

NATIONAL SPATIAL FRAMEWORKS

Lessons Learnt from International Experiences











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SUMMARY

The study seeks to inform the update and revision of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia (KSA) National Spatial Strategy by analyzing five international experiences on national spatial frameworks and identifying sustainable and progressive approaches. Case studies include **Republic of Korea, Germany, Malaysia, Morocco and China, Germany.** Each country has been selected through a set of criteria collaboratively set by the UN-Habitat Headquarters and Riyadh Office. The scope of the study is limited to a literature review and desktop research for the five countries.

The pre-selection criteria ensured all cases had sufficient information available to analyse, and were from geographically and economically developed and emerging countries. The criteria also included UN-Habitat's assessment framework on sustainable spatial development, as defined by its compactness, social inclusiveness, integration, connectivity and resilience of cities. In order for the study to provide the most insight for the KSA context, the cases also address the development objectives of achieving balanced regional development, diversification of the economy and sustainable development in the face of unique environmental challenges. A table is included after the main findings sections to provide a synthetic comparison of the case studies.

Each case has been structured into six main parts. The **first section** provides a brief summary of the country and its current spatial framework. The **second** explores the context and rationale for the current spatial strategy being reviewed. The **third section** covers the process for formulating the national spatial strategy as well as its content and objectives. The **fourth section** looks into the implementation, monitoring and evaluation processes. The **fifth section** analyses the results and shortcomings based on the country's evaluation as well as the current spatial outcomes of the country. The **sixth and final section** includes a reference list for each case, as well as an annex that provides further background information.

The case studies provide a cross section of experiences that can be used to inform the revision of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia's (KSA) National Spatial Strategy. This diverse group of countries, experiencing both unique and common development issues, have adapted their own National Spatial Frameworks (NSFs) based on their country's social and political context. At the same time, they address local and international pressures experienced through rapid urbanization, climate and environmental risks, and an increasingly globalized world.

The study has identified seven key takeaways from the cases studies on NSFs:

- Reflecting Supra-National Perspectives Extending the scope of spatial planning frameworks to incorporate international considerations and cooperation, to maximize development opportunities.
- Addressing Environmental Challenges Integrating land use and environmental policies to create a sustainable environment, with an emphasis on protecting the natural environment, biodiversity and mitigating climate change risks.
- Leveraging Economic Opportunities Using spatial development policies to diversify the economic opportunities available and create interlinked economic clusters which support job development and economic growth.
- 4. Delivering Equitable Access to Basic Services Addressing the disparities in service provision across all segments of society to provide equal opportunities.
- Fostering Participation and Collaborative Implementation – Maximising the potential of the NSF through shared responsibility and accountability and by encouraging active investment at a nationwide level.
- Measuring Success for Effective Implementation – A sound and well informed evaluation of spatial development outcomes which is suitably flexible to address the comprehensive nature of the NSF.

MAIN FINDINGS

Reflecting Supra-National Perspectives

Analyzed spatial frameworks are not only striving for balanced regional development, they are also supporting national economic development and are therefore connected to geo-political dynamics at the global level. In all cases, the frameworks connected a vision of the national territorial development with commercial exchanges and migration on a larger scale. In certain cases, a supra regional strategy was embedded in the framework, as shown through **Republic of Korea's** strategy to connect Eurasia and South-East Asia, **Morocco** establishing development axis that extend to Europe and Sub-Saharan Africa and **Germany's** integration of the European Union.

Within the limits of the sovereign territory of each country, National Spatial Frameworks identify regions of growth, risks or other types of classification (e.g. natural reserves, water resource region). These regions do not necessarily coincide with administrative boundaries of any type, as for example in Morocco, Republic of Korea, **Malaysia** and Germany. In the National Spatial Strategy of Germany even international metropolitan areas are identified. All strategies except Malaysia cover their entire national territory in the NSFs. The National Physical Plan of Malaysia covers only Peninsular Malaysia as the states of East Malaysia fall under the authority of separate planning systems.

Addressing Environmental Challenges

An undeniable feature of spatial planning is to minimise environmental pressures and create healthy and sustainable territories. All cases consider environmental protection in their national spatial strategy, however, economic development often takes precedence.

Preserving ecological resources is seen as a priority within all cases, and so the NSFs identify areas with rich biodiversity and the need to protect it from further degradation or deforestation. The strategy of **Germany** is the most comprehensive, listing one of the three major objectives as, "conserving resources and shaping cultural landscapes". The other cases also define areas which are non-developmental and areas of ecological significance, zoning them to ensure responsible land management, which is then enforced and adopted and a local level.

Spatial plans are also reflective of climate change concerns and the countries take steps to limit the impact of negative urban growth externalities such as air pollution, waste management and soil quality. This is demonstrated by the move away from megacities (**China**), instead focusing on establishing green cities, which are well connected with energy efficient infrastructure and services. This effort to integrate land use with environmental policy is an effective means of achieving sustainable and controlled development.



Jeddah city center © Flickr/Henri Quatre



Leveraging Economic Opportunities Country-wide

Although the content and direction of spatial strategies differ widely, all cases share the goal of balanced territorial development. Countries that have focused on solely developing major growth areas have seen urban issues follow. These have included rural-urban migration, economic decline of regional areas, increased pressures on the natural environment and strains on social cohesion, to name a few. The notion of a 'trickle-down effect' to sustain regional areas has been disproved by the historical outcomes of **China** and the current struggles being experienced by **Malaysia**.

China has ultimately changed its strategy of spatial concentration, shifting focus from the growth areas of the coast to interior regions by implementing development axes. These encourage development corridors connected by satellite cities and transport links, providing opportunities to a hierarchy of cities as opposed to channeling investment and growth into existing core centres. A similar approach is adopted across **Germany**, **Morocco** and **Republic of Korea**, who focus on creating specialized regions supported by a network of large to small cities, and zoning regions in an effort to create economic clusters. This strategy of creating networks of cities is intended to drive polycentric urban development and widely distribute economic and employment opportunities.



