGENDAS

The concept of sustainable cities includes a number of fundamental objectives, that is: minimization of the use of non-renewable resources; achievement of the sustainable use of renewable resources; and staying within the absorptive capacity of local and global waste absorption limits. Action to attain these objectives provides the link between the natural and the built environment, or between the green and brown agendas. How these objectives have been and are being addressed in urban planning is the focus of this chapter.

SUSTAINABLE URBAN DEVELOPMENT: THE GREEN AND BROWN AGENDAS

Urban planning is one of the few professions with a specific remit that encompasses the three pillars of sustainable urbanization – economic, environmental and social – and should therefore be at the centre of attempts to define new approaches that integrate solutions seamlessly. It is also very specifically oriented to long term issues, as city building is a continuous process. Thus urban planners should embrace the sustainable development approach if they are to leave a positive legacy for future generations.

A significant practical dilemma that faces planners – as well as other urban professionals and politicians – when they try to implement sustainable urban development is how to integrate the two different sets of concerns of the ‘green

agenda’ and the ‘brown agenda’, i.e. the natural environment and the human environment (see Table 7).

The brown agenda is essential for making a city work, for a healthy and liveable environment and for creating the human and economic opportunities which have driven cities throughout their history. All cities consume land and resources such as energy, water and materials, which they use for buildings and transport. In the process of making a city functional, these resources are turned into wastes. It is now possible to quantify this impact in one parameter called ecological footprint.

The brown functions of a city generally consume and degrade its green resources and processes, respectively, unless the city intervenes through processes such as urban planning and environmental management. The green, natural systems of a city have real limits and capacity issues associated with their use. The challenge for urban planning is to find ways that cities can integrate these two agendas – to respect the natural environment and to improve the human environment, at the same time.

INNOVATIONS IN ACHIEVING GREEN AND BROWN SYNERGIES: GLOBAL TRENDS

A number of key, but overlapping, innovations are occurring globally in order to synergize the green and brown agendas. These are described below.

The green agenda Natural systems, global, regional and local, used as services by cities	The brown agenda Human systems required to make cities healthy and liveable and which are part of the metabolism of the city
Ecosystems that provide green open space used by the city for biodiversity protection and recreation.	Waste systems to recycle and remove wastes from cities, including solid, liquid and air waste.
Water systems that cities use to tap the natural flow for water supply and waste disposal.	Energy systems to provide power, heating, cooling and lighting for all city functions.
Climate and air systems that provide cities with the requirements for healthy life.	Transport systems to enable mobility in the city, including the fuel.
Other ecological services, including agricultural and forestry systems providing food and fibre for cities.	Building and materials systems that provide the physical basis of life in cities.

Table 7

Characteristics of the green and brown agendas in the urban environment

Development of renewable energy

Renewable power enables cities to create healthy and liveable environments while minimizing the use and impact of fossil fuels. A number of urban areas are now partly powered by renewable energy techniques and technologies, from the region to the building level.

There are significant opportunities to harness solar, wind, hydro and geothermal power for urban use. Hydropower has been used in cities such as Vancouver (Canada) and Christchurch (New Zealand) for decades. However, while some solar city projects such as Freiburg (Germany) exist, there are presently no major cities in the world that are powered entirely by renewable energy. Movement towards a renewable-energy future will require much greater commitment from cities at all levels, including at the local and the metropolitan levels. Urban planning is also necessary to create the infrastructure needed to support renewable sources of power at the scale necessary to help power a city.

Transport can also be a major part of the move towards renewable energy development. For example, electric vehicles can play a critical role in enabling renewables to build up as a much higher proportion of the urban energy grid. However, this breakthrough in technology will need to be carefully examined to ensure that cities use it to be fully sustainable and not justify further urban sprawl.

Striving for carbon-neutral cities

The key objective of the trend towards ‘carbon neutral’ cities is to ensure that every home, neighbourhood and business is carbon neutral. Carbon neutral cities are able to reduce their ecological footprint through energy efficiency and by

replacing fossil fuels, thus providing a basis for ecological regeneration by creating offsets in the bioregion.

Incentives or requirements for buildings to meet green-building standards have been used in some cities as part of a move towards carbon neutrality. Zero-energy buildings and homes have been built in The Netherlands, Denmark and Germany for at least ten years now. Preserving and planting trees is also being used to help to sequester carbon emissions and naturally cool buildings and homes, thereby reducing the use of energy for artificial cooling. In Australian cities, for instance, the carbon emissions of many municipal motor pools are being offset through tree-planting initiatives.

Although there is evidence of a growing commitment to minimizing carbon footprint in cities, this needs to become a feature of whole neighbourhoods and even complete cities if the world is to move to ‘post-carbon cities’. Indeed, carbon neutrality can become the goal for all urban development but will require a three step process: reducing energy use wherever possible; adding as much renewable energy as possible and offsetting any CO₂ emitted through purchasing carbon credits.

Distributed power and water systems

The development of distributed power and water systems aims to achieve a shift from large centralized power and water systems to small-scale and neighbourhood-based systems within cities. The distributed use of power and water can enable a city to reduce its ecological footprint, as power and water can be more efficiently provided using the benefits of electronic control systems, and, particularly through water sensitive urban design, a city can improve its green character.

In large cities, the traditional engineering approach to providing energy has been through large centralized production facilities and extensive distribution systems that transport power relatively long distances. This is wasteful because of line losses, but also because large base load power systems cannot be turned on and off easily, so there is considerable power shedding when the load does not meet the need.

Distributed infrastructure is beginning to be demonstrated in cities across the globe such as Malmö (Sweden) and Toronto (Canada). Utilities will need to work with city planners to develop models for local energy and water planning through community-based approaches and local management.

Increasing photosynthetic spaces as part of green infrastructure

Growing energy and providing food and materials locally is becoming part of urban infrastructure development. The use of photosynthetic processes in cities reduces their ecological impact by replacing fossil fuels and can bring substantial ecological benefits through emphasis on natural systems.

There has been a positive trend in planning in the direction of an expanded notion of urban infrastructure that includes the idea of 'green infrastructure' based on photosynthetic processes. Green infrastructure refers to the many green and ecological features and systems, from wetlands to urban forests that provide a host of benefits to cities and urban residents. This understanding of green infrastructure as part of the working landscape of cities and metropolitan areas has been extended to include the photosynthetic sources of renewable energy, local food and fibre. Cities are embarking on efforts to promote sustainable local food production in view of the vast amounts of energy required to grow, process and deliver food (see Box 6).

Progress in moving away from fossil fuels also requires serious localizing and local sourcing of building materials. This, in turn, provides new opportunities to build more photosynthetic-economies. Dramatic reductions in the energy consumed as part of making these materials is, of course, the primary benefit.

Improving eco-efficiency

In an effort to improve eco-efficiency, cities and regions are moving from linear to circular or closed-loop systems, where substantial amounts of their energy and material needs are provided from waste streams. Eco-efficient cities reduce their

Box 6 Energy costs of food production in the US

The high energy costs of food production are vividly illustrated in the case of the US. It takes around 10 fossil fuel calories to produce each food calorie in the average American diet. So if an individual's daily food intake is 2,000 calories, it takes around 20,000 calories to grow the food and get it to the person. This means that growing, processing and delivering food consumed by a family of four each year requires the equivalent of almost 34,000 kilowatt-hours of energy, or more than 930 gallons of gasoline. For comparison, the average U.S. household annually consumes about 10,800 kilowatt-hours of electricity, or about 1,070 gallons of gasoline. Thus, as much energy is used in the US to grow food as to power homes or fuel cars.

Source: Starrs, 2005

ecological footprint by reducing wastes and resource requirements, and can also incorporate green agenda issues in the process.

A more integrated notion of energy and water entails seeing cities as complex metabolic systems with flows and cycles and where, ideally, outputs traditionally viewed as negative (e.g. solid waste, wastewater) are re-envisioned as productive inputs to satisfy other urban needs, including energy. This shift away from the current view of cities as linear resource-extracting machines is often described as the eco-efficiency agenda.

Eco-efficiency does not have to involve just new technology but can also be introduced into cities through intensive use of human resources such as the Cairo's waste recycling communities, the Zabaleen. For instance, there are many examples of how cities across the third world have integrated waste management into local industries, buildings and food production.

Increasing sense of place

A growing number of cities and regions understand sustainability more generally as a way of building their local economies, building onto a unique sense of place, and as a way of nurturing a high quality of life and a strong commitment to community. The more place-oriented and locally self sufficient a city's economy is, the more it will reduce its ecological footprint and ensure that its valuable ecological features are enhanced.

When people have a sense of belonging and an identity in their town or city, they are keen to create local enterprises.

When communities relate strongly to the local environment, the city's heritage and its unique culture, they develop a strong social capital of networks and trust that forms the basis of a robust urban economy. This approach to local economic development, which emphasizes place-based social capital, can be related to the sustainability agenda in cities. Energy efficiency, for instance through producing power from solar, wind or biomass in the locality or region, can also be part of local economic development strategies.

Sustainable transport

Cities, neighbourhoods and regions are increasingly being designed to use energy sparingly by offering walkable, transit-oriented options, often supplemented by vehicles powered by renewable energy. Cities with more sustainable transport systems have been able to reduce their ecological footprints from their reduced use of fossil fuels, as well as through reduced urban sprawl and reduced dependence on car-based infrastructure.

The agenda for large cities now is to have more sustainable transport options so as to reduce traffic whilst reducing greenhouse gases. To reduce a city's ecological footprint and enhance its liveability, it is necessary to manage the growth of cars and trucks and their associated fossil fuel consumption. Unfortunately, for many cities, the reduction of car use is not yet on the agenda and traffic growth has been continuous.

A number of studies have shown that physical planning decisions determine how cities use cars and petroleum fuels. Within the urban planning profession also there is increasing awareness that sustainable transport will only happen if much greater attention is paid to: urban form and density; infrastructure priorities, especially relative commitment to public transport compared to cars; and street planning, especially provision for pedestrians and cyclists as part of sustainable mobility management.

■ Urban form and density planning

The feasibility of different types of transport systems and services is influenced by the density of a city. For example, high density city centres can have highly effective public transport opportunities whilst low density cities and suburbs are likely to depend on the car. Density is therefore a major tool available to planners in cities. It is best used where a city has good transit or wants to build transit, as the resulting Transit Oriented Developments reduce ecological footprint in cities and undermine the kind of car-based sprawl that eats into the green agenda of cities. Thus



Motor vehicle abundance, and thus dependence on petroleum, is rising at an alarming rate in cities

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Transit Oriented Developments can enable a city to put in place a clear urban growth boundary and to build a green wall for agriculture, recreation, biodiversity and the other natural systems of the green agenda. In the US, for instance, shifting 60 per cent of new growth to compact patterns would reduce CO₂ emissions by 85 million metric tonnes annually by 2030.

■ Infrastructure priorities and transit planning

Investing in viable, accessible transit systems is the most important component for cities to become resilient to waning oil sources and to minimize their contribution to climate change. Transit not just saves oil, but it helps restructure a city so that it can begin the exponential reduction in oil and car use so necessary for a sustainable future.

Modern rail is now seen as a major strategy for reversing the proliferation of the private car. Although busways can be quicker than traffic in car saturated cities, it is important to use the extra speed of rail to establish an advantage over cars in traffic—as demonstrated through 'transit to traffic' ratio empirical calculations, which are used to determine how effective public transport is in competing with the car in terms of speed. Rail is also important because it has a density-inducing effect around stations, which can help to provide the focussed centres so critical to overcoming car dependence, and they are also electric, which reduces vulnerability to oil.

Across the world, cities are building modern electric rail systems at vastly increasing rates, as they simultaneously

address the challenges of fuel security, decarbonizing the economy in the context of addressing climate change, reducing traffic congestion sustainably, and creating productive city centres. China for example is committed to building 120,000km of new rail by 2020. In India, Delhi is building a modern electric metro rail system and a 172km electric rail has been built in Perth, Australia in the past 20 years.

■ Street planning and mobility management

If cities build freeways, car dependence quickly follows. This is because the extra speed of freeways means that the city can quickly spread outwards into lower density land uses as the freeway rapidly becomes the preferred option. Building freeways does not help either the brown agenda or the green agenda. It will not help a city save fuel and studies have shown that there is little benefit for cities in terms of congestion and as this is the main reason for building them, it does seem to be a waste.

