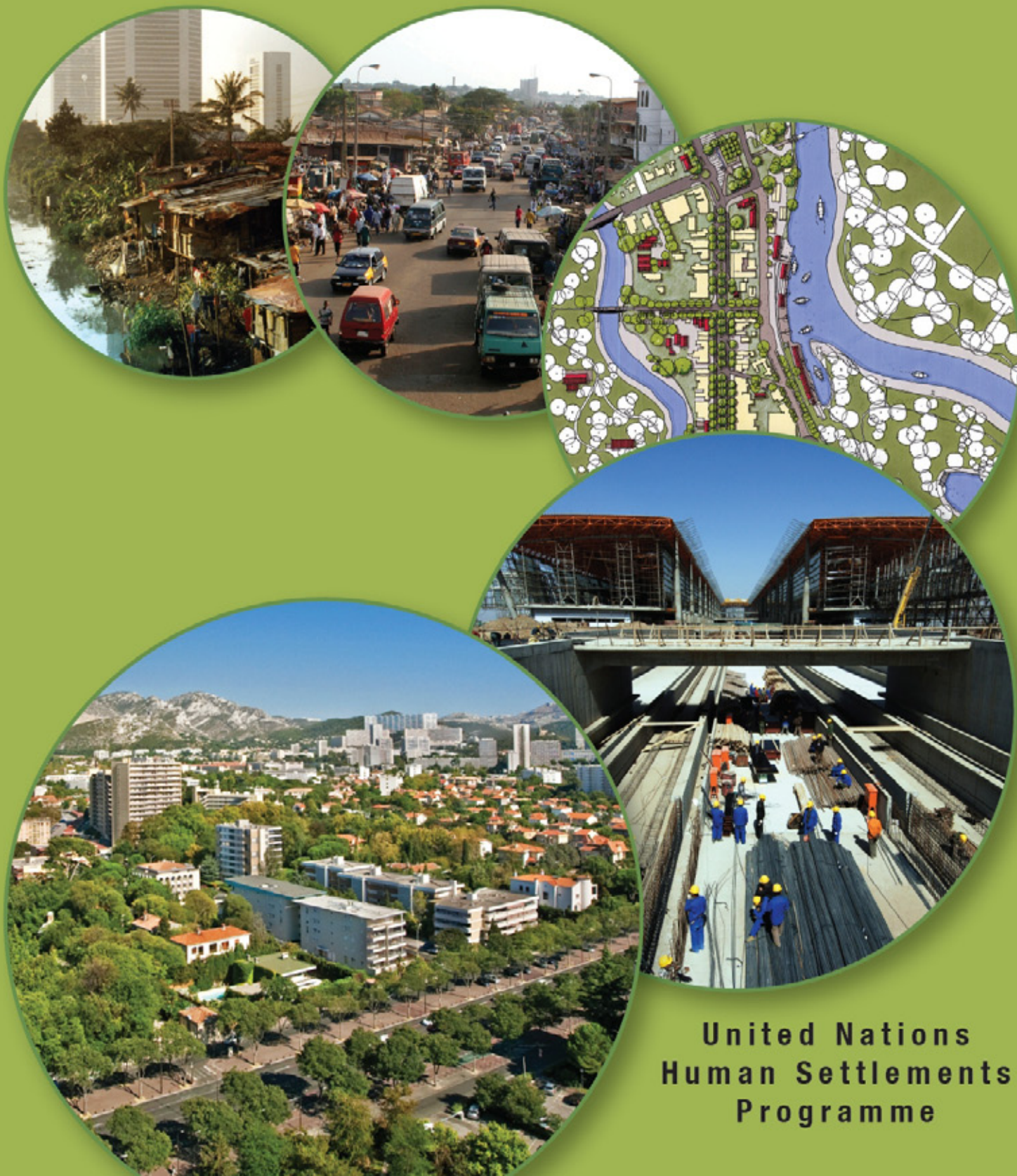# UN@HABITAT

GLOBAL REPORT ON HUMAN SETTLEMENTS 2009

PLANNING
Sustainable Cities

United Nations
Human Settlements
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FOREWORD

The major urban challenges of the twenty-first century include the rapid growth of many cities and the decline of others, the expansion of the informal sector, and the role of cities in causing or mitigating climate change. Evidence from around the world suggests that contemporary urban planning has largely failed to address these challenges. Urban sprawl and unplanned peri-urban development are among the most visible consequences, along with the increasing vulnerability of hundreds of millions of urban dwellers to rising sea levels, coastal flooding and other climate-related hazards.

Planning Sustainable Cities: Global Report on Human Settlements 2009 looks at the widespread failure to meet the needs of the majority of urban inhabitants, especially those in the rapidly growing and predominantly poor cities of the developing world, and identifies ways to reform urban planning.

The report identifies a troubling trend in most cities in developed and developing countries: the growth of up-market suburban areas and gated communities, on the one hand, and the simultaneous increase in overcrowded tenement zones, ethnic enclaves, slums and informal settlements, on the other. Strong contrasts have also emerged between technologically advanced and well-serviced economic production and business complexes such as export processing zones, and other areas defined by declining industry, sweatshops and informal businesses.

This report documents many effective and equitable examples of sustainable urbanization that are helping to define a new role for urban planning. I commend its information and analysis to all who are interested in promoting economically productive, environmentally safe and socially inclusive towns and cities.

Ban Ki-moon
Secretary-General
United Nations

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 transition 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.

Anna Kajumulo Tibaijuka
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NOTE

1   The HS-Net Advisory Board consists of experienced researchers in the human settlements field, selected to represent the various geographical regions of the world. The primary role of the Board is to advise UN-Habitat on the substantive content and organization of the Global Report on Human Settlements.

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LIST OF ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS

AESOP	Association of European Schools of Planning
APERAU	Association for the Promotion of Education and Research in Management and Urbanism
BOT	build–operate–transfer
BRT	bus rapid transit
CAP	community action planning
CBO	community-based organization
CCTV	closed-circuit television
CDS	City Development Strategy
CO_2	carbon dioxide
CSO	civil society organization
EPM	environmental planning and management
ESPON	European Spatial Planning Observation Network
EU	European Union
FDI	foreign direct investment
g	gram
GDP	gross domestic product
GIS	geographic information systems
GNI	gross national income
GPEAN	Global Planning Education Association Network
GPN	Global Planners Network
GTZ	Deutsche Gesellschaft für Technische Zusammenarbeit
GUO	Global Urban Observatory
ha	hectare
HDI	Human Development Index
HIV-AIDS	human immunodeficiency virus–acquired immunodeficiency syndrome
ICLEI	International Council for Local Environmental Initiatives
ILO	International Labour Organization
IMF	International Monetary Fund
IPCC	Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change
ITDG	Intermediate Technology Development Group
km	kilometre
kWh	kilowatt hour
LECZ	low-elevation coastal zone
LRT	light rail transit
m	metre
MDG	Millennium Development Goal
MW	megawatt
NGO	non-governmental organization
OECD	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
PPP	purchasing power parity
PUA	participatory urban appraisal
SCP	Sustainable Cities Programme
SDF	spatial development framework
SUDP	Strategic Urban Development Plan
TOD	transit-oriented development

UK	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland
UMP	Urban Management Programme
UN	United Nations
UNCED	United Nations Conference on Environment and Development
UNCHS	United Nations Centre for Human Settlements (Habitat) (now UN-Habitat)
UNDESA	United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNEP	United Nations Environment Programme
UN-Habitat	United Nations Human Settlements Programme (formerly UNCHS (Habitat))
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Fund
US	United States of America
WHO	World Health Organization

KEY FINDINGS AND MESSAGES

KEY FINDINGS: CURRENT AND FUTURE URBAN CHALLENGES

Future urban planning must take place within an understanding of the factors shaping 21st-century cities, especially the demographic, environmental, economic and socio-spatial challenges that lie ahead. It also needs to recognize the changing institutional structure of cities and the emerging spatial configurations of large, multiple-nuclei or polycentric, city-regions.

Demographic challenges

The global urban transition witnessed over the last three or so decades has been phenomenal and is presenting planning and urban management with challenges that have never been faced before. While the period 1950–1975 saw population growth more or less evenly 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, according to current projections, this will have risen to 70 per cent by 2050. Almost all of this growth will take place in developing regions. Between 2007 and 2025, the annual urban population increase in developing regions is expected to be 53 million (or 2.27 per cent), compared to a mere 3 million (or 0.49 per cent) in developed regions.

It is predicted that many new megacities of over 10 million people and hypercities of over 20 million will emerge during the next few decades. The bulk of new urban growth, however, will occur in smaller, and often institutionally weak, settlements of 100,000–250,000 people. In contrast, some parts of the world are facing the challenge of shrinking cities. Most of these are to be found in the developed and transitional regions of the world. But more recently, city shrinkage has occurred in some developing countries as well.

A key problem is that most of the rapid urban growth is taking place in countries least able to cope – in terms of the ability of governments to provide, or facilitate the provision of, urban infrastructure; in terms of the ability of urban residents to pay for such services; and in terms of resilience to natural disasters. The inevitable result has been the rapid growth of urban slums and squatter settlements. Close to 1 billion people, or 32 per cent of the world's current urban population, live in slums in inequitable and life-threatening conditions, and are directly affected by both environmental disasters and social crises, whose frequency and impacts have increased significantly during the last few decades.

Environmental challenges

One of the most significant environmental challenges at present is climate change. It is predicted that, within cities, climate change will negatively affect access to water and that hundreds of millions of people will be vulnerable to coastal flooding and related natural disasters as global warming increases. Moreover, it will be the poorest countries and people who will be most vulnerable to this threat and who will suffer the earliest and the most. High urban land and housing costs currently are pushing the lowest-income people into locations that are prone to natural hazards, such that four out of every ten non-permanent houses in the developing world are now located in areas threatened by floods, landslides and other natural disasters, especially in slums and informal settlements. Significantly, such disasters are only partly a result of natural forces – they are also products of failed urban development and planning.

A second major concern is the environmental impact of fossil fuel use in urban areas, especially of oil, and its likely long-term increase in cost. The global use of oil as an energy source has both promoted and permitted urbanization, and its easy availability has allowed the emergence of low-density and sprawling urban forms – suburbia – dependent on private cars. Beyond this, however, the entire global economy rests on the possibility of moving both people and goods quickly, cheaply and over long distances. An oil-based economy and climate change are linked: vehicle emissions contribute significantly to greenhouse gas emissions and hence global warming. Responding to a post-oil era presents a whole range of new imperatives for urban planning, especially in terms of settlement density and transportation.

Economic challenges

Processes of globalization and economic restructuring in recent decades have impacted in various ways on urban settlements in both developed and developing countries, and will continue to do so. Particularly significant has been the impact on urban labour markets, which show a growing polarization of occupational and income structures (and hence growing income inequality) caused by growth in the service sector and decline in manufacturing. There have also

been important gender dimensions to this restructuring: over the last several decades women have increasingly moved into paid employment, but trends towards 'casualization' of the labour force (through an increase in part-time, contract and home-based work) have made them highly vulnerable to economic crises. In developed countries, the last several decades have also seen a process of industrial relocation to less developed regions as firms have attempted to reduce labour and operating costs.

The global economic crisis that began in 2008 has accelerated economic restructuring and led to the rapid growth of unemployment in all parts of the world. One important result of these economic and policy processes on urban labour markets has been rapid growth of the urban informal economy in all regions of the world, but particularly in developing countries. Here, informal sector jobs account for more than 50 per cent of all employment in Africa and the Latin America and Caribbean region, and a little lower in Asia. There are also important gender dimensions to informality: women are disproportionately concentrated in the informal economy and particularly in low-profit activities. Among the most significant challenges that urban planning has to address in the next few decades, especially in developing countries, are increasing poverty and inequality, as well as to the rapidly expanding urban informal sector.

Socio-spatial challenges

Urban planners and managers have increasingly found themselves confronted by new spatial forms and processes, the drivers of which often lie outside the control of local government. Socio-spatial change seems to have taken place primarily in the direction of the fragmentation, separation and specialization of functions and uses within cities, with labour market polarization (and hence income inequality) reflected in growing differences between wealthier and poorer areas in both developed and developing country cities. Highly visible contrasts have emerged between up-market gentrified and suburban areas with tenement zones, ethnic enclaves and ghettos, as well as between areas built for the advanced service and production sector, and for luxury retail and entertainment, with older areas of declining industry, sweatshops and informal businesses. While much of this represents the playing out of 'market forces' in cities, and the logic of real estate and land speculation, it is also a response to local policies that have attempted to position cities globally in order to attract new investment through 'competitive city' approaches.

In some parts of the world, including in Latin American and Caribbean cities, fear of crime has increased urban fragmentation as middle- and upper-income households segregate themselves into 'gated communities' and other types of high-security residential complexes. 'Gated communities' have multiplied in major metropolitan areas such as Buenos Aires, São Paulo, Santiago, Johannesburg and Pretoria.

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 location close to employment and other livelihood sources. This process is leading to entirely new urban forms as the countryside itself begins to urbanize. The bulk of rapid urban growth in developing countries is, in fact, now taking place in unplanned peri-urban areas, as poor urban dwellers look for a foothold in the cities and towns in locations where land is more easily available, where they can escape the costs and threats of urban land regulations, and where there is a possibility of combining urban and rural livelihoods.

Institutional challenges

Formal urban planning systems are typically located within the public sector, with local government usually being the most responsible tier. Within the last three decades, and closely linked to processes of globalization, there have been significant transformations in local government in many parts of the world, making them very different settings from those within which modern urban planning was originally conceived about 100 years ago.