Kingdom Tower in Riyadh © Flickr/Habeeb

Equally, most cases attempt to limit the growth of mega-cities, consciously developing small and medium towns, as well as the creation of new cities in Republic of Korea, China and Morocco. Flagged as an important consideration was the provision of soft and hard infrastructure required for supporting growing populations in smaller provinces, and ensuring local governments are supported in the financing and management of rapid growth. The use of new towns to mitigate population concentration was a popular tool but has not been considered a resounding success as yet. Cases in point noted delays in basic service provision (Sejong, Republic of Korea), insufficient population growth, leading to ghost towns (China) and accusations of poor investment decisions. The shift to urban regeneration in Republic of Korea and stimulating dynamic cities in Germany is seen as a viable alternative to the investment and management of building new towns.

Malaysia is a contradictory case with a 'Concentrated Decentralisation Development Strategy' that aims to develop existing core centres and conurbations. This is driven by a concern that a completely decentralised approach would be an ineffective use of economic resources and widen the scope for environmental degradation. While the National Physical Plan for Malaysia is still current, it has been predicted that the next review could reconsider this approach as development continues to be skewed to growth centres alone. In addition to providing corridors of connectivity, rural-hinterlands and regional areas were further targeted through the promotion of cross regional coordination strategies.

Germany encourages the cross-authority coordination of spatial strategies to stimulate transport links, drive tourism initiatives, research opportunities and local industry. This subsequently supports and generates local economies and jobs. Equally, Malaysia places importance in regional transport links between interior hinterlands for ecotourism and agricultural opportunities.

Delivering Equitable Access to Basic Services

Further to providing balanced economic growth, most cases included aims of equitably providing access to basic public services such as health care and educational facilities. Through National Spatial Frameworks, this was achieved in a number of ways.

The forecasting of population growth based on the spatial plan allowed accurate representation of population growth and the need for additional services. **Germany's** strategy recommends streamlining the central place system, a locational system that provides services and is adapted to the specific needs of each federal state. The system of central places provides the basic framework for regional adjustment processes which is particularly important in contracting regions.

The need to widen service provision to target poorer and marginalised communities is underscored by both **China** and **Malaysia**, who look to extend small local centres with access to basic services through the planned growth corridors and diffusing the population to smaller centres. The importance of providing sufficient support in financing these centres is raised by prefectures in China, to ensure their capacity isn't overestimated in the face of an influx of population.

The **Moroccan** strategy focuses instead on sensitising local officials on the importance of social needs in terms of basic amenities and social facilities. This is to reflect their decentralised focus on implementing the spatial planning strategies, placing a focus on instilling the desired social outlook, in place of providing a prescriptive approach.

An emphasis on sharing responsibilities between local and private actors to achieve social equity in service provision is highlighted across several cases, like Morocco and Germany. They seek to mobilise both the public and private sector to finance and manage the provision of services.

Fostering Participation and Collaborative and Implementation

The governance structures examined across the five case studies were diverse, each being representative of the unique historical and socio-political setting from which it had grown. The majority of National Spatial Frameworks favoured a decentralised approach, viewing the involvement of varying levels of government, external stakeholders and community segments as the most effective way to formulate and implement objectives of the National Spatial Plan.

This was demonstrated by **Germany**, whose central government divested the majority of decision-making powers to the Lander. They were then able to adapt their approach to their local scenario and take ownership of the spatial planning process. This was facilitated by the progressive government of Germany, one which championed the regionally owned approach.

Morocco, a country experiencing select legacy issues of a previously centralised governance structure, promoted a decentralised model for spatial plan formulation and implementation. While this was demonstrated in the planning formulation and implementation, issues of civil ownership and participation were noted. Similarly, in analysing the governance structure of the **Republic of Korea**, while still formally a unitary structure, natural inclinations to decentralisation were emerging through a stronger civic movement and mature local governments. These two cases suggest that countries experiencing transition or change in their governance structure can encounter problems with aligning civic and state led agendas, highlighting this as a gradual and ongoing process. Conversely, **China** explicitly enforced a top-down approach, reflecting its centralised administration and the desire to have a uniform and overarching approach in its development vision. In spite of this, China's 12th Five Year Plan and the framework for the National Plan for New Urbanisation, was open to public consultation. This indicated there was value in having a lens on the public expectations in development processes.

Through experience, it was found that community support for the vision of the National Spatial Framework helped to reflect a wider range of aspirations and in turn assist in the smooth and efficient implementation of the plan. The implementation is then diffused to sub layers of government, to be enacted in their regional or local spatial plans, as well as influencing sectoral decisions and private projects. The level of autonomy enjoyed by implementing agencies varies, with some frameworks providing guidance alone, as is the case for Morocco and Germany. Others are more prescriptive in their directions (Malaysia, Republic of Korea, China), providing specific objectives to be met and retaining their power to override local decisions.



This distinction is demonstrated by Germany and China whose level of executive power for implementation is illustrated in their strategy. In Germany, the spatial strategy comes with no implementation plan, quantified goals, budget or specific laws, but serves mainly at achieving consensus and cooperation between the government and the subnational Länder. This has been achieved with a great level of success and numerous locally tailored spatial policies are being implemented to reflect the overarching concepts.

Despite favouring a decentralised governance structure, most cases placed great value in a centralised spatial planning research institute. The Korean Research Institute for Human Settlements was lauded as an exemplary model, with researchers and experts directly associated with drafting, monitoring and revision of Comprehensive National Territorial Plans and praised for their consistency in evaluating territorial development policies over time. Germany, in spite of its decentralized approach, used the Federal Institute for Research on Building, Urban Affairs and Spatial Development to issue periodic reports on spatial development which form the basis for the drafting of the spatial strategies. Malaysia, who is without a research body to support their framework, proposes to create a research institute that will to spearhead research in spatial planning.