If, on the other hand, a city does not build freeways but prefers to emphasise transit, it can enable its streets to become an important part of the sustainable transport system. Sustainable mobility management is about 'streets not roads' – the streets are used for a multiplicity of purposes, not just maximizing vehicle flow. The emphasis is on achieving efficiency by maximizing people movement, not car movement, and on achieving a high level of amenity and safety for all street users. This policy also picks up on the concept of integration of transport facilities as public space. Freeways thus, from this perspective, become very unfriendly solutions, as they are not good public spaces.

Cities that have confronted the provision of a freeway such as Copenhagen, Zurich, Portland, Vancouver and Toronto have been global leaders in the move towards more sustainable transportation. Enough demonstrations now exist to show that alternative approaches such as pedestrian and bicycle strategies work dramatically to improve city economies and to integrate the green and brown agendas.

Developing cities without slums

'Cities without slums' is presently one of the most important goals of urban planning in developing countries. Attaining the goal of cities without slums will require innovative approaches that can enable slums to be upgraded, if not as models of sustainability, certainly in ways that address the most pressing brown and green agenda challenges of poor access to safe drinking water and sanitation as well as degrading environmental conditions.

Slums pose a significant threat to the green agenda as most are built on physically unsafe land that is vulnerable to natural hazards. They often deprive the city of foreshore land for flood control and natural bio-filtration from fringing wetland vegetation, severe erosion can result from steep slopes when they are settled upon, and, as the major source of domestic energy for slum dwellers is firewood, nearby land on the periphery of the city is often deforested.

At the same time, the brown agenda for those living in slums is seriously compromised as well. Most slum housing is built of makeshift materials that can only provide rudimentary protection against natural hazards. Invariably, levels of access to clean drinking water and safe sanitation are extremely low, resulting in basic health problems. Electricity is frequently stolen from grids and presents many risks in its use.

The current trend is to address the phenomenon of slums through two strategies: firstly, upscaling the upgrading of existing slums; and, secondly, adoption of urban and housing policies that prevent the emergence of new slums. Slum upgrading is mostly concerned with the brown agenda and consists of improving security of tenure and installing new or improving existing infrastructure and services, up to a satisfactory standard. The results of upgrading are highly visible, immediate and make a significant difference in the quality of life of the urban poor, especially in the area of environmental safety and human health.

Working with the community to enable them to participate in the development process and in the management of infrastructure can enable a slum community to thrive and develop pride in their green and brown achievements. They



Both the brown agenda and green agendas are seriously compromised in slums

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Innovative strategies to reduce vehicle emissions are being introduced in some countries

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can become models of sustainability, as they create reduced levels of resource consumption whilst creating healthy and attractive living environments for the residents.

ADDRESSING THE GREEN AND BROWN AGENDAS THROUGH URBAN PLANNING AND GOVERNANCE

Sustainable urban development planning, like all long term planning, requires governance that goes beyond market forces and can help to create widely accessible infrastructure and

community services. In Table 8 below, the six core functions of urban governance which would be needed for sustainable urban development are set out. Examples of the types of structures, or mechanisms that are needed for this are also listed in the table.

The challenges outlined in this chapter cannot be effectively addressed without a regional plan which incorporates the whole city and its region. Cities have grown everywhere to engulf local authorities in surrounding rural areas and, in many countries, there is now a need for a metropolitan-wide perspective on most of the issues raised in this chapter.

There is also need for an effective statutory process to enable key land use decisions and regulations to be made legally enforceable. Urban planning has become enmeshed in regulations from the past and needs to revise these at the same time as it faces the new challenges of sustainable development. Bigger projects and decisions on infrastructure should be part of a development assessment process which can bring in wider economic benefits and reduce costs whilst setting common good conditions.

To balance this kind of regulatory approach, urban governance should also include a development facilitation function to ensure innovations and demonstrations are set up in partnership with government, industry and the community. The glue that will make this all work will be a development financing function that can tap old money sources, such as rates and taxes, and new money sources, such as public-private partnerships, development bonuses and capture of increased land value.

Finally, there is need for a participatory process that can help develop and deliver sustainability visions. The social

Urban governance function	Example structure/mechanism
Regional strategic planning that can cross local boundaries on transport, biodiversity, climate change, water, waste, housing...and cover the whole metropolitan region.	Regional planning authority
Statutory development control function that can regulate for common good outcomes and implement the regional plan in each local community.	Town planning schemes and by-laws for building and development approvals
Project assessment function that can enable infrastructure and land development to be controlled for common good outcomes	Planning and environment authority
Development facilitation function that can help set up demonstrations of sustainability innovations, especially in redevelopment projects	Development authority
Development financing function that can link sustainability programmes to innovative ways of financing change	Local authority and regional planning authority
Community engagement function that can enable decisions to be made which ensure sustainability outcomes	All planning bodies

Table 8

Urban planning and governance for sustainable urban development



Solar energy can significantly reduce dependence on non-renewable energy sources in cities

© Otmar Smit / iStock

capital of the city needs to be strengthened as these new challenges are faced. That cannot happen without deliberative processes engaging communities in their future. Many cities' sustainability strategies now include goals of equity and social justice, with gender included under this umbrella. Urban planning has experimented with emerging engagement processes and must now seek to make them part of day-to-day governance systems.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

Linking the green and brown agendas is a relatively new challenge for cities and none are able yet to fully demonstrate how to improve human health and liveability whilst simultaneously reducing their ecological footprints and improving the natural environment. This will not be possible without a revived and regenerated approach to urban planning. Urban planners now need to find ways of creatively integrating these innovations into mainstream urban planning and governance systems.

The biggest challenge facing cities in the near future will be how to manage the transition to a post fossil fuel world. This will be compounded by the recent global financial down turn, which may slow down some of the major green and brown agenda integration programmes, such as slum upgrading. However, government-funded green infrastructure and energy programmes currently being initiated in some developed countries in order to stimulate economic activity and generate jobs may offer significant opportunities for cities to implement some of the innovations described in this chapter.

PLANNING AND INFORMALITY

The aim of this chapter is to identify trends and patterns of informal development in urban areas, discuss their implications for urban planning and review recent urban planning responses to informality. The prospect for addressing the challenges posed by informal urban development more effectively through new and more responsive planning approaches is also assessed.

CHARACTERISTICS OF URBAN INFORMALITY

The 'formal'/'informal' continuum is central to contemporary analyses of urban development, especially the built environment, the urban economy and the provision of services. Generally, urban development that comes within the purview of a state land administration system and complies with its legal and regulatory requirements is labelled 'formal' and all development that does not comply with one or another requirement is considered 'informal'.

Informal land and property development commonly occurs in areas that are undeveloped because they are zoned for future development, beyond the current built up area or unsuitable for development. Thus informal settlements, especially those formed and occupied by the poor, are often on sites that are reserved for environmental conservation purposes or vulnerable to floods, landslips or other hazards.

In many cities, there is also much informality in the development of middle and upper income residential neighbourhoods. Landowners often manage to obtain detailed layout and building permission for developments in areas not

zoned for immediate development. Alternatively, development may occur in designated areas, but at a higher density or lower building standard than specified.

An additional aspect of informality in urban areas relates to economic activities. Urban enterprises that do not comply with registration, licensing or employment regulations are considered to be informal. Informal service provision can refer either to services provided by organizations that are not registered, regulated or sub-contracted by the relevant authorities, or to the illegal use of official services.

There have been extensive debates on why informal urban development occurs. Generally, informal land subdivision and property development is a response to ineffective planning, inappropriate standards, unenforceable regulations and arduous registration procedures. Employment in the informal sector is also generally considered as a survival strategy when there is insufficient formal employment for all and no social safety net. The motivations for informal development thus vary, from a desperate need to find an affordable place to live and work, to a desire to maximize profit.

GLOBAL TRENDS IN URBAN INFORMALITY AND EXPANSION

In this section, trends of informal urban development in different parts of the world are reviewed and the factors that shape informality identified.



Millions of urban residents in developing countries depend on street vending for their livelihoods

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Developing countries

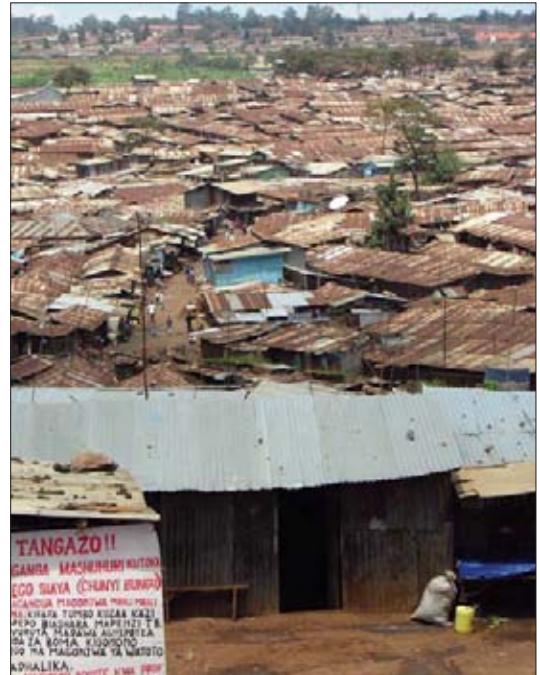
Significant numbers of urban dwellers in developing countries are employed in the informal sector. In Latin America and the Caribbean, for example, about 60 per cent of all those employed work in the informal sector and it is estimated that four out of every five new jobs are in the informal sector. In Africa, the informal economy labour force accounts for around 60 per cent of urban jobs, and an even larger proportion of women's economic activities. Existing studies further indicate that informal employment as a proportion of total urban employment has increased over time in developing countries.

Informality in cities of developing countries is also widely manifested in terms of housing. Unable to access affordable serviced land and formal housing, low and even middle income groups have had to seek building plots or houses in informal settlements. Even where considerable public investment in planned settlements occurs, there is frequently a mismatch between what is built and what people need and want. Thus, 62.2 per cent, 42.9 per cent, 36.5 per cent and 27 per cent of the urban population of Sub-Saharan Africa, Southern Asia, Eastern Asia and Latin America and the Caribbean, respectively, live in slums.

Informality is also a prominent feature in peri-urban areas of Asia, Africa and Latin America and much of the future urban growth is expected to take place in such areas. The sprawling peri-urban areas of developing countries are characterized by inadequate infrastructure, lack of safety and security and wide disparities in wealth. Limited governance capacity for planning and development regulation leads to the proliferation of informality in peri-urban areas.

In many cities of developing countries, much of the service delivery depends on small-scale private-sector and informal operators, who replace or supplement formal water and sanitation, waste management and energy supply systems. Informal transportation is also widespread in developing countries and closely associated with both residence in informal settlements and engagement in informal economic activities.

The ability of planning systems in developing countries to prevent or deal with widespread informal economic activity, land subdivision, housing construction and service delivery remains extremely limited. This can be attributed to the dominance of technocratic planning approaches, financial and human resource limitations, especially at local government level; limited political and public understanding and support of urban planning; administrative fragmentation, especially in peri-urban areas; and the perceived incompatibility of informal employment and settlement with political and bureaucratic visions of the modern city. The ways in which plan proposals deal with informal development processes are inconsistent and ambivalent, with the result that many activities and settlements are not integrated into regular planning processes and governance institutions.



Significant numbers of urban residents in developing countries live in slums

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Box 7 Informal employment, Romania

In spite of continuous economic growth in recent years, informal employment is a key feature of the Romanian labour market, accounting for between 20 and 50 per cent of total employment, depending on the definition used. Two main groups can be identified among those in informal employment: those who work informally because they have no real alternative and for whom informal employment constitutes a survival strategy, and those who deliberately evade taxes and social security contributions.

Some improvements have been made in recent years, especially with the reform of the tax and benefit system and the introduction of the new pension plan. However, until recently, most efforts focused on punishment rather than on prevention of informality and policies to help the most vulnerable groups and offer them the necessary skills and assets to participate in formal work are uncommon.

Source: Parlevliet and Xenogiani, 2008

Developed and transitional countries

There is little informal settlement in contemporary European and North American cities, with the exception of travellers' settlements and some small-scale squatting, generally in disused buildings. Some informal occupation and modification of formal buildings occurs in inner city areas, especially by slum landlords and poor urban residents, including recent migrants.

Typically, employment in developed countries is in formal enterprises and compliance with labour and development regulations is widespread and enforcement effective. However, economic liberalization since the 1980s has been associated with the growth of economic informality, including unregulated wage employment and self-employment that evades the tax system. It is estimated that in the highly developed OECD countries, the informal economy accounts for about 16 per cent of value added.

