

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 planning² 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

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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 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.

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

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.

■ 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 Report²⁷ 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.

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

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.

■ 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

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

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 countries¹⁹ 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 literature²⁵ makes the point that urban residents will have to find a way in which to engage

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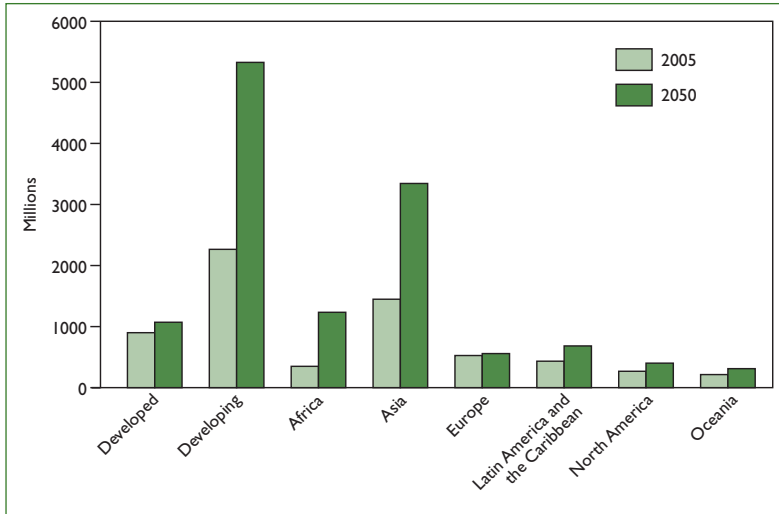


Figure 1.1

Urban population by region, 2005–2050

Note: Asia does not include Japan.

Source: UN, 2008

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.

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 settlements³⁴ of 100,000 to 250,000 which have absorbed much of the rural labour power made redundant by post-1979 market reforms³⁵ 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

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

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

Box 1.3 Failure of public service provision in a rapidly growing metropolis: Lagos, Nigeria

The intense social polarization and spatial fragmentation since the mid 1980s have led to a scenario in which many households – both rich and poor – attempt to provide their own water supply, power generation and security services. As night falls, the drone of traffic is gradually displaced by the roar of thousands of generators that enable the city to function after dark. Many roads in both rich and poor neighbourhoods become closed or subject to a plethora of *ad hoc* checkpoints and local security arrangements to protect people and property until the morning. In the absence of a subsidized housing sector, most households must struggle to contend with expensive private letting arrangements often involving an upfront payment of two years’ rent and various other fees, while the richest social strata seek to buy properties outright with vast quantities of cash. A self-service city has emerged in which little is expected from municipal government and much social and economic life is founded on the spontaneous outcome of local negotiations.

Source: Gandy, 2006, p383

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 unserved 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.

‘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

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 individuals⁵⁵ 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 mono-functional 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.

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.

Colonialism was a very direct vehicle for diffusing planning systems

Master planning has been subject to major critique, and in some parts of the world it has been replaced by processes and plans that are more participatory, flexible, strategic and action oriented

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 dialogues* 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 1990s⁷⁵ 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 Europe⁷⁶ 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 Aires⁷⁹ 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.

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

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.

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

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 everywhere⁸³ 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 Cardiff⁸⁴ 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:

- *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 forms⁸⁹ 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 Town⁹² 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.

Earlier definitions of urban planning which described it as an activity of government also require modification in some parts of the world

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.

While the activity of urban planning is recognized and practised in most parts of the world, the contexts within which it operates vary greatly

The following definition is put forward as a reflection of the concept of urban planning⁹³ 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 planning 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.

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.

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 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

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

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.

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.

UNDERSTANDING THE DIVERSITY OF URBAN CONTEXTS

The urban contexts in which planning occurs differ significantly from one region to another. This chapter examines the nature of these differences, focusing on the consequent challenges that urban planning should address. As briefly indicated in Chapter 1 and elaborated upon in Chapter 3, the view of urban problems as being essentially uniform across the world partly underlies efforts to create universal urban planning approaches and models. Evidence in this Global Report suggests that this view is flawed and partly accounts for the failure of urban planning in many countries. The underlying premise of this chapter is that urban planning initiatives are unlikely to succeed without an adequate understanding of the diversity of urban contexts. Collectively, demographic, size, spatial and economic factors, mediated by globalization and location, are of paramount importance in revisiting urban planning and determining the ways in which it should be reoriented and strengthened in order to make it more relevant.

In light of the above observations, the following dimensions of urban diversity are examined in this chapter: urbanization and demographic trends; city size and spatial forms; level of economic development and poverty; and vulnerability to natural and human-induced hazards. Each of these dimensions of urban diversity and its planning implications are discussed with respect to developed, transitional and developing countries.

URBANIZATION AND DEMOGRAPHIC TRENDS

Less than 5 per cent of the world's population lived in cities a century ago.¹ The world began experiencing unprecedented rates of urbanization in the early 20th century.² Urban growth rates averaged 2.6 per cent per year between 1950 and 2007. This period witnessed a quadrupling of the world's urban population from 0.7 billion to 3.3 billion, thus increasing the level of urbanization from 29 per cent in 1950 to 49 per cent in 2007 (see Table 2.1). Perhaps more noteworthy is that in 2008, the proportion of the world's population living in urban areas exceeded 50 per cent.³ This trend is expected to continue as 6.4 billion people, or about 70 per cent of the world's population is expected to live in urban areas by 2050.

The world's urban population growth rates have, in recent years, slowed down to the current average annual rate of 1.8 per cent. While the level of urbanization in developed countries had reached 50 per cent more than half a century ago, this level will not be attained in developing countries until 2019.⁴ Levels of urbanization remain low in developing regions when compared to developed regions. The only exception is Latin America, where urbanization levels compare favourably with those of developed countries. As shown in Figure 2.1, urban growth rates are higher in Africa and Asia than in other regions of the world.

The urban contexts in which planning occurs differ significantly from one region to another

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

Source: UN, 2008, pp3–5

Table 2.1

Global trends in urbanization (1950–2050)

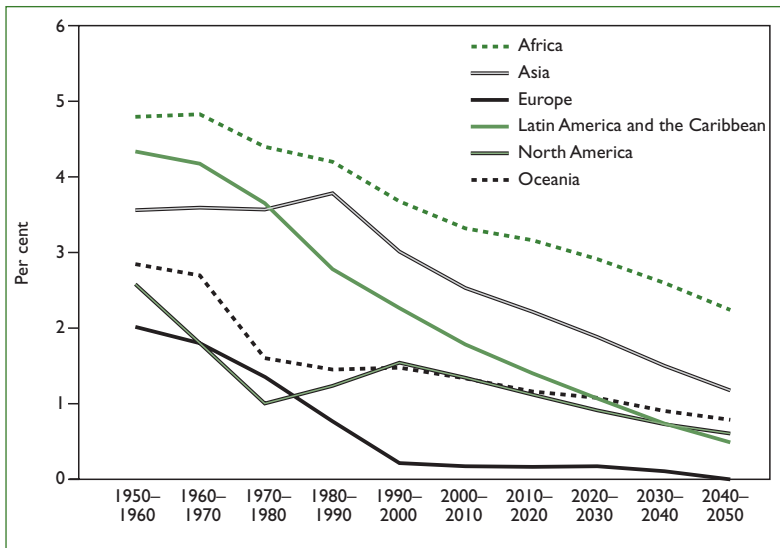


Figure 2.1

Average annual rate of change of urban population

Source: UN, 2008

Developed and transitional countries

The process of urbanization is much more advanced in the developed regions of the world. Here, about 74 per cent of the population live in cities (see Table 2.1). This trend is expected to continue, albeit slowly, as 86 per cent of the population is expected to be urban by 2050. While the level of urbanization in developed countries is high, the rate of urban population growth is low. The average growth rate between 1975 and 2007 was 0.8 per cent, and this is expected to decline to 0.3 per cent between 2025 and 2050.

Current and expected urban growth in the developed world will be due mainly to international migration from developing or poorer countries – on average, 2.3 million people migrate to developed countries each year.⁵ International migration thus accounts for about one third of urban growth in developed countries.⁶ This presents new urban planning challenges in developed countries with respect to multicultural urban contexts.

■ Western Europe

Western Europe began experiencing significant levels of urbanization between the mid 18th century and 1914, partly as a consequence of the Industrial Revolution and the growth of colonial empires.⁷ Europe witnessed an increase of towns, with at least 100,000 inhabitants from about a dozen at the beginning of the 19th century to more than 150 in 1900.⁸ Major factors explaining this growth include the concentration of workers in industrial centres, which were typically raw material sites; the concentration of people in port cities, specializing in the domestic and international distribution of finished goods; and the need for some cities to serve as national political/administrative capitals, and as international financial centres for the new industrial age.⁹

Urban population growth in Western Europe has been declining since 1950, dropping from 1.84 per cent between 1950 and 1975 to 0.54 per cent between 1975 and 2007.¹⁰ International migration from Eastern Europe and developing countries now accounts for a sizeable proportion of population growth in the region.

■ North America

Currently, 81 per cent of North Americans reside in urban areas – making it the most urbanized region in the world (see Table 2.1). Urban population growth is, however, declining, as indicated in Figure 2.1. Major cities in the US such as New York, Chicago, Philadelphia and Detroit, experienced an ‘urban explosion’ in population between 1910 and 1950. However, between 1970 and 2000, many cities experienced population decline. Examples of such cities include St Louis, which lost 59 per cent of its population, as well as Pittsburgh, Cleveland and Detroit, which lost between 48 and 51 per cent of their population.¹¹

The exodus from cities, in significant numbers, did not result in a corresponding decline in North America’s urban population as there were enough immigrants to replace departing urban residents. However, the exodus resulted in the erosion of the tax base of many cities, given that immigrant incomes are generally low. For example, Los Angeles County lost 1.2 million of its population during the first half of the 1990s. However, while the county received enough international migrants to offset this loss and register a net gain of more than 960,000 people, its municipal revenue suffered a decline.¹² Multicultural composition is now a significant and very visible feature of many North American cities.

■ Oceania and Japan

The pace of urbanization in Oceania declined sharply from 1950 to 1990, and stabilized thereafter (see Figure 2.1). The overall trend of urban growth in Australia and New Zealand has been slow, with nearly half of the cities in both countries growing at less than 1 per cent annually. Currently, the level of urbanization stands at 71 per cent and is projected to reach 76 per cent in 2050. Japan experienced rapid rates of urbanization following the end of World War II. Rates of urbanization in Japan have, like those in Australia and New Zealand, been declining since the 1960s.

International migrants account for a significant proportion of Oceania’s urban growth. In 2000, Australia’s immigrant stock was 5.8 million, or 18 per cent of the country’s population.¹³ The contribution made to population growth by immigration (59.5 per cent) in 2008 was higher than that of natural increase (40.5 per cent).¹⁴ An important but often ignored group in Australia’s and New Zealand’s diverse population consists of the indigenous Australians (or Aboriginal Australians) and the Maori indigenous people, respectively. These groups were confined to the rural areas for a long time. However, since the 1930s, the population of indigenous people in cities has been increasing as cities expand and incorporate previously rural areas or as the indigenous people pursue urban-based opportunities.¹⁵

■ Transitional countries

Prior to the 1970s, Eastern Europe experienced significant rates of urban growth, with as many as two-thirds of the cities in the region growing at rates exceeding 3 per cent.¹⁶ The 1980s witnessed a rapid deceleration in urban growth. By 2000, the urban growth rate had plummeted to 0 per cent for most cities. More recent accounts reveal that

International migration ... accounts for about one third of urban growth in developed countries

Eastern European cities have actually been declining during the last half decade.¹⁷ Although emigration to Western Europe has increased significantly since the 1990s, a considerable amount of international migration occurs within the region.

Two related demographic trends are noteworthy in transitional countries.¹⁸ First is the negative population growth rate experience by several cities. It has been observed that 75 per cent of Eastern European cities witnessed a decrease in their population between 1990 and 2005.¹⁹ Figure 2.2 presents a sample of such cities. The decline in urban population was a result of increased migration to the European Union, negative economic trends, rising rates of mortality and decreasing fertility rates. The collapse of the Soviet Union contributed to the decline in urban population and affected many aspects of urban living.²⁰ The second remarkable demographic trend experienced by the region during the last few decades is the rapidly ageing population, as manifested in the increasing proportion of people aged over 60.²¹ These two demographic trends have serious implications for urban planning in transitional countries.

Developing countries

With the exception of the Latin America and Caribbean region, the level of urbanization is much lower in developing countries. About 44 per cent of the population of developing countries lives in urban areas (see Table 2.1). This is expected to grow to 67 per cent by 2050. The average annual growth rate was 3.1 per cent between 1975 and 2007. This is, however, expected to decline to 2.3 per cent for the 2007 to 2025 period, and 1.6 per cent for 2025 to 2050. Developing countries are thus experiencing the fastest rate of urbanization worldwide. This can be attributed to high levels of natural increase and an increase in rural–urban migration.

■ Latin America and the Caribbean

Urbanization has been remarkable in Latin America and the Caribbean, where the urban population increased from 41 per cent in 1950 to 78 per cent in 2007, making it the most urbanized region in the developing world. Between 1950 and 1975, the region's urban growth rate stood at 4.2 per cent. This decreased to 2.6 per cent between 1975 and 2007. A further decrease of 1.4 per cent is envisaged between 2007 and 2025. Most of the urban growth in the region occurred between 1930 and 1970.