Riyadh city view © Flickr/Yasser Abusen

Measuring Success for Effective Implementation

Due to the broad nature of National Spatial Frameworks, explicit evaluations of their success were not available. In general, it is a major methodological challenge to evaluate the impact of NSFs that are inherently connected to a large number of factors. Add to this the extended timeframe and national reach, the ability to then succinctly evaluate the success of NSFs becomes a challenge. Economic growth, for example, is the product of a multitude of factors and while it is possible to find data on economic performances of each country, it is much more difficult to trace back the economic performance to the national spatial strategy.

Most strategies have some kind of feedback mechanism, with **China** the only exception due to its recent adoption. This is usually undertaken by government institutions or central research bodies. In many instances, the review was conducted by the same institution who drafted the plan as was the case for **Republic of Korea** and **Morocco**. These reports review the development of the country against the objectives of the strategy, also considering the changing political and economic climate at a national and global scale.

The cases involved varied in the depth of their monitoring and evaluation. The Republic of Korea has been praised due to their extensive review process, and has used it to inform future plans with the intention of reflecting the changing development pressures. Despite this, objectives of their spatial frameworks such as balanced development and sustainability have gone unmet for consecutive terms, calling into question the validity of the successful process. **Germany** has a less rigid process but nevertheless, the physical and socio-economic development of the country has arguably performed better when approached through broad, non-prescriptive goals. This has been due to a flexible and decentralized approach, one which is difficult to evaluate at a national level, but can be measured against the overarching concepts of the strategy. The lack of a predefined evaluation methodology in this instance should not be considered a fault. Both Morocco and Germany are liberal in their approach and so the tools to evaluate the program should be equally adaptable, as opposed to subscribing to a common methodology.

A Possible Way Forward

From this cross section of case studies documenting national spatial frameworks in varying contexts, the experiences are numerous and diverse. The six key lessons learnt, reflecting a supra-national strategy, addressing environmental challenges, leveraging economic opportunities, delivering equitable access to basic services, fostering participation and collaborative implementation and measuring success should inform the revision and updating of the National Spatial Strategy of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia.

From here, the desk research opens the way to a number of other areas that could not be fully investigated within the limits of the present study. The first suggestion is to gather experts from the selected countries in an expert group meeting that would allow the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia to exchange with representatives of the drafting and implementing institutions on lessons learnt, good practices or recommendations related to NSS.

The second suggestion is to expand the study to a number of additional countries. These could include countries that were excluded from the final selection, including Latin American countries such as Brazil, Colombia, Mexico, but also France, South Africa, United Kingdom, Australia, etc. Given the importance of supra-national frameworks in all National Spatial Strategies that were analysed, it would also be interesting to include examples of supra-national territorial development coordination, as exemplified by the European Union.



Synthetic Comparison of Case Studies

	People's Republic of China	Federal Republic of Germany	Republic of Korea	Federation of Malaysia	Kingdom of Morocco
Name & Timeframe	National Plan on New Urbanization [2014-2020]	Concepts and Strategies for Spatial Development (NSSD) [No timeframe]	Comprehensive National Territorial and Development Plan (CNTDP)	National Physical Plan (NPP) [2006-2020]	National Spatial Planning Scheme (SNAT) [2000-2025]
			[2011-2020]		
History	First urbanization strategy. Previous Five-Year Plans already had sections on urbanization but no dedicated strategy	NSDD1: 2006 (drafting started in 2004) NSDD2: 2013 (revised)	CNTDP 1: 1972-1981 CNTDP 2: 1982-1991 CNTDP 3: 1992-2001 CNTDP 4: 2000-2020 (revised in 2006 and 2011)	NPP 1: 2005 NPP 2: 2010	1992: Initiation 1996: Diagnosis 1998: Reorientation 2000: National debate on Spatial Planning
Nature of Document	Guidance document with 5 objectives, some of them quantified.	Guidance document with 3 objectives and several general recommendations for each.	Binding document proposing a three-layer territorial structure.	Binding document with 41 policies measures and 254 implementation measures.	Guidance document with 51 orientations.
Legal Basis	12th Five-Year Plan 2010-2015	Federal Spatial Planning Law (1965)	Framework Act on National Territory (revised in 2002)	Five-year Malaysia Plan, Town and Country Planning Act (1976 rev. in 2001)	National Spatial Planning Charter (CNAT)
Geographical Scope	National: The whole country including autonomous provinces	National/Supra- National: The whole country including reflections on Baltic and North sea as well as transnational metropolitan areas	National/Supra- National: The whole country, including reflections on Korean Peninsula and Northeast Asian Region.	National/Supra- National: Peninsular Malaysia - excluding East the States of Sabah and Sarawak and sub- regional areas (Thailand & Singapore)	National/Supra- National: The whole country including Western Sahara, Europe, Algeria and Sub-Saharan Africa.
Vision and Goals	 'A people- oriented trajectory with Chinese characteristics combined with the principle of people first and fair sharing.' 1) Respect market forces in low-carbon growth. Increase the urban population from 53% to 60% by 2020 2) Urbanization through a human- centered and environmentally friendly path 3) Widen access to basic services. 4) Shift development from urban and coastal areas towards rural and inland areas 	Germany refers to the strategy and goals as the "vision" 1) Growth and Innovation 2) Conservation of resources and shaping of cultural landscapes. 3) Ensuring services of public interest	'Global Green National Territory' 1) Competitive and Integrated national territory 2) Sustainable and Eco- friendly national territory 3) Elegant and Attractive national territory 4) Open national territory	 'An efficient, equitable and sustainable national spatial framework to guide the overall development of the country towards achieving a developed and high-income nation status by 2020' 1) Rationalise and consolidate the national spatial planning framework supported by key strategic infrastructure for economic efficiency and global competitiveness 2) To optimise land use and natural resources for sustainable development and biodiversity conservation 3) To enhance spatial and environmental quality, diversity and safety for a high quality of life and liveability 4) Inter-state connectivity and public 	 'From each territory according to its economic potential, for each territory according to its social needs' 1) Strengthen national cohesion 2) Improve living conditions of citizens 3) Reinforce democracy.