In the transitional economies of Europe and the former USSR, the transition from centrally-planned to market-based economies was associated with dramatic increases in poverty, inequality and unemployment, forcing many people formerly employed by state enterprises into informal sector employment. Lower income households have been restricted to privatized deteriorating housing estates, or to low cost housing in peripheral villages and informal settlements.

The inherited planning systems in transitional countries had difficulty adapting to market-based urban development in the 1990s. Obsolete master plans, lack of municipal expertise and resources, and bureaucratic obstacles to obtaining development permission led to widespread illegal development.

In the last ten years, however, governments in many countries in the region have re-asserted control over their shadow economies and recognized the need for effective planning (see Box 7 on Romania's experience). A new generation of planning legislation has been introduced, reforms have revitalized planning systems and urban development plans have been updated. Nevertheless, progress is hindered by a number of factors, including the lack of a strong legal basis for development regulation and coherent national urban development policies.

FACTORS AFFECTING INFORMALITY

It is apparent from the above review of urban informality trends in various regions of the world that a number of key factors give rise to informal economic activity, land and property development and service delivery, some of which are highlighted below.

- Informality in developed and many transitional countries has been associated with competitive pressures arising from economic crisis, privatization, economic liberalization and global competition.
- In developing countries, the expansion of the urban labour force more rapidly than formal wage employment, the lack of state-provided social safety nets and the limited growth of formal enterprises lead urban men and women to seek wage employment in informal enterprises.
- Governments are often unable to enforce laws and regulations governing enterprise, land and housing development. Plan proposals are therefore over-ridden sometimes from ignorance, but more often because of a desperate need for housing and income.
- Procedures for registration and obtaining approval are often time-consuming and costly which increases housing costs and prices by limiting supply, fuelling a vicious circle of informality.
- Public sector agencies are often inefficient and ineffective providers of utilities and services. Thus, much service delivery depends on small-scale private sector and informal operators.

INNOVATIVE PLANNING RESPONSES TO INFORMALITY

The feasibility and desirability of responding to the challenge of informality by extending conventional approaches to land administration, planning and regulation is uncertain in many countries. More appropriate ways forward in these circumstances can be identified by reviewing innovative approaches and assessing their transferability.

Alternatives to eviction

One of the most feasible and appropriate action open to governments is to stop the most harmful ways in which they intervene, such as forced evictions. Often, public agencies' preference is to halt and remove informal developments and economic activities that do not comply with plans, policies and regulations, as well as seeking to evict occupants of land required for public purposes. Evictions also occur through market forces when the demand for well-located land increases and it becomes increasingly difficult for residents to resist pressure to sell, sometimes at below market prices.

International law now regards forced eviction as a human rights violation and urges governments first to consider all feasible alternatives and, second, to adhere to good practice guidelines if eviction is necessary. It essentially recognizes people's rights to decent work and security of tenure, including the right to housing, privacy and the peaceful enjoyment of their possessions. Increasingly, international law is being incorporated into domestic law, protecting people against forced eviction and providing them with various rights if they are evicted.

Regularization and upgrading of informally developed areas

Regularization and upgrading of informally developed areas is preferable to neglect or demolition. Regularization implies recognition and provision of secure tenure, while upgrading generally focuses on the provision or improvement of basic services, although it may also involve re-planning and redevelopment to ensure compliance with planning and building regulations. Formalization of tenure is generally taken to involve the provision of title to individual plots – the strongest legal form tenure rights can take.



Forced demolition of slums is widespread in many countries

However, the merits of titling have been widely contested and it is also the most complex and costly form of tenure to institute. For instance, titling can lead to overt conflict over overlapping forms of rights and the dispossession of the less influential, including tenants, new occupiers and women. Some of the supposed benefits of titling are also not necessarily relevant to low income households, who seldom wish to mortgage their sole asset and to whom financial institutions are reluctant to lend in any case. As a result, remarkably little progress has been made globally with large scale titling.

A flexible approach to planning for regularization and upgrading is thus an essential tool for improving the liveability of informal settlements. Experience has demonstrated that modest and incremental approaches developed in conjunction with residents, local decision makers and land market actors can be implemented at scale and need not result in gentrification. A twin track approach is needed, in which regularization is accompanied by a programme of land development at a sufficient scale to ensure affordability and inhibit new illegal settlement.

Strategic use of planning tools

Earlier attempts to ensure that all urban development occurred in accordance with a master plan have often failed. Today promising approaches, as outlined below, concentrate on using public planning and financial resources strategically to guide development.

■ Construction of trunk infrastructure

Infrastructure planning and investments should form key components of land use planning and zoning so as to guide urban growth away from informal developments. Infrastructure provision can be used to attract investment to preferred locations, for example increasing the attraction of secondary centres within extended metropolitan regions in order to reduce congestion in the core city, by improving links between them. Such investment can be used to encourage development in planned directions and to generate revenue for public investment. However, without proper planning of new development and complementary policies, the outcomes may primarily benefit large-scale investors and developers and high income households.

■ Guided land development

Planning in advance for development is preferable and more efficient than regularization. Where planning capacity and

resources are limited, attempts have been made to ensure an adequate supply of land for expansion by guided land development. This requires an outline strategic plan that identifies the main areas for phased urban expansion; protects the areas of greatest environmental significance; and is linked to a programme of major infrastructure investment, especially main roads, drainage and water supply. For example, it has been suggested that expansion areas sufficient for 20–30 years ahead should be identified and defined by a grid of secondary roads 1 km apart, or within 10 minutes walk of every location. Adaptations to the grid can be used to accommodate topography and steer development away from unsuitable areas. Phased construction of roads and water supply will, it is further proposed, guide developers to appropriate grid superblocks, within which detailed planning regulation may not be necessary.

■ Land readjustment

A key challenge for public authorities is to assemble the land and finance for infrastructure investment and acquisition of sites for major public facilities. In many cities, there are no longer extensive areas in public ownership and public agencies must work with private or customary owners and private developers, both formal and informal, to ensure that phased development occurs. In this case, land readjustment whereby city authorities consolidate parcels of land for service provision and subdivision through mutually beneficial agreements with landowners becomes essential.

However, land readjustment is a market-led approach that rarely provides low income housing. Partnerships with informal or low income landowners or groups are unlikely to work if unrealistic standards and cumbersome procedures are imposed. Flexible attitudes to standards and participatory approaches to decision making by planners and other professionals are therefore essential. Emphasis should be on 'working with' those who provide large volumes of affordable land and housing, through advice and advocacy rather than heavy-handed regulation.

■ Gradually extending effective planning in defined areas

In low income and many middle income countries, limited governance capacity and lack of support for planning and regulation limit what conventional planning and development regulation can achieve. Before detailed planning and development control can be successfully applied to all development, there is a need to demonstrate that the benefits outweigh the costs to landowners and developers. It can be argued that limited planning and financial resources are best

used by concentrating efforts on the public realm and areas where development has major environmental and safety implications, while limiting intervention, especially detailed development regulation, in other areas, particularly middle and low density residential areas. For such selective planning to succeed and comply with overall planning objectives, it needs to fit within a strategic framework.

Working with informal economic actors to manage public space and provide services

Informal economic actors include those engaged in retail trade and related services, manufacturing and repair services, as well as providers of transport, water and other services. A variety of ways in which public sector agencies are working, and can work, with these actors to improve the management of public space and the provision of services can be identified. Innovative approaches are based on an acknowledgement of first, the important contribution informal activities make to the urban economy and their vital role in household livelihoods, and second, the right of informal entrepreneurs to operate in the city.

■ Recognition of informal entrepreneurs' property rights

As with informal land and housing development, public agencies all too often harass and evict enterprises to restore physical order, enforce health and safety regulations or serve the interests of formal entrepreneurs who regard informal operators as competitors. As noted above, harassment and forced eviction should be avoided wherever possible. The right of entrepreneurs to operate in the city should be recognized, the property rights they already have respected, and improved property rights negotiated. This may be done through managing the use of urban space and an appropriate regulatory system.

■ Allocation of special purpose areas

City authorities often attempt to remove informal operators from areas zoned for other uses, land unsuitable for development or public spaces to sites designated for markets or industrial estates. Often relocation to planned areas is associated with enforced compliance, licensing and other regulatory requirements. This rarely works well. Planned markets are often less well located and are unpopular with both vendors and customers, relocation disrupts established economic networks, and the increased costs associated with relocation to planned markets, licensing and regulation may threaten the viability of informal businesses.

Box 8 Warwick Junction, Durban, South Africa

Warwick Junction is the main public transport interchange in the city of Durban, with as many as 460,000 commuters passing through daily and 8,000 street traders. In the late 1980s, previous prohibitions were lifted to enable traders to operate legally. However, by the mid-1990s, their number had grown to nearly 4,000 and the area had become known as a 'crime and grime hotspot'. In 1997, the municipality set out to examine safety, cleanliness, trading, employment opportunities and the efficiency of the public transport interchange.

Today it accommodates nearly 1,000 traders, supporting 14,000 other businesses. More hygienic facilities have also been provided for street food processors and sellers. For relatively modest investment, significant improvements in organization and management of the area have been achieved and the value of an area-based management team that can coordinate municipal departments and work with traders' organizations demonstrated.

Sources: Skinner, 2008; Skinner and Dobson, 2007

Often historic market sites or markets developed informally on undeveloped land are the most economically viable and successful. Regularization and upgrading are the most appropriate approaches in these situations. However, when a site is needed for other uses or becomes too congested, relocation may be unavoidable. In this case, the location of markets, the facilities provided and the management arrangements need to be agreed by trader organizations and the public authorities for successful relocation.

■ Managing shared public spaces

Informal operators, especially vendors, commonly share public space with other users, especially vehicles, cyclists and pedestrians. Often innovative solutions can be devised to ensure access to civic spaces by both traders and other social groups. The aim should be to clarify the rights of public space users so as to give vendors more security of operation, while safeguarding health and safety. Arrangements for sharing trading locations can include space and time zoning, including demarcation and provision of dedicated trading spaces in pedestrian areas and temporary closure of streets for markets.

■ Provision of basic services and support

Informal operators are both users and providers of basic services. Whether located in designated areas or shared

public space, the provision of services to informal operators can support their operations, increase the likelihood of compliance with official hygiene standards, and improve the working environment for the operators themselves, as shown in Box 8.

As providers, informal operators complement large scale public or private agencies, especially in meeting the needs of households and businesses that cannot access formal services because of their absence, inadequacy or cost. Their contribution must be recognized while the weaknesses of the services they provide are addressed. Planners need to take the needs of informal service providers into account in land use planning and development regulation, and to work with other agencies to address the constraints on their operations.

■ Mixed use zoning

Many informal economic activities, especially those of women, occur within residential areas and buildings. Often, conventional plans are based on single use zoning, while mixed uses, including home-based enterprises, are forbidden. In many countries with effective planning systems, the limitations of single use zoning have long been realized, and more emphasis is now placed on mixed uses to produce vibrant and convenient living environments. Planning legislation in many poorer countries has not caught up, despite the popularity of mixed uses, especially home-based enterprises, evident in most cities where enforcement of single use zoning is weak. However, planners are increasingly recognizing reality and incorporating mixed uses into plan provisions.

■ Organization of informal operators

Effective organization enables informal operators to interact effectively with public agencies and strengthens their own ability to solve problems. It provides a channel through which their needs and priorities can be identified and presented to public authorities and appropriate approaches negotiated. The effective organization and increasing professionalism of informal trader organizations has been illustrated in many cities worldwide, for example amongst informal transport operators in Dakar, Senegal.



Public agencies' preference is to discourage informal economic activities

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RESPONDING TO INFORMALITY THROUGH PLANNING AND GOVERNANCE

On the basis of the debates and trends reviewed above, a process through which urban planning and governance can gradually increase the effectiveness of its responses to informality can be identified. This involves three basic steps.

Step 1: Recognize the positive role played by informal land and property development and economic activities and halt official actions that hinder their operations. Common responses to informality, such as harassment and eviction, adversely affect livelihoods, cause inconvenience to suppliers and customers, and hinder the ability of entrepreneurs and service providers to meet the needs of urban residents and businesses.

Step 2: Change policies, laws and regulations. Consider the need and potential for formalization and regularization of economic activities, land supply and housing development, while being aware of the possible disadvantages of doing this,

especially for the poor and marginalized social groups, including women.