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 multilevel context, as well as the involvement of a range of non-state actors in the process of governing. In developing countries, the concept of governance has been promoted as a policy measure, along with decentralization and democratization, driven largely by multilateral institutions such as the World Bank and United Nations agencies. 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.

In addition, urban planning at the local government level has also had to face challenges from shifts in the scale of urban decision-making. As the wider economic role of urban centres and their governments has come adrift from their geographically bounded administrative roles, so the need to move towards rescaling to the city-region level and introducing multilevel and collaborative governance has become increasingly apparent in many parts of the world.

Another global trend has been in the area of participation. Since the 1960s, there has been a growing unwillingness on the part of communities to passively accept the planning decisions of politicians and technocrats that impact on their living environments. However, within cities in both developed and developing countries, 'delivering consensus' is becoming more difficult, as societal divisions have been increasing, partly as a result of international migration and the growth of ethnic minority groups in cities, and partly because of growing income and employment inequalities that have intersected with ethnicity and identity in various ways. In developing countries, urban crime and violence have also contributed to a decline in social cohesion and an increase in conflict and insecurity in many cities.

KEY FINDINGS: URBAN PLANNING RESPONSES AND TRENDS

Emergence and spread of contemporary urban planning

Contemporary urban planning systems in most parts of the world have been shaped by 19th-century Western European planning, commonly known as master planning, or modernist urban planning. Its global diffusion occurred through several mechanisms, especially colonialism, market expansion and intellectual exchange. Professional bodies and international and development agencies also played an important role. Frequently, these imported ideas were used for reasons of political, ethnic or racial domination and exclusion, rather than in the interests of good planning.

In many developed countries, approaches to planning have changed significantly. However, in many developing countries, the older forms of master planning have persisted. In some countries, master planning is still found to be useful, sometimes due to the very rapid rate of state-directed city-building, and sometimes because it serves the interests of elites who often emulate modern Western cities and whose actions inevitably marginalize the poor and the informal in cities.

The most obvious problem with modernist planning is that, being based on spatial interventions that assume a far higher level of social affluence than is the case in most developing countries, it fails to accommodate the way of life of the majority of inhabitants in rapidly growing, and largely poor and informal cities, and thus directly contributes to social and spatial marginalization. Furthermore, it fails to take into account the important challenges of 21st-century cities such as climate change, oil dependence, food insecurity and informality; and to a large extent, it fails to acknowledge the need to meaningfully involve communities and other stakeholders in the planning of urban areas.

A number of new and sometimes overlapping approaches to urban planning have been identified in the Global Report, the principal ones being:

- *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;
- *Use of spatial planning to integrate public-sector functions*, including injection of a spatial or territorial dimension into sectoral strategies;
- *New land regularization and management approaches*, 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 on how planning laws can be used to capture rising urban land values;
- *Participatory processes and partnerships at the neighbourhood level*, which include 'participatory urban appraisal', 'participatory learning and action' and 'community action planning', including 'participatory budgeting';
- *New forms of master planning*, which are bottom up and participatory, oriented towards social justice and aim 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.

These new approaches to planning have many positive qualities, but also aspects that suggest the need for caution in terms of their wider use. There is still too much focus on process, often at the expense of outcomes. There is also a strong focus on the directive aspect of the planning system and neglect of the underlying regulatory and financing systems, and how these link to directive plans. Planning is still weak in terms of how to deal with the major sustainable urban challenges of the 21st century: climate change, resource depletion, rapid urbanization, poverty and informality.

Institutional and regulatory frameworks for planning

A variety of new agencies have become involved in urban planning – for example, special 'partnership' agencies that focus on particular development tasks, metropolitan and regional development agencies, as well as agencies created through initiatives funded by external aid programmes. This has been partly in response to decentralization of authority from national governments to cities, regions and quasi-governmental organizations, as well as to different forms of privatization.

The legal systems underpinning planning regulation are being modified in many countries to allow greater flexibility and interactions. This situation is encouraging two related responses. One is an increase in litigation as a way of resolving planning disputes. The other is a counteracting movement to avoid litigation through developing negotiation and collaborative practices.

The presence of large-scale land and property developers (often linked to competitive city policies) is expanding substantially, creating challenges for national and local planning practices that are seeking to promote greater equity and environmental sensitivity in urban development.

In many large urban complexes that have resulted from metropolitanization and informal peri-urbanization processes, there is an increasing mismatch between administrative boundaries and the functional dynamics of urban areas, leading to problems in coordinating development activity and integrating the social, environmental and economic dimensions of development.

Approaches to the formulation and implementation of plans have moved from assuming that a planning authority could control how development takes place, to recognizing that all parties (including the private sector and civil society organizations) need to learn from each other about how to shape future development trajectories.

Participation, planning and politics

In most developed countries, formal procedures for public participation in planning decisions have long existed. Well-established representative democratic political systems in these countries enable citizen participation in urban planning processes. Yet this remains tokenistic in some developed and transition countries.

A technocratic blueprint approach to planning persists in many developing countries, inhibiting the direct involvement of citizens or other stakeholders in decision-making. Attempts to adopt participatory planning processes and revise planning legislation accordingly have been minimal in many developing countries.

In spite of this, a growing number of cities are adopting participatory approaches to planning due to the widespread recognition that technocratic approaches have been largely ineffective in dealing with the challenges of urbanization. A variety of innovative approaches for participatory planning, from the local to city level, have been developed in recent years, often with support from international programmes, such as the UN-Habitat-supported Urban Management, Sustainable Cities and Localizing Agenda 21 programmes.

At the local/community level, *participatory urban appraisal* (PUA), which draws on tools and methods of participatory rural appraisal, has been used to identify needs and priorities. PUA provides information inputs into decision-making rather than itself being a decision-making tool. It has therefore been complemented by *community action planning* (CAP), which develops actionable ideas and implementation arrangements based on the information generated through PUAs. A good example of CAP is the *women's safety audit*, which has been employed to address the safety of women in the planning and design of safer neighbourhoods.

At the city level, *participatory budgeting* has enabled citizen participation in municipal budgeting and spending, while *city development strategies* (CDSs) have enabled communities to participate in the prioritization of urban development projects. A CDS uses participatory processes to develop an action plan for equitable urban growth. To date, over 150 cities worldwide have been involved in developing CDSs.

Bridging the green and brown agendas

Rapid urban growth in the past 50 years has meant that managing the built (or human) environment, while coping with environmental pollution (especially waste) and degradation, has become a significant challenge in the cities of developed countries and has overwhelmed many cities in the developing world. Fewer than 35 per cent of the cities in developing countries have their wastewater treated; worldwide 2.5 billion and 1.2 billion people lack safe sanitation and access to clean water, respectively; and between one third and one half of the solid waste generated within most cities in low- and middle-income countries is not collected. Most of this deprivation is concentrated in urban slums and informal settlements.

Innovations to achieve green and brown agenda synergies are under way all over the world. These are manifest in the following overlapping trends identified in the Global Report:

- developing renewable energy in order to reduce cities' dependence on non-renewable energy sources;
- striving for carbon-neutral cities so as to significantly cut and offset carbon emissions;
- developing small-scale, distributed power and water systems for more energy-efficient provision of services;
- increasing photosynthetic spaces as part of green infrastructure development in order to expand renewable sources of energy and local food;
- improving eco-efficiency in order to enable the use of waste products to satisfy urban energy and material resource needs;
- increasing sense of place through local sustainable development strategies so as to enhance implementation and effectiveness of innovations;
- developing sustainable transport in order to reduce the adverse environmental impacts of dependence on fossil fuel-driven cars; and
- developing 'cities without slums' so as to address the pressing challenges of poor access to safe drinking water and sanitation as well as environmental degradation.

Although the sustainable urban development vision has been embraced by cities all over the world, none are yet able to simultaneously and comprehensively address the different facets of the sustainable urban development challenge and to fully demonstrate how to integrate the green and brown agendas.

Urban planning and informality

The effectiveness of urban planning is a key determinant of the prevalence of informality in cities. Accordingly, urban informality in developed countries is limited, given their well-developed planning systems. In contrast, a substantial and increasing proportion of urban development in developing countries is informal due to limited planning and governance capacities.

Affordable serviced land and formal housing remains inaccessible to most urban residents in cities of developing countries, especially low- and middle-income groups. Therefore a significant number of them live in housing that does not comply with planning regulations. A staggering 62 per cent of the urban population in sub-Saharan Africa lives in slums, compared to 43 per cent in South Asia. Much of future urban growth in developing country cities is expected to take place in peri-urban areas and expanded metropolitan regions where informal development is widespread.

About 57 per cent of all employment in the Latin America and Caribbean region is informal. About 60 per cent of all urban jobs in Africa are in the informal sector and, in francophone Africa, 78 per cent of urban employment is informal, while the sector currently generates 93 per cent of

all new jobs. In Central Asia, the informal sector is responsible for between 33 and 50 per cent of the total economic output. Even in the countries of the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD), the informal economy accounts for about 16 per cent of value added.

In many countries, informality is regarded as both undesirable and illegal, leading to ineffective government responses such as elimination and neglect. However, because of the failure of such policies to either eliminate the sector or improve the livelihoods of informal entrepreneurs, there has been some rethinking and renewed attempts to develop alternative policy responses to informality. For instance, legal provisions against evictions, regularization and upgrading of informal settlements and land-sharing arrangements are some of the approaches that have been used to avoid the harmful effects of forced eviction of both informal settlement/slum dwellers and informal economic entrepreneurs.

Strategic use of planning tools, including public investment in trunk infrastructure to influence patterns of development, guided land development using strategic planning, land pooling or readjustment and the gradual extension of detailed planning and development control, have also enhanced the effectiveness of responses to informality.

Partnerships with informal economic actors to manage public space and provide services have helped to address the challenges of informality in some cities. This involves 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

Since the late 1970s, the 'unbundling' of infrastructure development – through forms of corporatization or privatization of urban infrastructure development and provision, and developer-driven urban development – has tended to drive patterns of urban fragmentation and spatial inequality in many countries. The period since the 1980s has seen a major growth of urban mega-projects, including infrastructure projects. This has been linked to the new emphasis on urban competitiveness and urban entrepreneurialism.

Although the private sector has tended to focus on more profitable aspects of infrastructure development, privatized provision of services has also occurred in poorer communities. While these processes sometimes extend services to areas that would not otherwise have them, they also impose considerable costs on the poor.

The structure of road networks and public transport systems shapes the spatial organization of many cities, and has been a crucial element in attempts to restructure cities spatially. However, the accessibility–value relationship has meant that lower-income groups have had little choice of where to live and work. In addition, the availability of trunk lines for water and sewerage and transmission lines for electricity in particular areas reduces development costs and has also influenced patterns of growth. This type of bulk

infrastructure is also increasingly seen as a key element in shaping patterns of spatial development, after road and public transport networks.

Monitoring and evaluation of urban plans

Monitoring and evaluation of the implementation of urban plans has become part of practice in the more progressive planning departments of cities and regions in developed countries. However, in the transitional and developing countries, very little progress has been made so far in embracing monitoring and evaluation as integral parts of the urban planning process.

In developing countries, the most extensive application of monitoring and evaluation has occurred as part of development programmes that are funded by international agencies, managed by state organizations and implemented by local authorities. There is less evidence of community/official urban plan-level monitoring and evaluation in developing countries. There are typically few resources for planning generally, and especially for plan enforcement or monitoring.

Because the importance of monitoring and evaluation can be difficult to appreciate in local governments that face complex, energy-sapping urban challenges, not many urban authorities have fully embraced this important management tool. In addition, monitoring and evaluation can produce negative as well as positive results. The latter situation is often embraced by local decision-makers, while the former is frequently ignored, downplayed or even rejected.

Planning education

There are about 550 universities worldwide that offer urban planning degrees. About 60 per cent (330 schools) of these are concentrated in ten countries. The remaining 40 per cent (220 schools) are located in 72 different countries. In total, there are at least 13,000 academic staff in planning schools worldwide. While developing countries contain more than 80 per cent of the world's population, they have less than half of the world's planning schools.

Urban planning education in most countries has moved from a focus on physical design towards an increased focus on policy and social science research. Graduates from planning schools focusing on physical design find themselves increasingly marginalized in a situation where planning processes progressively require knowledge of issues related to sustainable development, social equity and participatory processes.

Despite awareness of the importance of gender in planning practice, it is not a core part of the syllabus in many urban planning schools. While about half of all planning schools teach social equity issues in their curricula, only a minority of these specifically teach gender-related issues.

There are significant regional variations in terms of the relative importance given to technical skills, communicative skills and analytic skills in planning curricula. The variations are linked to the prevalence of policy/social science approaches, as opposed to physical design. For

example, while planning schools in Asia rate analytical skills as most important, followed by technical skills and then 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 being more common than those of participation or negotiation.

KEY MESSAGES: TOWARDS A NEW ROLE FOR URBAN PLANNING

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 transition 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.

PART I

CHALLENGES AND CONTEXT

URBAN CHALLENGES AND THE NEED TO REVISIT URBAN PLANNING

Urban settlements in all parts of the world are being influenced by new and powerful forces that require governments to reconsider how they manage urban futures. Urban areas in both developed and developing countries will increasingly feel the effects of phenomena such as climate change, resource depletion, food insecurity and economic instability. These are all factors that will significantly reshape towns and cities in the century ahead and all of them need to be effectively addressed if cities are to be sustainable, that is, environmentally safe, economically productive and socially inclusive. Many developing countries, in addition, will continue to experience rapid rates of urbanization. With over half of the world's population currently living in urban areas,[1] there is no doubt that the 'urban agenda' will increasingly become a priority for governments everywhere.