Lessons Learnt from International Experiences

	People's Republic of China	Federal Republic of Germany	Republic of Korea	Federation of Malaysia	Kingdom of Morocco
Decision-Making Process	Formulated by the National Development and Reform Commission, Input from 12 ministries. Approved By State Council (27 Ministries) and Premier Implemented by the National Development and Reform Commission with "relevant departments" requested to elaborate implementing programmes to fulfil the objectives of the Plan	Formulated by the Ministry for urban planning, Federal Government - Standing Conference of Ministers, Input from the Lander. Approved By Standing Conference of Ministers 2006 No specific institutional set-up for implementation	Formulated by the Ministry of Land, Infrastructure and Transport, National and Local Governments, Research Institutes, National Territory Policy Committee. Approved By The President Implemented through direct capital investments in infrastructure, financial incentives and promotion activities. Complemented by sector-specific institutional set-ups such as a foreign investment agency, national logistic information centres	Formulated by the National Physical Planning Council, Federal Department of Town and Country Planning. Approved By National Physical Planning Council Implemented through the National Physical Planning Advisory Panel and Spatial Planning and Development Research Institute	Formulated by the Ministry of Spatial Planning, Environment, Urbanism and Habitat. Approved By High Council of Spatial Planning chaired by HE the King High Council of National Spatial Planning; Permanent inter-ministerial Commission for National Spatial Planning; Regional Council for Spatial Planning; Regional Inspectorate of Spatial Planning; Specialized public agencies for lagging regions; Water basin agencies
Participatory Process	Discussed with local and regional Government & authorities, institutions and the public	Discussed with Local Government, Regions, Associations, Research institutions, Neighboring countries (Poland, Netherlands, Austria and Switzerland) and the public	Discussed with National & Local Government, the public	Discussed with State Government, technical working groups, federal and state agencies, NGO and expert groups	Discussed with Local Government and the public
Financial Arrangements	No specific financial arrangements	No specific financial arrangements but recommendations regarding financial decisions on infrastructure and service provision	The Government "foresees a central allocation of budget according to business performance and the control of large-scale development projects'	Only for Special Area Plans through a Revolving Trust Funds (20% grant and 80% loan)	No specific financial arrangements
Uptake by sectoral Plans and lower spatial Plans	No data since the National Plan on New Urbanization dates only from 2014	3 years after the issuance of the Strategy, 12 out of 16 Lander had integrated at least one of the 3 concepts of the NSSD	CNAT is supported with Comprehensive Province Plans, Regional Plans, Sector Plans and City-Level Plans	Lower Spatial Plans: SNAT translated at the into Regional Spatial Plans, State Structure Plans, Special Area Plans and Local Plans; Sectoral Plans: poor uptake	Lower Spatial Plans: SNAT translated at the regional level into Regional Spatial Plans; Sectoral plans: big and strategic projects developed outside the SNAT framework
Monitoring and Evaluation	Plan foresees statistical monitoring indicators to accelerate the development of a monitoring and assessment system for urbanization. Mid- term review foreseen	Periodic reports on Spatial Development issued by the Ministry for Transport, Construction and Urban Development	Korean Research Institute for Human Settlements	Every 5 years, by Federal Department of Town and Country Planning, in conjunction with the review of the Five- Year Malaysia Plan; Definition of a set of indicators; Establishment of a unified Land Use Planning Intelligent System (iPLAN) within the tiers of Government	Observatory of Territorial Dynamics (ODT); Evaluation for 2004-2009 and Evaluation for 2010-2013 to be undertaken (bidding process on hold)





CHINA

National Plan on New Urbanization

Key data (UN & World Bank Data)

Population	1.38 billion (2012)
Population growth projection in %	0.6% (for 2010-2015)
Other population features	Rapid ageing; ethnic diversity
Urbanized population of total	53% (2013)
Urban growth projection	2.9% (for 2010-2015)
Surface area in square km	9,596,960
GDP growth rate	7.7% (2012)
GDP per capita in USD	6,807 (2013)

SUMMARY

The current spatial strategy for China is the National Plan on New Urbanization 2014 – 2020 (NPNU), issued within the framework of the 12th Five-Year Plan for National Economic and Social Development (2010-2015). It covers the entire national territory including Autonomous Provinces and is issued by the National Development and Reform Commission of the central government. It is the first urbanization plan which reflects the strategic importance for China's economic and social development.

China's rapid urbanization has been reflected at a spatial level through significant regional imbalances of the western inland regions, which are less populated, less urbanized and less developed than the eastern coastal regions. The plan aims to reduce these imbalances by promoting territorial axes going to the weaker regions and improving the infrastructure which services the area. It also aims to respond to the current environmental problems of air pollution, water pollution, deforestation and soil erosion. Finally, it seeks to increase the percentage of urbanized population from 53% to 60% by 2020, in an effort to boost domestic consumption.

The National Plan on New Urbanization 2014-2020 (NPNU) has not yet been evaluated due to its early stage of implementation. However, valuable lessons can be drawn from China's attempt to use spatial strategies for economic and social considerations, as well as the gradual institutional changes in formulating a spatial planning framework.



CONTEXT AND RATIONALE

Since the 1970s, China has focused on spatial differentiation to make the most of locational advantages, leading to coastal regions growing from foreign trade and foreign direct investment. The creation of several growth corridors in the past, such as the Pearl River delta, mirrored the aim to concentrate industries and businesses in zones of fast growth (MFA France 2006). It was hoped that the economic growth of the coastal regions would trickle down to the other provinces but instead it exacerbated spatial disparities. The view that China's regional inequalities have been a result of past development policies of the government is therefore warranted.