Step 3: Strengthen the reach and legitimacy of the planning system to reduce the extent of informality. For planning and regulation to be effective, it must gain widespread support from informal actors, politicians, residents and businesspeople. For such support to increase, each stakeholder must perceive the benefits of planning and regulation to outweigh the costs.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

On a global scale, there are many countries in which informality is extensive and growing and much fewer countries where informality is either limited or becoming less prevalent. The extent of informality in urban areas is strongly linked to the effectiveness of development regulations, public

support for planning and regulation and the availability of resources.

There is no single planning model for responding effectively to the challenges arising from urban informality. In many developing countries, technocratic, blueprint approaches and strict regulatory requirements persist, despite their obvious ineffectiveness in the face of widespread informality and limited governance capacity. The challenge is to devise an approach to planning that is capable of tackling the undesirable outcomes of informality while recognizing the contribution of informal developers, entrepreneurs and service providers to the urban development process. Once internationally recognized rights to decent work and housing and protection from harassment and eviction are realized, changes to policy, laws and practices to permit regularization and other innovative approaches to informality can be feasible.

PLANNING, SPATIAL STRUCTURE OF CITIES AND PROVISION OF INFRASTRUCTURE

The provision of infrastructure such as transport networks, water, sewerage, electricity and telecommunications plays key roles in the development of efficient, healthy and sustainable cities. Other urban facilities and amenities such as schools, health services, social services, markets, places for gathering, worship and recreation are also important to the development of liveable cities.

These elements of infrastructure and facility provision are important in shaping the spatial structure of cities, at a city-wide and more local scale, and can result in certain sections of the population becoming spatially marginalized and excluded from access to urban opportunities. While planning potentially plays important roles in the way infrastructure and facilities are organized and in the spatial structuring of cities, its role has often been relatively weak, largely due to informal urban development processes, the growing importance of urban mega-projects and privately driven developments.

As noted in Chapter 2, more than a third of all urban residents in developing countries are currently living in slums. While many urban poor live in inner-city slums, the majority of the urban poor in developing countries are living in informal settlements on the urban periphery. These settlements are often characterized by low levels of services. Access is also likely to be difficult since mass transit systems are often poorly developed, and areas accessible to the poor may not be located on main routes.

This chapter explores how contemporary urban spatial trends are being shaped by the ‘unbundling’ of infrastructure development, disjointed from spatial planning through forms of privatization, developer-driven growth, and urban mega-

projects. It also examines the links and interrelationships between forms of infrastructure provision, spatial organization and access; and between urban form, sustainability, efficiency and inclusiveness. The final section explores various contemporary initiatives to align spatial planning and infrastructure development.

SPATIAL PLANNING, THE PRIVATIZATION OF INFRASTRUCTURE DEVELOPMENT AND MEGA-PROJECTS

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. There were, however, many deficiencies in these processes, and from the 1980s, new urban development and infrastructure provision became far less a matter of planning, and far more dominated by private sector interests. This process of ‘unbundling’ has in part underpinned the spatial trends discussed earlier in this report.

One of the core functions of traditional **master planning** was to provide the basis for the integrated provision of transport, energy, water and communication with urban development. Master plans provided projections and guidance for the location, extent and intensity of particular land uses in the city. While this kind of planning might have been effective in some developed countries, there were problems in many others. Under communism in Eastern Europe and Central and



Urban sprawl is a common outcome of modernist urban planning during the era of cheap fossil oil

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Eastern Asia, master plans were driven by economic targets developed at the national level, without consideration of local needs. In most colonial contexts, planning and infrastructure provided by the public sector was only for an elite, and projections anticipated a small population which was soon outstripped by growth in the post-colonial period. Nor did patterns of development necessarily follow those anticipated, particularly with the rapid growth of high-density informal settlements. The accuracy of the ‘predict and provide’ approach was called into question.

In several countries, spatial planning occupied a marginal institutional position in relation to far more powerful departments responsible for various kinds of infrastructure planning and development. Departments ‘working in silos’ developed their own plans, which did not necessarily link to one another or to the master plan. In these contexts, the provision of infrastructure has been far more powerful in shaping the spatial form of cities than planning.

From the late 1970s, the **‘unbundling’ of infrastructural development** through forms of corporatization or privatization of urban infrastructure development and provision, and developer-driven urban development, has tended to drive patterns of fragmentation and spatial inequality in many countries. In many countries (particularly transitional and developing countries), a local government fiscal crisis underpinned a shift towards the privatization of service provision.

‘Unbundling’ has taken various forms and has occurred in both the provision of infrastructure and services, and in urban development projects. It includes leases and concessions; public-private partnerships of various kinds, but

also in major urban development projects; involvement of the private sector in building, financing and managing infrastructure; as well as private concessions to build and run toll roads, amongst others. Small local entrepreneurs and systems of community management are also being used in solid waste collection, water, housing and sanitation in many developing countries. The ‘unbundling’ approach has sometimes led to a relatively *laissez faire* approach to development, where proposals by developers are accepted even when they are contrary to plans.

The period since the 1980s has also seen a major growth of urban **mega-projects** linked to an emphasis on urban competitiveness and urban entrepreneurialism. In many cases, particularly in Europe, mega-projects are linked to urban regeneration initiatives designed to reposition declining economies to capture new or growing economic niches. In several Asian cities, mega-projects are being developed *de novo*, not only as prestige projects, but also to lay the basis for new forms of economic development. Box 9 summarizes six common forms of mega-projects.

Projects of this type have varying relationships to the public sector. While some are completely privately driven and provided, in other cases, they are initiated and funded by the public sector in the hope of attracting private development. Private-public partnerships, or arrangements in which the public sector provides bulk infrastructure and connections while the private sector undertakes development within these parameters are also common.

Although there are some examples where such projects work with spatial planning processes and inclusive

Box 9 Common forms of mega-projects

- Developments linked to event tourism, such as conference centres, exhibition sites, sports stadia.
- Redevelopment of old industrial areas and ports towards a new service, leisure and tourist economy.
- Development of new areas linked to high-tech industries and economic activities.
- Major new satellite cities with international standard facilities.
- Major enclave developments taking the form of gated communities containing a variety of retail, school, entertainment and other facilities for the wealthy.
- Enterprise zones or special economic zones set up by national or local governments to attract new investment, sometimes linked to major airports and other developments.

visions of urban redevelopment, in many cases, mega-projects are in contradiction to spatial plans, and enable unequal development out of synchrony with the needs and aspirations of ordinary residents.

THE INFLUENCE OF INFRASTRUCTURE ON URBAN SPATIAL STRUCTURE AND ACCESS

Among the various forms of urban infrastructure, **transport networks and systems** are generally acknowledged to be the most powerful in shaping urban spatial structure. As recognized in classical urban economic models, the significance of access translates into higher land values around nodes and routes offering high access. Thus economic activities requiring high levels of accessibility cluster around rail stations and tram routes, along main roads or in nodes close to major intersections of highway systems. Residential developments similarly seek accessibility, thus the development of new routes and transport systems provide important ways of structuring cities over the long term. The accessibility-value relationship however means that high-income groups are more able to pay for access and thus to locate close to good transport routes that suit the transport mode that they use, although they may also choose more distant locations and longer travel times.

Much has been made of the role of highways in facilitating the suburban form of development, and in encouraging urban sprawl. Accommodating the motor car has been an important theme of 'modern' planning in many parts of the world. High levels of car-dependence and the low densities associated with car-dominated cities, however, make access difficult for those without this form of transport — the elderly, disabled, youth, women in families with single cars, and low-income workers in suburban office locations and homes, such as cleaners, domestic workers, and clerks. Further, the emphasis on planning for mobility in cities neglects the significance of pedestrian and other non-motorized forms of transport in cities in developing countries. Amsterdam provides an example of where sustainable accessibility has been created through a combination of appropriate land use and transport policies.

The structure of public transport systems can also shape the spatial organization of cities in important ways, and has been a crucial element of attempts to restructure cities spatially, for example in Curitiba, Brazil, and Portland, US.



Development of major highways facilitates urban sprawl

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Heavy rail systems in large dense cities (often taking the form of underground systems in central areas) are critical in supporting both good interconnections in central areas, as well as links between central and outlying areas. Commuter rail systems mainly link outer areas to the centre, while light rail and tram systems provide good connections within central areas, and between these and secondary nodes and suburban corridors. Rail and train stations provide potential points for more intensive developments, but potentials are contingent on the way these services are used, as well as how stations are regulated and developed.

Buses are more adaptive, and require lower densities to operate, but are also slower and less efficient, and are likely to have less impact on spatial organization. The use of dedicated busways, however, increases speed and capacity and thus usage, and does create more structured routes around which more intense development can occur.

Major infrastructural systems for **water, sewerage, electricity and telecommunications** have also structured cities spatially in important ways, although their direct impact is less obvious than is the case for transport systems. All of these systems involve the establishment of major bulk elements which require large fixed investments and thus provide capacity for growth in particular areas. Such bulk elements include dams and water treatment works, reservoirs, pump stations, sewerage treatment facilities, power sub-stations, mobile phone masts and fibre-optic cables.

The availability of trunk lines for water, sewerage and transmission lines for electricity in particular areas reduces development costs and thus influences patterns of growth. While bulk infrastructure does not usually feature high on

planners' agendas, it can be key in shaping patterns of spatial development. However, proximity to networks for water, energy and sewerage does not mean that households can afford access to them.

The spatial form of cities, their **liveability and inclusiveness**, is also shaped by access to a broader range of infrastructural facilities and amenities, such as schools; clinics; crèches; community halls; libraries and learning facilities; safe spaces for recreation; spaces for religious and cultural practices; fresh food and other local markets and retail outlets; and appropriate spaces for economic activity.

Ideally, local planning should create places that meet the everyday requirements of diverse groups of people: men and women; old and young; the disabled; different cultural groups, and so on. Understanding and responding to these diverse needs is an important part of planning. The tradition of gender analysis and gender mainstreaming within planning is increasingly providing useful methodological tools and frameworks for assessing needs and potential responses, as does the more recent emphasis on planning for diversity.

THE COMPACT CITY DEBATE: SUSTAINABILITY, EFFICIENCY AND INCLUSIVENESS

While there is a predominant spatial trend in most cities towards sprawl, many analysts argue for promoting more compact cities. Some countries such as South Africa, and cities such as Curitiba, Brazil, and those linked to the 'smart growth' movement in the US, have adopted these ideas as policy, although implementation often falls short of intentions.

Arguments in favour of compact cities revolve around claims that they are more efficient, inclusive and sustainable. The costs of providing infrastructure are lower, there is better access to services and facilities since thresholds are higher, the livelihoods of the urban poor are promoted and social segregation is reduced. The time and cost spent travelling is also lower. Compact cities are less reliant on cars and minimize distances travelled and hence fuel use, and have less impact on farmlands and environmental resources. As a consequence, they are theoretically more resilient in the context of climate change, and have, generally, fewer harmful impacts. Critics, however, question several of these claimed benefits, and argue that compaction is contrary to market forces towards sprawl, the decentralization of work, and residents' desires, and hence is not politically feasible — or even desirable. Higher density, they argue, is associated with



The Plaine Saint-Denis mega-project in Paris illustrates the way urban infrastructure has been developed in recent years

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congestion and pollution, higher crime rates, and puts greater pressure on natural resources. Containment policies push up land costs and also encourage development beyond restricted zones.

Much of the debate has focused on cities in developed countries, where high car ownership rates in an era of low fuel costs have propelled low-density sprawl. Nevertheless, higher densities only provide the conditions for public transport, they do not guarantee it. Nor do they prevent rising car ownership and use, even where public transport systems are relatively good, as, for example, in Japan.

Cities built on low density lines may, however, find adaptation or change towards greater compaction difficult to achieve. Cities are 'path dependent' in that their spatial structures are largely set in place and change slowly. Major changes require well-coordinated and consistent policy and implementation over a long period of time on infrastructure development, taxation and land-use regulation, and there are few cases where this has been possible — Curitiba, Brazil, being a notable exception. Research indicates that it is difficult to provide efficient public transport in cities with lower densities than 30 people per hectare, but the actual threshold varies by transport type as well as in terms of contextual factors such as spatial organization and topography.

Pre-existing conditions for compaction vary between contexts. On the whole, urban densities are much higher in developing than developed and transitional countries. Critics question whether the concept has relevance in the cities of developing countries, which already contain many elements of urban compaction: mixed use largely as a consequence of the lack of regulation, very high densities (at least at the

centre), and a reliance on public transport, largely as a consequence of low incomes. Furthermore, densification processes are often occurring in informal settlements through processes of autonomous consolidation. The role of public policy or planning in this context is thus questioned.