Since the earliest days of human settlement, people have consciously and collectively intervened in the nature and form of urban areas to achieve particular social, political or environmental objectives. This activity has been known as planning. Over the last century, urban planning[2] 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. There are now important and highly contested debates on what forms of urban planning are best suited to dealing with the problems of sustainable development that urban settlements currently face, and will face in the future.

At certain times in the last century, planning has been seen as the activity that can solve many of the major problems of urban areas, while at other times it has been viewed as unnecessary and unwanted government interference in market forces, with the latter able to address urban problems far more effectively than governments. 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 of land and urban development, and by encouraging inappropriate modernist urban forms, planning is promoting urban poverty and exclusion. This argument was strongly made at the joint meeting of the UN-Habitat World Urban Forum and the World Planners Congress in Vancouver in June 2006, where it was suggested that the profession of urban planning needs to be reviewed to see if it is able to play a role in addressing issues in rapidly growing and poor cities. To do this, however, governments, urban local authorities and planning practitioners have to develop a different approach that is pro-poor and inclusive, and that places the creation of livelihoods at the centre of planning efforts.

This issue of the *Global Report on Human Settlements* considers the importance of urban planning as a significant management tool for dealing with the unprecedented challenges facing 21st-century cities and attaining the goals of sustainable urbanization (see Box 1.1). There is now a realization that the positive management of urban change cannot be left only to the market or governments. Governments, together with other important urban stakeholders, will have to jointly agree on the long-term objectives of urban change. These objectives will need to include ways of achieving socio-spatial equity, environmental sustainability and economic productivity in urban areas. But if planning is to play a role in addressing the major issues facing urban areas, then current approaches to planning in many parts of the world will have to change. A key conclusion to emerge from this Global Report is that while the forces impacting upon the growth and change of cities have changed dramatically, in many parts of the world planning systems have changed very little and are now frequent contributors to urban problems rather than functioning as tools for human and environmental improvement. However, this does not necessarily need to be the case: planning systems can be changed so that they are able to function as effective and efficient instruments of sustainable urban change. Given the enormity of the issues facing urban areas in the coming decades, there is no longer time for complacency: planning systems need to be evaluated and, if necessary, revised; the training and education of planners need to be re-examined; and examples of successful urban planning need to be found and shared worldwide.

This introductory chapter outlines the main issues of concern and summarizes the contents of the rest of the Global Report. The chapter first sets out the key urban challenges of the 21st century that will shape a new role for urban planning. This in turn lays the basis for the question, in the third section, which asks if and how urban planning

At certain times in the last century, planning has been seen as the activity that can solve many of the major problems of urban areas

This issue of the Global Report on Human Settlements considers urban planning as a significant management tool for dealing with the unprecedented challenges facing 21st-century cities

> **Box 1.1 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 in 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 recognizes 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 Department for International Development (DFID), 2002, Chapter 4, pp18–27.

needs to change to address these new issues effectively. Section four considers the factors that have led to a revived interest in urban planning, and indicates the numerous positive roles which planning can play. This section provides examples of how planning has been used successfully to meet new challenges. The fifth section summarizes some of the most important new approaches to urban planning that have emerged in various parts of the world, while the sixth section offers a definition of urban planning and a set of normative principles against which current or new approaches might be tested. The seventh section summarizes the contents of the main chapters of the Global Report, and the final section concludes the chapter.

URBAN CHALLENGES OF THE 21ST CENTURY

Future urban planning needs to take place within an understanding of the factors that 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 that lie ahead and for which systems of urban management will have to plan. The overarching global changes that have occurred since the 1970s are first considered, and then the ways in which these impact upon demographic, socio-spatial and institutional change in urban areas and their implications for planning. There are also new forces and views that will impact upon a revised role for urban planning, such as environmental threats and climate change, oil depletion and costs, food security, and post-disaster and post-conflict demands. In all cases, local context shapes the impact of these forces.

Main forces affecting urban change

Over the last several decades, global changes in the environment, in the economy, in institutional structures and processes and in civil society have had significant impacts upon urban areas. These trends in the developed, developing and transitional regions of the world are reviewed below.

Future urban planning needs to take place within an understanding of the factors that are shaping the socio-spatial aspects of cities

■ Environmental challenges

The Brundtland Commission's report – *Our Common Future* – which called for 'development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs', placed the issue of sustainable development at the core of urban policy and planning concerns (see Chapter 6). The most important environmental concern now is climate change. The authoritative Stern Report[27] on the economics of climate change concludes that it will 'affect the basic elements of life for people around the world – access to water, food production, health and the environment. Hundreds of millions of people could suffer hunger, water shortages and coastal flooding as the world warms.' Moreover, it will be the poorest countries and people who are most vulnerable to this threat who will suffer the most. Current forms of urbanization are pushing the lowest-income people into locations that are prone to natural hazards, such that four out of every ten non-permanent houses in the developing world are now located in areas threatened by floods, landslides and other natural disasters.[28]

A second major environmental concern is oil supply and the likely long-term increase in the cost of fossil fuels. The global use of oil as an energy source has both promoted and permitted urbanization, and its easy availability has allowed the emergence of low-density and sprawling urban forms – suburbia – dependent upon private cars. Beyond this, however, the entire global economy rests on the possibility of moving both people and goods quickly, cheaply and over long distances. An oil-based economy and climate change are linked: vehicle and aircraft emissions contribute significantly to greenhouse gas emissions and, hence, global warming. One reason for the current global food crisis is unpredictable spikes in the cost of oil. Responding to a post-oil era, in the form of public transport- and pedestrian-based movement systems, more compact and integrated cities, and more localized food and production systems (reducing the ecological footprint of cities) all present new imperatives for planning.

While climate change and oil depletion will fundamentally change the nature of life on this planet, urbanization and city growth are also causing, and are subject to, a multitude of environmental impacts. The 2007 UN-Habitat Global Report – *Enhancing Urban Safety and Security*[29] – makes the point that cities are inherently risk prone due to the concentrated nature of settlements and the interdependent nature of the human and infrastructural systems. Urban settlements are increasingly becoming 'hot spots' for disaster risk. Urban development also results in negative environmental impacts through the consumption of natural assets and the overexploitation of natural resources. Urbanization modifies the environment and generates new hazards, including deforestation and slope instability, thus resulting in landslides and flash flooding. Vulnerability to natural disasters is differentiated: cities with lower levels of economic development and disaster preparedness are more at risk, as are women, children, the aged and the disabled. The world's 1 billion urban slum dwellers are also far more vulnerable, as they are usually unprotected by construction and land-use planning regulations.

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Box 1.2 Effects of economic restructuring on older cities in developed countries: Chicago, US

Walk down 63rd Street in Woodlawn, on the south side of Chicago, within a stone's throw of the University of Chicago campus, along what used to be one of the city's most vibrant commercial strips, and you will discover a lunar landscape replicated across the black ghettos of the US – in Harlem and the Brownsville district of Brooklyn in New York, in north Philadelphia, on the east side of Cleveland and Detroit, or in Boston's Roxbury and Paradise Valley in Pittsburgh. Abandoned buildings, vacant lots strewn with debris and garbage, broken sidewalks, boarded-up store-front churches and the charred remains of shops line up miles and miles of decaying neighbourhoods left to rot by the authorities since the big riots of the 1960s.

On the morrow of World War II, 63rd Street was called the 'Miracle Mile' by local merchants vying for space and a piece of the pie. The neighbourhood counted nearly 800 businesses and not a single vacant lot in an 18-by-4 block area. Woodlawn was overflowing with life as people streamed in from the four corners of the city, comprising throngs so dense at rush hour that one was literally swept off one's feet upon getting out of the elevated train station. Here is the description of the street given to me by the only white shopkeeper left from that era in August 1991:

It looks like Berlin after the war and that's sad. The street is bombed out, decaying. Seventy-five per cent of it is vacant. It's very unfortunate, but it seems that all that really grows here is liquor stores. And they're not contributing anything to the community: it's all 'take, take, take!' Very depressing [sighs heavily]. It's an area devoid of hope; it's an area devoid of investments. People don't come into Woodlawn.

Now the street's nickname has taken an ironic and bitter twist for it takes a miracle for a business to survive on it. Not a single theatre, bank, jazz club or repair shop outlived the 1970s. The lumber yards, print shops, garages and light manufacturing enterprises that used to dot the neighbourhood have disappeared as well.

Source: Wacquant, 2008, pp53–54

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Significantly, such disasters are only partly a result of natural forces. They are also the products of failed urban development and planning. It is therefore important to take a risk-reduction approach which views such disasters as problems of development, requiring new approaches to the planning of urban growth and change. This is the case not only for large-scale environmental hazards, but also for what are known as 'small hazards', such as traffic accidents, which kill 1.2 million people per annum.[30] Pedestrian and vehicle movement networks in cities are a central concern of urban planning.

Women are disproportionately concentrated in the informal economy and particularly in low-profit activities

■ Economic change

Processes of globalization and economic restructuring in recent decades have affected urban settlements in both developed and developing countries in various ways, although the form of impact has been strongly determined by local factors and policies. Particularly significant has been the impact upon urban labour markets, which show a growing polarization of occupational and income structures caused by growth in the service sector and decline in manufacturing. There have been important gender dimensions to this restructuring: over the last several decades women have increasingly moved into paid employment, but trends towards 'casualization' of the labour force have made them highly vulnerable to economic crises.[3] In developed countries, the last several decades have also seen a process

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

of industrial relocation as firms attempted to reduce labour and operating costs. Firms have sought lower land costs, cheaper labour pools and lower unionization levels 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 international economic crises. The current global economic crisis that began in 2008 has accelerated economic restructuring and rapid growth of unemployment in all parts of the world. Box 1.1 provides an example of how economic restructuring has affected older working-class areas in Chicago. Here the number of working residents dropped by 77 per cent over past decades as manufacturing industries relocated or closed, and upwardly mobile residents left the area,[4] and this was prior to the major job losses that have affected the US since late 2008. This kind of restructuring has been occurring in the larger 'global' cities of the world and in older industrial regions, but is equally true in smaller urban centres and in those parts of the world, largely in developing countries, which have not been subject to significant foreign direct investment. Phnom Penh, in Cambodia, for example, has undergone dramatic social and spatial restructuring in recent years despite low levels of foreign direct investment and little industrial growth.[5]

One important effect of these economic and policy processes on urban labour markets has been the rapid growth in the informal economy in all urban centres, but particularly in developing countries. In Latin America and the Caribbean, four out of every five new jobs are in the informal sector, which currently employs 57 per cent of the region's workers.[6] In Mexico City, 60 per cent of residents work in the informal sector, and the number of street vendors increased by 40 per cent from 2000 to 2005. In Central Asia,[7] the informal sector is responsible for between one third and one half of the total economic output. In Africa, where the formal economy has always been relatively weak, 78 per cent of urban employment in the Francophone region is informal, and this sector generates 93 per cent of all new jobs.[8] The concept of economic informality is by no means new; yet there are strong indications that its nature has changed and its scale has increased over the last few decades, particularly during 2008. There are also important gender dimensions to informality: women are disproportionately concentrated in the informal economy and particularly in low-profit activities.[9]

Recent writings on the topic of globalization and cities stress the point that while there are few parts of the world that have not felt the effects of these processes, there is much diversity in the nature of these impacts, with actual outcomes strongly influenced by pre-existing local conditions and local policies. The dramatic increases in income inequality that result from changing urban labour market structures are also not inevitable: a number of East Asian cities have been strongly influenced by the actions of 'developmental states' which have channelled resources into urban industrial growth, and into public-sector spending on urban infrastructural projects and programmes. In these

cases, job and income polarization have been less dramatic. By contrast, in some parts of the world, international and national policy interventions have exacerbated the effects of globalization. For example, those countries that were subjected to International Monetary Fund (IMF) and World Bank structural adjustment programmes have been more severely affected.

Future urban planning in both developed and developing countries will therefore be taking place in a context of inequality and poverty and with high levels of informal activity, a significant proportion of which is survivalist in form.

■ Institutional change

Formal urban planning systems are typically located within the public sector, with local government usually being the most responsible tier. Within the last three decades, and closely linked to processes of globalization, 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 (see Chapter 4).

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 multilevel context, as well as the involvement of a range of non-state actors in the process of governing. In developing countries, the concept of governance has been promoted along with decentralization and democratization, driven largely by multilateral institutions. During the 1980s, a mainly economic perspective dominated, with World Bank–International Monetary Fund sponsored structural adjustment programmes providing the framework for public-sector change across developing countries. The principal ideas were privatization, deregulation and decentralization. By the end of the 1980s, however, key World Bank officials had accepted that *good governance* was the key issue and, by 1997, the shift was firmly entrenched when the World Development Report emphasized the importance of strong and effective institutions, rather than rolling back the state, as in the past.

From the late 1990s, 'good governance' became the mantra for development in developing countries, and planning was supported to the extent that it promoted this ideal. The term has come to mean different things, however. The World Bank, for example, has been associated with a mainly administrative and managerialist interpretation of good governance, while United Nations agencies such as the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) have emphasized democratic practice and human and civil rights. UN-Habitat's *Global Campaign on Urban Governance*,[10] launched in 2000, sought to advocate good urban governance worldwide and to increase the capacity of local/municipal governments and other stakeholders to put this into practice. UN-Habitat's concept of good governance is characterized by three strategies: decentralizing responsibilities and resources to local authorities; encouraging the participation of civil society; and using partnerships to achieve common objectives.