Countries within the region differ remarkably in the extent and rate of urbanization. Countries such as Argentina, Chile and Uruguay were already highly urbanized by 1950, while countries such as Costa Rica, Guatemala and Guyana are still less than half urban.²² While the region's four largest countries – Brazil, Mexico, Colombia and Argentina – are about 80 per cent urbanized, the smaller ones are only about 45 to 60 per cent urbanized.²³ The largest number of international migrants (500,000 – about 6 per cent of the total population) is concentrated in the Dominican Republic – most of the migrants come from its poorer neighbour:

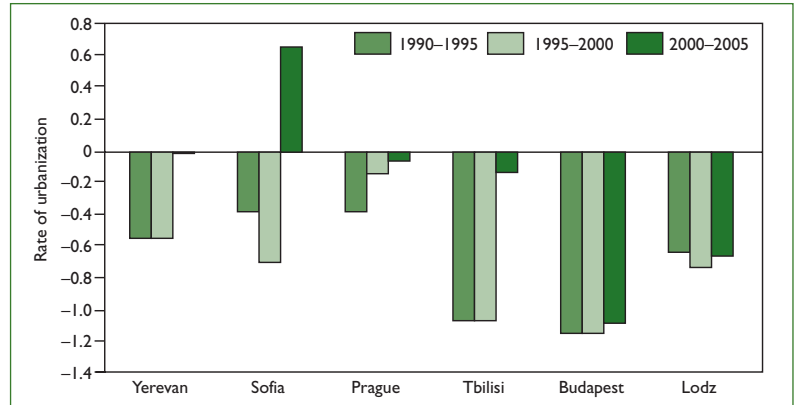


Figure 2.2

Shrinking cities in transitional countries

Source: UN, 2008

Haiti.²⁴ In Mexico, international migrants are typically transient since the country serves as a gateway for migrants seeking entry into the US.

■ Asia

Asia is home to approximately 3.7 billion people, or more than 60 per cent of the world's population, and constitutes one of the most rapidly urbanizing regions of the world. The urban population of Asia increased fivefold during the last 27 years: from 237 million (17 per cent) in 1950 to 1.65 billion (41 per cent) in 2007.²⁵ By 2050, it is expected that more than two-thirds of the population will be living in urban areas. Urban population growth in the region has been declining since the 1990s, from an annual average of 3.13 per cent to the present rate of about 2.5 per cent (see Figure 2.1). The process of urbanization in Asia is driven mainly by rural–urban migration. Urbanization is also linked to economic transition and increasing levels of globalization, as many countries have become the recipients of foreign direct investment, mainly in the form of the outsourcing of manufacturing of consumer goods by parent companies in developed countries.

There are three specific trends that have implications for urban planning in the region.²⁶ First, an increasing trend towards ageing already marks the demographic profile of some countries. For example, 24 per cent of the Chinese population will be 65 or older by 2050.²⁷ Second is the accentuation of socio-economic class disparities and the emergence of a strong middle class. This trend has been accompanied by a change in consumption habits, particularly in increasingly wealthy cities such as Shanghai, Shenzhen, Zhuhai and Shantou (China), Mumbai, New Delhi, Jakarta, Bangkok and Seoul. This has resulted in heightened demand for private cars, air-conditioning units, new forms of housing and retail space, among others. All of these pose major challenges, ranging from environmental pollution to urban sprawl and traffic congestion in large urban centres.

■ Sub-Saharan Africa

Sub-Saharan Africa is the least urbanized, but most rapidly urbanizing, region in the world. During the 1950s, only 11 per cent of the region's population lived in urban areas, but this had increased to 35 per cent by 2005.²⁸ It is projected that by 2030 and 2050, the region will be 48 and 60 per cent urbanized, respectively.²⁹ Urban growth rates have

With the exception of the Latin America and Caribbean region, the level of urbanization is much lower in developing countries

been equally high, averaging over 5 per cent between 1955 and 1970, and currently standing at 3.3 per cent. While projected to decline in the years ahead, urban growth will remain high. Levels of urbanization are diverse throughout the region, and so are urban growth rates.

Urbanization in sub-Saharan Africa is driven mainly by high levels of rural–urban migration, natural increase, the reclassification of rural areas, and, in some countries, negative events such as conflicts and disasters. The HIV/AIDS pandemic currently ravaging the region has also affected urban growth in various countries. The epidemic is also robbing countries of their most productive population, contributing to increasing levels of urban poverty and placing a severe burden on the limited health infrastructure within cities.

In many countries in sub-Saharan Africa, rapid urbanization is taking place within the context of economic stagnation or low economic growth, poor agricultural performance, rising unemployment, financially weak municipal authorities incapable of providing basic services, poor governance, and the absence of coherent urban planning policy.³⁰ Such conditions have led to the widespread urbanization of poverty – typically manifested in the proliferation of slums and informal settlements. These are some of the issues that will dominate the region's urban planning agenda for some years to come.

■ Middle East and North Africa

Urbanization in the Middle East and North Africa is characterized by considerable diversity. For example, while Bahrain, Kuwait and Qatar were already 80 per cent urbanized during the 1970s, most of the other countries were still predominantly rural.³¹ Between 1950 and 2000, the region's level of urbanization increased from 27 to 58 per cent.³² While urban growth is projected to decline, the level of urbanization is expected to reach 70 per cent by 2030.³³

A prominent demographic feature of the region is the youth bulge: about 65 per cent of the region's population is under the age of 30.³⁴ While countries within the region have invested more in education than most developing

regions, this has not led to higher levels of youth employment, as youth unemployment currently stands at 25 per cent.³⁵ Such high levels of unemployment among young people are often associated with various negative consequences, including crime and general delinquency. Another demographic feature relates to international migration. Migrants constitute a significant proportion of the region's population.³⁶ In Kuwait, Qatar and the United Arab Emirates, international migrants significantly outnumber the local population (see Figure 2.3). This calls for ingenuity in planning for multicultural contexts.

■ Planning implications of urbanization and demographic trends

There are significant planning implications associated with the urbanization and demographic trends identified in the preceding sections, including the ways in which the urbanization process as a whole is viewed, the rapidly increasing demand for housing and urban services, and the specific and very pressing needs of the youth and the aged.

■ Urbanization as a positive phenomenon

A total of 193,107 new city dwellers are added to the world's urban population daily. This translates to 5 million new urban dwellers per month in the developing world and 500,000 in developed countries.³⁷ The task of providing for such large numbers is quite daunting. Emphasis on these dynamics has, in some quarters, given rise to the impression that urbanization is a negative process that should, in some way, be curbed or halted. This has not worked. Even the most severe of anti-urbanization measures from an earlier period of Chinese history were not able to stem the flow of people to the cities. In China, despite the enforcement of residency permits (*Hukou*) for those wishing to reside in cities, a floating population of about 80 million to 120 million resided in cities 'illegally' in 2000.³⁸ Against this background, urbanization is increasingly being seen as a positive phenomenon and a precondition for improving access to services, economic and social opportunities, and a better quality of life for a country's population.

■ Planning for urban growth

Closely related to the foregoing is the imperative that urban planning in developing countries, particularly in Africa and Asia, needs to respond to the rapid pace of urbanization. Urban planning within the context of rapid urbanization is not a luxury, but a necessity.³⁹ High levels of urban growth in the absence of adequate planning have resulted in spiralling poverty, proliferation of slum and squatter settlements, inadequate water and power supply, and degrading environmental conditions.

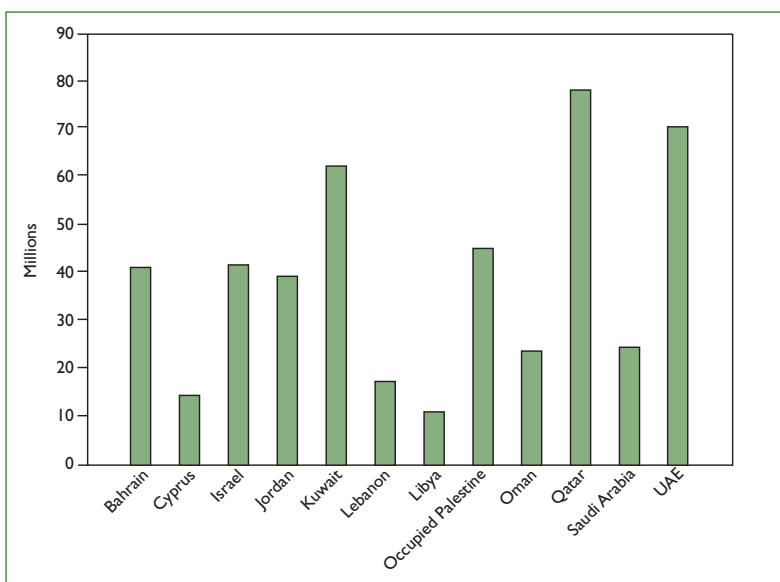
Thus, among the most significant challenges of urban planning today and in the next few decades is how to address the housing, water supply and sanitation needs of a rapidly urbanizing population. As will be shown in Chapters 6, 7 and 8, this requires delivery of urban land at scale, linked to networks of public infrastructure, in ways that address both the mitigation and adaptation demands of environmental

There are significant planning implications associated with ... urbanization and demographic trends

Figure 2.3

Middle East and North Africa countries with more than 10 per cent immigrant population, 2005

Source: UN, 2006b



change. Urban planning will also need to devise ways of adequately managing the urban development process as a whole, as unmanaged or chaotic urban growth is a significant obstacle to the sustainable development of towns and cities.

■ Urban planning and the youth

An important demographic trend in developing countries that has implications for urban planning is the relatively large proportion of the youth population. It is predicted that by 2030, 60 per cent of those living in urban areas of developing countries will be under the age of 18.⁴⁰ Urban planning will have to pay particular attention to the needs of this segment of the population. This is particularly the case in Africa, the Middle East, South America, Central Asia and the Pacific Islands, where the youth account for a sizeable proportion of the population. While the youth can form the most energetic and innovative segment of the population, if unemployed, they can be a source of social disruption. Planning for a youthful population places particular demands on urban development in terms of the need for education and training facilities, as well as investment in sports and recreational facilities.

■ Planning, urban shrinkage and ageing

The demographic trends with the most far-reaching implications for planning in transitional and developed countries are urban population decline and an ageing population. For transitional countries, these factors present problems of dealing with deteriorating buildings and infrastructure in a context where the local tax base is severely eroded.

In the case of developed countries, international migration renders the features of shrinking cities and ageing less extreme when compared to transitional countries. Nonetheless, industrial restructuring and offshore relocation have left many older industrial and mining towns without a viable economic base. In such settings, planning has to address the challenges of population outflow, abandoned homes and areas, and a declining support base for commercial activities and public facilities.

The planning challenges arising from urban shrinkage in both developed and transitional country contexts range from determining how to meet the cost of underused infrastructure, to identifying alternative uses for abandoned social facilities, huge swathes of vacant housing units, as well as commercial and industrial facilities. Planning for an ageing urban population requires innovation⁴¹ as a rapidly ageing population places increased demand on healthcare, recreation, transportation and other facilities for the elderly.

■ Urban planning and cultural diversity

Increasing waves of international migration have meant that urban areas in all parts of the world are increasingly becoming multicultural. People from different ethnic, cultural and religious backgrounds now live together in cities. If not properly managed, this could trigger anti-immigrant resentment and violence. There is the possibility that cultural diversity could also make participatory processes around planning issues more difficult, as different socio-cultural groups have different expectations and demands of cities

(see Chapter 5). Cultural diversity has important implications for how built environments are managed. Urban planning will need to seek the right balance between cultural groups seeking to preserve their identity in cities and the need to avoid extreme forms of segregation and urban fragmentation. Cultural mix also places new demands on urban planning to mediate between conflicting lifestyles and expressions of culture. Conflicts around religious buildings, burial arrangements, ritual animal slaughter and building aesthetics are issues that urban planners increasingly have to tackle.

CITY SIZE AND SPATIAL FORMS

The world's urban population of 3.3 billion is unevenly distributed among urban settlements of different sizes.⁴² 52 per cent of the world's urban population resides in cities and towns of less than 500,000 people. A similar picture is painted for developed and developing countries, as 54 and 51 per cent of their urban population, respectively, live in such cities. Despite the attention they command, megacities – cities with over 10 million people – are home to only 9 per cent of the world's urban population.

As cities experience demographic growth, they tend to expand spatially. One consequence of this process is the merging of previously non-adjointing towns and cities, resulting in metropolitanization in some cases, or uncontrolled peri-urbanization (which often appears chaotic) in others. Metropolitanization entails the conversion of rural land into urban uses and the engulfment of adjacent municipalities by large cities to constitute new metro-areas. Cities such as Bangkok, Beijing, Jakarta, Kolkata, Lagos, Manila and São Paulo have expanded spatially to engulf swathes of neighbouring rural land and previously independent municipalities.⁴³ The physical expansion of urban areas either through metropolitanization, peri-urbanization or urban sprawl presents a major challenge for urban planning in all parts of the world.

Developed and transitional countries

Collectively, about 63 per cent of the urban population in developed countries is concentrated in intermediate and small-sized cities, with just 9.8 per cent residing in megacities. A common thread running through cities in developed countries is that urban densities have been declining, thus contributing to the problem of urban sprawl. For instance, between 1960 and 1990, Copenhagen's population density declined by 13 per cent, while its area increased by 25 per cent.⁴⁴ During the same period, Amsterdam experienced a 10 per cent reduction in its population density, but expanded its land area by more than 60 per cent.

One factor that accounts for urban sprawl in developed countries is economic prosperity. The problem of urban sprawl has been more severe in North America, where, as far back as the early 1900s, a significant segment of the population owned cars. The problem is less severe in Western Europe, where rates of car ownership that had been attained

The demographic trends with the most far-reaching implications for planning in transitional and developed countries are urban population decline and an ageing population

Cultural diversity has important implications for how built environments are managed

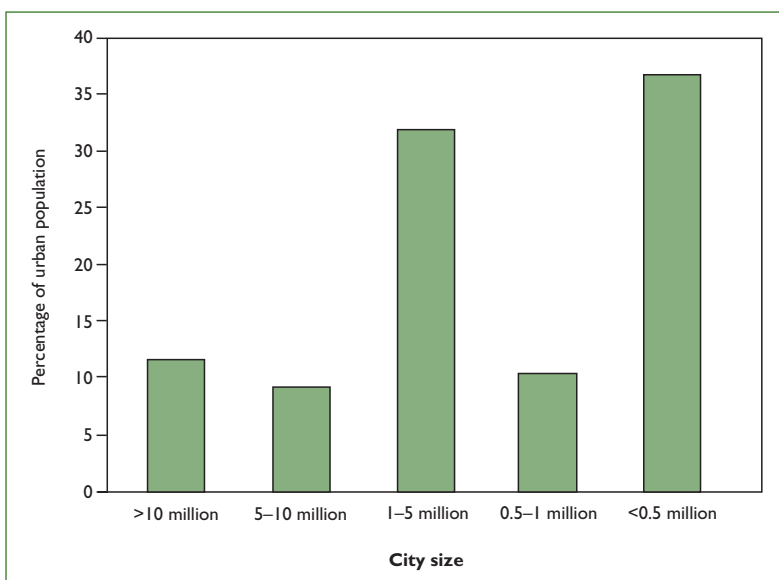
Despite the absence of megacities and the slow growth of cities and towns, Western Europe is experiencing problems associated with urban expansion

A major feature of North American cities is urban sprawl, which has been attributed to permissive land-use planning and the growth of affluent households

Figure 2.4

Distribution of urban population by city size in North America

Source: UN, 2008, p229



in the US during the 1930s were not reached until the 1970s.⁴⁵ Another determinant of urban sprawl is government policy, which has been more tolerant in North America, but more stringent in Western Europe. The development of the core areas of many Western European and Japanese cities before the era of the automobile explains their relative compactness, in comparison to Australia, New Zealand, Canada and the US.