Since the late 1990s, China shifted its focus from the coast to interior regions. The central government put the "Western Development Strategy" into practice in 1998, with the "Northeast Revival Strategy" following in 2003. Most recently, the "Rise of Central China" strategy has been implemented with the aim to achieve balanced regional economic growth (Zheng et al 2007).

China has been historically influenced by the planning of the former Soviet Union, implementing its own Five-Year Plans through the central government since the 1950s. China's 12th Five-Year Plan was issued for the period 2010-2015 and allowed for changing economic, social and environmental conditions, as well as reacting to different geo-political situations.

Given the political system in China, there are elements of innovation in the drafting of the 12th Five-Year-Plan, under which the NPNU is anchored. The drafting process started with the mid-term review of the previous Five-Year Plan which for the first time admitted third parties, namely the State Council's Development Research Centre, the Centre for China Studies at Tsinghua University and the World Bank. Following the mid-term review of the 11th FYP, 8 areas were identified to be researched before drafting the 12th FYP with sixty organizations and thousands of experts chosen to conduct research. Following the publication of the first draft of the 12th FYP, opinions from the general public as well as local governments, ministries, industries and other stakeholders were collected (Moffat, 2014).



Shanghai City © Flickr/Jerryang

CONTENT AND PROCESS

The NPNU was drafted over three years by the National Development and Reform Commission combining inputs from 12 ministries and ultimately being approved by China's Premier and the State Council¹ (Reuters 2013, Maher 2014). The process is explicitly top-down, with the NPNU stating that, "the central government should strengthen top-down design" (State Council, 2014). It stipulates that urban plans, land use plans and transport plans need to follow the requirements of the NPNU, while other relevant special plans should be harmonized with it (State Council, 2014). The Plan runs from 2014-2020 and covers the entire territory of the People's Republic of China, including the Autonomous Regions.

The vision put forward is a "people-oriented new urbanization trajectory with Chinese characteristics" combined with the principle of "people first and fair sharing", signifying a move to social equity through equal provision of opportunity and services. The focus of the NPNU is to increase the percentage of the urban population from 53% to 60% by 2020, as the State Council asserts that, "domestic demand is the fundamental impetus for China's development, and the greatest potential for expanding domestic demand lies in urbanisation" (State Council 2014). Another main goal is achieving "harmonious regional development" by shifting development from urban and coastal areas toward rural and inland areas. This will be achieved by developing small cities and greenfield districts to absorb coastal migration, by restructuring industries in the North-East and by enhancing the development of the Western Provinces.

Figure 14: Axes of development in China (National Plan on New Urbanization 2014-2020)





Nanning in Guangxi © Flickr/Andrew.T@NN

1 The State Council consist of 27 Ministries

This pursuit for balanced territorial development to create a "harmonious society" is accordingly reflected in the NPNU which seeks to expand economic growth from east to west and from south to north by establishing two development axes. The horizontal axes include a "Land Bridge" (Eurasian Transcontinental Railroad) and a corridor along the Yangtze River. Three vertical axes are also proposed including the coastal area, the axis Beijing-Harbin-Beijing-Guangzhou and the axis Baotou-Kunming, as illustrated by the map above (Ministry of Land 2014).

China clearly aims to limit the growth of mega-cities, citing environmental pressures as a reason to disperse the population and to limit the influx of migrant workers. The plan outlines a concentration of city clusters along the proposed development axes where networks of small and medium-sized cities are planned, including the creation of new cities. The NPNU stipulates detailed instructions for the central districts of mega cities which "shall be encouraged to diffuse their functions to satellite cities" (State Council, 2014). The central districts of large and medium-sized cities are envisioned as accommodating knowledge based industries and high-end services.

Figure 15: City clusters in China (McKinsey Global Institute 2011)



For its spatial development, China has developed priority zones classified by special regions. Based on the unique development potential of different areas, the country has been classified into optimal development zones, key development zones, restricted development zones and non-development zones. In order to facilitate the development of key regions and the governance of 'problem areas', China has also classified several special regions, such as special economic zones, coastal open cities, poor regions and resource-based cities (European Union, 2011: 7).



Jingshan Park and Beijing Skyline © Flickr/Sam Gao

IMPLEMENTATION, MONITORING AND EVALUATION

The National Development and Reform Commission, a management agency under the State Council, has overseen the implementation of the NPNU, with relevant departments requested to elaborate on implementation programmes to fulfil its objectives. The NPNU stipulates that "local governments should comprehensively implement the plan, establish and improve working mechanisms and draw up urbanization plans and particular policy measures in line with local realities." (State Council 2014).

At a provincial and regional level, The Methodologies for the Formulation and Approval of the Provincial Urban System Planning (2010) are the legal basis implementing national development strategies, including the NPNU. The methodologies highlight the administrative powers of the provincial governments and allow them to formulate specific regional plans. These methodologies have prompted new requirements on guiding provincial urbanization and coordinated development of urban and rural areas. They stipulate strengthening spatial regulation and major strategic regional management along with formulating urban and rural plans at the lower level, with policies and measures for their implementation. The provincial plans ultimately need to be approved by the Ministry of Housing and Urban-Rural Development, reinforcing the centralised control on planning policies.

The central government has four main mechanisms to influence sub-national governments and thus to implement plans:

- 1. Policy targets: These are central government directions that all levels government are required to follow.
- 2. Resource allocation: Higher levels of government can intervene in local development by providing direct investment.

- 3. Personnel appointment and removal: Through the local People's Congress, the head of a lower level of government is usually proposed and appointed by its counterpart in the higher level of government. Therefore, the intentions of the higher tier must be taken into consideration to some extent.
- 4. Administrative orders: Higher-level decisions and commands are required to transfer or withdraw powers. For instance, the central government has the administrative power to disapprove and stop local investment decisions in high energy-consuming and high polluting industries.