Urban planning is highly reliant on the existence of stable, effective and accountable local government, as well as a strong civil society, in order to play a positive role

The most important environmental concern now is climate change

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. In fact, the emergence of planning can be closely linked to a Keynesian approach to development, which was state led and strongly reinforced in Europe by the requirements of post-war reconstruction. In a context in which the power of governments to direct urban development has diminished with the retreat of Keynesian economics, and in which the new central actors in urban development are real estate investors and developers, whose activities are often linked to economic boosterism, planning has found itself to be unpopular and marginalized. It has also found itself at the heart of contradictory pressures on local government to promote urban economic competitiveness, on the one hand, while on the other dealing with the fall-out from globalization in the form of growing social exclusion, poverty, unemployment and rapid population growth, often in a context of unfunded mandates and severe local government capacity constraints.[11]

In addition, urban planning at the local government level has also had to face challenges from shifts in the scale of urban decision-making. As the wider economic role of urban centres and their governments has come adrift from their geographically bounded administrative role, so decision-making about urban futures has rescaled and introduced ideas of multilevel and collaborative governance.[12] The idea of urban decision-making framed by the concept of 'city-regions'[13] is becoming more common.

The issue of planning's relationship to the market has been particularly difficult in those regions of the world undergoing a shift from socialist to democratic political systems. In East Europe,[14] urban land was privatized, thus reducing the power of local governments to control urban development, but at the same time all planning powers were transferred to local institutions that had no capacity, expertise or funds to implement new, and often poorly developed, local planning laws. One expert from Sofia, Bulgaria, commented: 'our city grows on auto-pilot'. While functioning on 'auto-pilot', the capital city lost about 15 per cent of its public green spaces in just 15 years, as they were taken by private developments legalized later.[15] In other parts of the world, government is decentralizing far more slowly. In East Asia, there are few urban local governments with power and finances.[16] In China, there is a gradual increase in decision-making power at lower levels of the administrative system, but it is still highly constrained. Planning laws favour a technical approach to urban planning, with regulatory structures intended to promote a largely depoliticized decision-making environment.[17]

Generally, urban planning is highly reliant on the existence of stable, effective and accountable local government, as well as a strong civil society, in order to play a positive role. Many developing countries simply do not have these.[18] Under such conditions, urban planning will continue to be ineffective or, alternatively, will be used in opportunistic ways by those with political and economic power.

■ **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 that impact upon their living environments. In turn, planners have come to recognize that planning implementation is more likely to be effective if it can secure 'community support'. The notion of public participation in planning (see Chapter 5) has developed considerably since this time, with a plethora of methods and techniques put forward to 'deliver consensus'. However, successful participatory planning is largely conditioned by broader state–civil society relations, and the extent to which democracy is accepted and upheld. This is highly uneven across the globe. Even where participatory planning is accepted, and where civil society can be drawn into planning processes, it is recognized that global economic and social change has, in turn, impacted upon civil society and has often made the ideal of participatory planning far harder to achieve.

In cities in both developed and developing countries, societal divisions have been increasing, partly as a result of international migration streams and the growth of ethnic minority groups in cities, and partly because of growing income and employment inequalities which have intersected with ethnicity and identity in various ways. A wide-ranging review of the literature on social movements in developing countries[19] found that despite the growth of social movements and moves to democratization, participation is still mediated more typically by patron–client relations rather than by popular activism. Other researchers point to the extent to which urban crime and violence have brought about a decline in social cohesion and an increase in conflict and insecurity.[20] Growth in violent crime, often supported by increasingly organized and well-networked drug and arms syndicates and fuelled by growing poverty and inequality, have eroded the possibilities of building social capital in poorer communities. Conducting participatory planning in situations such as these can be extremely difficult.

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,[21] it takes very different forms in Africa, the Middle East and much of Asia, where 'social networks which extend beyond kinship and ethnicity remain largely casual, unstructured and paternalistic'.[22] Resistance tends to take the form here of 'quiet encroachment' rather than proactive community organization. In many parts of the world as well, civil society is being inspired more by popular religious movements than by organized demands for better infrastructure or shelter, given that efforts to secure the latter have so often failed.[23] In China, contrary to the West, governance does not derive from an acknowledged separation of state and society, but rather from an attempt to maintain their integration.[24]

However, recent literature[25] makes the point that urban residents will have to find a way in which to engage

Cities and towns in all parts of the world are very different places from what they were when planning first emerged as a profession – over 100 years ago
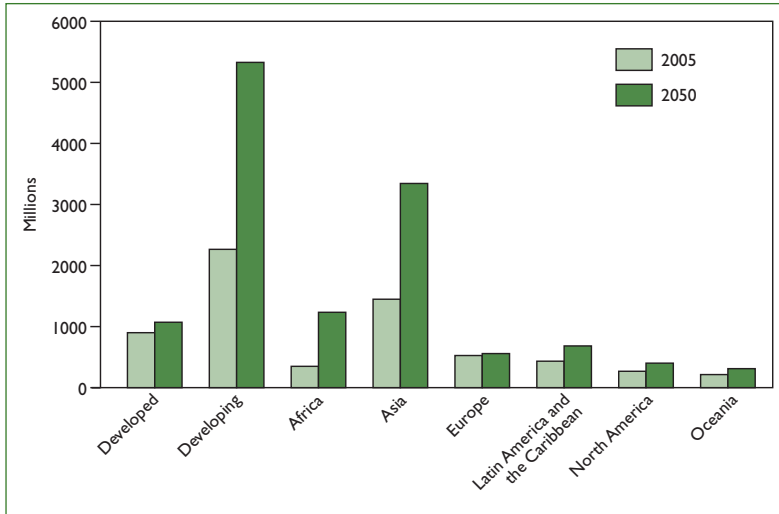
with the state if their service needs are to be met. Often the strategies that seem to work are not explicitly political, but come about as a result of the imperative for some kind of collective action on the part of the poor as a way of meeting basic service needs. As residents 'fill the space' which the state is unable to occupy, negotiated arrangements with the state emerge that involve neither formal participation processes nor partnerships, nor organized confrontations. These 'in-between' processes are termed 'co-production' and are seen as a more realistic way in which state–society engagement can take place.[26]

Urban change

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

■ Urbanization and urban growth

Cities and towns in all parts of the world are very different places from what they were when planning first emerged as a profession – over 100 years ago. And while the 20th century as a whole was a time of major urban transformation, the last few decades, coinciding with the global restructuring of economy and society, have seen new and particular impacts upon urban growth and change (see Chapter 2). The global urban transition witnessed over the last three or so decades has been phenomenal. While the period of 1950 to 1975 saw population growth more or less evenly 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.[31] It is significant to note that the bulk of this growth will be taking place in developing regions.

Between 2007 and 2025, the annual rate of change of the urban population in developing regions is expected to be 2.27 per cent, and 0.49 per cent in developed regions.[32] Figure 1.1 indicates urban population growth projections by region.

Planners have found themselves confronted with new spatial forms and processes, the drivers of which often lie outside the control of local government

This transition is presenting urban management and planning with issues that have never been faced before. Urban growth will be less rapid in developed regions, in Latin America and the Caribbean and in transitional countries of East Europe, all of which are already highly urbanized, but rapid in Africa and Central, South and East Asia, which are currently less urbanized. China is expected to double its urban population from about 40 per cent of its national population during 2006 to 2030 to more than 70 per cent by 2050.[33] Furthermore, certain cities will attain sizes that have not been experienced before: new megacities of over 10 million and hypercities of over 20 million are predicted. The bulk of new urban growth, however, is predicted to occur in smaller settlements[34] of 100,000 to 250,000 which have absorbed much of the rural labour power made redundant by post-1979 market reforms[35] and continuing adverse terms of world trade in the agricultural sector. While megacities present management problems of their own, it is the smaller cities that suffer particularly from a lack of planning and services to cope with growth.

By contrast, some parts of the world are facing the challenge of shrinking cities. Most of these are to be found in the developed and transitional regions of the world. For example, cities in Latvia, Estonia, Armenia and Georgia have lost 17 to 22.5 per cent of their urban population.[36] In the US, 39 cities have faced population loss between 1990 and 2000.[37] Such shrinkage occurs when regional economies are in decline and populations migrate elsewhere, or when satellite cities draw a population away from a historically dominant urban core.[38]

In those parts of the world experiencing rapid urban growth, a key problem is that it is taking place in countries least able to cope: in terms of the ability of governments to provide urban infrastructure; in terms of the ability of urban residents to pay for such services; and in terms of coping with natural disasters. These countries also experience high levels of poverty and unemployment. The inevitable result has been the rapid growth of slums and squatter settlements – often characterized by deplorable living and environmental conditions. In the developing world, close to 37 per cent of the urban population currently live in slums in inequitable and life-threatening conditions, and are directly affected by both environmental disasters and social crises. In sub-Saharan Africa, 62 per cent of the urban population live under such conditions.[39] Such informal settlements are often built in high-risk areas such as steep hill slopes, deep gullies and flood-prone areas that are particularly susceptible to extreme weather conditions.

The issue of urbanization of poverty is particularly severe in sub-Saharan Africa, given that the bulk of urbanization is taking place under different economic conditions than those that prevailed in Latin America and parts of Asia. Here urbanization is occurring for the most part in the absence of industrialization and under much lower rates of economic growth. Urban growth rates are also more rapid here than elsewhere – between 2000 and 2005, Africa's average urban growth rate was 3.4 per cent per annum, compared to Asia at 2.6 per cent per and Latin America at 1.8 per cent.[40] The inevitable consequences are that urban poverty and unemployment are extreme, living conditions and urban

services are particularly bad (see Box 1.2), and survival is supported predominantly by the informal sector, which tends to be survivalist rather than entrepreneurial.

A significant feature of urbanization in both Africa and parts of Asia is the high level of mobility of the population. In Africa strong urban–rural ties still exist and keep many people in perpetual motion between urban and rural bases. This strategy of spatially 'stretching the household'[41] functions as an economic and social safety net, allowing access to constantly shifting economic opportunities as well as maintaining kinship and other networks. In China, a massive 'floating population' has emerged in which some 90 million to 125 million people are migrant workers, moving between urban and rural areas or between urban areas.[42] One implication of this phenomenon is that conceptualizing cities and towns as self-contained entities, which can be planned and managed accordingly, becomes questionable; another is that the commitment of people to particular urban locales and what happens in them becomes more tenuous. These factors have important implications for planning.

■ Urban socio-spatial change

The issue of how global economic change in the last few decades has impacted upon socio-spatial change in towns and cities has received much attention, along with the qualification that both local and global processes have shaped these changes. In essence, however, planners and urban managers have found themselves confronted with new spatial forms and processes, the drivers of which often lie outside the control of local government.

Socio-spatial change seems to have taken place primarily in the direction of the fragmentation, separation and specialization of functions and uses in cities, with labour market polarization (and, hence, income inequality) reflected in growing differences between wealthier and poorer areas. This is the case in both developed and developing countries. It is possible to contrast upmarket gentrified and suburban areas with tenement zones, ethnic enclaves and ghettos; and areas built for the advanced service and production sector, and for luxury retail and entertainment, with older areas of declining industry, sweatshops and informal businesses.[43] While much of this represents the playing out of 'market forces' in cities, and the logic of real estate and land speculation, it is also a response to local policies that have attempted to position cities globally in order to attract new investment. 'Competitive city' approaches to urban policy, most frequently found in developed countries, aim to attract global investment, tourists and a residential elite through upmarket property developments, waterfronts, convention centres and the marketing of culture and heritage.[44]

However, urban policies have also tried to control the negative effects of profit-driven development through the surveillance of public spaces, policing and crime-prevention efforts and immigration control. For example, in Latin American and Caribbean cities, fear of crime has increased urban fragmentation as middle- and upper-income households segregate themselves into 'gated' and high-security residential complexes. 'Gated' communities have multiplied

in major metropolitan areas such as Buenos Aires, São Paulo and Santiago. In Buenos Aires alone, the number of gated communities along its northern highway tripled in the 1990s, reaching 500 by 2001. Some of these have now become 'gated cities', providing full urban amenities for their residents with 'private highways' linking them together.[45]

Urban fragmentation has also been linked to economic development. An analysis of spatial change in Accra (Ghana) and in Mumbai (India)[46] shows how in each city three separate central business districts (CBDs) have emerged for local, national and global businesses, each differentially linked to the global economy. In South Asian cities, service-sector investments have been attracted to cities by the construction of exclusive enclaves with specialized infrastructure. In India, software technology parks cater for the business and social needs of internet technology and related enterprises. 'Pharma City' for the biotechnology industry and 'High Tech City' for the technology sector are similar initiatives, usually with special planning and servicing standards.[47] Significantly, the growth of investment in real estate and mega-projects in cities across the globe, often by large multinational companies, has drawn attention to the need for planning as a tool for local authorities to manage these pressures and to balance them with social and environmental concerns.