■ Western Europe

Western Europe does not have any megacities. Most cities in Western Europe contain between 500,000 and 1 million inhabitants. Despite the absence of megacities and the slow growth of cities and towns, Western Europe is experiencing problems associated with urban expansion. The need to commute – a consequence of sprawl – is a feature of many Western European cities. For example, in Munich, 56 per cent of new commuting between 1998 and 2006 was to jobs outside the Munich metro-area.⁴⁶

The imperatives of globalization have dictated a degree of spatial restructuring, fuelling a trend toward metropolitanization in some areas of the region. In general, economic growth facilitated the development of functional transportation systems, which made suburban living affordable. Furthermore, population growth has intensified the density of some inner-city areas, prompting the well-off to relocate to suburbs. Consequently, countries or regions such as Belgium, The Netherlands, eastern, southern and western Germany, northern Italy, the Paris region, Ireland, Portugal and the Madrid region have significant sprawl problems.⁴⁷ The main adverse effects of urban sprawl have been air pollution, traffic congestion and inefficient use of land.

■ North America

In North America, only two cities – New York and Los Angeles – qualify as megacities. These cities contain about 12 per cent of the urban population of the US. A greater proportion of the urban population resides in agglomerations of less than 5 million people, with small-sized cities of less than 500,000 accounting for 37 per cent of the urban

population (see Figure 2.4). A major feature of North American cities is urban sprawl, which has been attributed to permissive land-use planning and the growth of affluent households. By 2000, urban sprawl was increasing at twice the rate of urban population growth in the US, with Las Vegas being the fastest growing metropolitan area.⁴⁸ Canada currently has three of the world's ten urban areas with the most extensive sprawl – Calgary, Vancouver and Toronto.⁴⁹

Urban sprawl has contributed to the high number of cars, distances travelled, length of paved roads, fuel consumption and alteration of ecological structures in North America over the past two decades.⁵⁰ Urban sprawl also entails territorial expansion through annexation. For instance, in 1982, the city of Edmonton in Canada annexed a number of adjacent jurisdictions, thereby doubling its land area and increasing its population by 100,000.⁵¹ The challenge for urban planning is complicated by the fact that some of the factors, such as population growth, that were previously deemed to cause sprawl now seem insignificant.⁵² For example, several US cities – Akron, Cincinnati and Cleveland – lost population but grew spatially between 1970 and 1990.

■ Oceania and Japan

Australia has no city of more than 5 million inhabitants. The largest city – Sydney – has a population of 4.3 million people.⁵³ Japan is the only country in the region with megacities: Tokyo (35.7 million) and Osaka (11.3 million). The blueprint that guided modern city development in Australia, New Zealand and Japan after World War II adhered more to North American, as opposed to Western European, principles of urban design. Throughout the region, urban sprawl has become a major planning concern, as traffic congestion and pollution have worsened. In New Zealand, cities are expanding and blurring urban–rural boundaries as the population living in peri-urban areas grows. This tends to complicate municipal governance.⁵⁴ In Australia, annexation and consolidation are resulting in the 'disappearing towns syndrome'.⁵⁵ For example, Hurstbridge, Bellbowie, Adinga Beach and Golden Bay-Singleton disappeared and became parts of Melbourne, Brisbane, Adelaide and Mandurah, respectively.⁵⁶

■ Transitional countries

The transitional countries have only one megacity – Moscow (10.4 million) – and no urban agglomeration with a population between 5 million and 10 million. St Petersburg, Russia, was in this category up until 1995, but became a casualty of the shrinking city syndrome. Moscow is dominant and constitutes a primate city in the region. The concentration of political and economic power in this city and, to some extent, in Leningrad during the Soviet era prevented metropolitanization.⁵⁷

The centralized decision-making structure permitted the state to establish compact, highly dense cities with functional public transport systems.⁵⁸ The absence of real estate markets ensured the allocation of land use by the state instead of free market mechanisms. Collectively, these features produced densely packed and highly regulated cities

with dominant centres, public housing, retail shopping facilities, and an abundance of recreational facilities.⁵⁹ The political and economic reforms initiated during the 1990s are gradually altering this structure in several ways.⁶⁰ First is the displacement of low-income families and lower-level retail business from the inner city to low-cost neighbourhoods on the urban fringes. Second is the trend towards suburbanization and sprawl, as private investors develop exclusive high-income suburban enclaves. The reforms have also led to the privatization of public housing, and this has heightened socio-spatial stratification of urban space.

Developing countries

While developing countries contain 14 of the world's 19 megacities, only 8.4 per cent of their urban population reside in such cities.⁶¹ A greater proportion of the urban population (61.4 per cent) lives in cities of less than 1 million inhabitants. Developing countries are also experiencing problems related to peri-urbanization. In particular, peri-urbanization has contributed to the escalation of infrastructure and service delivery costs. Core areas of cities in developing countries have been decreasing demographically while their suburbs continue to expand spatially.⁶² The case of Mexico City, whose core wards have lost 45 per cent of their population as the suburbs have increased since the 1960s, is illustrative. Similar phenomena have been occurring in Mumbai, Buenos Aires, Seoul and Manila since 1981.⁶³

■ Latin America and the Caribbean

A major feature of Latin American urbanization is the gigantic nature of cities in the region.⁶⁴ The region has four of the world's largest megacities – Mexico City, São Paulo, Buenos Aires and Rio de Janeiro – which collectively accommodate 14.1 per cent of the region's urban population (see Figure 2.5). Despite the relatively high concentration of the region's urban population in megacities and the high level of urban primacy, 59 per cent of the urban population reside in cities of less than 1 million inhabitants (see Figure 2.5). Cities in this category have experienced remarkable growth. For instance, cities of less than 500,000 inhabitants not only recorded the fastest urban growth in the region (2.6 per cent per year), but were the destinations of nearly half of all new urban residents from 1990 to 2000.⁶⁵

A noticeable feature of the region's urban agglomerations is that they have expanded beyond their established boundaries, sometimes into different provinces.⁶⁶ For example, Mexico City has encroached upon municipalities in two states, while Buenos Aires covers 30 different municipalities. Another phenomenon with implications for municipal governance and planning in the region is the internal structure of urban areas. There has been an increasing relocation of population, industries and services from city centres to the periphery since the 1990s.⁶⁷ This has contributed to low-density suburban growth, which, in turn, has escalated the cost of public infrastructure provision and service delivery.

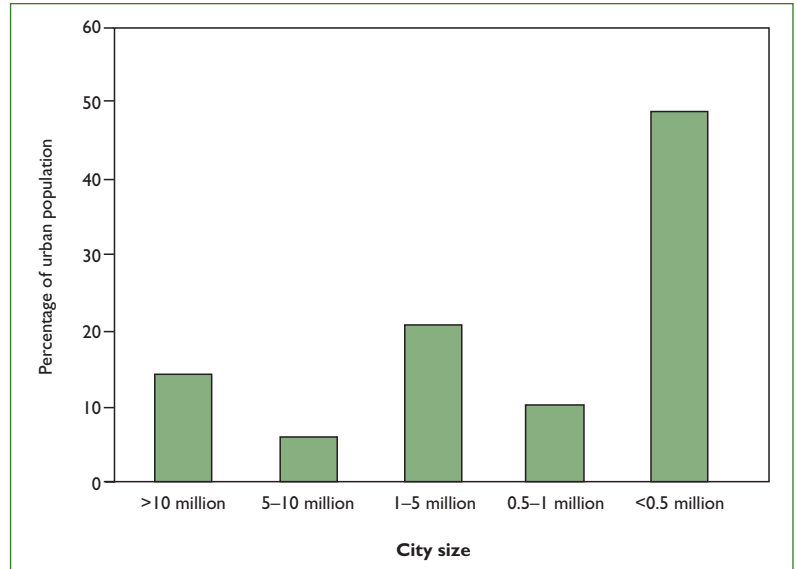


Figure 2.5

Distribution of urban population by city size in Latin America and the Caribbean

Source: UN, 2008, p227

■ Asia

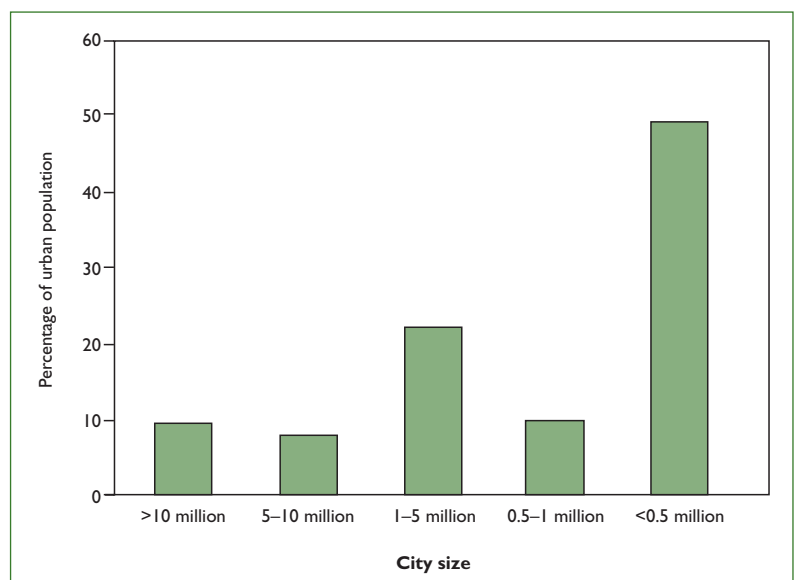
Asia is the region with the most megacities (eight if Japan is excluded and ten if included). Despite this, 60 per cent of the region's urban population live in cities of less than 1 million people, while 10 per cent reside in megacities (see Figure 2.6). What this portends is a need for the urban planning agenda within the region to focus on the key issues relating to small- and medium-sized cities, in addition to those of megacities.

A significant trend in Asia is that urbanization is occurring beyond metropolitan borders, leading to the formation of enormously extended mega-urban regions that have developed along infrastructure corridors radiating over long distances from core cities.⁶⁸ These include the Shanghai mega-urban region, occupying an area of over 6340 square kilometres; the Beijing mega-urban region, extending over 16,870 square kilometres; and the Jakarta mega-urban region, which occupies an area of 7500 square kilometres.⁶⁹ These new spatial configurations have created complex planning and governance problems within the region.

Figure 2.6

Distribution of urban population by city size in Asia

Source: UN, 2008, p224



This process of urbanization is leading to entirely new *ruralopolitan* urban forms⁷⁰ through the densification of rural areas under population pressure as the countryside begins to urbanize. This is the case in India, Bangladesh, Pakistan, China and Indonesia, where vast stretches of rural lands are being engulfed by expanding cities.⁷¹ Sprawl of this nature explains the unique mixture of rural and urban land use in this region.

■ Sub-Saharan Africa

At present, sub-Saharan Africa does not have any megacity; but this is expected to change in 2010, when the population of Lagos is expected to reach 10.6 million.⁷² Sub-Saharan Africa currently has two cities in excess of 5 million inhabitants, which are home to 5.9 per cent of the region's urban population. Figure 2.7 shows that over two-thirds of the urban population reside in small and intermediate cities.

A distinguishing feature in city growth in sub-Saharan Africa is urban primacy, which rose from 2.8 in 1950 to 6.3 in 2000.⁷³ This is indicative of the disproportionate concentration of people, activities, investment and resources in the largest city of a country, to the detriment of other towns and cities. Urban primacy poses complex planning challenges, particularly because of its tendency to contribute to problems such as urban sprawl, congestion and environmental degradation.

The second feature is towards increasing levels of peri-urbanization. Many large cities are spreading out at a remarkable pace and, in the process, are engulfing surrounding rural land and adjacent towns, leading to continuous belts of settlements. This process is largely informal and is driven by the efforts of low-income households to secure land that is affordable and in a reasonable location. This process has led to the emergence of new settlement forms, which neither the existing structures of government or current regulatory frameworks are able to respond to effectively. It is these sprawling urban peripheries, almost entirely un-serviced and unregulated, that make up the bulk of unregulated settlements. It is also in these areas that most urban growth is taking place.

■ Middle East and North Africa

The Middle East and North Africa contain two megacities – Cairo and Istanbul – with 11.9 million and 10.1 million inhabitants, respectively. In 2000, the region had 16 cities with a population of over 1 million people, which increased to 19 in 2005. It is projected that the region will contain at least 24 cities with more than 1 million inhabitants by 2010, and at least 6 cities with a minimum of 5 million inhabitants by 2015.⁷⁴ As part of what has come to be known as 'oil urbanization', which started in the 1950s, previously traditional human settlements have been dramatically transformed. In some cases, the transformation has entailed the private development of public urban places,⁷⁵ producing, in the process, a variety of novel urban forms. In the United Arab Emirates, whole cities have been developed on artificial islands configured in the likeness of palm trees and the world map. In other cases, the process has been rather spontaneous, as in metro-Cairo, Rabat and Sana'a, where traditional walled settlements coexist with modern districts and squatter settlements.