There is no dedicated fund or explicit financial plan attached to the NPNU. While most public services are provided by local governments, the central government also contributes with direct investment to certain services and infrastructure, especially in lagging regions. In this sense, despite the ambitious targets of the NPNU, there is no clear mention of how local governments can raise the funds to accommodate the necessary upgrades to the provision of social benefits such as healthcare and education (Maher 2014). It is anticipated that the urbanization strategy and the related urban growth will put financial strains on local governments because of the projected increase of the urban population.

The NPNU foresees the establishment of a system of statistical monitoring indicators, to accelerate the development of a monitoring and assessment system for urbanization. Further to this, the Plan intends to carry out a mid-term review (State Council 2014), however, it does not specify by which agency. Historically, it has been the government and developers who carry out planning evaluations. Most evaluations are carried out internally, with in-house staff only assessing a plan's adherence to its own stated goals and objectives. There is seldom any involvement of external evaluators such as community groups.



RESULTS, IMPACTS AND SHORTCOMINGS

While there has not yet been an evaluation of the NPNU, several lessons can still be drawn from the Chinese experience in developing a national spatial framework for urban development. These include the use of spatial policies for macro-economic and political considerations, attempts to limit growth of megacities, managing ruralurban migration and the involvement of a wider range of stakeholders in the formulation of the Five-Year Plan.

The case of China has shown that spatial planning can have a tangible impact on a country's economy and population, as demonstrated by the current disparities cultivated from regional development policies of governments of the past. The NPNU identifies urbanization as an engine for growth, but tactically moves away from further developing mega-cities, instead growing small - medium sized towns, as well as creating new cities. This decision is a spatial planning response which attempts to re-balance regional development and mitigate environmental pressures. To date, this strategy has had minimal impact as the Pearl River Delta has overtaken Tokyo to become the world's largest urban area in both size and population (World Bank 2015). An interesting approach of China's strategy is the element dealing with the rural population. The country explicitly envisages reducing the rural population by encouraging rural dwellers to move to small towns and new towns, while at the same time rationalizing agricultural processes. The rural population is considered to be inconsistent with the country's aim to stimulate domestic consumption, as rural dwellers tend to save rather than spend and earn less money at the same time. The economic benefits of this are likely to be a success, however managing the social, environmental and administrative implications is an important consideration.

Finally, despite the NPNU being formulated and implemented in an explicitly top-down process, the 12th Five-Year Plan was drafted in a process that included elements of consultation with local and regional authorities, as well as research institutions and the general public. This can be considered a gradual opening from the previous top-down process that was limited to party and central administration structures.



Hong Kong © Flickr/Mike Behnken

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ANNEX

Country Context and Background

China is located in East Asia. Its terrain is mostly mountainous with high plateaus and deserts in the West, and plains, deltas and hills in the East. The climate is extremely diverse, tropical in the south to subarctic in the north. China's land is arable at 12% of the surface, with 1.5% of it used for permanent crops.

Since the late 1970s China has moved from a closed, centrally planned system to a more market-oriented one that plays a major role in influencing global economics. Reforms began with the phasing out of collectivized agriculture and expanded to include the gradual liberalization of prices, fiscal decentralization and increased autonomy for state enterprises. While China has implemented reforms in a gradualist fashion, the globalising economy has developed to allow for growth of the private sector, development of stock markets, a modern banking system, and opening China to foreign trade and investment. The Chinese government still faces numerous economic challenges, including stimulating domestic consumption, facilitating better job opportunities, reducing corruption, and containing environmental damage and social strife related to the economy's rapid transformation.

Economic development has progressed further in coastal provinces due to the manufacturing and export industry, driving more than 250 million migrant workers and their dependents to relocate to urban areas by 2011. China's unemployment rate is very low, at 2.8% for 2012. The agricultural sector employs 35% of the workforce and industry, 30% (UN data). China is the world leader in gross value of agricultural and industrial output. China has experienced rapid urbanization in the recent past and now has 53% of its population living in urban areas, an increase from less than 20% of the total population in 1978. China is already home to several megacities including Shanghai (20 million), the capital Beijing (15.6 million), Guangzhou (11 million), Shenzhen (10 million), and Chongqing (10 million).

Currently, there are problems of economic disparity between urban and rural areas. The western inland regions have lagged behind the eastern coastal regions in levels of economic development and urbanization, and the income gap between the two continues to broaden. Three city clusters in the East account for 2.8 percent of China's landmass, host 18% of the Chinese population and produce 36% of the GDP (State Council 2014). In addition areas in the west of the country are characterized by stark contrasts in development levels within their own region when considering urban and rural lines (Ministry of Land 2014).





China is the world's largest single emitter of carbon dioxide from the burning of fossil fuels, with almost 9 billion tons in 2011 (Bertelsmann 2014:20). Natural hazards include frequent typhoons (about five per year along southern and eastern coasts), floods, tsunamis, earthquakes, droughts, and land subsidence. Environmental problems include air pollution, acid rain, water shortages, deforestation, loss of agricultural land, desertification and trade in endangered species.

China is a unitary centralised state which also gives substantive power to provincial governments who have wide regulatory powers (OECD 2013:69). China's system of local government is divided into four tiers: provinces, prefectures, counties, and townships (Ministry of Land 2014, MFA 2006: 91). The central government is present in all major projects and there is a formal hierarchy between the different levels. The Communist Party is represented at each government level and has 730,000 rural and urban local committees. The first sub-national level of government is divided into provinces, autonomous regions, and municipalities. There are 32 administrative subdivisions with the same status: 23 provinces called sheng, 5 autonomous regions called zizhiqu, and 4 special municipalities directly under the central government, called shi². Provincial governments enjoy substantial power. They set up the provincial development plan and budget, and exercise control over the economy, education, sciences and culture, public health, finances, and public security.