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. This process is leading to entirely new urban forms as the countryside itself begins to urbanize, as in vast stretches of rural India, Bangladesh, Pakistan, China, Indonesia, Egypt, West Africa, Rwanda and many other poorer countries and regions.[48] The coast of Benin (West Africa) is now a densely populated area stretching 125km through the three historical towns of Ouidah, Cotonou and Porto Novo. Around Porto Novo, population densities exceed 400 people per square kilometre.[49] Similarly, large cities have spread out and incorporated nearby towns, leading to continuous belts of settlement, such as the corridor from Abidjan to Ibadan, containing 70 million people and making up the urban agglomeration of

The bulk of rapid urban growth in developing countries is now taking place in the peri-urban areas

'Modern' urban planning emerged in the latter part of the 19th century, in response to rapidly growing, chaotic and polluted cities in Western Europe, brought about by the Industrial Revolution

Lagos. In Latin America, the coastal corridor in Venezuela now includes the cities of Maracaibo, Barquisimeto, Valencia, Caracas, Barcelona-Puerto La Cruz and Cumana, and the corridor in Brazil is anchored by São Paulo and Rio de Janeiro. Some mega-regions are transnational, such as Buenos Aires-Montevideo.[50]

The bulk of rapid urban growth in developing countries is now taking place in the peri-urban areas as poor urban dwellers look for a foothold in the cities and towns where land is more easily available, where they can escape the costs and threats of urban land regulations, and where there is a possibility of combining urban and rural livelihoods. For example, it is predicted that 40 per cent of urban growth in China up to 2025 will be in peri-urban areas, with this zone extending 150km or more from the core city.[51] It is these sprawling urban peripheries, almost entirely unserviced and unregulated, that make up the bulk of what is referred to as informal settlements. These kinds of areas are impossibly costly to plan and service in the conventional way, given the form of settlement, and even if that capacity did exist, few could afford to pay for such services. In fact, the attractiveness of these kinds of locations for poor households is that they can avoid the costs associated with formal and regulated systems of urban land and service delivery. Because of this, however, it is in these areas that environmental issues are particularly critical, both in terms of the natural hazards to which these settlements are exposed and the environmental damage that they cause.

WHY DOES URBAN PLANNING NEED TO CHANGE?

The planning of urban settlements has been taking place since the dawn of civilization. The first known planned settlement of Old Jericho was dated at 7000 BC and Catal Hüyük, in present-day Turkey, was already well developed in terms of its urbanity by 6000 BC (see Chapter 3). The urban settlements of Mohenjo-Daro and Harappa in the Indus Valley (in present-day Pakistan), dating back to 3500 BC, show evidence of planned street networks, drainage and sewage systems, and the separation of land uses.[52] Chinese settlements from 600 BC were planned to align with cosmic forces.[53] In Latin America and the Caribbean, ancient civilizations such as the Aztec civilization in modern Mexico, the Maya civilization in modern Mexico, Guatemala and Belize, and the Inca civilization in modern Peru and the Andean regions of modern Ecuador, Bolivia, Colombia, Chile and Argentina developed sophisticated systems of urban planning.[54] Several pre-colonial towns in Africa exhibited some form of rudimentary planning as well. Within the last century, however, planning has taken on a rather different form.

Modern urban planning

'Modern' urban planning emerged in the latter part of the 19th century, largely in response to rapidly growing, chaotic and polluted cities in Western Europe, brought about by the Industrial Revolution (see Chapter 3). 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 and Keynesian economics. Urban 'visions' put forward by particular individuals[55] 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.

There are several characteristics of this modern approach to planning.[56] First, planning was seen as an exercise in the physical planning and design of human settlements, with social, economic or political matters lying outside the scope of planning. Planning was a technical activity to be carried out by trained experts with relatively little involvement of politicians or communities. Second, it 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. While the master plan portrayed an ideal vision of the future, the primary legal tool for implementing these visions was the land-use zoning scheme. This legal concept – justified on the basis of the rational need for separating conflicting land uses – originated in Germany and was adopted with great enthusiasm across the US and Europe in the early part of the 20th century, particularly by the middle- and high-income groups who were able to use it as a way of maintaining property prices and preventing invasion by 'less desirable' lower-income residents, ethnic minorities and traders. The idea that planning can be used as a means of social and economic exclusion is not new.

Over the years, a range of different terms have been used to describe plans, with some terms specific to certain regions of the world. Table 1.1 lists the main terms in use, with a broad definition of each. In this chapter, the term *directive plan* is used to refer to that aspect of the planning system that sets out future desired spatial and functional patterns and relationships for an urban area.

The ideal urban forms that master planning promoted were specific to the time and place from which they emerged (see Box 1.3). For example, Ebenezer Howard's Garden City attempted to recreate English village life through bringing 'green' back into towns and through controlling their size and growth. The objectives were social: the preservation of a traditional way of life that was essentially anti-urban. The objectives were also aesthetic: bringing the beauty of the countryside into the towns.[57] In France, the ideas of architect Le Corbusier in the 1920s and 1930s established the ideal of the 'modernist' city,[58] which came to be highly influential internationally and still shapes planning in many parts of the world. Le Corbusier held that the ideal city was neat, ordered and highly controlled. Slums, narrow streets and mixed-use areas should be demolished and replaced with efficient transportation corridors, residences in the form of tower blocks with open space 'flowing' between them, and land uses separated into monofunctional zones. In the early 20th-century US, architect Frank Lloyd Wright promoted ideal cities in the form of low-density and dispersed urban forms, with each family on its own small plot. Some have argued that the seeds of later suburbia are to be found in these ideas.

'Modern' urban planning emerged in the latter part of the 19th century, largely in response to rapidly growing, chaotic and polluted cities in Western Europe

Type of plan	Description
Master plan	These are spatial or physical plans that 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	Reflects 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 1.1

Definitions of various types of urban plans

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 through processes of colonialism, market expansion and intellectual exchange (see Chapter 3). Frequently, these imported ideas were used for reasons of political, ethnic or racial domination and exclusion rather than in the interests of good planning. Colonialism was a very direct vehicle for diffusing planning systems. In these contexts, planning of urban settlements was frequently bound up with the 'modernizing and civilizing' mission of colonial authorities, but also with the control of urbanization processes and of the urbanizing population. Most colonial, and later post-colonial, governments also initiated a process of the commodification of land within the Western liberal tradition of private property rights, with the state maintaining control over the full exercise of these rights, including aspects falling under planning and zoning ordinances.

The idea of master planning has been subject to major critique in the planning literature, and in some parts of the world it has been replaced by processes and plans that are more participatory, flexible, strategic and action oriented. But in many regions, and particularly in developing countries, the early 20th-century idea of master planning and land-use zoning, used together to promote modernist urban environments, has persisted to date. In many parts of the world, citizens are still excluded from the planning process or informed only after planning decisions have been made.

The 'gap' between outdated planning approaches and current urban issues

As a result of the persistence of older approaches to urban planning, there is now a large disjuncture between prevailing planning systems and the nature of 21st-century cities. As the previous section has indicated, urban areas are now

Box 1.4 Most influential urban forms from the early 20th century

The most influential urban forms have been:

- *The garden city*, circa 1900 (UK): small, self-contained satellite towns, detached dwellings, large plots of land, low densities, separation of incompatible land uses, radial road networks and aesthetic, curving routes.
- *Greenbelts*, circa 1900 (UK): wide buffers of open space surrounding a town or city to prevent it from expanding outwards, and to separate it from new satellite towns (garden cities or new towns) beyond the belt.
- *The neighbourhood unit*, 1920s (US): low-density expanses of open space, focused on community facilities, minimizing conflict between cars and pedestrians by confining arterial routes to the periphery and discouraging through-traffic; assumption that this layout will create social communities.
- *Radburn layout*, 1928 (US): closely related to garden cities, this layout is characterized by cul-de-sacs and superblocks free of traffic; cars and pedestrians are separated from each other, public facilities and shops are located on pedestrian networks and embedded in open space.
- *Urban modernism*: new urban developments following Le Corbusian ideas of tower-blocks 'floating' in open space and connected by parkways.
- *Urban renewal* (1930s onwards): 'slum' clearance and rehousing projects following Radburn or neighbourhood unit layouts, and urban modernism.
- *Road hierarchies*, 1960s (UK): informed by the 1963 report by Colin Buchanan (traffic in towns). Provides a rationale for urban traffic management and the problems of traffic congestion by creating a hierarchy of roads with different functions. At the lowest level of the hierarchy an environmental cell (or residential area) carries only local traffic on 'local distributors'. At higher levels, district and primary distributors (freeways) carry passing and longer-distance traffic. The assumption is that every household will eventually own a car and all urban movement will be car based. These ideas fitted well with urban modernism and the two strands became closely interlinked.
- *New towns*, (war and post-war UK): as a regional response to a perception of problems of growth in major cities (de-concentration), but also seen as a tool of development in lagging regions.
- *Suburbia*, 1920s onwards: undefined and extensive areas of residential development on the urban periphery, single-family units, low densities and large plots of land, structured around car movement systems, serviced with community facilities and shopping malls. Assumes very high levels of car ownership and affluence.

Sources: Hall, 1988; Taylor, 1998

highly complex, rapidly changing entities, shaped by a range of local and global forces often beyond the control of local plans and planners. Many cities in developing countries now display the relics of planned modernist urban cores, surrounded by vast areas of informal and 'slum' settlement together with elite, developer-driven, commercial and residential enclaves. Older forms of modernist planning have little relevance for either of these forms of development. Moreover, with the process of decentralization in many parts of the world, there is a growing expectation from civil society and business groups that they should be involved in planning processes; but processes and practices of modernist planning preclude this.

It is surprising, therefore, that these outdated forms of planning persist in so many parts of the world, and are often strongly defended by governments. One reason might be that planned modernist cities are associated with being modern, with development and with 'catching up with the West', and have thus been attractive to governments and elites who wish to be viewed in this way. Another is that as long as the planning provisions are in place, they can be selectively mobilized to achieve particular sectional or political interests, or to influence the land use and development of some parts of cities in ways that may exclude the poor. Planning laws have sometimes been used to evict political opponents or as justification for land grabs.[59] In some parts of the world, urban informality is condoned by governments as it allows them to avoid the responsibility of providing services or land rights.[60] There are, however, additional problems with the persistence of older approaches to planning, as the following section indicates.

Problems with previous (modernist) approaches to urban planning

The most obvious problem with master planning and urban modernism is that they completely fail to accommodate the way of life of the majority of inhabitants in rapidly growing, largely poor and informal cities, and thus directly contribute to social and spatial marginalization. The possibility that people living in such circumstances could comply with zoning ordinances designed for relatively wealthy European towns is extremely unlikely. Two outcomes are possible here. One is that the system is strongly enforced, and people who cannot afford to comply with the zoning requirements are excluded to areas where they can evade detection – which would usually be an illegal informal settlement in the peri-urban areas. Alternatively, the municipality may not have the capacity to enforce the ordinance, in which case it will be ignored as simply unachievable.

With the first alternative, inappropriate and 'first world' zoning ordinances are instrumental in creating informal settlements and peri-urban sprawl, which have highly negative impacts upon the people who have to live under such conditions, upon city functioning and upon the environment. In effect, people have to step outside the law in order to secure land and shelter due to the elitist or exclusionary nature of urban land laws.[61] It could be argued, therefore, that city governments themselves are producing social and

spatial exclusion, and environmental hazards, as a result of the inappropriate laws and regulations which they adopt. The problem is an obsession with the physical appearance of cities rather than valuing and building on the social capital that is frequently created in poor or low-income communities.

A further aspect of planning that needs to change in many parts of the world is the way in which it has been located institutionally. In many countries, urban planning is not well integrated within governance systems and tends to operate in isolation from other line-function departments, and from the budgeting process. Its potential to coordinate the actions of other line-function departments in space has thus been missed, as well as the potential to influence the direction of those departments concerned with urban infrastructure. There is a further tendency for the directive aspects of planning to be de-linked from the regulatory or land-use management system, with the two often in different departments, making the implementation of directive spatial plans very difficult. Significantly, attempts to reform planning systems – for example, through urban management approaches – have often focused only on the directive aspects of planning, leaving the land-use management system to continue business as usual. Institutionally, modernist planning also finds itself out of synchrony with shifts to 'governance', decentralization and democratization. The top-down, technical and expert-driven approach that often still drives master planning can leave it at odds with community priorities and can impede implementation.

In sum, in many parts of the world, older and conventional forms of urban planning persist. These forms of planning are not only inappropriate for addressing the new, complex and rapidly changing factors that are affecting urban areas, but in some circumstances may be directly contributing to the exacerbation of poverty and spatial marginalization. Unrealistic planning regulations can force the poor to violate laws in order to survive.

WHY IS THERE A REVIVED INTEREST IN URBAN PLANNING?

Over the last century, the 'popularity' of planning has waxed and waned in various parts of the world. In China, it was abolished under Mao Tse-tung, but was formally rehabilitated in 1989 with the City Planning Act, which required the production of master plans to guide the growth of China's burgeoning cities.[62] In Eastern Europe, urban master planning was a central pillar of communist ideology. Planning suffered a severe crisis of legitimacy in the post-communist neo-liberal era, but the resultant chaotic growth of cities and environmental crises compelled the re-establishment of planning across the region in the post-2000 period.[63] In territories affected by Western colonization, urban planning was introduced as a central function of government by colonial powers; and in most places planning legislation was retained in the post-colonial era. Inappropriate and outdated planning legislation, low capacity to implement plans, and a growing gap between plan and reality in rapidly growing and

poor cities turned planning into a generally discredited function – a situation that still persists in some countries.