Yet, the benefits of urban densification, at least for the inner-city poor, are apparent: while housing costs are high and they have less space, they have greater livelihood opportunities (particularly in the informal sector) and access to employment. Transport costs are low and they are able to rely to a greater extent on non-motorized transport. In many respects, dense areas in cities of developing countries, including informal settlements, are living versions of compact city ideas — and they arguably have greater relevance in this context. Planning and public policy might most appropriately work with these processes of change to consolidate the position of the inner-city poor, and to support existing processes of informal upgrading, and improvement of infrastructure and services.

Do compaction ideas have value for development on the periphery of cities in developing countries, or for managing urban growth? The urban periphery has in some cases provided space for households willing to trade lower housing costs and more space for longer travel distances to economic activities. Where there are local economic opportunities or few commuters in a household, peripheral location is likely to be attractive. The opportunity to rent housing or to combine incomes from rural and urban economic activities are some of the livelihood opportunities for households located on the periphery in many developing countries, suggesting that the needs and livelihood strategies of poor households are diverse, and generally logical.

CONTEMPORARY APPROACHES TO LINKING SPATIAL PLANNING TO URBAN INFRASTRUCTURE

This chapter has shown that urban infrastructure developments have shaped the spatial form of cities, but in ways that intersect with social, economic, political and institutional dynamics. While the detailed and static land-use planning associated with traditional master planning has generally been discredited, strategic spatial planning that is able to give direction to major infrastructure development is an important part of the new approach to planning. Table 9 provides a simplified summary of contemporary initiatives to link spatial planning to urban infrastructure development, and



The Stade de France, built for the 1998 FIFA World Cup, is part of the Plaine Saint-Denis mega-project in Paris

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to use major elements of urban infrastructure, such as transport routes and systems, to influence spatial form.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

The ‘unbundling’ of urban development, and a weakened role for the public sector and for planning, has in part underpinned trends towards socio-spatial polarization and growing urban sprawl. Yet there is a growing recognition of the problems associated with these patterns, and a search for new approaches to spatial planning that link more closely with infrastructure development in this context.

Planning should seek to promote compaction in ways that are appropriate to the local context. Yet, most future development is likely to continue to involve further expansion on the periphery. If planning is to be effective, it must seek ways to direct, support and structure this growth, and to reinforce informal processes of upgrading and consolidation. Enabling the expansion of economic activity and of the livelihoods of the poor, and improving infrastructure, services and facilities on the periphery is also important.

Linking spatial planning to infrastructure development is critical in this context. The public sector should provide the main routes and infrastructure trunk lines in advance of development, allowing the private sector, NGOs, other agencies and communities to connect to these main lines as they are able.

Planning of this sort will require a good understanding of trends, development directions and market forces, but it will also need to be based on collaborative processes that draw together various public sector agencies and departments with a range of other stakeholders from civil society and business.

Broad approach	Important terms and approaches	Strengths	Weaknesses and contingencies
Smart growth and transit-oriented development	Smart growth Compact development Integrated development Mixed-use development Intensification Coordination Transit-oriented development	Encourages inter-sectoral and inter-agency links Encourages links between planning and implementation Improves sustainability Improves public transport Strong transport–land-use links Can slow urban sprawl	These good links are difficult to achieve Assumes significant capacity and organization Poor or narrow implementation undermines prospects Popular support difficult to achieve due to conflicting views and lifestyles Claimed benefits contested
Integrating land use and transport	Bus rapid transit (BRT) Corridors and axes Integrated rail redevelopment Linking economic activities to transport type New transport/land-use models	Improves public transport Improved usage of public transport Reduces energy and improves efficiency Better transport–land-use links New models enable better understanding of patterns	Heightened property prices on transport axes can marginalize the poor Required integration can be difficult to achieve Needs good understanding of social and economic dynamics and space – difficult to achieve Land use–transport links undermined by different logics, institutional divides New models still data hungry, aggregated, distant
Strategic spatial planning and infrastructure planning	Strategic plans Infrastructure plans Transport–land use links	Can give long-term direction to development Can avoid inequitable and unsustainable development Avoids fragmented development	Conditions required to work are demanding/difficult to achieve Credible analysis Inter-sectoral coordination Stakeholder involvement and buy-in Regular review Internal champions
Integrated urban development and management plans	Multi-sectoral investment plans (MSIPs) Physical and environmental development plans (PEDPs)	More flexible, less data demanding, and easier to prepare than master plans Participatory Helps to manage urban growth in context of scarce resources/capacity Can be used iteratively in decision-making process	Problematic if seen in static or narrow way Required inter-sectoral cooperation hard to achieve Can be countered by political decision-making
Strategic structure planning	Integrative framework Long-term vision	More flexible, less data demanding and easier to prepare than master plans Participatory Multifaceted approach Combines short-term actions with long-term planning	Required political and stakeholder buy-in may be difficult to achieve May still be relatively technocratic May not provide detail necessary for some decisions
Linking spatial planning to infrastructure planning	Integrated development plans Spatial frameworks plans	More flexible, less data demanding and easier to prepare than master plans Participatory Gives direction to infrastructure planning GIS-based models can be used as an input	Required consistency in policy and coordination between agencies difficult to achieve Can be too broad to be useful May be contradicted by the market
Linking mega-projects to infrastructure development	Urban regeneration Multifunctional	Powerful driver in urban form Evolving approaches allow linking to planning over the long term Building cooperation between various sectors and agencies	Mega-projects often politically driven and one-off: approach is hard to achieve Level of integration and cooperation difficult to achieve

Table 9

Approaches linking spatial planning to urban infrastructure

THE MONITORING AND EVALUATION OF URBAN PLANS

Urban planners and decision-makers need to know how best to use limited resources to address the complex urban challenges (and opportunities) that are presented. Urban planning seeks to be **efficient** (make optimal use of resources), **effective** (create desired and meaningful impacts and outcomes), and also seeks to enhance **equity** (of opportunity, rights and power, especially with regard to gender). To achieve this, decision-makers need a solid foundation of information and direction that can be provided by urban planning, specifically the monitoring and evaluation of urban plans.

Urban plan monitoring and evaluation generates many benefits. Continuous monitoring and evaluation of plan relevance, integrity, and coherence helps decision-makers to make informed decisions about resource allocations. Monitoring and evaluation can demonstrate whether urban planning has made a difference, whether it has improved (or undermined) the quality of life and wellbeing of the city's residents, enhanced sustainability, or achieved related goals and objectives.

This chapter provides a brief overview of various types of monitoring and evaluation. It also examines monitoring and evaluation in the context of recent and current urban planning practice.

TYPES OF MONITORING AND EVALUATION

Given the rapid pace and extent of change in local government decision-making environments, there is a need for constant assessment of trends, activities and performance. This has led to increased interest in programme monitoring and evaluation. Box 10 provides a brief overview of the key components of this process.

The monitoring and evaluation process has been described in many ways. It is, however, possible to identify several core and common stages in monitoring and evaluation design:

- Formulate goals and outcomes;
- Select outcome indicators to monitor;
- Gather baseline information on the current condition;
- Set specific targets to reach and dates;
- Regularly collect data to determine progress; and
- Analyze and report the results.

Organizational culture — the attitudes of staff, as well as demonstrable support from senior management and politicians — is a very important determinant of success or failure of monitoring and evaluation processes. Thus, the monitoring and evaluation approach must reflect organizational realities. Box 11 describes some of the challenges that can be encountered when designing and administering monitoring and evaluation in organizations.

Box 10 Defining 'monitoring', 'evaluation' and 'indicators' in urban planning

Monitoring refers to the ongoing collection and analysis of information about trends, activities and events that could affect the plan's performance. Monitoring can also address whether the plan has been efficiently managed through plan administration processes.

Evaluation tells decision-makers whether, and how effectively, the plan has achieved its intended goals and objectives. It is the measurement of plan performance in terms of the outcomes and impacts compared with intended goals and objectives, and the efficiency with which related resources are used and the programme has been administered. There are three main forms of evaluations of urban plans:

- **Ex ante evaluation** (undertaken during plan formulation, i.e. before implementation starts);
- **Formative evaluation** (undertaken as part of plan administration, i.e. during plan implementation); and
- **Summative (ex post) evaluation** (undertaken normally after completion of plans).

Indicators provide the quantitative data and/or qualitative information that demonstrate trends and patterns.

CURRENT PRACTICE IN URBAN PROGRAMME AND PLAN EVALUATION

Urban monitoring and evaluation has become part of practice in the more progressive planning departments of cities and regions in developed countries. In many cases, monitoring and evaluation of urban plans reflects an interest in evaluating progress made toward achieving urban sustainability or healthy community goals and objectives.

Interest in urban planning applications of plan evaluation emerged in the mid-1990s in developed countries, reflecting increasing concerns for efficiency, effectiveness and accessibility, as well as performance and productivity in

municipal government. However, the first phase of urban plan monitoring and evaluation occurred in the 1960s and early 1970s, coincident with the emergence and early rise of generic programme evaluation theory development. These early approaches — referred to as *ex ante* evaluation — advocated highly rational and technical analyses of urban planning goals and project proposals, including impact analysis, as the urban plan evolved. This application of *ex ante* tools distinguishes urban planning applications of monitoring and evaluation from generic programme or project evaluation, which takes an *ex post* or retrospective (summative) and in-process (formative) view of programme performance and impact.

Performance measurement in cities is of interest to agencies such as the World Bank, which recognizes the pivotal role that indicators serve in the effort to achieve economic development, sustainability and healthy communities. UN-Habitat's Urban Indicators Programme and Global Urban Observatory represent serious efforts to create and institutionalize indicators as a key contributor to enhanced decision-making.

In developing countries, the most extensive urban application of monitoring and evaluation has occurred with programmes that are funded by international agencies, managed by state organizations, and implemented by local authorities. Programmes cover a wide range of social, economic, environmental and institutional topics that include poverty eradication, infrastructure (including water and sanitation), slum upgrading, low-income housing, etc. Examples of monitoring and evaluation practice include the World Bank's Global Monitoring Report, World Development



Ex ante evaluation is an important first step for upgrading programmes

Box 11 Common monitoring and evaluation challenges

- Inadequate understanding of and attention to monitoring and evaluation in project design and subsequently inadequate resource allocation and hierarchical organization of decision-making and analysis.
- Lack of commitment to monitoring by project staff and implementing partners.
- Monitoring is seen as an obligation imposed from outside, with project staff mechanically filling in forms for managers and the project managers seeing monitoring only as a form of data collection in the process of writing reports for donors.
- Irrelevant and poor quality information produced through monitoring that focuses on physical and financial aspects and ignores project outreach, effect and impact.
- Almost no attention to the monitoring and evaluation needs and potentials of other stakeholders such as beneficiaries and community-based and other local cooperating institutions.
- Very few internal project reviews or ongoing evaluations, with adjustments triggered mainly by external evaluations or supervisions.
- Widespread lack of integration and cooperation between project monitoring and evaluation and project management with no clear, mutually agreed-upon guidelines.
- Monitoring and evaluation documentation that does not address or resolve identified problems.
- Over-ambitious monitoring systems.
- Poor use of participatory and qualitative monitoring and evaluation methods.
- Monitoring and evaluation staff with insufficient relevant skills and experiences.
- Differentiation of monitoring from evaluation activities, with evaluation being contracted out.

Source: IFAD, 2002

Indicators, and Development Impact Evaluation (DIME) initiatives. UN-Habitat's Global Urban Observatory supports city-based monitoring and evaluation capacity-building through its country and city projects on local and national urban observatories.

In developed countries, there is considerable experience with monitoring and summative evaluation of urban-related programmes, especially in interventions related to transportation, regional economic development, and the environment. National governments and the more progressive sub-national state or provincial governments have typically required evaluation of programme performance. The intent is to ensure that plans are relevant, strategic, and action-oriented. There is also an expectation that regular evaluations will lead to outcomes and impacts that reflect good planning, and ensure compliance with relevant rules and policies. These evaluation processes are supported by an active monitoring process in which key indicators are tracked and information is assessed.

There is less evidence of community/official plan-level monitoring and evaluation in developing countries. There are few resources for planning generally, and especially for plan enforcement or monitoring. In countries with reasonable planning capacity, the emphasis is typically on the production of comprehensive land-use plans, master plans, and urban

design plans. The emphasis is on problem solving and implementation to meet short-term needs for housing, potable water, waste management, economic development, and infrastructure. Urban planning in this context is often adversely affected by governance problems caused by political instability, and a sheer lack of social and fiscal capital, technical capacity, and institutional instability.