Rapid urban growth has produced large urban agglomerations and metropolises.⁷⁶ For example, Mecca, Jeddah and Riyadh have developed into urban agglomerations with populations of between 1 million and 5 million residents. Similarly, the cities of Izmit (0.22 million) and Bursa (1.2 million) are gradually becoming part of a large metro-area around Istanbul. In the case of Cairo and Alexandria, which are 200km apart, metropolitan growth of both cities is resulting in outward sprawl from their respective centres. If this continues, there is a real possibility that the two cities will merge in the foreseeable future to constitute a single gigantic Nile metropolis.⁷⁷

Planning implications of city size and spatial form

The main planning implications associated with the size and spatial structure of cities discussed in the preceding sections include the need to pay greater attention to small- and medium-sized cities; the necessity of arresting or directing the spatial expansion of cities, especially sprawl and unplanned peri-urbanization; and the need to recognize and build upon urban informality.

■ Small and intermediate urban centres

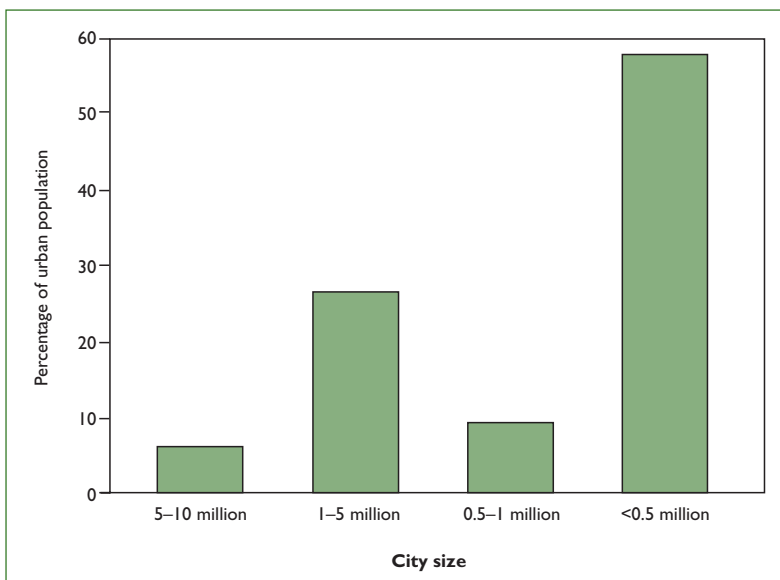
The discussion in the preceding section shows that more than half of the urban population in both developed and developing countries live in cities of less than 500,000 inhabitants. In addition, small and medium cities are urbanizing faster than the large metropolises. Despite the demographic importance and potential role of such cities, urban planning efforts in developing countries have focused disproportionately on the problems of large metropolitan areas, thereby further fuelling the problem of urban primacy. If small and medium cities are to fulfil their potential, then they should form part of the urban planning agenda for developing countries in the 21st century. Specific areas where urban planning could play a major role could include making such cities more attractive for its inhabitants and

Urban planning efforts in developing countries have focused disproportionately on the problems of large metropolitan areas, thereby further fuelling the problem of urban primacy

Figure 2.7

Distribution of urban population by city size in sub-Saharan Africa

Source: UN, 2008, p222



investors⁷⁸ by improving transport, communication and other forms of infrastructure, as well as improving municipal governance, including decentralization and strengthening of local democracy and civil society.

■ Planning and urban expansion

The spatial expansion of cities is an inevitable consequence of urban population growth. Some forms of spatial expansion, especially urban sprawl, invariably lead to the inefficient utilization of scarce resources, particularly land and energy. The challenge for planning is not to prevent urban growth, but to devise mechanisms for directing or controlling the timing, rate and location of such growth. Urban sprawl – whether suburbanization in North America, peri-urbanization in Africa or metropolitanization in Asia and Latin America – are all products of either inappropriate or ineffective planning regulations.

Urban agglomerations provide opportunities for socio-economic development and for maximizing the utility of scarce resources through economies of scale. However, these opportunities are often outweighed by the problems arising from the unplanned nature of contemporary urbanization, especially in developing countries. Under these circumstances, planning is faced with the challenge of addressing the many social, economic and physical problems, including upgrading of informal peri-urban settlements, provision of public transport and other trunk infrastructure, as well as effective planning and governance in cooperation with adjoining local authorities and in the context of different land tenure systems. These challenges are addressed in Chapters 6, 7 and 8.

■ Planning and urban informality

A key issue that 21st-century urban planning in developing countries will have to contend with is the increasing levels of informality associated with contemporary urban patterns. The process of city growth in many developing countries is taking on forms that are largely informal. Various key aspects of urban development – extensive peri-urban development of informal settlements, housing construction and the allocation of land, and provision of urban services – are informal. On the other hand, urban planning takes place within the realm of the formal sector and, in most countries, only caters for a small segment of the urban population. This creates a huge gap between actual urbanization outcomes and the orderly ideals prescribed by conventional urban planning.

Informality is, therefore, a reality confronting cities in developing countries, and efforts to formalize the informal sector have largely been unsuccessful. Formalization processes often have destroyed livelihoods and shelter, and have exacerbated exclusion, marginalization and poverty in developing world cities. For urban planning in developing countries to be relevant and serve the greater good, it must identify innovative ways of dealing with informality, given that the informal is often the norm rather than the exception. The issue of urban informality is discussed in greater detail in Chapter 7.

URBAN ECONOMIC CONTEXTS

Global urbanization is taking place within the context of the worst economic recession since 1945. The year 2008 witnessed the virtual collapse of the global financial system. Although the current economic crisis had its roots in the subprime mortgage markets in the US, the damage quickly spread to financial institutions in other developed countries.⁷⁹ By October 2008, the crisis had erased around US\$25 trillion from the value of stock markets globally.⁸⁰

The current global recession has several implications for urban areas. First, global economic growth is expected to shrink by 1.3 per cent in 2009.⁸¹ This implies that less funding will be available for urban development and capital projects. Second, higher levels of unemployment are envisaged in various sectors of the economy, but particularly in finance, construction, automotive and manufacturing for export industries, as well as in the tourism, services and real estate sectors – all of which are closely associated with the economic well-being of cities and towns. The global unemployment rate for 2008 was 6 per cent, up from 5.7 per cent in 2007. This is expected to increase to 7.1 per cent in 2009.⁸² Third, following the increase in the rate of unemployment, poverty levels are expected to rise and will be compounded by rising food prices. Indeed, the World Bank estimates that the number of poor people increased by between 130 million and 150 million on account of the increase in food prices in 2008.⁸³ Furthermore, the global economic crisis could exacerbate the rise in income inequality being witnessed in many parts the world.

Developed and transitional countries

Although a far cry from the conditions that existed during the Industrial Revolution, problems such as poverty, homelessness, crime, and other social pathologies are re-emerging in developed countries.⁸⁴ Moreover, the effects of globalization have varied remarkably. Some cities have benefited from their role as major financial hubs in a global economy. Others have suffered gravely following the late 20th century de-industrialization of North America and Europe. In addition, developed countries are suffering their worst recession since World War II, as economic growth is expected to contract by 3.8 per cent in 2009.⁸⁵ The worsening economy has seen unemployment in many developed countries rise to its highest level in recent times, with very negative consequences on the economies of urban areas.

Income inequality within developed countries has been widespread and significant since the mid 1980s.⁸⁶ This has affected most countries, with large increases observed in Canada and Germany. Consequently, social exclusion, urban segregation and persistent pockets of destitution and poverty are increasingly common in cities of developed countries.

■ Western Europe

Urbanization in Western Europe, which is driven mainly by international migration, is occurring within the context of

Urban planning in developing countries will have to contend with the increasing levels of informality associated with contemporary urban patterns

The current global recession has several implications for urban areas

While the levels of inequality across Western Europe have been widening, the region remains the most egalitarian in the world

The US has one of the highest levels of income inequality among developed countries

deep economic recession characterized by negative economic growth, rising unemployment and stringent financial conditions. Economic growth within the region is expected to contract by 4.2 per cent in 2009, with Germany, Italy and the UK experiencing negative growth rates of 5.6, 4.4 and 4.1 per cent, respectively.⁸⁷ The contraction in economic growth will have far-reaching implications for urban areas. The unemployment rate for the Euro area is predicted to reach 10.1 per cent in 2009, and 11.7 per cent in 2010.⁸⁸ For many migrants from developing and transitional countries who reside in the region, the rising levels of unemployment will affect their ability to make remittances to their home countries.

While the levels of inequality across Western Europe have been widening since the 1980s, the region remains the most egalitarian in the world. The average Gini coefficient for Western Europe is 0.30, indicating universal access to public goods and services. As shown in Figure 2.8, countries such as Denmark, Sweden, Luxembourg, Austria, Finland, The Netherlands and Belgium have the lowest levels of inequality, indicative of the effectiveness of regulatory, distributive and redistributive capacity of the national and local welfare states.⁸⁹ Countries with high levels of inequality include Portugal, the UK, Italy, Ireland, Greece and Spain.

■ North America

Following the recent financial crisis in the housing and banking sectors, the US economy has entered its deepest recession since the Great Depression. In Canada, the economic downturn, which commenced in 2007, turned into a full-fledged recession towards the end of 2008.⁹⁰ The economic recession in both countries will affect urban areas in many ways. Economic growth in 2009 is expected to decline by 2.8 and 2.5 per cent in the US and Canada, respectively⁹¹ and, with urban areas contributing disproportionately to gross domestic product (GDP), cities are expected to be hardest hit. For instance, investment in urban housing, which constitutes a mainstay of the US economy, had fallen by 20 per cent at the end of 2008.⁹² In addition, house prices had dropped by 19 per cent at the end of March 2009.

In the US, unemployment is rising at an accelerating pace. A total of 633,000 jobs were lost in March 2009, by which time the unemployment rate had reached 8.5 per cent.⁹³ Since December 2007, 5.1 million jobs have been lost, with 3.3 million or approximately two-thirds of this loss occurring between October 2008 and March 2009. Unemployment rates are higher among minority groups: blacks (13.3 per cent) and Hispanics (11.4 per cent), as compared to whites (7.9 per cent).⁹⁴ Unemployment is also significantly higher among teenagers of working age (21.7 per cent). With rising unemployment, an increasing number of urban households are unable to meet their mortgage commitments. For instance, close to 12 per cent of US mortgages were in arrears or in foreclosure by the end of 2008,⁹⁵ thus, exacerbating the problem of homelessness and destitution in urban areas.

The US has one of the highest levels of income inequality among developed countries. Large metropolitan areas such as Atlanta, New Orleans, Washington, DC, Miami and New York experience the highest levels of inequality, similar to those of developing country cities such as Abidjan, Nairobi, Buenos Aires and Santiago – with Gini coefficients of around 0.50.⁹⁶ Canada's level of inequality is moderate, with a Gini coefficient of 0.32.⁹⁷ Inequalities are, however, increasing in most urban areas. Race is an important determinant of the level of inequality in North America, with black and Hispanic households often earning less than white households and residing in inner-core, squalid, run-down and segregated neighbourhoods characterized by higher levels of unemployment, crime and other social pathologies.

■ Oceania and Japan

Two major outcomes of the global economic crisis in this region are the decline in economic growth and rising levels of unemployment, both of which have implications for urban areas. Economic growth in Japan, Australia and New Zealand is expected to contract by 6.2, 1.4 and 2.0 per cent, respectively, in 2009.⁹⁸ The effects of rising levels of unemployment occasioned by the slump in the mining industry on the sustainability of the livelihoods of urban communities in Australia are vividly described in Box 2.1.

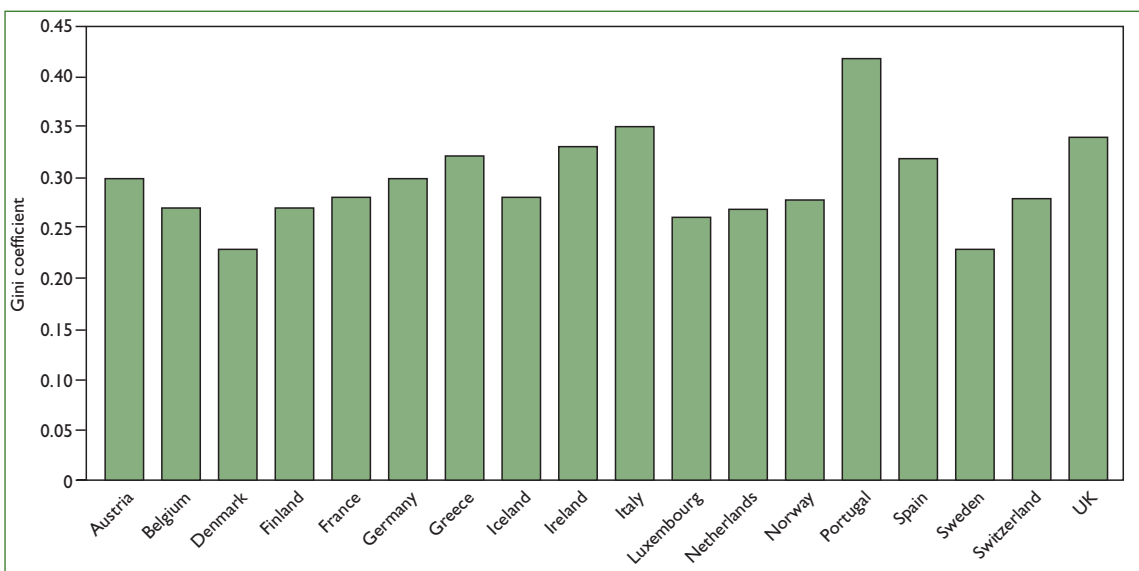


Figure 2.8

Gini coefficient of income inequality in Western Europe, mid 2000s

The region is also characterized by economic disparities. The Gini coefficient for urban areas in Australia ranges from 0.31 in small cities to 0.33 in major cities.⁹⁹ In New Zealand, the Gini coefficient is 0.34¹⁰⁰ and 0.33 in Tokyo.¹⁰¹ Economic disparities in Oceania vary remarkably by race. For instance, in New Zealand, the unemployment rate for the indigenous Maori population was 9.6 per cent in 2008, which is twice the national average and three times the rate for the white population.¹⁰² Some of the implications of this are spatially manifested. In New Zealand, urban areas are characterized by residential segregation, resulting in the confinement of the Maori to low-income neighbourhoods.¹⁰³ In Australia, while migrants from Asia and Africa are increasingly becoming victims of socio-economic discrimination, Aboriginals constitute the traditional victims of marginalization since they have limited access to land, housing and employment.¹⁰⁴

■ Transitional countries

The period of transition from centrally planned to market-based economies has been associated with dramatic increase in the levels of poverty, unemployment and inequality within former communist countries.¹⁰⁵ Unemployment rates in the region peaked in the mid and late 1990s, hitting the urban areas particularly hard. With the start of the economic recovery, unemployment rates began to decline in 2000. These gains could be eroded by the current global economic crisis. For instance, in the Commonwealth of Independent States and Baltic states, economic growth is expected to shrink by 5.1 and 10.6 per cent, respectively, in 2009. Negative GDP growths are anticipated for Russia, Ukraine, Lithuania and Latvia.¹⁰⁶ This has major implications for state-funded urban development programmes in these countries. Unemployment across the region is also on the rise. In Latvia and Lithuania, the unemployment rate for February 2009 was 14.4 and 13.7 per cent, respectively.¹⁰⁷ With an unemployment rate of 8.1 per cent in January 2009, Russia is facing its highest rate since March 2005.¹⁰⁸ Such high levels of unemployment will definitely exacerbate urban poverty in these countries.