In the developed countries of Western Europe and North America, the 'golden age' of planning in the post-war and Keynesian era was replaced by attempts to weaken and sideline planning under the New Right politics of the 1970s and 1980s. Policies designed to 'roll back' the state and give more control to markets saw planning reorganized to promote the interests of business, finance and property speculators.[64] But this was to change again in the late 1990s as it became clear that unplanned and market-led urban development was having serious and negative environmental and social impacts. Planning is now again seen as important in this part of the world, although countries have responded differently to the need to reorganize, reshape and refocus planning systems so that they respond to current urban priorities.

Undoubtedly, however, it is the major new challenges of the 21st century that are currently leading to a worldwide return to an interest in planning: rapid urbanization, climate change, and resource shortages and costs – particularly of fuel and food. These are all issues that have significant implications for the spatial structure and functioning of cities and towns, and for their servicing, and are issues which 'the market' will not resolve. Essentially, they demand state intervention to fundamentally change the nature of cities; and this implies the need for planning. The next sections show how planning can be an important tool in addressing some of the issues that cities will have to confront.

The role of planning in addressing rapid urbanization, urban poverty and slums

Rapid urbanization, urban poverty and the growth of slums have also refocused attention on planning. The finding that 193,107 new urban dwellers are added to the world's urban population each day, resulting (in the case of developing countries) in a new city the size of Santiago or Kinshasa each month, has given cause for great concern. The fact that 17 per cent of cities in the developing world are experiencing annual growth rates of 4 per cent or more suggests that significant land and infrastructure development will have to take place to accommodate this growing population.[65]

Moreover, the bulk of these new urbanites will be poor and therefore will not be able to meet their accommodation and service needs through formal mechanisms. Governments will have to take the lead in directing service and shelter delivery for the growing urban population. The failure of governments to do this in the past has resulted in close to 1 billion slum dwellers worldwide. This figure is expected to double in the next 30 years if no firm action is taken. Given that the upgrading of slums is a more expensive process than planning ahead of development, there is no question that new urban growth should be planned. Urban planning can play a key role in achieving Target 11 of the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), which seeks to substantially improve the lives of at least 100 million slum dwellers by 2020 through alternatives to new slum formation.

Addressing the slum challenge requires a new approach to planning. A key question that arises is: how can urban planning contribute to improving the living conditions of current slum dwellers by providing adequate alternatives to new slum formation? Planning can ensure that slum upgrading programmes are participatory. This requires identifying the existing and potential roles of the various stakeholders, who include the poor, national and local authorities, the private sector and civil society groups, as well as the international community. Apart from the technical aspects of slum upgrading, a key role of planning would be to 'assess ways in which the relative strengths of each stakeholder group can be combined to maximize synergies between their contributions'.[66] Planning can also ensure that slum upgrading programmes are community led, negotiated and participatory in order to avoid conflicts and safeguard the livelihoods of the poor. Too often, slum upgrading programmes in developing countries involve little meaningful dialogue with those affected.

Planning will have to play a significant role in providing alternatives to the formation of new slums, given the anticipated doubling of urban population over the next generation. To this end, cities need to apply the principle of planning before development by focusing on the future needs of low-income populations.[67] This will entail improving the performance of city authorities to manage the process of urbanization and future urban growth through effective land-use planning, and mobilization of resources and capacity-building. The first of these will require making land and trunk infrastructure available for low-income housing in agreed locations, as well as the provision of education, healthcare, access to employment, and other social services within these areas. This would also require enacting realistic and enforceable regulations that reflect the culture and lifestyle of the community. The second will entail leveraging a variety of local/domestic and international sources to facilitate community financing and the mobilization of local action.

The role of planning in addressing sustainable urban development and climate change

Worries about the environmental impacts of urban development were behind the revival of interest in planning in the 1990s, with the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development (UNCED) introducing the concept of sustainable development into planning primarily through the Agenda 21 frameworks. As countries rapidly urbanize, the issue of sustainable urbanization becomes crucial since unplanned urbanization will constrain the sustainable development of cities. Urban planning can play a vital role in ensuring sustainable urbanization. The goal of sustainable urbanization is liveable, productive and inclusive cities, towns and villages. Achieving sustainable cities and contributing to climate protection requires planned change to the way in which cities are spatially configured and serviced. Both adaptation and mitigation measures to respond to the effects of climate change require that cities

In many parts of the world, older and conventional forms of urban planning persist

Rapid urbanization, urban poverty and the growth of slums have also refocused attention on planning

are planned differently.

Climate change is a global phenomenon, but a deeply local issue. Urban areas contribute to climate change through resource use in urban activities. But they can also play a pivotal role in climate change mitigation and adaptation strategies. Urban planning can help mainstream climate change considerations into urban development processes. Responding to climate change has important implications for urban planning: steering settlement away from flood-prone coastal areas and those subject to mudslides; protecting forest, agricultural and wilderness areas and promoting new ones; and developing and enforcing local climate protection measures. In Latin America and the Caribbean, the planning system plays an important role in determining building codes and materials specifications, protective devices such as dikes, and the retrofitting of existing structures to make them more hazard resistant.[68] Planning also plays a role in identifying hazard-prone areas and limiting their use through land-use zoning, tax incentives and the relocation of residents from hazard-prone areas.

Ideas about compact and public transport-based cities are ways in which cities could impact less upon climate change. Retrofitting existing car-based cities with public transport- and pedestrian-based movement systems would go a long way towards reducing fuel demands. It has also been suggested that cities planned in this way are more equitable in terms of providing good accessibility to both wealthier and poorer urban residents and overcoming spatial marginalization.[69] However, the possibility of controlling urban development this way in many cities in developing countries remains a challenge.

The role of planning in addressing urban crime and violence

While there are numerous social and economic factors that give rise to crime and violence in cities, poor planning, design and management are also contributing causes.[70] At the design level, it is important to promote human surveillance of public spaces and the design of parks and public spaces so that they are well lit and well integrated with other activity-generating uses. Large mono-functional areas such as open-space parking and industrial areas are likely to be deserted at certain times and, hence, unsafe. High blank walls and buildings without active street frontage can also encourage crime. Mixed-use higher-density developments with integrated public space systems are preferable.

Experience has shown that it is important for safety principles to be factored into all urban design and planning. For instance, in the UK, police architectural liaison officers are available to advise planners and designers.[71] There are also advisory documents available at both national and local government level, setting out the goals of the planning system in relation to urban safety. UN-Habitat, as part of its Safer Cities Programme in African cities, has developed a number of planning and design suggestions. These include planning for mixed use and activity in public places; signage and lighting; access to help; CCTV surveillance and patrols, particularly by communities; cleaning and waste removal;

management of markets and public ways; and urban renewal schemes.[72] Besides, urban planning can contribute to crime prevention through better management of the urbanization process. This entails providing basic services and infrastructure and improving the living conditions of city dwellers.

The role of planning in addressing post-conflict and post-disaster situations

Urban planning can play a crucial role in post-conflict situations. Post-conflict societies are characterized by weak institutional capacity to plan; absence of a strong rule of law, which results in chaotic and inefficient development; dysfunctional land management and land administration systems; invasion of land by the poor, homeless, internally displaced persons, returnees and refugees; conflicting claims over the same plot of land or house; large-scale destruction of buildings and infrastructure that might have to be reconstructed outside formal channels; and large-scale ambiguity and gaps in the regulatory framework.[73] Introducing urban planning in post-conflict situations is a crucial step for sound urban development and can contribute to creating a more stable, peaceful and prosperous society. It also allows for effective coordination of donor assistance, as well as more efficient use of limited local physical, human, technical and financial resources. The UN-Habitat *urban trialogues* approach, illustrated in Somalia, used spatial planning to help reintegrate conflict-displaced communities back into cities.[74]

Post-disaster situations offer urban planning a unique opportunity to rethink past development practices, improve the sustainability of human settlements and effectively prepare communities against threats and risks. Urban planning can contribute to post-disaster rehabilitation of human settlements. Planning can also strengthen the capacity to manage natural and human-made disasters, increase the capacity for disaster prevention and mitigation, and strengthen coordination and networking among communities, non-governmental organizations (NGOs), governments and external support organizations in addressing disaster-related activities. Furthermore, urban planning can ensure that programmes and projects undertaken after disasters address the long-term development objectives and needs of the affected areas, and ensure an effective transition to sustainable development.

It is clear that urban planning has an important role to play in addressing major urban issues of the 21st century. Rapid urbanization, urban poverty, growth of slums, climate change, urban crime, conflicts, as well as natural and human-made disasters, are some of the most important of these. A realization of this potential role is part of the reason for a revived interest in urban planning. UN-Habitat has played a central role in drawing the attention of governments to the need to address these issues, with all six of the Global Reports published to date focusing on the escalating urban crisis and the need for intervention. These reports have called for good urban governance, appropriate urban planning and management policies, and in the most recent report, appropriate urban policy, planning design and gover-

Urban planning can help mainstream climate change considerations into urban development processes

Urban planning can play a crucial role in post-conflict situations

nance to address urban safety and security. This Global Report, which focuses on urban planning, places this management tool firmly at the top of the global urban agenda, while recognizing that planning approaches have to change significantly in order to meet this challenge.

POTENTIALS OFFERED BY NEW APPROACHES TO URBAN PLANNING

While conventional master planning continues in many parts of the world, there has been extensive criticism of this approach and, consequently, attempts to find new approaches to urban planning (see Chapter 3). There is also a new tendency for concerns such as gender, crime and safety, health, heritage and environment to be incorporated within urban planning approaches as 'cross-cutting' programmes, often with the encouragement of international development agencies. In some cases, new planning ideas are still experimental or have only been tried out in a limited number of places. Most of these new planning initiatives have elements in common, and they try to address what have been clear problems in traditional master planning systems. These common elements:

- are strategic rather than comprehensive;
- are flexible rather than end-state oriented and fixed;
- are action and implementation oriented through links to budgets, projects and city-wide or regional infrastructure;
- are stakeholder or community driven rather than only expert driven;
- are occasionally linked to political terms of office;
- contain objectives reflecting emerging urban concerns – for example, city global positioning, environmental protection, sustainable development, achieving urban-related MDGs, social inclusion and local identity;
- play an integrative role in policy formulation and in urban management by encouraging government departments to coordinate their plans in space; and
- focus on the planning process, with the outcomes being highly diverse and dependent upon stakeholder influence or local policy directions.

This section briefly reviews the most important of these approaches. To a large extent they have been shaped by the regional context from which they have emerged, although it is possible to discern international borrowing of these ideas. The new approaches are grouped under seven broad categories:

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

6 new forms of master planning; and
7 planning aimed at producing new spatial forms.

There is considerable overlap between these categories; some emphasize planning process and others outcomes, and sometimes these are combined.

Strategic spatial planning and its variants

Strategic spatial planning emerged in Western Europe during the 1980s and 1990s[75] partly in response to the problems of master planning. A strategic spatial planning system commonly contains a directive, a long-range spatial plan consisting of frameworks and principles, and broad and conceptual spatial ideas, rather than detailed spatial design. The plan does not address every part of a city – being strategic means focusing on only those aspects or areas that are important to overall plan objectives. The spatial plan is linked to a planning scheme or ordinance specifying land uses and development rights. The spatial plan also provides guidance for urban projects, which in the context of Europe are often 'brownfield' urban regeneration projects and/or infrastructural projects.

Strategic spatial planning has since found its way to other parts of the world. It has been adopted by several cities in Eastern Europe[76] and a number of Latin American cities. 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.[77]

In Barcelona (Spain), a variant of strategic spatial planning claimed significant success and represented an important shift away from master planning. A city-wide strategic plan promoted a 'compact' urban form and provided a framework for a set of local urban projects which had a strong urban design component. However, some see this approach to strategic planning as largely corporate planning around economic development goals with certain social and environmental objectives attached.[78] The 'Barcelona Model' has since been 'exported' to other parts of the world, with an attempt to apply it in Buenos Aires[79] highlighting the need for caution when transferring planning ideas to very different contexts.

Spatial planning as a tool for integrating public-sector functions

The problem of integrating different functions of urban government has become a common one, and this is seen as a potentially important role for spatial planning. The new UK planning system,[80] which introduces regional spatial strategies and local development frameworks, aims to replace conventional land-use planning with spatial planning. The new approach focuses on decentralized solutions, as well as a desire to integrate the functions of the public sector and

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

New planning ideas are still experimental or have only been tried out in a limited number of places

inject a spatial or territorial dimension into sectoral strategies. There is also recognition that achieving environmental sustainability will require sectoral interests to work together and cut across traditional disciplinary and professional boundaries.[81] As a result, the purpose of the new spatial plans – 'shaping spatial development through the coordination of the spatial impacts of sector policy and decisions' – is very different from the purpose of the previous land-use plans – 'regulating land use and development through designation of areas of development and protection, and application of performance criteria'. An unresolved issue, however, is exactly how the new spatial plans align with the development control system. In South Africa, departmental integration has been a central goal of the new integrated development planning (IDP) system in local government.[82] The IDP is a medium-term municipal plan linked to a five-year political cycle, although aspects of the plan, including the vision and the spatial development framework, have a longer-term horizon.

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, especially the peri-urban areas, 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 regularization approaches require an attitudinal shift in government to recognize the potentially positive role of informality; require policies, laws and regulations that are adapted to the dynamics of informality; and require efforts to improve the support for, and legitimacy of, the planning system by those involved in informality. New planning ideas suggest alternatives to the removal of informal settlements, ways of using planning tools to strategically influence development actors, and ways of working with development actors to manage public space and provide services.