There is, however, considerable evidence indicating the usefulness of participatory monitoring and evaluation approaches. As discussed in Chapter 5, community participation has proved to be an important element in all parts of the urban planning process, including monitoring and evaluation. Participatory urban appraisal and participatory budgeting in particular have proved very useful to achieve the '3Es' of good planning practice — **efficiency**, **effectiveness**, and **equity**. Increased transparency, increased sense of ownership of the development process itself, and increased flexibility to adapt by learning from experiences during plan implementation, are among the main positive outcomes of participatory monitoring and evaluation. The experience with the use of citizen report cards in Bangalore, India (see Box 12), shows the effectiveness of involving the users themselves directly in monitoring and evaluation.

Although there has been very little progress in embracing monitoring and evaluation as integral parts of the

Box 12 Using citizen report cards as a strategic tool to improve service delivery, Bangalore, India

Bangalore is India's third largest city and is located in the southern part of the country. The city's municipal government was aware of the need to provide and deliver urban services in a more efficient and effective manner. Accordingly, in 1994, a civil society organization prepared 'citizen report cards' which were used to communicate the citizens' perspectives on what they considered dreadful levels of service delivery (e.g. water supply, transport, power, health care and transportation).

The report cards were based on random sample surveys, using structured questionnaires, reflecting actual experiences of people with a wide range of public services. Agencies were rated and compared in terms of public satisfaction, corruption and responsiveness. The results of the survey were striking. Almost all public service providers received poor ratings. The 'report cards' were sent to the appropriate government agency for action, and the media were alerted.

The public discussion that followed brought the issue of public services out in the open. Civil society organizations demanded action, and as a result many public service providers took steps to improve their services. The release of new 'citizen report cards' in 1999 and in 2003, revealed that remarkable improvements had been achieved in the city's public services. Intense public scrutiny had in fact been translated into improved levels of service and less corruption.

The Bangalore experience is considered an excellent example of civil society engagement with government authorities. This model has since been used with considerable success elsewhere in India and in other developing countries.

Source: www.capacity.org/en/journal/tools_and_methods/citizen_report_cards_score_in_india

urban planning process in the formerly communist countries of Central and Eastern Europe, there are some indications that this may change in the future. The participation of such transitional countries and city governments in internationally funded programmes and projects has made public institutions in participating countries aware of the need to enforce transparency and accountability in all their actions related to the use of public resources.

There is no single, unitary set of indicators for urban plan monitoring and evaluation. Common planning-related measures could include economic, social, environmental, sustainability, and, most recently, urban creativity indicators.



Summative evaluations of urban plans are important, though rare in many countries

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In most cases, numerous potential indicators can be identified for each key issue. As a considerable effort (and cost) may be involved in the collection and maintenance of data for indicators, it is essential to be highly strategic in the choice of a limited number of indicators that specifically support urban plan monitoring and evaluation efforts.

In many developed countries more gendered statistics are being produced at the level of central government. However, such statistics tend to be based on existing data sources which historically may not have taken full account of specific gender issues. Gender statistics need to relate to policy goals and indicators of success. Gendered indicators are important in that they can help drive and focus implementation. Unfortunately, gender is often not considered relevant to high-level indicators. The result is that there are no criteria to assess whether policies and projects promote gender equality.

Performance measurement in urban service delivery is a key policy issue for international development agencies, and for progressive developing countries. Users of public services can tell governments a lot about the quality and value of the public services provided. The city of Bangalore, India, uses the 'report card system' to demonstrate whether and to what extent its services have been delivered (see Box 12).

Box 13 Monitoring and evaluation in China's urban planning system

China is undergoing rapid urbanization, which has increased demands for urban plans to guide city development. Evaluation in urban planning practice, especially in plan implementation, is normally of secondary consideration.

Most planning evaluations in China are formative or *ex ante* in nature. The focus is on evaluation of alternative plans, and there have been few attempts to use summative evaluation. However, with the social, economic, and public reforms and the improvement of information systems, increasing attention has been paid to evaluation and monitoring in planning policy making, in academic research, and in practice during the last ten years.

A system of individual 'monitors' now helps to enforce planning monitoring. This programme was first introduced by the Ministry of Housing and Urban-Rural Development in 2006, when 27 planning monitors were sent to 18 cities for a one-year programme. Monitors are usually experienced retired planners or planning officials. They are familiar with planning regulations, standards, and management processes and are good at communicating with different departments. Hence, they can identify most problems in plan implementation and provide measures to solve these in a timely manner. This monitor system is an innovation used to reinforce the current monitoring system. Its implementation has had remarkable effects: planning departments have improved their performance, and many illegal construction sites have been found at an early stage.

Source: Chen, 2008

CAVEATS AND CONSIDERATIONS IN THE MONITORING AND EVALUATION OF URBAN PLANS

It is important to note that most urban plan-based monitoring and evaluation has occurred in the cities of developed countries. These are places that have a reasonable base of finances and technical planning expertise, political stability, sophisticated governance structures, and comparatively manageable rates of urbanization. The scale and type of challenges is significantly different from their counterparts in developing countries.

Furthermore, there has been little critical analysis of these urban plan monitoring and evaluation experiences. This means that there is not yet a good sense of the range of experiences, positive and negative, with urban plan monitoring and evaluation. However, it is possible to learn from the existing body of knowledge and limited experience to identify some key, common lessons for practice.

A key challenge, and a common argument against introducing plan monitoring and evaluation, is the lack of adequate resources – money, technical services, and trained professional staff. This is a real issue in most developing countries, and in some developed countries as well. Many local governments struggle to deliver basic services. In that context, a comprehensive urban planning function is not possible, let alone a sophisticated system of plan monitoring, evaluation and indicators.



Successful implementation of mega-projects requires monitoring and evaluation before, during and after implementation

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The concept of monitoring and evaluation can be difficult to appreciate in local governments that face complex, energy-sapping urban challenges. There may be no time (or will) to learn about and embrace monitoring and evaluation. Monitoring and evaluation could be regarded (and resented) as an obligation imposed by external sources (for example funding agencies, or national government) without consideration for local capacity to design and deliver these systems.

Monitoring and evaluation can produce negative as well as positive results. The latter situation is often embraced by local decision-makers, while the former may be ignored, downplayed or even rejected. Thus, monitoring and evaluation are often looked upon less favourably. Indeed, lack of political will and bureaucratic inertia explains the slow take-up and application of monitoring and evaluation in many countries (as illustrated in Box 13).

It is important to ensure that monitoring and



Monitoring and evaluation of urban regeneration projects is essential for enhancing social equity

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evaluation is integrated with other local government corporate planning and decision-making processes and reporting systems. Monitoring and evaluation should operate in conjunction with well-established local government processes, thereby providing the opportunity to inform decision-making in a comprehensive, integrated and meaningful manner.

It is essential that decision-makers have a very clear understanding of what they need to know to make sound, evidence-based decisions. This requires a solid rationale for introducing and maintaining a monitoring and evaluation model, clarity about the required information, how the information should be collected and by whom, and the uses of the products of monitoring and evaluation. Box 14 provides guidelines to consider when designing an urban plan monitoring and evaluation model.

If poorly designed, urban planning evaluation can become an administrative burden. Planners and planning departments are usually too busy with conducting applied research, managing stakeholder consultation programmes, and crafting and implementing plans; they often simply do not have the time, energy, training, administrative or political support to monitor and evaluate plan implementation in a regular, consistent manner.

In cities that are contemplating the introduction of an urban plan monitoring and evaluation system, it makes sense to select a small, manageable set of urban planning-oriented indicators. Ideally, it would be wise to start with indicators that relate to high-profile and well-established urban planning issues in the community. It is essential to note that the quality and meaning of indicators matters more than the number of indicators.

Box 14 Monitoring and evaluation design strategy

- Think about evaluation from an early stage. Evaluation requires a clear picture of the starting point (the baseline) and of what you are trying to do.
- Build a 'culture' of evaluation — get the commitment of everyone involved — to gathering information and using it.
- Decide what local work is needed to manage a scheme effectively and understand its impact.
- Ensure that evaluation covers the key themes a scheme or project is targeting.
- Make links between monitoring and evaluation.
- Involve the local community.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

Monitoring and evaluation of urban plans has the potential to improve decision-making capacity, inform planning practice, and educate community residents. The body of knowledge on monitoring and evaluation practice in urban planning in both developed, transition and developing countries is limited. This calls for primary research that investigates the nature of urban planning practice generally, and the role of monitoring and evaluation in that context; assesses the extent to which monitoring and evaluation of urban plans takes place; and evaluates the models and processes that are used in practice. The results of such research would provide the information needed to support interventions by national governments, funding agencies, local governments and urban planners. A number of strategies can be identified as decision-makers move to implement urban plan monitoring and evaluation:

- Ensure that monitoring and evaluation of urban plans is mandated under national and/or state planning legislation.
- Support local government urban plan monitoring and evaluation.
- Design urban plans that integrate monitoring, evaluation and indicators with goals, objectives and policies.
- The monitoring and evaluation process must be reasonably straightforward.
- Allocate resources to policy planning and research functions.
- Indicators and the monitoring and evaluation system must be simple, easy to understand, and workable within existing resource limits.
- Monitoring and evaluation exercises should involve extensive consultation with, and meaningful participation by, plan stakeholders.
- Continue to evaluate proposed policies, programmes and plans.
- Integrate monitoring and evaluation of plan impacts and outcomes in local government urban planning processes.

PLANNING EDUCATION

As noted in previous chapters, urban planning is essential to crafting solutions to the pressing urban problems of the 21st century, yet professional planning practices have not always been able to keep pace with the challenges faced by urban areas. This is particularly the case in developing countries. Rapid urbanization in most developing countries has forced planners to respond to escalating demand for housing, infrastructure and services – from both formal and informal sectors.

The increasingly multicultural nature of many cities requires multicultural planning skills. So, together with changes in technical knowledge essential to successful urban planning, there have been changes in the softer ‘people’ skills needed to manage the processes of change.

This chapter summarizes the historical development of urban planning education at the university level, and identifies the key philosophical and practical debates that framed planning education during the 20th century. It also presents an initial global inventory of university-level urban planning programmes and assesses the capacities of planning schools to address the challenges of the 21st century.

HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF PLANNING EDUCATION

This section summarizes the key debates that have framed the development of planning education during the 20th century, namely: design versus policy, rationality versus deliberation, master planning versus development management, and ‘one world’ versus context-specific planning education.

Design versus policy

The first university level urban planning course is widely cited to be the ‘civic design’ programme at the University of Liverpool (1907). As the name suggests, these early years of planning education were firmly set in the design profession tradition, while drawing on the growing sentiment for scientific applications in government and industry. By the end of the 1940s, however, design was no longer the sole orientation of planning schools, with new schools formed in social science settings, and other schools in design college settings admitting students whose prior work had been other than in a design profession. The UK was quick to join the adoption of a social science orientation. While some European countries clung to the design paradigm, economic planning flourished as a distinct enterprise in the Soviet Union and Eastern European universities throughout the communist era.

The numbers of schools and numbers of students skyrocketed during the 1960s and early 1970s, coinciding with the broadening of scope. This may have been a function of the lower cost models in social science colleges compared with design colleges, and it may have been driven by workplace demands tied to government planning initiatives in the US, UK, and other European countries.

The spread of planning education to developing countries date from the late 1950s, with the establishment of planning schools in India (1955) and Ghana (1958). Initial growth was slow, however, and few developing countries had planning programmes until the 1970s.

Rationality versus deliberation

The policy analytic framework for planning is probably best understood under the terms of the 'rational planning model', which gained widespread use in the mid-1950s (see Box 15). The five-step model is both self-evident, due to its simplicity, and unachievable, due to its demands on resources and expertise. For about 20 years, this model remained the most widely subscribed planning theory. To this day, its logic can be found in the justifications and methodological outlines given in the introductions to most plans. It remains a major underpinning of planning school curricula.

The social unrest of the 1960s in many countries subjected the 'rational planning model' to intense criticism. Radical planners saw the model as a tool used by elites to disenfranchise poor, inner-city residents who often lacked education and access to professional consultants and couldn't effectively argue with the scientific analyses presented as objective by city planning staff, but seen as highly subjective by the residents. As shown in Chapters 3 and 5, the legacy of this criticism and the planning profession's responses have been a series of models for greater deliberation in planning, including greater involvement of community residents and other stakeholders in planning processes. This 'communicative turn' in planning research and practice remains a major force today. Yet, at the same time, distrust of indigenous knowledge and fear of decentralized power remains a concern in many countries.