At the beginning of the millennium, the share of residents living below nationally established poverty lines in Moldova, Armenia, Georgia and the Kyrgyz Republic included nearly half of their population. Moreover, in some countries of the former Soviet Union and former Yugoslavia, there is a trend towards unprecedented levels of inequality, continuously declining living standards and a sharp increase in the number of households living in slum conditions.¹⁰⁹ The processes of rising income differentiation within urban areas are generating a mosaic pattern of spatial inequality, as some communities have begun to enjoy significant improvements in the quality of their built environment while others are experiencing economic, social and environmental decline.

Developing countries

Rapid urban growth in developing countries, particularly in Africa and Asia, will be taking place within a context of a

Box 2.1 Australia hit hard by mining slump

Few Australians had even heard of Ravensthorpe until two months ago, but now it is synonymous with the end of the country's resources boom. In January, the Anglo-Australian mining giant BHP Billiton announced the closure of its nickel mine. Remarkably, it had only been operational for eight months. BHP Billiton blamed the slump in global commodities prices. The price of nickel, which is used to make stainless steel, has nose-dived since its high in 2007. Then it commanded a price of AU\$51,000 per tonne. Now it can be bought for one fifth (AU\$10,200) of that amount. The closure of Ravensthorpe has meant 1800 jobs losses among BHP staff and contractors.

But its knock-on effects on the local communities are incalculable. The nearest towns are Ravensthorpe itself, a once-tranquil country town, and the unfortunately named Hopetoun on the coast. Both communities bought the BHP Billiton pitch hoping that the mine would generate profits for at least the next 25 years. They had planned and, more importantly, invested accordingly. New suburbs sprung up, their cul-de-sacs lined with expensive homes, as well as boutique cafés, shops, a state-of-the-art car wash, a pharmacy, wind turbines to provide electricity, and a brand, spanking new school.

But with no alternative employment in these towns, people drawn here by the promise of prosperity are now trying to flee. As a result, property prices have fallen by up to 50 per cent and their hard-pressed owners are saddled with debts. Some businesses have reported a 70 per cent drop in turnover, and others have shut down. The number of pupils at the new school is expected to drop from 195 to 50.

We have heard a lot in recent months about toxic assets. Ravensthorpe and Hopetoun are in danger of becoming toxic communities. The entire community is now going to be dismantled. Hopetoun is in danger of becoming a ghost town, with phantom suburbs. Ravensthorpe is in a remote corner of a remote country; but neither distance nor its abundant resources have offered it any protection from the global downturn.

Source: Bryant, 2009

relatively weakened economy. Although the global economic crisis has its roots in developed countries, its impacts will be felt upon the urban economies of developing countries in various ways. To start with, economic growth in developing countries is expected to fall from 6.1 per cent in 2008 to 1.6 per cent in 2009.¹¹⁰ Apart from exacerbating unemployment and poverty, the slump in economic growth could severely reduce the availability of financial resources for state-initiated urban development programmes. In this regard, slum upgrading and prevention programmes, urban regeneration and poverty reduction initiatives, which traditionally rank low on the priority lists of many developing countries even in times of relative economic prosperity, will be affected. The decline in economic growth could affect the ability of developing countries to achieve the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) and to address pressing environmental issues such as climate change. Economic recession in developed countries may affect the flow of foreign direct investment, official development assistance and remittances to developing countries.

Urbanization in developing countries is taking place amid increasing levels of urban poverty. Table 2.2 shows that the number of people below the US\$1 per day extreme poverty line in urban areas of developing countries increased from 236 million in 1993 to 283 million in 2002. The urban poverty rate has been relatively stagnant over time: declining from 13.5 to 12.8 per cent between the two periods (see Table 2.2). However, if China is excluded, the incidence of urban poverty for the developing countries increases from

Rapid urban growth in developing countries will be taking place within a context of a relatively weakened economy

The decline in economic growth could affect the ability of developing countries to achieve the MDGs and to address pressing environmental issues such as climate change

Table 2.2

Urban poverty measures for 1993 and 2002 using the US\$1 per day poverty line

Region	Number of poor (millions)		Percentage below the poverty line		Urban share of the poor (%)	Urban share of population (%)
	Urban	Total	Urban	Total		
1993						
East Asia Pacific	28.71	435.88	5.55	26.17	6.59	31.09
China	10.98	342.36	3.33	29.05	3.21	29.77
Eastern Europe and Central Asia	6.12	12.49	2.06	2.65	48.98	63.06
Latin America and the Caribbean	26.07	54.62	7.82	11.85	47.73	72.33
Middle East and North Africa	0.77	5.07	0.61	2.01	15.29	52.82
South Asia	107.48	490.78	35.30	41.43	21.90	25.70
India	94.28	418.83	40.06	46.57	22.51	26.17
Sub-Saharan Africa	66.42	273.15	40.21	49.24	24.32	29.78
Total	235.58	1271.99	13.50	27.78	18.52	38.12
Total excluding China	224.60	929.63	15.86	27.34	24.16	41.64
2002						
East Asia Pacific	16.27	239.50	2.28	13.03	6.79	38.79
China	4.00	179.01	0.80	13.98	2.24	37.68
Eastern Europe and Central Asia	2.48	7.42	0.83	1.57	33.40	63.45
Latin America and the Caribbean	38.33	64.93	9.49	12.26	59.03	76.24
Middle East and North Africa	1.21	6.09	0.75	2.11	19.87	55.75
South Asia	125.40	519.74	32.21	37.15	24.13	27.83
India	106.64	423.06	36.20	40.34	25.21	28.09
Sub-Saharan Africa	98.84	327.61	40.38	47.17	30.17	35.24
Total	282.52	1165.29	12.78	22.31	24.24	42.34
Total excluding China	278.52	986.28	16.28	25.02	28.24	43.40

Source: Chen and Ravallion, 2007, p1676

A major urban economic trend in the developing world is increasing inequality

15.9 per cent in 1993 to 16.3 per cent in 2002. A noticeable feature is that urban poverty is increasing faster than national poverty. Indeed, the share of urban poverty in relation to national poverty increased from 19 per cent in 1993 to 25 per cent in 2002. Table 2.2 broadly shows that the urban share of poverty increases with increasing levels of urbanization. This has been referred to as the *urbanization of poverty*, in which the concentration of poverty moves from rural areas to urban centres.¹¹¹

One of the spatial manifestations of urban poverty is the proliferation of slums. Table 2.3 provides an overview of the extent of slums by region in 2005. Over one third (37 per cent) of the urban population in developing countries live in slums or housing conditions that suffer from one or more of the following: lack of access to improved water; lack of access to sanitation; non-durable housing; insufficient living area; and insecurity of tenure. The regional pattern in the prevalence of slums to a large extent reflects the nature of access to basic services such as water and sanitation. From

Table 2.3

Proportion of urban population living in slums, 2005

Major region	Urban population (thousands)	Number of slum dwellers (thousands)	Percentage of urban population living in slums
North Africa	82,809	12,003	14.5
Sub-Saharan Africa	264,355	164,531	62.2
Latin America and the Caribbean	434,432	117,439	27.0
Eastern Asia	593,301	216,436	36.5
Southern Asia	468,668	201,185	42.9
South-Eastern Asia	243,724	67,074	27.5
Western Asia	130,368	31,254	24.0
Oceania	2153	519	24.1
Total developing countries	2,219,811	810,441	36.5

Source: UN-Habitat (2008b, p90)

the foregoing, it is clear that issues of urban poverty and slums should constitute a major agenda for urban planning in developing countries.

A major urban economic trend in the developing world is increasing inequality. Between 1990 and 2004, the share of income by the poorest one fifth of the population dropped from 4.6 to 3.9 per cent.¹¹² Regionally, the highest levels of inequality are in Africa and Latin America, with many countries and cities experiencing widening disparities between the rich and the poor. In both regions, the poorest 20 per cent of the population consume just 3 per cent of national consumption.¹¹³ Inequalities are also observable at the city level.

Latin America and the Caribbean

Following the ongoing economic crisis, and close links to the US economy, economic growth in Latin America and the Caribbean is expected to contract by 1.5 per cent in 2009.¹¹⁴ For a region that is highly urbanized and grappling with a host of urban problems – crime and violence, inequality and poverty – the global economic crisis presents major challenges. The unemployment rate for the region is expected to increase from 7.2 per cent in 2008 to between 7.6 and 8.3 per cent in 2009.¹¹⁵ These are likely to be conservative estimates, given that unemployment statistics in developing countries often underestimate the problem. The region already experiences high levels of youth unemployment – a factor associated with the proliferation of youth gangs and high rates of urban crime and violence. Therefore, the anticipated increase in unemployment is also likely to aggravate existing levels of crime and violence.

Latin America and the Caribbean is the only region in the developing world where a greater proportion of poor

people live in urban areas. Table 2.2 shows that by 2002, the urban share of the poor had increased to 59 per cent from 48 per cent in 1993.¹¹⁶ In Latin America and the Caribbean, 27 per cent of the urban population reside in slums – making it one of the regions with the lowest incidence. This is a reflection of the proactive steps taken by various governments since the 1980s to address the problem of slums and squatter settlements.

Latin America and the Caribbean region is characterized by high levels of inequality. The richest 5 per cent of the population receive 25 per cent of the regional income, while the poorest 30 per cent receive 7.5 per cent.¹¹⁷ The average Gini coefficient for the region is well above 0.50. Table 2.4 shows that the region's income inequality has increased over the last two decades. The disparities in income inequality are also reflected in urban areas (see Figure 2.9). The cities with the highest levels of inequality are to be found mainly in Brazil: Goiania, Brasilia, Belo Horizonte, Fortaleza and São Paulo, where the Gini coefficient is above 0.60. Other cities with relatively high levels of inequality include Bogotá, Rio de Janeiro, Curitiba, Buenos Aires and Catamarca (Argentina), Santiago, Quito, Guatemala and Mexico City. Relatively low levels of inequality are found in Caracas, Montevideo and Guadalajara, where the Gini coefficient was below 0.45 in 2002.¹¹⁸ Inequality often divides cities spatially along socio-economic, ethnic or racial lines. For instance, in Cayenne, the capital of French Guiana, residents are spatially distributed along ethnic lines: the wealthy, mainly French, residents live in exclusive communities, while the poor, mainly immigrants from Brazil, Suriname, as well as indigenous South Americans, are crowded in shanty-towns dotted on the city's fringes.¹¹⁹

■ Asia

Being the second fastest urbanizing region after Africa, and home to 50 per cent of the world's urban population, the current economic crisis will have far-reaching implications for

Countries	Early 1990s	Mid 1990s	Early 2000s	Change (%)
Argentina	0.426	0.458	0.504	7.7
Bolivia	0.543	0.558	0.559	1.6
Brazil	0.595	0.583	0.572	-2.3
Chile	0.547	0.549	0.561	1.4
Colombia	0.559	0.543	0.558	-0.1
Costa Rica	0.439	0.440	0.446	0.8
El Salvador	0.505	0.494	0.518	1.3
Honduras	0.556	0.541	0.530	-2.6
Jamaica	0.496	0.515	0.490	-0.6
Mexico	0.539	0.525	0.527	-1.2
Nicaragua	0.542	-	0.541	-0.1
Panama	0.547	0.540	0.544	-0.3
Peru	0.457	0.464	0.477	2.0
Uruguay	0.408	0.409	0.425	1.7
Venezuela	0.417	0.445	0.455	3.8
Average (non-weighted)	0.505	0.507	0.514	0.9
Average (weighted)	0.519	0.512	0.514	-0.4

Source: Gasparini, 2003

urban living in Asia. The gains made in poverty reduction and economic growth within the last two decades risk being eroded by the current global recession. With the contraction in global demand for exports, and external financial constraints, economic growth in Asia is expected to decline from 6.8 per cent in 2008 to 3.3 per cent in 2009.¹²⁰ The recession will be felt most in the newly industrialized economies, where negative growth rates have been predicted. The slump in economic growth is expected to negatively impact upon government revenue, which forms the basis for expenditure on urban development and capital projects.