The administrative level below the provincial level are prefectures, and below them, counties (around 2,800 with 200,000 to 400,000 inhabitants). The lowest level of administration is represented by the 45,000 townships. City governments (at the prefecture and county level) carry out urban planning, market supervision, granting landuse rights, education, infrastructure construction, street cleaning, collection of solid waste, and the operation of local government-owned enterprises.

Figure 17: Local Government System, China (CLAIR 2000)



² Provinces: Anhui, Fujian, Gansu, Guangdong, Guizhou, Hainan, Hebei, Heilongjiang, Henan, Hubei, Hunan, Jiangsu, Jiangxi, Jilin, Liaoning, Qinghai, Shaanxi, Shandong, Shanxi, Sichuan, Yunnan, and Zhejiang; autonomous regions: Guangxi, Nei Mongol (Inner Mongolia), Ningxia, Xinjiang Uygur, and Xizang (Tibet); municipalities: Beijing, Chongqing, Shanghai, and Tianjin.





GERMANY

Concepts and Strategies for Spatial Development

Key data of Germany (UN Data/Destatis/World Bank Data)

Population in million	81 (2014)
Population growth projection in %	-0.18 (2010-2015 estimate)
Other population features	Ageing; immigrant stock of 12%
Urbanized population of total	74% (2013)
Urban growth projection	0% (2010-2015 estimate)
Surface area in square km	357,022
GDP per capita in USD	47,270 (WB 2013)

SUMMARY

The national spatial framework for Germany, 'Concepts and Strategies for Spatial Development in Germany' (CSSD) dates from 2006 with a revision in 2013. The strategy covers the entire national territory as well as considering international regions in the Eurozone. The strategy is neither legally binding nor an action plan but a collective vision, aimed to inform spatial and regional planning at the Länder¹ level. The objectives of the strategy are to balance the development of different regions; to ensure basic standards of services and accessibility; and to balance competing demands on land, ensuring protection of resources.

The CSSD has been progressively conceived in a consultative process with the local community, industry and even neighbouring countries. The strategy was adopted jointly by the national government and the Länder in a democratic and community owned approach to achieving spatial planning objectives. The concepts and goals of the strategy have been reflected in subsequent legislation, regulations, programming and action plans at federal and Länder level. This broad adoption of spatial planning policies has maximised the impact of the CSSD.

There is no explicit evaluation of the strategy regarding economic, social or environmental aspects, but it has been viewed as a success, thanks to the consultative and consensus-oriented process. The CSSD also contributed to developing a unified planning system for the reunited country and to partially close the gap in service provision between West and East Germany by directing the bulk of subsidies for regional development to East Germany.

¹ The $2^{\rm nd}$ tier of government is called Land or Bundesland, plural Länder/ Bundesländer.



CONTEXT AND RATIONALE

Regional disparities, as illustrated on the map below, are a legacy of the division of Germany into an Eastern part under Soviet power and a Western part allied with the West from 1949-1990. Since the reunification of both parts in 1990, the Eastern regions have improved their economic performance in many regards but are still considerably lagging behind (Federal Ministry for Work and Social Affairs 2013).

Figure 4: Economic situation in Germany per region {based on nominal GDP, employment in qualified service jobs, and share of persons working in research and development. Blue areas perform below average, red above average (Federal Ministry for Transport, Construction and Urban Development 2011)}.



Germany has a polycentric urban system which has evolved over centuries and has a large number of urban agglomerations with 11 metropolitan regions. Main cities are Berlin (3.5 million), Hamburg (1.8 million), Munich (1.4 million) and Cologne (1 million). The main metropolitan region is the Rhine-Ruhr with about 10 million inhabitants. Urban sprawl is a challenge, especially in East Germany where cities have sprawled in spite of shrinking population. Other issues include rising housing prices, debt of local governments and general population shrinkage in the East.

The current spatial strategy is based on principles and goals enshrined in the Federal Spatial Planning Law of 1965, which outlined a broad aim to develop and spatially organize the country in an effort to ensure equal conditions regardless of geography. Since 1965, several policies were implemented to achieve these goals, namely investing in lagging rural or industrial areas.

A strong spatial component has been a long established element of German planning. This applies not only to investment, but also to the identification of areas for development and preservation.



Berlin night view © Flickr/Adrian-D

Lessons Learnt from International Experiences

In order to minimize social disparities across space, a hierarchy of 'central place' cities were defined and identified according to their importance or rank in the urban hierarchy. These 'central places' provide services and infrastructure for the surrounding regions. Both federal and state funding was then distributed according to a place's rank and tasks within the central place hierarchy. Cities with more service functions receive proportionally more funding in order to provide these services.

Since the federal government's knowledge of spatial planning is limited, a coordination mechanism was established in 1967 to ensure coordination between the federal and Länder level. This mechanism was the Standing Conference of Ministers, responsible for Spatial Planning. The Standing Conference represents the ministers responsible for urban planning from the Länder and the federal government minister responsible for urban matters. From the 1990s, the German planning framework had to adapt to new circumstances following the reunification of East and West Germany. These included spatial disparities in income, employment and growth due to economic restructuring, as well as a changed policy environment due to further European Union integration (Schmidt et al. 2007). A first version of a spatial strategy was issued in 1992, conceived shortly after the reunification East and West Germany (1990). The strategy was based on the first nation wide report on the state of spatial development of Germany (1991) and it highlighted foremost the great disparities between East and West Germany.

The anticipated alignment of economic, demographic and infrastructure conditions between the advanced West Germany and the lagging East Germany did not succeed as quickly as hoped. In general, conditions improved since 1992, but concurrent development factors impacted the ability to measure results of the strategy. These included increased European integration, the emergence of new metropolitan structures and increasing competition not only between cities, but entire regions. In view of these changed conditions, it was decided to draft a new strategy, which was issued in 2006.