Master planning versus development management

As outlined in Chapter 3, the planning profession's origins were, of course, steeped in the preparation of plans. In the earliest days, these tended to be land-use plans, but by the 1950s the scope had broadened to include related issues, and the practice was often labelled comprehensive, general, or master planning. Plan implementation through zoning and other means was important, but usually seen professionally as subsidiary to production of the plan itself. At the same time, implementation often failed, and so could not be taken for granted.

Planning scholars debated the relative merits of long-range plan making and immediate-range permit review in the 1950s and 1960s. By the 1980s, much government planning legislation in developed countries contained detailed provisions for the management of development, and growth management and development control were mainstream parts of planning school curricula, including course work in zoning

Box 15 The five steps of the 'rational planning model'

- 1 Ends reduction and elaboration ('Desires');
- 2 Design of courses of action ('Design');
- 3 Comparative evaluation of consequences ('Deduction');
- 4 Choice among alternatives ('Decision');
- 5 Implementation of the chosen alternative ('Deeds').

Source: Stiftel, 2000, pp5–6; citing Banfield, 1955; and Harris, 1967

and subdivision regulation, impact assessment, site plan review, and later, negotiation.

Today, master planning remains problematic in developing countries as a result of high rates of population growth, coupled with limited regulatory/implementation capacity in local governments. Various practice programmes are intended to move planning in developing countries toward greater attentiveness to implementation, including strategic spatial planning, 'new' master plans and integrated development planning. Key elements of various United Nations



The University of Liverpool introduced the first urban planning course in 1907

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Participatory and collaborative skills are an important part of successful plan implementation

© Jim Havey / Alamy

supported programmes have also embraced a more focused vision of good planning, often referred to as strategic planning.

‘One world’ versus context-specific planning education

Planning schools traditionally focused on local scale issues, broadening to metropolitan regional issues in the mid-20th century. The result is that planning education has been tied to the institutional, legal and cultural context of specific countries. When planning schools in many developed countries found they were enrolling students from developing countries in significant numbers, they initiated specializations oriented toward practice in the developing country setting.

The ‘one-world’ approach to planning education seeks to provide internationally relevant training regardless of the anticipated future location of the student’s practice. The European Union has advanced a multi-national orientation in professional education, most recently through the Bologna agreement, which aims to facilitate cross-border movement of professionals regardless of the country of education.

However, ‘one-world’ planning education faces its own challenges. For example, as planning practice has increasingly emphasized the importance of place and identity, singular models are less convincing. There is also concern that ‘one-world’ approaches may over-emphasize ideas from developed, particularly Anglo-American countries.

The tensions between context-specific and ‘one-world’ planning education approaches may not be as significant as some believe, in that planning education is, in fact, generalizable across many national contexts. In particular, the

cross-national challenge may not be as powerful as the more basic problem of including real-world practical experiences in planning education.

PLANNING SCHOOLS WORLDWIDE

A core of university programmes teach urban and regional planning under the sanction of national or international accreditation agencies. This group, however, is only the tip of an iceberg of planning education, which includes urban and regional planning degree programmes in countries where there is no accreditation system, as well as modules of study focused on planning that are delivered within degree programmes in architecture, economics, engineering, geography, landscape architecture, law, urban studies and other fields. Finally, there are non-degree granting units within universities and elsewhere that teach urban and regional planning skills to working professionals and others. This section attempts to provide an overview of formal urban planning education at the university level worldwide. Thus, it does not present a complete picture of urban planning schools worldwide. (It is based on a survey undertaken for this report by the Global Planning Education Association Network (GPEAN), an affiliation of nine planning school associations worldwide. The objective was to develop an inventory of university-based programmes that have the word ‘planning’, or its equivalent, in the title.)

The inventory produced for this report indicates that there are 553 universities worldwide that offer urban planning degrees. As can be seen from Table 10, more than half of these are located in 10 countries, all of which have more than 15 planning schools each. More than half of the world’s countries have no planning schools at all. The survey also reveals that nearly one half of the world’s planning schools are located in developing countries.

About two thirds of the schools award undergraduate degrees in planning; three quarters award post-graduate professional degrees; and one third award doctoral degrees. The patterns vary considerably by region: while undergraduate degree offerings far outpace post-graduate degrees in Asia, post-graduate degrees are offered by substantially more institutions than undergraduate degrees in the Americas.

In terms of the academic credentials of staff, there are also major regional differences. Planning schools in developed countries generally require a doctoral degree of all full-time academic staff members. In contrast, most planning schools in developing countries require a Master’s degree only, and

Region/country	Number of schools	Region/country	Number of schools	Region/country	Number of schools
Developed and transitional countries	293	Serbia*	2	<i>Asia and the Pacific</i>	<i>164</i>
Albania	2	Slovakia	1	Bangladesh	1
Australia	19	Slovenia	1	China	97
Austria	3	Spain	3	China, Hong Kong	1
Belgium	3	Sweden	6	China, Taiwan	3
Bulgaria	1	Switzerland	2	India	15
Canada	21	TFYR Macedonia	1	Indonesia	16
Czech Republic	3	United Kingdom	25	Iran	1
Denmark	2	United States of America	88	Israel	1
Estonia	1	Developing countries	260	Lebanon	1
Finland	3	<i>Africa</i>	<i>69</i>	Malaysia	4
France	17	Algeria	1	Pakistan	1
Germany	8	Botswana	1	Philippines	1
Greece	6	Egypt	3	Republic of Korea	7
Hungary	1	Ghana	1	Saudi Arabia	1
Ireland	3	Kenya	3	Sri Lanka	1
Italy	13	Lesotho	1	Thailand	6
Japan	2	Morocco	1	Turkey	5
Latvia	1	Mozambique	1	United Arab Emirates	1
Lithuania	1	Nigeria	39	Viet Nam	1
Malta	1	Rwanda	1	<i>Latin America and the Caribbean</i>	<i>27</i>
Netherlands	12	South Africa	11	Argentina	3
New Zealand	5	Tanzania	1	Brazil	6
Norway	7	Togo	1	Chile	2
Poland	12	Tunisia	1	Colombia	2
Portugal	7	Uganda	1	Guatemala	1
Romania	2	Zambia	1	Jamaica	1
Russian Federation	8	Zimbabwe	1	Mexico	9
				Peru	1
				Venezuela	2

Table 10

Urban planning schools inventory (university level), by country

Note:* Includes one planning school in Kosovo.

Source: unpublished Global Planning Education Association Network (GPEAN) survey

some of these schools require only an undergraduate degree for their full-time academic staff. Obviously, this has impacts on the quality of the education provided.

As noted above, urban planning education has moved from a focus on physical design towards an increased focus on policy and social science research. During the last decade, however, there has been a resurgence of design in some schools. While the curricula of a majority of planning schools worldwide combine design and policy approaches to planning. Planning schools in China and Mediterranean countries tend to focus on physical design, while those in the UK and US tend to emphasize policy/social science approaches.

Curriculum content in the areas of sustainable development, social equity, participatory and deliberative planning and climate change is quite prevalent among planning schools. This is tied to the prevalence of policy/social science approaches. In the transitional countries of Eastern Europe, however, the lack of integration of design and social science in planning curricula is an impediment to effectively incorporating sustainability issues. In contrast, in many schools in North America, sustainability is a unifying theme to the curriculum. On a global level, three quarters of planning schools teach sustainable development, more than half teach participatory and deliberative planning, a similar

number teach social equity, while a third of planning schools teach climate change.

Despite awareness of the importance of gender in planning practice, gender is not a core part of the syllabus in many urban planning schools. While about half of the planning schools teach social equity issues, only a minority of these specifically teach gender-related issues. A survey undertaken for this report indicates that only four programmes worldwide currently address gender and urban planning specifically. The absence of gender specific modules has impacts on how gender and diversity is discussed in the wider framework of urban planning education.

There are also significant regional variations in terms of the relative importance given to technical skills, communicative skills and analytic skills in planning curricula. Again the variations are linked to the prevalence of policy/social science approaches, as opposed to design. While planning schools in Asia rate analytical skills as most important, followed by technical skills, and communication skills, the focus varies substantially in Latin America. Overall in Latin America, technical, rationalist perspectives are the norm, with skills such as master planning, urban design and econometric modelling more common than those of participation or negotiation.

CAPACITY FOR EDUCATIONAL SUPPORT OF PLANNING PRACTICE

Average staff sizes at the 553 planning schools surveyed for this report are considerable, with every continent having

average staff numbers of eight or higher and most continents enjoying average staff sizes in excess of 20. This substantial system of planning education reflects a total academic staff of more than 13,000. The magnitude of the planning educational system is a recent phenomenon: only forty years ago the size of the system was a small fraction of what it is today.

A planning education system of this size should be capable of meeting the demand for professional planners. Yet, the system is not evenly distributed, curriculum emphases often fall short of the real demands of planning practice, and resources are frequently inadequate. Box 16 sets out some of the challenges facing planning education in Latin America and the Caribbean. Most, if not all, the challenges identified apply to other developing countries, and to many developed and transitional countries as well.

Some countries, primarily developed countries, are increasingly treating higher education as a source of foreign exchange, and universities are setting up offshore operations. Liverpool University's civic design program in China and Carnegie Mellon University's business and computer science programs in Qatar are two examples of this trend. This trend can be beneficial to countries lacking strong university resources. But, it can also be damaging, as when individuals in whom a country has invested extensively, choose to not return to their home countries.

Leading planning schools view planning as an integrated practice that requires technical, analytic and communicative skills, including participation and conflict resolution in a multi-cultural context. Unfortunately not all schools approach these needed perspectives. Many schools treat planning as either a design or a policy practice, rather

Box 16 Challenges for planning education in Latin America and the Caribbean

- Keeping pace with the development of new technical expertise and with the equipments required to perform relevant planning analyses;
- Expanding negotiation, mediation, conflict resolution, and consensus building skills;
- Complementing the rational planning model with participatory, advocate, democratic, and collaborative planning models;
- Effectively coordinating multidisciplinary teams with various forms of knowledge and knowledge production;
- Addressing metropolitan and regional planning and governance;
- More effectively responding to the growing environmental challenges in the region and the world;
- More effectively responding to the growing socio-spatial justice challenges in the region;
- Forging more collaborative relations with community and governmental organizations involved in planning; and
- Placing greater emphasis on ethics education so that planning professionals can become more effective agents in combating corruption and other professional and governmental vices.

Source: Irazábal, 2008



Effective education is essential for development of urban plans of the future

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Appropriate educational facilities are essential for successful planning education

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than both. Many are focused on a narrow range of issues tied to legislative planning mandates and forgo consideration of key specializations. Many give short coverage to participation with the full range of stakeholders, but also to understanding and communication with professionals in other fields.

Furthermore, all too often planning schools lack the academic staff, computers, library materials, and studio space to carry out their work effectively. In some developing countries, it is not uncommon for academic staff to be expected to hold second jobs in order to survive on the salaries paid. In some countries, the most basic library materials are unavailable and staff resort to reading aloud from key sources so that students may learn from them.

Many schools are not effectively networked into the broader discipline as they are not members of an international planning school association and/or they do not benefit from a specialized accreditation system. Conferences and the debates which take place in the publication process are vital to testing the correctness of ideas. In the absence of networks and other forms of peer review, it is difficult to build quality. The case for international accreditation of urban planners should thus be further investigated.

Perhaps the greater educational challenge facing planning is the need for planning objectives and tools to be understood by architects, engineers, lawyers, administrators and the myriad of citizens and elected officials who must endorse planning interventions and support plans if they are to be adopted and implemented. University incentives in many countries do not support education of non-degree seeking students, with the result that planning schools are

seldom major contributors to the planning education of allied professionals and others.

As noted above, there is a glaring absence of gender-related subject in the urban planning courses taught world-wide. It has been noted that planners who have graduated from a planning course where gender was not in the syllabus, regardless of their gender, often fail to consider gender in planning. The Royal Town Planning Institute, UK, has worked to advanced gender awareness in planning practice in recent years, and has produced tools intended to help planners address gender-related issues in a practical manner.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

There is considerable need to increase the capacity of planning education in developing and transitional economies. Beyond this, leading universities outside developing countries must increase their capacity to examine and educate for those countries. The 'one-world' approach to planning education holds some promise in helping them to do so. The latter is particularly the case with respect to the world-wide inclusion of gender-related issues into urban planning curricula.