The global recession will lead to a massive loss of jobs in urban areas. About 23 million people in the region are expected to lose their jobs in 2009 – resulting in an unemployment rate of 5.4 per cent, or 113 million jobless people.¹²¹ This is aptly demonstrated in China, where the reduced demand for exports led to the closure of about 7000 factories

Table 2.4

Gini coefficients trends for selected countries in the Latin America and the Caribbean region

The current economic crisis will have far-reaching implications for urban living in Asia

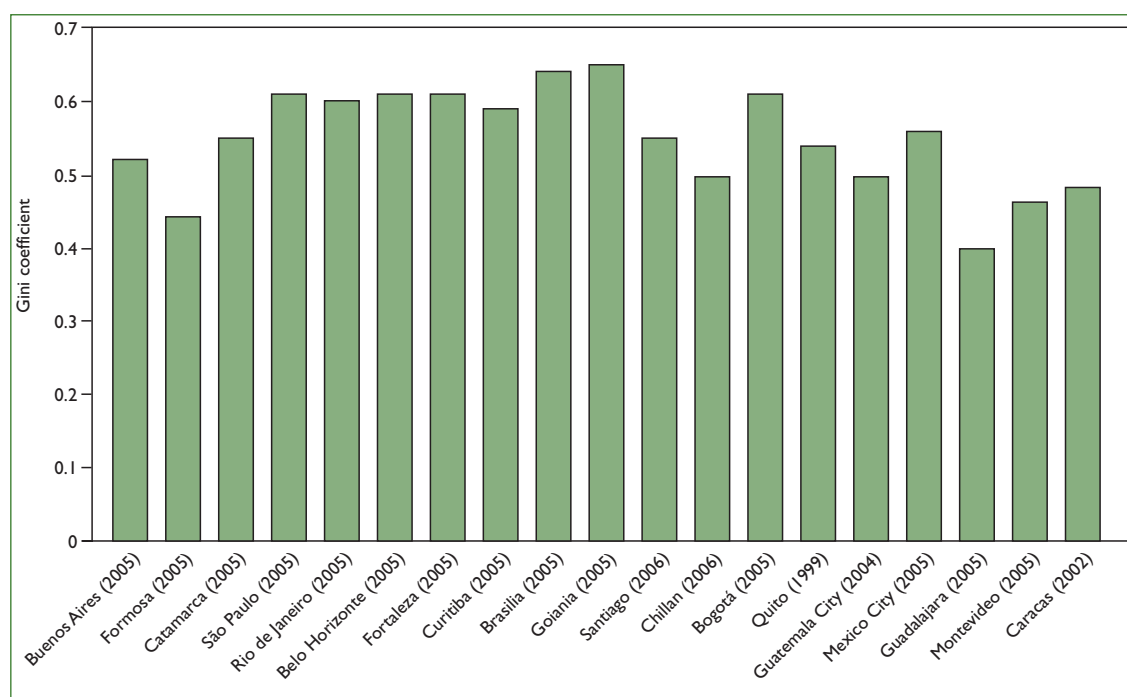


Figure 2.9

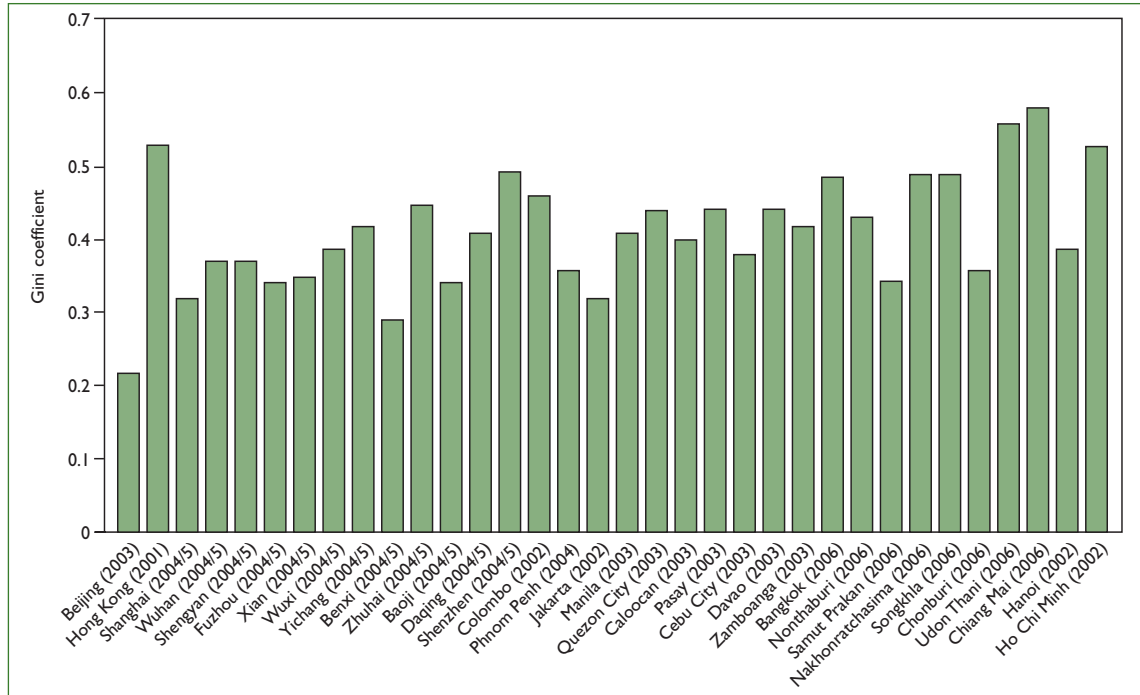
Gini coefficients for selected cities in Latin America

Source: UN-Habitat, 2008b, p69

Figure 2.10

Gini coefficients for selected cities in Asia

Source: UN-Habitat, 2008b, p75



in the southern special economic zone of Shenzhen and Guangdong in 2008, leading to millions of migrant workers being laid off.¹²² The return of these workers and their families to the countryside has served to exacerbate poverty, unemployment and underemployment in the rural areas.

Asia will be hard hit by a reduction in the flow of remittances on account of the global recession. Countries such as India, China, the Philippines, Bangladesh and Pakistan are among the top ten remittance-recipient countries, receiving US\$30 billion, US\$27 billion, US\$18.7 billion, US\$8.9 billion and US\$7.1 billion, respectively, in 2008.¹²³ In these countries, remittances account for the largest source of external income, after foreign direct investment. In Bangladesh for instance, remittances generated more income than any other industry in 2008.¹²⁴ A decline in remittances could have major implications for urban areas, given its role in poverty reduction and the financing of house construction, as well as improving education, health and living standards.

Asia, more than any other developing region, has made remarkable progress in poverty reduction. The extent of poverty reduction in the region has been described as 'one of the largest decreases in mass poverty in human history'.¹²⁵ In East and Central Asia, the incidence of urban poverty decreased from 5.6 and 2.1 per cent, respectively, in 1993, to 2.3 and 0.8 per cent in 2002 (see Table 2.2). Declining levels of urban poverty are also evident at the country level. In China, urban poverty declined from 3.3 per cent in 1993 to 0.81 per cent in 2002. While significant progress has been made in reducing urban poverty, more needs to be done, particularly with respect to distributing the benefits of economic growth, given that two-thirds of the world's poor reside in Asia.¹²⁶

Asia alone accounts for about 60 per cent of the slum population of the developing world. Within the region, about 36 per cent of the urban population reside in slums. China

and India account for about 55 per cent of the region's slum population. The countries with high incidence of slums include Afghanistan, Lao PDR, Cambodia, Bangladesh and Nepal, while those with a low prevalence include Hong Kong, Thailand, Korea and Indonesia. Variations in the prevalence of slums are indicative of the nature of housing and urban development policies, rates of urbanization, economic growth, poverty and instability.

Asia has one of the lowest levels of inequality in the developing world. The urban Gini coefficient for the region (0.39) is remarkably lower than that of sub-Saharan Africa (0.46) and Latin America and the Caribbean (0.50).¹²⁷ Figure 2.10 shows remarkable variation across cities within the region. Chinese cities appear to be the most egalitarian, with Beijing having a Gini coefficient of 0.22. Other Chinese cities with low Gini coefficients are Benxi (0.29), Shanghai (0.32), Fuzhou (0.34) and Xian (0.35). Conversely, Hong Kong's Gini coefficient of 0.53 makes it one of the most unequal cities in the region. Other cities with high levels of income inequality are Ho Chi Minh, Shenzhen, Colombo and the Thai cities of Chang Mai, Udon Thani, Samut Prakan and Bangkok. In most of these cities, increasing levels of inequality have occurred against the backdrop of accelerated economic growth in their respective countries.

■ Sub-Saharan Africa

Rapid urbanization in sub-Saharan Africa will, in the near future, be taking place within the context of a deteriorating global economy. This will have major ramifications, given the numerous urban challenges that African countries have to contend with. The hard-won economic gains made by the region in the last decade or so are threatened by the current global recession. Economic growth is projected to decline from 5.5 per cent in 2008 to 1.7 per cent in 2009, with the resource-rich and oil-exporting countries being the most affected.¹²⁸ The severe slowdown in economic growth will

Asia will be hard hit by a reduction in the flow of remittances on account of the global recession

Asia has one of the lowest levels of inequality in the developing world

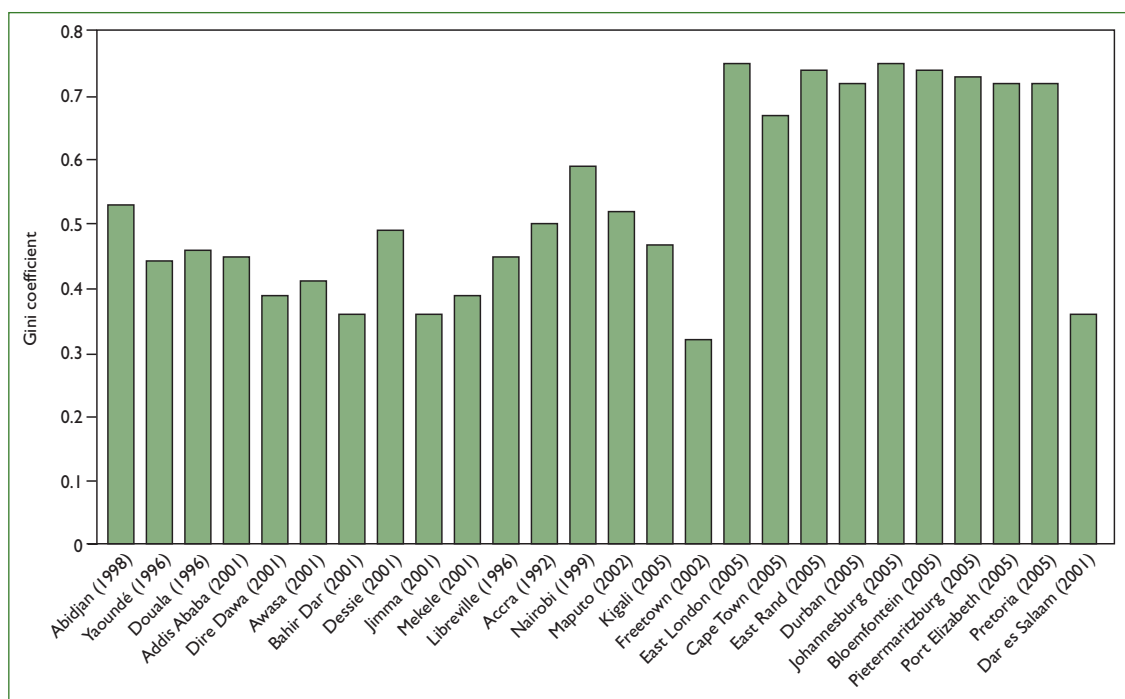


Figure 2.11

Gini coefficients for selected cities in Africa

Source: UN-Habitat, 2008b, p72

affect the ability of many countries to meet their urban development objectives, including the MDGs, many of which are urban related.

Besides job losses in urban areas, the ongoing economic meltdown will exacerbate the existing high levels of urban poverty in the region, causing the poor to fall more deeply into poverty. Table 2.2 reveals that the number of people below the US\$1 per day extreme poverty line in urban areas increased from 66 million in 1993 to 99 million in 2002, while the incidence of urban poverty is 40.4 per cent – the highest in the world. Although rural poverty is still pervasive in sub-Saharan Africa, the share of urban poverty in relation to national poverty is increasing.

The problem of urban poverty in sub-Saharan Africa manifests itself in the proliferation of slum and squatter settlements. The region has the highest incidence of slums – with 62 per cent of the urban population living in slums. Countries with a very high incidence of slums include Angola, Chad, Central African Republic, Ethiopia, Guinea Bissau, Madagascar, Niger, Sierra Leone, Sudan and Uganda. The high prevalence of slums in these countries is a reflection of their low levels of income, high levels of poverty and rapid pace of urbanization. Indeed, urbanization and slum formation in sub-Saharan Africa are closely intertwined. Between 1990 and 2000, slum areas in the region grew at an average annual rate of 4.5 per cent, while urban growth was 4.6 per cent.¹²⁹ What this implies is that much of the future growth in African cities and towns will take place in slums and informal settlements.

Sub-Saharan Africa has the second highest level of income inequality after Latin America. The average Gini coefficient for urban areas in sub-Saharan Africa is 0.46.¹³⁰ Figure 2.11 shows the levels of income inequality for a selection of African cities. South African cities have extremely high levels of income inequality, ranging from 0.67 in Cape Town to 0.75 in Johannesburg, which are significantly higher

than in many Latin American cities. Cities with moderately high levels of inequality are Abidjan, Nairobi, Maputo and Accra. The most egalitarian cities are Dar es Salaam, Freetown, Yaoundé, and the Ethiopian towns of Dire Dawa, Awasa, Bahir Dar, Jimma and Mekele. From the foregoing, it can be surmised that the most unequal cities, in terms of income distribution, are those located in high- and middle-income countries.

■ Middle East and North Africa

The fall in oil prices and external financial constraints are hitting the region hard. Consequently, economic growth is projected to decline from 5.9 per cent in 2008 to 2.5 per cent in 2009, while oil-exporting countries such as the United Arab Emirates, Kuwait and Saudi Arabia are expected to record negative growth rates.¹³¹ This is likely to impact upon urban areas, given the highly urbanized nature of most of the countries in the region. The United Arab Emirates is noteworthy in this regard. Besides being an oil-exporting country, it serves as a major financial hub. So, in addition to the loss of revenue from lower oil prices, the country has suffered from the reversal of capital inflow and contraction in global finance. This, in turn, has affected the construction industry, which has been booming since 2002, as building projects worth US\$582 billion have been suspended.¹³²

Levels of unemployment have traditionally been high in the region, and will be aggravated by the ongoing global crisis. The rate of unemployment in North Africa and the Middle East is expected to increase from 10.3 and 9.04 per cent, respectively, in 2008, to 11.2 and 11 per cent in 2009.¹³³ In a region where 65 per cent of the population is under the age of 30,¹³⁴ high levels of unemployment will disproportionately affect the youth. Rising levels of unemployment could also affect millions of migrant workers in Saudi Arabia, the United Arab Emirates, Kuwait, Oman, Qatar and Bahrain.