Participatory processes and partnerships in planning

Participation and public–private partnerships have become important elements in all of the innovative planning approaches discussed in this Global Report. Potentially, participation in planning can empower communities and build social capital, can lead to better design of urban projects and can allow for participants' concerns to be incorporated within strategies. Successful participation is, however, dependent upon certain preconditions relating to the political context (a political system that encourages active citizenship and that is committed to equity and redress), the legal basis for participation (processes and outcomes are legally specified) and available resources (skilled and committed professionals, well-resourced and empowered local governments, and informed and organized communities and stakeholders).

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 approaches is participatory budgeting, which first occurred in Porto Alegre in Brazil and has since been attempted in other parts of the world. Citizens participate and vote on the municipal budget in either regional or thematic 'assemblies', and form local forums to discuss how the budget should be spent in their areas. Research shows that this is not a simple solution which can be imposed everywhere[83] and is not a technical process that can be detached from local political culture.

A rather different form of participation, but nonetheless very prevalent, is public–private partnerships. In developing countries these have often developed around public infrastructure provision when municipalities lack resources or skills to provide this. In developed countries, they often take the form of private-sector planning and investment in urban projects. Frequently these involve redeveloping urban brownfield sites, where the profit-oriented aims of the developer are aligned with the aims of municipalities for modernization, economic restructuring and physical regeneration. Urban regeneration in Cardiff[84] is a good example of how a coalition between the political elite and private-sector commercial property development interests was central to explaining the success achieved. However, as in Cardiff, this approach can neglect social inclusion, equality and sustainability objectives, everyday service delivery and the achievement of high-quality urban design.

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

The Urban Management Programme (UMP), established in 1986 by the Urban Development Unit of the World Bank in partnership with the United Nations Centre for Human Settlements (UNCHS, now UN-Habitat) and funded by UNDP, is the largest global urban programme to date. The objective was to promote socially and environmentally sustainable human settlements and adequate shelter, and to reduce urban poverty and social exclusion. It 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, and particularly with the 'urban management' approach, it attempted to shift the responsibility for planning and development to the whole of local government rather than being the responsibility of only one department, attempted 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. In 2006 UN-Habitat disengaged from the programme and transferred the work to local anchor institutions.[85]

Over the last couple of decades, there have been attempts, largely by international development agencies, to promote particular sectoral, or issue-specific, concerns in urban plans. The most important of these have been:

Strategic spatial planning has since found its way to other parts of the world

Participation and public–private partnerships have become important elements in innovative planning approaches

- *The Localizing Agenda 21 Programme*: this emerged from the 1992 Earth Summit agreements. It offers a multi-year support system for selected 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 the United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP), designed to build capacities in environmental planning and management through urban local authorities.
- *The Safer Cities Programme*: initiated by UN-Habitat to tackle the escalating problem of urban crime and violence by developing the crime prevention capacities of local authorities.
- *The Disaster Management Programme*: established by UN-Habitat to assist governments and local authorities to rebuild in countries recovering from war or natural disasters.
- *The Healthy Cities Programme*: initiated by the World Health Organization (WHO) for the purpose of improving, promoting and maintaining conducive urban environmental health conditions by involving all actors within the city.
- *The Global Campaign on Urban Governance*: launched by UN-Habitat in 1999, it attempted to encourage urban planning to be pro-poor and inclusive. Its vision was to realize the inclusive city – a place where everyone, regardless of wealth, status, gender, age, race or religion, is enabled to participate productively and positively in the opportunities that cities have to offer. It specifically promoted the involvement of women in decision-making.
- *The Global Campaign for Secure Tenure*: launched by UN-Habitat in 2002, it aimed to improve the conditions of people living and working in slums and informal settlements by promoting security of tenure. It encouraged negotiation as an alternative to forced eviction, and the establishment of innovative systems of tenure that minimize bureaucratic lags and the displacement of the urban poor by market forces.
- *City Development Strategy (CDS)*: promoted by the Cities Alliance – a joint World Bank–UN-Habitat initiative – and encourages local governments to produce inter-sectoral and long-range visions and plans for cities.
- *Gender responsiveness*: the promotion of gender mainstreaming issues in local government and planning. Gender-specific participatory governance tools such as gender budgeting, women's safety audits and women's hearings have been developed.[86]

In addition to these agency-driven, issue-specific programmes, there are further issues that have gained some prominence in the planning literature. The linking of urban planning with infrastructure is the subject of Chapter 8 of this Global Report. How to conduct planning in the peri-urban areas of developing countries has become an important new concern,[87] and ways of using planning to address climate change is likely to become increasingly important in the future.

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. The view is that while conventional urban planning strives to achieve an ideal city, from which illegality and informality are banned, new urban master planning deals with the existing city to develop tools to tackle these problems in just and democratic ways.[88] One important new regulatory tool has been the special zones of social interest. This is a legal instrument for land management applied to areas with a 'public interest': existing *favelas* and to vacant public land. It intervenes in the dynamics of the real estate market to control land access, secure social housing, and protect against down-raiding and speculation that would dispossess the poor.

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

During recent years, there has been a reaction against urban modernist forms[89] and urban sprawl. While low-density, sprawling cities are the norm in most parts of the world, there is growing support for the 'compact city' and 'new urbanist' forms (see Chapters 6 and 8).[90] At the city-wide scale, the 'compact city' approach argues for medium- to high-built densities. Mixed-use environments and good public open spaces are important, especially as places for small and informal businesses. Urban containment policies are common, often implemented through the demarcation of a growth boundary or urban edge 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. This position 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 edges, and varying transport options.[91] Facilities such as health, libraries, retail and government services cluster around key public transport facilities and intersections to maximize convenience. These spatial forms have been strongly promoted in the US, and have been implemented in the form of neighbourhoods such as Celebration Town[92] and Seaside.

To conclude, it is worth noting that most of these ideas focus on procedural aspects and new ways in which planning can be integrated within governance processes. There has been far less attention paid to the urban forms that result from these planning processes, or the nature of the regulatory frameworks underpinning them, although there are some exceptions. Yet, the new objectives that are informing strategic planning, particularly those relating to social inclusion, can only be realized through changes in regulatory frameworks and systems of land rights.

Over the last couple of decades, there have been attempts, by international development agencies, to promote issue-specific concerns in urban plans

In some parts of the world, traditional master planning and regulatory systems continue; but these are being used in innovative ways

DEFINING URBAN PLANNING AND IDENTIFYING NORMATIVE PRINCIPLES

This section undertakes two tasks. It puts forward a definition of urban planning that attempts to capture the newly emerging conception of planning as well as the varied nature of the activity across the globe. It then proposes a set of normative principles or criteria, against which planning systems in various parts of the world can be assessed. The reason for this is to avoid putting forward any new or revised 'model' of planning that could supposedly be applied anywhere. This Global Report seeks to stress that urban conditions and dynamics are highly variable in different parts of the world (see Chapter 2), and new planning systems and approaches must be fully embedded in the institutional and socio-economic contexts within which they operate.

Definitions of planning

While urban planning as a form of governmental practice can be found in most parts of the world, its role and form, and perceptions of what it should achieve, vary significantly and there are debates on this within regions and countries. Even the term used to describe the activity of planning varies: spatial planning, land-use planning, physical planning, city planning, town (and regional) planning, and development planning are English-language terms in use. The French term *urbanisme* and the Spanish *urbanization* (to make urban) refer more broadly to economic and social relations rather than just physical factors and are closer to the term development planning. And in China the terms master plan, comprehensive city plan and detailed plan are in current use.

More recently, attempts to change conventional physical planning to be a more strategic and integrated activity of government have resulted in terms such as 'urban (public) management', now including the activity of urban planning. To complicate matters further, the emergence of environment as an important concern of government has resulted in the term 'environmental planning/management', sometimes referring to environment in the broadest sense, to include both the natural and built environment.

Earlier definitions of urban planning which described it as an activity of government also require modification in some parts of the world. The change from 'government' to 'governance' in liberal democracies has meant that urban planning is now often initiated and carried out in the context of partnership between the state, the private sector and civil society organizations. In many cities, property developers now play a bigger role in urban planning than does the state. Also possible, where states are weak and ineffective, are situations in which communities and households plan, service and develop their own areas. By contrast, in countries such as China where state, civil society and economic actors are highly integrated, urban planning can still be described as an activity of government.

The following definition is put forward as a reflection of the concept of urban planning[93] that has been used in this Global Report (see Box 1.4).

Normative principles to guide revised approaches to urban planning

While the activity of urban planning is recognized and practised in most parts of the world, the contexts within which it operates vary greatly. Different urban issues, different political, economic and institutional systems, and different cultures and value systems all shape the planning system in different ways. It would therefore be incorrect to assume that a single new model or approach to planning could be developed, which could then be introduced in all parts of the world. Rather, the approach taken here is to suggest a list of normative principles against which all planning systems can be assessed. Planning systems in different parts of the world may meet these principles in different ways, using different institutional structures and processes, and different methodologies and outcomes. Some of these principles may be more appropriate in certain contexts than in others. Some cities or regions may have particular priorities or values not reflected here. This set of principles also coincides closely with those recently put forward by the Global Planners Network (GPN): a network of 25 professional planning institutes (see Box 1.5).

In this Global Report the following principles are posed as questions that can be used to interrogate urban planning systems:

- Does the planning system recognize, and have the ability to respond to, current and impending environmental and natural resource issues and natural hazards and threats in ways that promote sustainability? Does it provide for the recognition of the ecological consequences of all urban projects?
- Does the planning system recognize, and have the ability to promote social justice – in particular, to be participatory, pro-poor, redistributive, gender sensitive and inclusive and to acknowledge the important role of informality? Linked to this, does it have the ability to promote global charters such as the MDGs?
- Is the planning system backed up by, and aligned with, progressive national constitutions and international agreements on human and environmental justice? Can it recognize the 'rights' of urban dwellers to the city?
- 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, socio-economic and spatial diversity at all scales?
- Does the planning system facilitate and encourage open and ongoing public dialogue between various partners and groupings on planning processes and outcomes? Are the outcomes of such dialogues clearly translated into planning documents and regulations?
- Does the planning system facilitate urban built forms and infrastructural systems that are environmentally

sustainable and supportive of local livelihoods and social inclusion? Can the system recognize and support the making of 'places' that reflect local identity, cultures and needs?

- Does the planning system acknowledge the important role played by informality, including slums and informal settlements, in many cities? Is it able to be sufficiently flexible to act on the opportunities presented by informal practices and groups and by community-based organizations (CBOs) and NGOs?
- Is there sustained support for the planning system from government, from politicians, from the business sector and from both wealthy and poor communities? Has it been adopted for sound reasons and not because it has been imposed by outside donor or aid agencies, or international consultants?
- Can the planning system cope with the need for both greater and lesser degrees of flexibility – for example, to be able to implement firm controls where the need for protection (of the environment, heritage, etc.) and social inclusion exist, or where market externalities occur, and to be more flexible where population and economic factors are rapidly changing?
- Does the planning system have the ability to promote (e.g. achieve local economic development and slum upgrading) as well as control? This implies that it does not just present a future vision, but can also take steps to reach it?
- Does the planning system consider plan and implementation as interrelated processes, linked to budgets and decision-making systems (i.e. it does not just present a future vision but can also take steps to reach it)?
- Is there alignment and synergy between directive and strategic spatial plans and the system of land laws and land-use management? Is there a mechanism for this linkage?
- Is there alignment and synergy between urban plans and broader institutional visions that may be captured in public documents such as a CDS?
- Is the planning system institutionally located and embedded so that it can play an effective role in terms of spatial coordination and promotion of policies, and implementation?
- Is there recognition that urban planning systems have limitations in terms of achieving all of the above, and that properly aligned and integrated national and regional plans and policies are extremely important in terms of achieving well-performing urban areas?
- Does the planning system include an approach to monitoring and evaluating urban plans, including clear indicators of plan success? Do institutions have the capacity and resources to undertake this task?
- Are there close linkages between planning practice, the professional organizations of planning, and the planning education systems? Do the planning education systems have the capacity and resources to produce sufficient skilled graduates, who are in touch with current issues and practices?

Box 1.5 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 and centred in the state. Current perspectives recognize the institutional shift from government to governance (although in some parts of the world planning is still centred in the state), the necessarily wider scope of planning beyond land use, and the need to consider how plans are implemented.

Urban planning is therefore currently viewed as a self-conscious collective (societal) 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 (other professions and groupings are also involved); hence, it is appropriate to refer to the 'planning system' rather than just to the tasks undertaken by planners. Nonetheless, urban (and regional) planning has distinctive concerns that separate it from, for example, economic planning or health planning. At the core of urban planning is a concern with space (i.e. with 'the where of things', 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 that 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 (a form of politics) driven by the articulation of policies through some kind of deliberative process and the judgement of collective action in relation to these policies. Planning is not, therefore, a neutral technical exercise: it is shaped by values that must be made explicit, and planning itself is fundamentally concerned with making ethical judgements.

Source: adapted from Healey, 2004

Box 1.6 The principles of the Global Planners Network: New urban planning

The Global Planners Network (GPN) puts forward the following ten principles for new urban planning:

1   promote sustainable development;
2   achieve integrated planning;
3   integrate with budgets;
4   plan with partners;
5   meet the subsidiarity principle;
6   promote market responsiveness;
7   ensure access to land;
8   develop appropriate planning tools;
9   be pro-poor and inclusive;
10 recognize cultural variation.