Schools which still treat planning only as a design exercise or only as a policy practice need to broaden their approaches. Schools which teach planning as technical and analytic without incorporating the political and participatory facets of the profession must expand their curricula. Schools which do not yet effectively discuss questions of sustainability, social equity, or climate change must do so.

Creativity will also be needed to find additional sources of revenue that can help resource-starved institutions in developing countries. Partnerships between universities and planning practice organizations may advance the goals of both, allowing universities to perform useful planning studies for which the practice community may not have capability, while funding students or permitting the purchase of needed equipment. Exchange programmes may be used to give students in one country access to resources not available in their home country.

Planning schools need to interact with professional and scholarly networks. Planning school associations in developing countries do not effectively sustain communication and growth among their members because school staff can not travel in sufficient numbers, and because schools cannot afford association membership fees. International development agencies would do well to consider the need for adequate communication among university urban planning schools.

TOWARDS A NEW ROLE FOR URBAN PLANNING

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 firstly identifies the main urban issues in various parts of the world to which planning will have to respond. The third section following from the second section draws out the main elements of more positive urban planning. What is identified here are the main principles of innovative planning, although the actual form they would take will be influenced by context. The fourth 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 the conclusion.

MAIN ISSUES FOR URBAN PLANNING IN DIFFERENT PARTS OF THE WORLD

There are certain urban issues which are common to all parts of the world, while others are specific to developed, developing or transitional countries.

Global urban planning issues

The various regions of the world are now highly interlinked, giving rise to a common set of urban issues.

- *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 designed to reduce the emission of greenhouse gases. Adaptation pertains to activities aimed at reducing the vulnerability of cities to the effects of climate change. Both kinds of action require urban planning.
- *Global economic crisis:* The current global recession has implications for urban areas across the world. It will adversely affect economic growth, employment, and development programmes. Less funding will be available for state-initiated urban and infrastructural projects. This in turn reinforces the need for governments to act



The current global recession has implications for urban areas across the world

in partnership with civil society and private sector actors on urban development.

- *Energy supply and impacts:* 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 CO₂ emissions from petroleum on climate change is becoming better understood and this will also encourage a switch away from oil-dependent cities. Cities across the world which were planned on the assumption of high levels of individual car-ownership will, at some stage, require retrofitting. Such settlements will have to introduce forms of public transport and plan bicycle and pedestrian movement networks.
- *Food security:* The cost of food is rising in all parts of the world. This has several implications, with the poor being most affected. Urban environments need to be planned so that they allow for urban agriculture (both crops and fruit trees) to become an accepted element of urban open space, including vacant land awaiting development.
- *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, growth is the dominant pattern. Cities that are able to plan for urban growth will be better placed in decades to come. Properly managed decline can open up important opportunities such as releasing land for urban agriculture.
- *Income inequality:* Income inequality has increased in all regions of the world. This in turn has given rise to urban areas with stark contrasts between wealth and poverty. The challenge for planning in addressing this issue is to seek ways to promote redistributive policies, social integration and cohesion.
- *Cultural diversity:* Growing volumes of global migration has meant that cities in all parts of the world have become much more multicultural. This has implications for how built environments are managed. Cultural diversity also raises new demands on planners to mediate between conflicting life-styles and expressions of culture.

Urban planning issues in developing countries

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

- *Urban informality:* Much of the new settlement and new job creation in developing regions is informal.
- *Urban growth:* Urban growth is opening up challenges as well as opportunities in the developing world, particularly in Africa and Asia, and planning needs to be able to respond to these. The need to deliver urban land at scale, linked to networks of public infrastructure is probably the biggest issue which planning is facing in these parts of the world.
- *Inequality and poverty:* This is particularly important for urban planning in developing countries, given widespread observations that the planning systems there often neglect the poor. Inequality is high in Latin America and Africa, while the latter, in addition, experiences high levels of poverty and slums.
- *The youth bulge:* Planning for a youthful population in developing countries is imperative, and places particular demands on urban development in terms of the need for education and training facilities.
- *Peri-urban development:* This form of growth presents a host of new planning issues, and is extremely difficult and expensive to service in the conventional way. New approaches to service and infrastructure delivery, in partnership with local communities, will have to be found.
- *Linking the green and brown agendas:* In developing countries, the development imperative is often seen as more important than achieving environmental sustainability. An important role for planning in these contexts is to mediate the conflicts between these different agendas.
- *Institutional and professional capacity:* In a context of rapid urban growth, the issue of professional capacity in urban planning is of paramount importance.

Urban planning issues in transitional countries

Planning issues in transitional countries tend to be a combination of those found in developed and developing regions.

- *Slow population growth and declining cities:* Declining growth and ageing are currently presenting problems of dealing with deteriorating buildings and infrastructure in a context where the local tax base is severely constrained.
- *Urban sprawl, fragmentation and inequality:* Urban development in many transitional countries is now driven by foreign investment, which has fuelled suburban development and up-market inner city property development. This raises issues of sprawl containment, preservation of heritage buildings, and dealing with rapidly increasing car-ownership.
- *Environmental issues:* Communist-era industries were some of the worst polluters in the world. Although some of these have been shut down, many still remain and pose serious environmental problems. The rapid growth of car-ownership has worsened air quality as well as uncontrolled development, particularly in the form of sprawl.
- *The changing legislative framework for planning:* Several countries have adopted strategic planning in addition to master plans. Strategic planning has introduced issues of city competitiveness, economic growth, municipal financial reform, improved quality of life and citizen participation. Given that strategic plans are not legally



The rapid growth of car ownership has worsened air quality as well as uncontrolled development

recognized, their co-existence with master plans greatly complicates the legislative environment for planning.

Urban planning issues in developed countries

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

- *Socio-spatial inequalities and urban fragmentation:* Urban development, fuelled by a booming property market (until recently) have segregated many cities 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 co-exist with new mega-projects. Achieving integrated and equitable urban environments is a major challenge for planners.
- *Environmental issues:* 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 in developed countries.
- *Population decline and shrinking cities:* Migration from poorer regions means that the challenges of slow population growth, ageing, and shrinking cities are less extreme than transitional regions. Nonetheless, industrial restructuring and off-shore 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 areas, and a declining support base.
- *Integrating sectoral policy in governments:* As city governments have become increasingly complex entities in charge of managing large resource flows and budgets, so has the problem of achieving integration between various departments, and between different levels of government. This is an important issue for planning.

MAIN ELEMENTS OF A REVISED ROLE FOR URBAN PLANNING

The first part of this section offers some overarching elements of a revised role for urban planning, while the second part focuses on some more specific aspects.

Overarching aspects of a new role for urban planning

There are a number of overarching 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 are identified below.

■ The need to revisit urban planning and strengthen the role of governments

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. While planning in some parts of the world has been less effective, it nonetheless remains the central tool available to governments, and society as a whole, 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

There is no one model of urban planning that can be applied in all parts of the world. One important reason underlying the failure of urban planning in developing countries is in part, the importation of foreign models. Usually, these models are based on assumptions regarding the institutional context of planning, 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 planning. While it is certainly possible to generalize about urban planning ideas and concepts, the way in which these might be used will be dependent on contextual factors.

■ Embedding innovative ideas

New approaches are very often simply 'bolted on' as an additional and parallel process to conventional practices and

regulations, leaving the underlying system to continue as usual. 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. Innovative planning ideas will only have an effect if they articulate closely with the institutional arrangements of the context in which this is taking place.

■ Urbanization as a positive phenomenon

Urbanization should be seen as a positive phenomenon and a pre-condition for improving access to services, economic and social opportunities. In most countries, cities generate the bulk of GDP and are 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.

■ The environmental challenge

Cities in all parts of the world will have to make adjustments in response to climate change and resource depletion. Coastal settlements will face the challenge of responding to different coastlines and sea-levels, some settlements will face water shortages, while others will need to find ways to deal with the effects of flooding. 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.



Cities in all parts of the world will have to make adjustments in response to climate change

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■ 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 market. One important implication of rapid urbanization and city growth is the escalation in urban land prices 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.

Specific aspects of a new role for urban planning

There are quite a number of more specific aspects of a new role for urban planning, relating to both the planning process (procedural) and content of plans (substantive), as well as to the fundamental objectives and values of planning.

■ The guiding values of planning

Planning systems need to shift away from their original objectives. This will imply shifting away from objectives that relate to aesthetics, global positioning, replicating western 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. 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 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. 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 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 which will improve the quality of life of urban residents.

■ Shifts in planning processes

There is also the recognition that planners are not the only professionals to be involved in planning. A wide range of related professionals, stakeholders and communities also need to be involved. Experience has shown the value of participatory approaches in planning. 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.

■ 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. 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. However, achieving these principles in different contexts remains a worthwhile goal.

■ ‘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. Currently, this 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 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 environmentally sustainable and socially inclusive. In fact, it excludes the poor and encourages unsustainable consumption patterns.

■ Planning with, and for informality

Informality will shape the bulk of new urbanization in Africa and Asia. 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.

■ Revisiting both directive and regulatory aspects of the planning system

Experience from various parts of the world shows that it is often not too difficult to change the nature of directive plans, but far more difficult to change the regulatory system, as this usually affects people's rights in land. Besides, politicians are often reluctant to change the regulatory system for various reasons. Consequently, the regulatory system often contradicts the directive plan, making the latter impossible to implement. Changes to land-use management systems are necessary and 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.

■ Planning and institutional integration

As urban governments become more complex and specialized, there has been 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. 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.

■ Planning scales

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. Given that cities now extend well beyond their municipal boundaries, achieving coordination across scales and the correct allocation of legal powers and functions at the various levels is important for urban planning.

CONTEXTUAL AND INSTITUTIONAL CHANGES NEEDED TO MAKE URBAN PLANNING MORE EFFECTIVE

Several preconditions are necessary for achieving more effective urban planning in various parts of the world. These will vary across regions, and the ideas presented are generalized.

Prioritizing an urban policy at the national scale

In some countries, particularly in Africa and parts of Asia, there is still some aversion to the urbanization process, and mistaken assumptions that urban problems can be addressed through rural development. However, some countries have recognized the futility of this position and have sought to integrate urban policy at the national scale. Brazil provides a good example through the establishment of the Ministry of Cities. A national urban policy should set out a framework for urban settlements and urbanization policy which can serve to coordinate and align national sectoral policies.

Planning legislation

An important pre-condition for more effective urban planning is that planning legislation is up-to-date and is responsive to current urban issues. A major 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. In some parts of the world, planning is highly centralized, requiring even minor urban planning decisions to be approved at national level. This leads to top-down, bureaucratized planning, with little chance for communities and stakeholders to become involved in planning issues.

Decentralization of urban planning functions

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. This requires effective local governments, greater capacity in terms of urban planning professionals, more resources at the local level, and 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 departments. This has resulted in the urban space becoming highly fragmented and inefficient. There needs to be a much higher level of integration between spatial plans and

infrastructure plans. Within municipalities, coordinating structures and forums need to be established to ensure communication between departments, between levels of government and with communities and stakeholders.

Monitoring and evaluation of urban plans

The monitoring and evaluation of plans and planning processes can play a key role in assessing the impact of plans; and to indicate how planning is affecting urban development. Yet, the use of monitoring and evaluation in planning is not widespread, partly due to a lack of capacity. 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 plans that do not reflect the realities of cities. One reason for this is often a lack of research and information, particularly on the spatial characteristics of cities. Often, useful information may be held by international agencies and research departments but is not accessible to professional planners. The idea of an urban observatory is a useful mechanism for collating this information, as are national state of the cities reports.

City planning networks to share information and experience

Strong international networks 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, these networking channels are not well-developed. Some networks which have been functioning have strong representation in some regions but not in others. These networks need building and support, need to 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.

Planning education

In many developing and transitional countries, planning curricula are dated, and are unable to produce planning professionals that are able to effectively address current urban challenges. The production of new planning graduates is very small, leading to capacity constraints. Planning professionals are also increasingly mobile internationally, but their training is often highly specific to the country in which they have been educated. Planning education that is able to produce graduates that would effectively respond to the urban challenges confronting cities in the 21st century



Urban planning education must be able to respond to 21st century urban challenges

is an important precondition for more effective urban planning.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

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. Revised planning systems must be shaped by, and be responsive to the contexts from which they arise, and must be institutionally embedded in the practices and norms of their locales. Certain preconditions are necessary if urban planning is to play a significant role in developing cities that are environmentally liveable, economically productive, and socially inclusive. Countries

need to develop a national perspective on the role of urban areas. 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 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. 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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