Sub-Saharan Africa has the second highest level of income inequality after Latin America

Rising levels of unemployment could affect millions of migrant workers in Saudi Arabia, the United Arab Emirates, Kuwait, Oman, Qatar and Bahrain

The twin problems of urban poverty and the proliferation of slums should be at the top of the planning agenda in many developing countries

Urban planning can address the issue of inequality through redistributive policies that give priority to low-income groups and areas in the provision of urban services

Urban poverty within the region is increasing, albeit slowly. Table 2.2 shows that the number of people below the US\$1 per day extreme poverty line in the region's urban areas increased from 0.77 million in 1993 to 1.21 million in 2002. Similarly, the proportion of the urban population below the US\$1 per day poverty line increased from 0.61 per cent in 1993 to 0.78 per cent in 2002. The incidence of poverty is much higher if the US\$2 per day poverty line is used. Nonetheless, the Middle East and North Africa region has the lowest incidence of urban poverty in the developing world. The incidence of slums is also relatively low in the region. In North Africa, 15 per cent of the urban population reside in slum-like conditions. In the Middle East, the prevalence of slums is generally low and varies across the sub-region. Countries such as Bahrain, Kuwait, Israel, the United Arab Emirates and Qatar have a very low incidence of slums, while Yemen, Lebanon and Iraq have relatively large proportions of their urban population living in slums.

The Middle East and North Africa region has one of the most egalitarian patterns of income distribution in the developing world. This is reflected in the Gini coefficient of 0.36.¹³⁵ A similar pattern occurs at the city level, where the urban Gini coefficient for North Africa is 0.37.¹³⁶ The low levels of inequality within the region have been attributed to the strong cohesive social system and the emphasis on social redistribution policies in Islamic countries.¹³⁷

Planning implications of urban economic context

In the foreseeable future, urban planning will need to address a number of economic challenges, especially the following: urbanization of poverty and the prevalence of slums; income inequality and the resultant social exclusion; uncertain economic growth; and poor urban employment prospects.

■ Urban planning, poverty and slums

The twin problems of urban poverty and the proliferation of slums should be at the top of the planning agenda in many developing countries. The magnitude of these problems has been described in the preceding sections. Some countries have tried to exclude the poor from cities by implementing anti-urban policies or by focusing on rural poverty in the hope that this will discourage rural–urban migration. Because of the failure of these policies, it is now clear that urban planning should strive to reduce poverty through pro-poor programmes that emphasize equity, participation and social justice.

Planning can address the problem of slums and informal settlements through upgrading programmes, which entail the provision or improvement of infrastructure and basic services such as water, sanitation, garbage collection, storm drainage, street lighting, paved footpaths and streets. Besides the physical improvement of these settlements, the provision of such infrastructure can deliver major benefits in economic growth, poverty reduction and environmental sustainability, reduce the health burden faced by residents, as well as contribute to achieving the slum, water and sanita-

tion targets of the MDGs. A major aspect of such upgrading programmes should be land regularization, especially where previous tenure was insecure or unclear. Land regulation in this case could be in the form of innovative and less costly tenure systems, as described in Chapters 3 and 7.

■ Urban planning and inequality

With few exceptions, levels of inequality across the world have been increasing. This is most remarkable in Latin America, Africa and transitional countries. This, in turn, has given rise to cities with stark contrasts between areas of wealth and poverty, with escalating crime levels fuelling the desire by the wealthy to segregate themselves from the poor. Thus, income inequality and spatial fragmentation are mutually reinforcing, leading to segregated and violent cities. Women, children and the aged feel the brunt of these processes. The challenges for urban planning in addressing inequality are particularly difficult, as urban planning alone cannot counter market forces. Urban planning should, therefore, seek ways to promote social integration and cohesion.

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

■ Urban planning and economic uncertainty

Although the current global economic crisis had its roots in the subprime mortgage markets in the US, all countries – developed, developing and transitional – have been affected in various ways. Many countries are experiencing decline in economic growth. This implies that less funding will be available for state-initiated urban development programmes. In developing countries, urban development programmes such as slum upgrading and prevention projects, as well as urban regeneration and poverty reduction initiatives, will be adversely affected. So, too, will the achievement of the MDGs. All of this reinforces the need for governments to act in partnership with civil society and private-sector actors – both formal and informal – on urban planning issues. It also underlines the need for a developmental role for governments, as opposed to a neo-liberal approach which assumes that the market can solve most urban problems.

■ Urban planning and employment

In an era where formal employment opportunities across the world are dwindling due to the global economic recession, urban planning can play a key role in facilitating livelihoods through local economic development. Over the last two decades, local economic development has increasingly become an important development strategy in both developed and developing countries due to the economic challenges that cities face. Local economic development is a

community-empowering participatory process in which local governments, local communities, civil society, as well as the private and public sectors work together to stimulate and improve the local economy of a given area.¹³⁸ Local economic development seeks to enhance economic competitiveness; to increase sustainable growth; to ensure that growth is inclusive; and to produce tangible benefits for participating local communities.¹³⁹ Besides stimulating economic growth and creating employment, a key component of local economic development is poverty reduction. Urban planning could also create the enabling conditions for employment to thrive by adopting more flexible land-use management or zoning systems that allow for mixed land uses, as opposed to mono-functional zoning that seeks to segregate different activities. The former will allow income-generating or economic activities to take place within residential areas or any other favourably located sites.

LOCATION AND VULNERABILITY TO NATURAL AND HUMAN-MADE DISASTERS

Cities are highly vulnerable to the effects of natural and human-made disasters due to a complex set of interrelated processes, including the location and rapid growth of major urban centres in coastal locations; the modification of the built and natural environment through human actions; the expansion of settlements into hazard-prone locations; and the failure of authorities to regulate building standards and land-use planning strategies.

Since 1975, there has been a fourfold increase in the number of recorded natural disasters. Each of the three years with the highest number of recorded disasters has been during the current decade, with 801 disasters in 2000, 786 in 2002 and 744 in 2005.¹⁴⁰ Between 1996 and 2005, disasters accounted for over US\$667 billion in material loss.¹⁴¹ While all continents report more natural disaster events, on average, the rate of increase has been highest for Africa, where a threefold increase in natural disaster events has been experienced in the last decade alone.¹⁴² Human-made disasters have seen a tenfold increase from 1975 to 2006, with the greatest rates of increase in Asia and Africa.

Geographic location is a major determinant of the type and frequency of natural hazards that a city may experience. Eight of the ten most populous cities are located on earthquake faults, while 90 per cent of these cities are in regions vulnerable to destructive storms (see Table 2.5). The low-elevation coastal zone (LECZ) – the contiguous area along the coast that is less than 10m above sea level – is highly vulnerable to natural hazards. This zone accounts for 2 per cent of the world's land area, but contains 10 per cent of its total population and 13 per cent of its urban population.¹⁴³ Due to their favourable location, coastal areas are densely populated and have large concentrations of economic activities. Indeed, coastal areas account for 53 per cent of the world's GDP.¹⁴⁴ However, populations within coastal areas are at risk from sea-level rise, extreme weather events such as tropical cyclones, flooding and other hazards associated with climate change.

Developed and transitional countries

Floods, windstorms, earthquakes and volcanoes are the most common forms of natural disasters affecting developed countries. The human impacts of natural disasters vary remarkably between developed and developing countries. While economic loss in absolute terms is high in developed countries, human loss is low. This is a result of the very high levels of capital investment, as well as high levels of investment in disaster mitigation. Developed countries account for less than 10 per cent of the world human loss due to natural disasters.¹⁴⁵ In 1999, the US reported two to three times as many natural disasters as Bangladesh; yet, Bangladesh experienced 34 times more deaths.¹⁴⁶ The distinguishing characteristic is the high technical capacity for early-warning systems, disaster preparedness and risk reduction in the developed world, and the ability to effectively manage pre- and post-disaster situations, all of which are lacking in many developing countries.

In the developed world, 10 per cent of the total urban population live in the low-elevation coastal zone, with 86 per cent of the entire population of the zone being urban dwellers. In Europe, North America, Japan, Australia and New Zealand, the low-elevation coastal zone is highly urbanized: between 79 and 94 per cent of the population are urban (see Table 2.7). Such high levels of urbanization along coastlines render large numbers of people vulnerable to

Cities are highly vulnerable to the effects of natural and human-made disasters

Geographic location is a major determinant of the type and frequency of natural hazards that a city may experience

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

Source: Chafe, 2007, p116

Table 2.5

Ten most populous cities and associated disaster risk, 2005

flooding and extreme weather conditions associated with climate change.

■ Western Europe

Floods constitute the most frequent form of natural disaster in Western Europe. Between 1990 and 2006, a total of 1483 events affecting over 42 million people and causing 98,119 deaths, with an estimated economic cost of over US\$168 billion, occurred.¹⁴⁷ Vulnerability and human loss are highest for extreme temperature events, compared to other world regions. Between 1996 and 2005, Europe experienced 47 per cent of all extreme temperature events, but 81 per cent of all mortalities. The heat wave of 2003 resulted in about 35,000 deaths.¹⁴⁸ Western Europe has a strong capacity for resilience. It is also a region with relatively low levels of hazard exposure. The role played by high levels of economic development and political stability in shifting the impact of disasters from human to physical assets is evident in this region. This is exemplified by volcanic eruptions, where Europe suffers the highest economic losses of any region, but with very few people being killed or affected.

■ North America

Windstorms, including hurricanes and tornadoes, are the most frequent type of disaster affecting the greatest number of people and causing the highest total economic costs in North America. Windstorms can trigger flooding and landslides. North America experiences the greatest economic loss from natural disasters. In 2005, Hurricane Katrina alone caused US\$125 billion in economic loss (see Table 2.6). The impacts of volcanic eruptions have been limited, suggesting good levels of resilience to this hazard type. Neo-liberal policies, particularly in the US, have scaled down state responsibilities for risk reduction and response and placed greater emphasis on the role of private citizens and companies. This has had mixed results for urban resilience to natural and human-made hazards, as was seen in the failed state response and recovery efforts during Hurricane Katrina in 2005.

■ Oceania and Japan

Between 1996 and 2005, Oceania recorded the lowest incidence of disasters for any region and hazard type, with

the exception of volcanic eruption.¹⁴⁹ The region also has the lowest economic losses and absolute number of people killed and affected by all disaster types. Within the region, disasters are most commonly associated with windstorms, and these result in the greatest economic losses. Earthquakes and tsunamis account for the highest levels of mortality. The natural cycle of weather patterns, aided by human activities such as overstocking, vegetation loss, dams, groundwater and irrigation schemes, underlie many natural disasters in New Zealand and Australia. In 2007 alone, New Zealand experienced four major storms with an economic loss of about of NZ\$131.3 million.¹⁵⁰ Japan's location in one of the world's most active crustal zones puts its cities at risk of many natural hazards, including earthquakes, storms and floods (see Tables 2.5 and 2.6). For low-lying small island states within the region, sea-level rise due to climate change poses major challenges.

■ Transitional countries

Some of the countries in East and Central Europe have difficult topographies and are located in areas that place them at risk to natural and human-induced disasters. Many of the countries are landlocked, sit on, or are surrounded by steep mountains that are frequently disturbed by seismic activity, heavy rains, avalanches, landslides and earthquakes. Serbia, Montenegro and Kosovo suffered from serious flooding in November and December 2007. Human-induced disasters, such as the massive explosion at an arms depot in Albania in March 2008, also tend to occur more frequently in this region.¹⁵¹ Disasters of this genre are often a function of ineffective governance.

During the Soviet era, authorities paid very little attention to environmental issues. Environmentally damaging agricultural, mining and manufacturing practices went unchecked, while large quantities of untreated toxic and hazardous waste were inappropriately disposed of. Besides, substandard nuclear plants, such as Kozloduy in Bulgaria, were allowed to operate with no safety procedures in place. The plant, which is located near the Danube River, has leaking pipes and obsolete reactors, and is considered to be the most dangerous reactor in the world. Residents of cities close to the plant have undoubtedly been exposed to unsafe levels of radiation.

Developing countries

Developing countries have experienced the fastest rate of increase in the incidence of natural and human-made disasters over the last three decades. Since these countries are rapidly urbanizing, they face increased risks in the future from natural disasters. Cities in developing countries suffer disproportionately from the impacts of natural disasters – this is evident in Tables 2.5 and 2.6. This is a function of the inability on the part of authorities to manage pre- and post-disaster situations. Consequently, natural disasters tend to claim more lives than in developed countries. Indeed, 98 per cent of the 211 million people affected by natural disasters between 1991 and 2000 resided in developing countries.¹⁵² While economic losses in absolute terms are low in compari-

Floods constitute the most frequent form of natural disaster in Western Europe

Cities in developing countries suffer disproportionately from the impacts of natural disasters

Table 2.6

Selected urban disasters, 1906–2006

Year	City	Disaster	Deaths (estimated number)	Economic loss (US\$ billion, 2005)
2005	New Orleans	Hurricane	1800	125.0
2005	Mumbai	Flood	400	0.4
2003	Bam, Iran	Earthquake	26,300	1.1
2003	Paris	Heat wave	14,800	4.7
2001	Bhuj (India)	Earthquake	19,700	5.5
2000	Johannesburg	Flood	100	0.2
1999	Istanbul/Izmit	Earthquake	15,000	14.1
1995	Kobe, Japan	Earthquake	6400	128.2
1985	Mexico City	Earthquake	9500	7.3
1976	Tangshan, China	Earthquake	242,000	19.2
1970	Dhaka	Flood	1400	10.1
1923	Tokyo	Earthquake	143,000	31.8
1906	San Francisco	Earthquake	3000	10.9

Source: Chafe, 2007, p117

son to developed countries, they are 20 times greater as a percentage of GDP.¹⁵³

One factor accounting for the magnified impact of natural disasters in developing countries is the lack of development itself, which makes it impossible not only for citizens to adhere to building regulations, but also for authorities to enforce them. In addition, the scarcity or high cost of buildable land has left many with no choice but to settle in disaster-prone areas.