Source: www.globalplannersnetwork.org/

ORGANIZATION OF THE REPORT

This Global Report is divided into six parts. Parts I to V consist of 11 chapters while Part VI is the Statistical Annex. It is useful at this stage to introduce the chapters in the report and to summarize the issues they cover.

Part I – Challenges and context

The purpose of Part I of the Global Report is to provide an introduction and background to the need to revisit urban planning. This chapter has explained the important new forces that are affecting urban settlements in all parts of the world and, hence, the reason for a review of urban planning to see if current approaches are able to address new urban challenges. Planning systems in many parts of the world are in need of change, and this chapter has summarized some of the emerging new approaches. The rest of this chapter has outlined the definition of planning used in this report, and finally proposed a set of normative principles against which current urban planning systems can be assessed.

Chapter 2 describes the very different urban conditions that are to be found in various parts of the world. An important premise of this Global Report is that traditional approaches to planning have often failed to consider, or respond to, the very different contexts for planning. These differences are partly regional: both urban conditions and socio-political systems are remarkably different in developed and developing parts of the world (and within these categories as well). There are also important differences within urban settlements that planning needs to take account of: differences structured by levels of development, poverty, inequality, etc., and differences in forms of human settlement. Chapter 2 highlights these differences in order to emphasize the point that there can be no one model of planning which can apply in all parts of the world.

Part II – Global trends: The urban planning process (procedural)

The purpose of this part of the Global Report is to provide a background to the emergence of urban planning and new approaches. It then examines trends in institutional and political forces that have shaped planning systems, and the processes of decision-making in planning.

Chapter 3 explains the emergence and spread of contemporary forms of urban planning. It considers how a technical, expert-led and top-down form of planning emerged in developed countries at the end of the 19th century. This approach to planning then spread to other parts of the world. More recently, there has been a shift from this earlier form of plannings to new forms that emphasize participatory decision-making processes and the need for flexible plans that can respond to changing economic and social forces. However, in many parts of the world, traditional forms of planning still persist. This chapter aims to explain these processes and differences and to identify the innovative approaches to planning that appear to hold promise.

An important premise of this Global Report is that traditional approaches to planning have often failed to consider, or respond to, the very different contexts for planning

Chapter 4 examines the complex and highly variable institutional contexts within which the activities of planning take place. It examines the main purposes of planning, the tasks it performs and the tools available to implement these tasks. It provides a framework for understanding the institutional contexts of planning, and the tensions that can arise within these. The important issue of the legal context of planning activity is explored, and how the different institutions undertaking land and property development operate in relation to this context. The chapter examines the issue of urban governance capacity and the different arrangements that have emerged to undertake planning: these affect plan formulation and implementation in important ways. A key point of emphasis in this chapter is that the institutional and regulatory frameworks which shape planning are highly variable, given that they, in turn, are part of a wider governance context influenced by history and place.

Chapter 5 examines the issue of participation and politics in planning. The shift from a view of planning as a technical and expert-driven activity to one which views it as a process of societal consultation, negotiation and consensus-seeking has been profound. This chapter explains trends in urban politics and how these provide a framework for government, and the relationships between government and non-governmental actors in policy formulation and implementation. It examines debates on the difficult issue of public participation in planning, drawing on experiences documented in both the planning and development fields. The chapter examines what might be more appropriate and pro-poor approaches to planning, and how the potentials of participation might be achieved while avoiding its pitfalls.

Part III – Global trends: The content of urban plans (substantive)

Over the past decades there have been important shifts in approaches to planning and the kinds of urban issues which urban plans deal with. Older and traditional approaches tended to focus on the separation of land uses, regulating built form, promoting 'aesthetic' environments, and achieving efficient traffic flow. More recently, different issues have required attention in planning. Three of the most important issues – environment, informal urban activity and infrastructure planning – are dealt with in this part.

Chapter 6 links planning and sustainable urban development. The emergence of environment and natural resource availability as key issues for cities and urban planning are increasingly important. This chapter discusses how urban planning can promote sustainable urbanization by responding to global and local environmental challenges. In this new area of urban planning, the institutional, regulatory and technical preconditions are still being developed. Planning and environmental management often operate in different government silos and with different policy and legal frameworks, and there are frequent tensions between the 'green' and 'brown' agendas in cities. This chapter shows many ways in which the two agendas can be reconciled if sustainable urban development is to be realized.

Chapter 7 considers the fact that urban settlements, particularly (but not only) in developing countries, are becoming increasingly informal. By contrast, planning takes place within the formal structures and legal systems of government, and often does not cater for, or support, the majority of city-builders and operators, who are informal. Many of the urban poor in developing countries cannot afford to live in planned areas or conform to the requirements of planning regulations. This exclusion of large proportions of the urban population in developing countries has given rise to new urban forms, as many informal urban dwellers now live in the peri-urban areas. These fragmented, sprawling and un-serviced areas are now some of the fastest growing parts of cities, but are also the most difficult to service and plan. This chapter examines the issues which these trends raise for a revised urban planning.

Chapter 8 links planning with the spatial structure of cities and the provision of urban infrastructure. Urban settlements everywhere are spatially shaped by their infrastructural systems, and the nature and form of these contribute significantly to the degree of marginalization of the urban population and the sustainability of urban ecological systems. Transport, water, sewerage, electricity and telecommunications systems play key roles in the development of efficient, healthy and sustainable cities. Other amenities (schools, health services, etc.) are also important for the development of liveable cities. Compact, mixed-use and public transport-based urban forms support urban efficiency and liveability far more than low-density car-dependent forms. More recently, urban development has been driven by 'mega-projects' that impact upon infrastructural systems and urban change in important ways. This chapter concludes that a much closer connection between spatial planning and infrastructure provision is crucial to achieve efficient, sustainable and inclusive cities.

Part IV – Global trends: Monitoring, evaluation and education

This part of the Global Report discusses two areas that potentially give support to planning and help it to be more effective: monitoring and evaluation, and planning education.

Chapter 9 considers the monitoring and evaluation of urban plans. Urban planning is often at a disadvantage as there is a poorly developed tradition of plan monitoring and evaluation. Planners find it difficult to argue that their work is having a positive impact as they are often uncertain about the effectiveness or efficiency of their interventions. This chapter explains the evolution of programme and policy evaluation in the public sector, as well as the concepts, principles and models of evaluation. Evaluation systems are common in most developed countries and larger urban centres; but in developing countries there are obstacles that preclude planning evaluation. However, there is growing interest in the development and use of indicators to enhance urban policy decision-making and performance measurement.

Chapter 10 discusses planning education. Planning effectiveness is strongly influenced by the expertise of the trained professionals who manage and produce planning processes and products, although newer approaches recognize that planning activity depends upon the inputs of many sectors, groups and professionals. This chapter examines whether planning education is attuned to changing urban contexts, and the degree to which planning schools worldwide have the capabilities needed to lead the next generation of planning practice in the light of changes under way. It notes that in some parts of the world, planning education has not kept pace with changing urban conditions and demands on professionals. The chapter documents the development of tertiary-sector urban planning education worldwide, and lays out the key philosophical and practical debates that framed planning education as it grew in the 20th century. It assesses the capacity of educational and professional institutions and suggests directions for change.

Part V – Future policy directions

Building on the previous chapters, the final part of the Global Report explores the future policy directions necessary to make urban planning more effective.

Chapter 11 is the concluding chapter. Its purpose is to outline a new role for urban planning. It suggests that in many parts of the world a 'paradigm' shift in urban planning is required if life in urban settlements is to be tolerable through the next century. The chapter first summarizes the key findings of the report. It then draws out what the main elements of a more positive urban planning might be. It identifies the main principles of innovative planning that might stimulate ideas elsewhere, although the actual form they would take will always be fundamentally influenced by context. Finally, it examines the changes that would need to be in place or the initiatives that might be supportive to promote new approaches to planning.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

This chapter has introduced the idea of revisiting urban planning. It explains why it has become necessary to reconsider the future of urban settlements, and it documents the main factors that are now affecting urban settlements in all parts of the world. It notes that while many of these factors affect settlements globally, they are still not producing homogeneous urban places. Global factors interrelate with local particularities, and local histories, to produce very different urban places facing different kinds of urban issues. Understanding these recent urban changes highlights the gap that has emerged between current urban dynamics and planning legal and institutional systems, which, in many parts of the world, have changed very slowly. This gap between early 20th-century Western European and North American ideas about ideal urban environments, on the one hand, and the realities of rapid urbanization, slum growth, informality and environmental change, on the other, has rendered many planning systems ineffective and sometimes destructive.

The serious nature of all of these urban challenges requires action, and urban planning presents a potential tool

Over the past decades there have been important shifts in approaches to planning and the kinds of urban issues which urban plans deal with

Urban planning is often at a disadvantage as there is a poorly developed tradition of plan monitoring and evaluation

that can be reformed, where necessary, to contribute to finding solutions to these problems. With this in mind, this chapter has emphasized the potentials of urban planning and the cases where it has been used to good effect. It has also discussed some of the new approaches that have emerged in recent years, not because they offer themselves as 'models' that can be imposed on any context, but because they contain ideas which can be useful in different kinds of urban areas with different kinds of problems. An important conclusion is that there is no single model or approach to urban planning that can solve urban problems. Unless new approaches to planning are deeply embedded in the institutional culture and norms of a place, and articulate closely with accepted practices of urban management, they will have little effect. For this reason, this chapter has not attempted to set out an 'answer' to the question of what should urban planning be like? Rather, it has offered a set of normative criteria against which existing planning systems can be tested; how they meet these criteria may vary considerably.

There is no single model or approach to urban planning that can solve urban problems

NOTES

1   UN-Habitat, 2008b.
2   The term 'urban planning' has the same meaning in this Global 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.
3   UN, 1999.
4   Wacquant, 2008.
5   Shatkin, 2006.
6   Irazábal, 2008a.
7   Hirt and Stanilov, 2008.
8   Attahi et al, 2008.
9   UN, 1999.
10 Details of the Global Campaign on Urban Governance can be found in UNCHS (2000) and UN-Habitat (2002a).
11 Beall, 2002.
12 Brenner, 1999.
13 Noting that this idea has a long pedigree in planning, and particularly in the work of Geddes, Mumford, Abercrombie and the Regional Planning Association.
14 Hirt and Stanilov, 2008.
15 Hirt and Stanilov, 2008.
16 Logan, 2002.
17 Leaf, 2005a.
18 Devas, 2001.
19 Walton, 1998.

20 National Research Council, 2003.
21 Irazábal, 2008a.
22 Bayat, 2004, p85.
23 Davis, 2004.
24 Leaf, 2005b.
25 Mitlin, 2008.
26 Mitlin, 2008.
27 HM Treasury, 2006, pvi.
28 Sheuya, 2008, p9, cited in Irazábal, 2008a.
29 UN-Habitat, 2007a, Section IV.
30 UN-Habitat, 2007a.
31 UN, 2008.
32 UN, 2008, Table I.1.
33 Yuen, 2008.
34 This is not the case everywhere. Beauchemin and Bocquier (2004) show that secondary towns in West Africa are hardly growing as people migrate to larger settlements.
35 Davis, 2004.
36 Hirt and Stanilov, 2008.
37 UN-Habitat, 2008b.
38 UN-Habitat, 2008b.
39 UN-Habitat, 2008b.
40 UN, 2008.
41 Spiegel et al, 1996.
42 Yuen, 2008.
43 Marcuse, 2006.
44 Kipfer and Keil, 2002; UN-

Habitat, 2004a.
45 Irazábal, 2008a; UN-Habitat, 2007a.
46 Grant and Nijman, 2006.
47 Ansari, 2008.
48 Qadeer, 2004.
49 Attahi et al, 2008.
50 Irazábal, 2008a.
51 Yuen, 2008.
52 Ansari, 2008.
53 Yuen, 2008.
54 Irazábal, 2008a.
55 Hall, 1988.
56 Taylor, 1998.
57 Taylor, 1998.
58 The Charter of Athens, initiated in 1928 and later strongly influenced by Le Corbusier, was an important document (by 1944) in terms of establishing modernist urban principles.
59 Berrisford and Kihato, 2006.
60 Yiftachel, 2003.
61 Fernandes, 2003.
62 Friedmann, 2005a.
63 Hirt and Stanilov, 2008.
64 Healey, 1992.
65 UN-Habitat, 2008b.
66 Payne, 2005, p136.
67 UN Millennium Project, 2005.
68 Irazábal, 2008a.
69 See Fainstein (2000) on the 'Just City'.

70 UN-Habitat, 2007a, p239.
71 UN-Habitat, 2007a, pp89, 241.
72 UN-Habitat, 2007a, p241.
73 Augustinus and Barry, 2004.
74 UN-Habitat, 2006i.
75 Albrechts, 2001a.
76 Hirt and Stanilov, 2008.
77 Steinberg, 2005.
78 Marshall, 2000.
79 Crot, 2008.
80 Reflected in the Planning and Compulsory Purchase Act of 2004.
81 Nadin, 2007.
82 Harrison et al, 2008.
83 Crot, 2008.
84 Rakodi, 2008 and Chapter 5.
85 UN-Habitat, 2005.
86 UN-Habitat, 2002b.
87 Allen, 2003; Kyessi, 2005.
88 Souza, 2003, p194.
89 See Jacobs (1963) for one of the earliest critiques of these forms.
90 Jenks et al, 1996; Jenks and Burgess, 2000; and Williams et al, 2000.
91 Grant, 2006.
92 Njoh, 2008a.
93 Derived from Healey, 2004.