Table 2.7 indicates that 14 per cent of the urban population of developing countries live in the low-elevation coastal zone, while 54 per cent of the coastal zone is urban. The high level of urbanization in the low-elevation coastal zone vis-à-vis the entire developing world (44 per cent) presents major challenges, given the low capacity and weak infrastructure to deal with rising sea levels.

■ Latin America and the Caribbean

Earthquakes, hurricanes, tropical storms and floods are the main natural hazards in this region. During the three decades leading up to the 21st century, the region experienced 32 disasters that accounted for about 7500 deaths per year, on average.¹⁵⁴ The economic loss arising from these disasters varies between US\$700 million and US\$3.3 billion.¹⁵⁵ The incidence of natural disasters differs by sub-region. For instance, 50 per cent of all disasters, 65 per cent of fatalities, 75 per cent of the affected population and 53 per cent of the total destruction were in South America. These statistics may overstate South America's vulnerability to natural disasters compared to other sub-regions. The effective exposure to risk, measured in terms of occurrence per thousand square kilometres, is more informative. The effective exposure to risk for the Caribbean is 10.1 against 0.3 for South America.¹⁵⁶ While the cumulative losses resulting from natural disasters from 1970 to 1999 represented 4 per cent of the GDP of South American countries, it amounted to 43 per cent for the Caribbean.¹⁵⁷ This suggests that smaller countries are, in economic terms, more vulnerable to natural disasters.

In Latin America and the Caribbean, 8 per cent of the population reside in the low-elevation coastal zone (see Table 2.7). Countries such as the Bahamas, Suriname, Guyana and Belize rank among the top ten in the world that have the highest proportion of their urban population living in the coastal zone.¹⁵⁸ In most of the Caribbean, 50 per cent of the population reside within 2km of the coast.¹⁵⁹ This, coupled with urbanization patterns and processes in low-income areas, have, in part, contributed to making the Caribbean highly vulnerable to rises in sea levels and extreme weather conditions.

■ Asia

The incidence of disasters associated with avalanches or landslides, earthquakes or tsunamis, floods, windstorms and industrial accidents is higher in Asia than in any other region. The high population density means that mortality is highest in this region for all disaster types, with the exception of volcanic eruptions. The number of people affected is also high. Economic loss is similarly high for all disasters,

Region	Population in LECZ (000s)	Urban population in LECZ (000s)	Percentage urban population in LECZ	Level of urbanization in LECZ (%)
Africa	55,633	32,390	12	58
Sub-Saharan Africa	24,911	16,845	9	68
North Africa	30,723	15,545	18	51
Asia	449,845	235,258	16	52
Eastern Asia	159,969	109,434	15	68
Southern Asia	140,964	56,023	14	40
South-Eastern Asia	137,245	61,201	36	45
Western Asia	11,472	8482	8	74
Commonwealth of Independent States	194	119	0.3	61
Latin America and the Caribbean	33,578	24,648	8	73
Oceania	852	442	22	52
Developing countries	539,908	292,738	14	54
Europe (including Commonwealth of Independent States)	50,200	39,709	8	79
North America	24,217	21,489	8	89
Japan	29,347	27,521	27	94
Australia and New Zealand	2846	2421	14	85
Developed countries	106,519	91,140	10	86
World	646,519	383,878	13	59

Source: UN-Habitat, 2008b, p142

except for extreme temperatures, volcanic eruptions, industrial accidents and miscellaneous accidents.¹⁶⁰ Flooding is the most frequent natural hazard affecting the largest number of people and causing the greatest economic losses. Between 1996 and 2005, a total of 472 floods resulted in 42,570 deaths, affected 1.3 billion people and caused an economic loss of US\$129 billion.¹⁶¹ Tsunamis and earthquakes cause the greatest mortality, with the 2004 Indian Ocean Tsunami accounting for around 230,000 deaths, in which the province of Aceh lost capital stock worth 97 per cent of its GDP.¹⁶² The Kashmir earthquake of 2005 caused an estimated loss of US\$5 billion to Pakistan.¹⁶³ In the Chinese province of Sichuan, the earthquake of 12 May 2008 resulted in 69,000 deaths, 370,000 injured, 17,000 missing and 4.8 million homeless.¹⁶⁴

Asia alone accounts for 61 per cent of the urban population of the entire low-elevation coastal zone, and has 16 per cent of its urban population within the zone (see Table 2.7). What this means is that with more than 235 million people living in the LECZ, Asia has the highest number of urban dwellers at risk from flooding, with the poor being most affected, given the poor quality and hazardous location of their homes. Many cities, such as Shanghai, Bangkok, Karachi, Kolkata, Chennai, Hanoi, Mumbai and Dhaka, are at risk from sea-level rise.

■ Sub-Saharan Africa

Flooding is the most frequent natural disaster in Africa and results in the highest mortality.¹⁶⁵ Earthquakes, floods and storms cause the greatest economic loss, and drought affects the most people. Food insecurity resulting from drought can affect urban areas indirectly through price fluctuations and the in-migration of refugees. Economic loss to disasters is low for Africa, compared to other world regions, but is high

Table 2.7

Urban population in the low-elevation coastal zone (LECZ), 2000

In most of the Caribbean, 50 per cent of the population reside within 2km of the coast

Asia alone accounts for 61 per cent of the urban population of the entire low-elevation coastal zone

Coastal cities in sub-Saharan Africa are by far the most developed and are likely to be adversely affected by rising sea levels

Urban planning can play an integral role in developing building codes that ensure safety standards in the built environment

as a proportion of GDP. Between 1996 and 2005, more people were killed or affected by volcanic eruptions in Africa than in any other region, despite the low incidence of volcanic eruption events.¹⁶⁶ The high loss-to-event ratio indicates low resilience, and this was demonstrated in the volcanic eruption of Mount Nyiragongo, which destroyed 40 per cent of the buildings and displaced 250,000 people in Goma (Democratic Republic of Congo) in 2002.¹⁶⁷

Table 2.7 shows that 9 per cent of the urban population of sub-Saharan Africa live within the low-elevation coastal zone. While this appears relatively low, the level of urbanization in the coastal zone is 68 per cent, making it the most urbanized ecosystem within the region. Coastal cities in sub-Saharan Africa are by far the most developed and are likely to be adversely affected by rising sea levels. Such cities include Abidjan, Accra, Cape Town, Dakar, Lagos, Libreville, Mombasa and Port Louis. Many of these cities do not have the necessary infrastructure and preparedness to withstand the effects of extreme weather conditions.

■ Middle East and North Africa

The natural factors that have provided the foundation for the wealth of cities in the Middle East and North Africa also threaten their survival. For instance, the desert exposes them to droughts and extreme problems of water shortage. The projected water availability per person for the region for the next two decades is 500 cubic metres, while the current world average per capita is 7000 cubic metres.¹⁶⁸ Other natural disasters known in the region are flash floods, earthquakes, landslides and desertification. Examples of recent episodes of these include the following: an earthquake in Morocco in February 2004 claimed 600 lives and rendered 30,000 homeless; in May 2003, an earthquake in Algeria killed 538 and injured 4600; and in October 2008, floods claimed 90 lives and left about 25,000 people homeless in Yemen.¹⁶⁹ Extended dry seasons – a common problem in the region – destroy land cover and lead to desertification.

Planning implications of vulnerability to natural and human disasters

With increasing extreme weather events associated with climate change, cities are facing mounting and often inter-related environmental challenges, to which urban planning must respond with innovative solutions. These will include more appropriate land-use planning; more appropriate building codes and disaster-resistant construction; protection of critical infrastructure; more effective post-disaster rehabilitation; and implementation of effective climate change mitigation and adaptation measures.

■ Land-use planning and disasters

Given the occurrence of natural disasters in cities across the world, land-use planning can serve as a valuable tool for mainstreaming disaster risk reduction into urban development processes. Land-use planning provides a framework within which interventions to partner local actors for risk mapping and community resilience building can be undertaken. This includes partnerships between municipal

governments, community groups and the private sector. Familiar planning tools such as zoning, community participation, geographic information systems (GIS), and information and education programmes are all essential to mainstreaming risk reduction within the land-use planning process.

Mainstreaming risk reduction within strategies that underpin land-use planning is challenging, particularly for authorities in developing countries with limited resources. Designing and implementing comprehensive land-use planning also poses a major challenge for many smaller cities, where municipal capacity for urban planning is limited. Planning to manage risk systems in their entirety further complicates land-use planning. Human settlements of all sizes are situated within larger socio-ecological systems that include environmental features as well as social and cultural systems. These systems are interdependent, expressed, for example, through migration and economic exchange between rural and urban areas or across urban centres. Planning for risk management will need to consider not only the internal, but also the external environment.

■ Building codes and disaster-resistant construction

Urban planning can play an integral role in developing building codes that ensure safety standards in components of the built environment. Most countries have building codes aimed at ensuring that construction meets a minimum standard of disaster resilience. However, in some cases, codes might not be as appropriate as they should be. In order to be effective, the building codes proposed by urban planning should meet the following criteria specified by the United Nations International Strategy for Disaster Reduction:¹⁷⁰

- realistic, given economic, environmental and technological constraints;
- relevant to current building practice and technology;
- updated regularly in light of developments in knowledge;
- understood fully and accepted by professional interest groups;
- enforced in order to avoid the legislative system being ignored or falling into disrepute;
- adhered to, with laws and controls based more on a system of incentives rather than punishment; and
- integrated fully within a legal system that takes account of potential conflicts between the different levels of administration and government.

A major challenge that planning is likely to face is enforcing adherence to building codes, particularly in developing countries. Failure to comply with codes is a major cause of vulnerability in buildings. Too often, perverse incentives make it more attractive for administrators, architects, builders, contractors and even house owners to circumvent construction standards. The potential for regulation of building codes to be undertaken by the private sector has been explored. While it might be cost efficient for the private sector to undertake site inspections, it is unclear if it would

be any less open to the perverse incentives that distort public-sector inspection and enforcement.¹⁷¹

■ Protecting critical infrastructure

Urban planning can play a major role in protecting critical infrastructure and services such as electricity, water and sanitation, telecommunications, transportation systems and health services. Protecting such vital infrastructure and services will influence response and reconstruction capacity and minimize secondary and indirect losses, such as the disruption in the flow of goods and services during the period after a disaster has struck a city. The potential for cascading events to affect multiple infrastructure systems makes it paramount that critical infrastructure and services be protected and, where possible, managed independently of each other to prevent contagion effects. It should be emphasized that protecting critical infrastructure and services against all conceivable sources of harm is prohibitively expensive, especially so for countries and cities with weak and small economies.

■ Planning and post-disaster rehabilitation

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

■ Urban planning and climate change

In order to cope with the effects of climate change through rising sea levels, cities all over the world, but especially in developing countries, will need to implement innovative adaptation and mitigation strategies. Some of these strategies are discussed in Chapter 6. Urban planning can contribute to implementing some of these strategies. Adaptation for cities entails such diverse actions as increasing the resilience of infrastructure, changing the location of settlements and implementing practices that enhance sustainable development. There are, however, several challenges. Adapting now to future climate change is difficult because of the uncertainty in forecasting and a tendency for conservative estimates of future change. Besides, cities in developing countries face financial and technical

constraints and limited adaptive capacity.

Mitigating climate change through reduction of greenhouse gas emissions in cities requires immediate and aggressive action, alongside adaptation. There is great scope for future work in enabling mitigation through improved urban design. One direction might be in those areas where mitigation also offers a financial opportunity. Examples include improved building materials and energy efficiency to reduce costs; transport demand management to reduce congestion and the health impacts of transport; and the promotion of renewable or alternative energy generation, such as methane recuperation from landfills for use in local energy generation schemes. These are areas where urban planning holds good promise.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

This chapter has examined the urban contexts across various regions. The diversity of the urban contexts across the world has major implications for urban planning. Levels of urbanization are high in developed and transitional countries, as well as in Latin America and the Caribbean, but much lower in Africa and Asia. Conversely, the pace of urbanization is faster in Africa and Asia. In both developed and developing countries, more than half of the urban population live in small and intermediate cities; and much of future population growth will take place in these cities.

The phenomenon of shrinking cities is most prevalent in the developed and transitional countries. An important demographic trend with implications for planning in developing countries is the high proportion of young people, especially in Africa, the Middle East, South America, Central Asia and the Pacific Islands. On the other hand, cities in developed countries have to contend with an increasingly ageing population and multiculturalism. In developing countries, the peri-urban fringe holds a significant proportion of the urban population, and is often the fastest growing area of cities, with informality being a dominant phenomenon.

The current global recession has affected cities in developed, transitional and developing countries alike. In developed countries, it has led to contraction in economic growth, rising levels of unemployment and, in some cases, massive falls in housing prices. For developing countries, the economic crisis has the tendency to exacerbate poverty, inequality and the prevalence of slums, and to undermine the implementation of urban development programmes, including those related to the MDGs.

For urban planning to respond effectively to the issues identified in the preceding paragraphs, it is important that urbanization itself is viewed as a positive phenomenon. Besides planning for rapid urban growth, planning will have to pay greater attention to small- and medium-sized cities, particularly in developing countries where the focus is often on large cities. Urban planning will need to respond to the youth bulge observed in many developing countries, shrinking cities, rapidly ageing population and multiculturalism in cities of developed and transitional countries. In developing countries, 21st century urban planning will have to address

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the twin problem of poverty and slums, as well as contend with increasing levels of informality. A consequence of the current economic recession is that funding for state-initiated urban and infrastructural projects will become scarce. This, in turn, underlines the need for governments to act in

partnership with civil society and private-sector actors on urban development. Finally, in all parts of the world, but especially in developing countries, urban planning can serve as a valuable tool for mainstreaming disaster risk reduction within urban development processes.

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