Frankfurt skyline © Flickr/Kiefer





CONTENT AND PROCESS

The most recent strategy for spatial development in Germany is the 2006, 'Concepts and Strategies for Spatial Development in Germany', which was revised in 2013 but has no formal timeframe for its scope. The strategy covers the whole national territory and has some transnational elements, such as referencing the Baltic or North Sea strategy and the transnational metropolitan areas in the border regions. The strategy seeks to achieve balanced development between regions and serves as a basis for discussion by identifying the economic performance of regions, forecasting population growth and shrinkage and by mapping main natural reserves.

To begin, general guidelines were needed to better coordinate and harmonize spatial planning by the Länder, and to reach a consensus on what general principles and values should guide spatial planning throughout the country. In 2004, a consultation between federal government, Länder and regions started on the drafting of a new spatial strategy. The technical and political discussion was informed by the Spatial Planning Report issued by the Federal Office for Building and Regional Planning in 2005 which gives an overview of planning and regional development and identifies key challenges. For the draft strategy, maps issued by the Federal Office for Building and Regional Planning were used to illustrate and visualize the main concepts of the strategy and became the focus of the discussion (Stüer et al., 2005). According to the Ministry for transport and digital agenda, the national strategy can be understood as a continuous negotiation process with the Länder.

In drafting the CSSD, Germany faced the question of whether to reinforce growing centres to foster innovation and employment, or, to seek balanced territorial growth through strengthening weaker regions. As Länder representing diverse socio-economic demographics were responsible for adopting the spatial strategy, it was unacceptable to gear the strategy solely towards supporting growth in stronger regions, or to be too specific on requirements for service provision. Therefore, the content of the strategy is generic and contains no specific target or indicators apart from the maps that visualize the main concepts. Instead, it identifies three concepts, which respond to national urban problems and pinpoints regional development strategies capable of achieving consensus.

Concept 1: Growth and Innovation

The strategy identifies metropolitan areas, growth areas outside of metropolitan regions, and lagging 'stabilization' areas as focal points for spatial development concepts (See Figure 5).

Metropolitan regions are encouraged to support and foster specialised economic opportunities for the greater area, with a special emphasis on their ability to compete with the European market. In addition, metropolitan regions are better taken into account in national and European sectoral policies, while regions are positioned to promote the European perspective and gain recognition in the European landscape. The need to enable dynamic growth areas outside of metropolitan regions is also underlined, suggesting that better cooperation between metropolitan areas and dynamic areas can help the latter promote development and innovation.

For areas experiencing slower growth, the strategy recommends using regional competencies and endogenous potential to stabilise the area and interrupt the downward spiral of unemployment and outward migration. The strategy also encourages cross-authority spatial development strategies, to enable the potential of regions for tourism, research, local transport and energy supply. Finally, the CSSD recommends that regional Länders work collaboratively with rural hinterlands to achieve new forms of regional coordination, with a suggested first step of integrated transport strategies.





Concept 2: Ensuring Services of Public Interest

The CSSD has mapped areas with population growth or shrinkage by 2050 and forecasts centres which are at risk of public service deficits. It also points to regions with insufficient infrastructure where accessibility needs to be enhanced.



The major challenge is maintaining public services in areas affected by population decline or ageing. In this regard, the concept recommends streamlining the central place system, a settlement structure that determines the service levels required and can adapt to the specific needs of each federal state. The system of central places provides the basic framework for regional adjustment processes, which is particularly important in contracting regions. Furthermore, both sectoral and planning policies need to take into account the changing needs of an ageing society, as well as establish conditions that are geared towards the needs of families to encourage people to found families. The concept underlines the importance of ensuring non-discriminatory access to services in spite of dwindling public resources. In this sense, the concept recommends that regional level standards for accessibility be established and alternative forms of provision of services be tested.

Finally, this concept proposes several means to ensure private services are delivered, starting with promoting public understanding of the necessary adjustment processes. There is also a need to ensure accessibility for all citizens, and accept the long-term cost of the technical and social infrastructure required. The CSSD recommends initiating a cross-sectoral dialogue on the provision of services and harnessing the potential of federal pilot projects on spatial planning.

Concept 3: Conserving Resources and Shaping Cultural Landscapes

The strategy identifies areas of special conservational value such as regional parks, maps water resources and rural zones with high potential for extensive agriculture, and main areas for spatial planning in marine zones.



Figure 7: "Conservation of resources" (MRKO 2006)

The priority of the CSSD is to preserve historically and culturally diverse landscapes, ensuring that spatial planning decisions allow for them to sustainably coexist alongside areas serving different functions. In support, the strategy urges the need for Landers to reduce land use through resource efficiency, regeneration projects and innovatively managing competing demands on land use.

Finally, the concept specifies that open space should be protected by creating a network of open spaces across regional boundaries. These open spaces should be developed into cultural landscapes to assist in regional development and stabilising declining areas. The strategy highlights the need for a social dialogue in determining the success of cultural landscaping and its and its role in promoting the identity of an area.



Stuttgart train line to Hamburg © Flickr/Rob Dammers

IMPLEMENTATION, MONITORING AND EVALUATION

The CSSD has no specific plan for implementation. Instead, it is expected that the strategy informs subsequent planning efforts at Länder, regional and municipal levels. In this sense, the implementation of spatial planning in Germany is governed by the federal state law for comprehensive regional planning, laws at Länder and regional (sub-Länder) level, as well as sectorial policies and laws. For the regional development framework, most tasks are delegated to the Länder.

Planning is organized as a process of reciprocal influence by federal, state and municipal authorities on each other's proposals, commonly referred to as the 'counter-current principle' (Gegenstromprinzip). The system is organized around mediation and consensus building, and allows for input and participation from lower levels, as long as the plans are consistent with high-level goals and objectives once they are collaboratively established. Municipalities are represented at the regional level, regional representatives provide input into state plans, and state ministries are involved in setting federal planning guidelines and visions. The level of responsibility and degree of plan detail increases with lower levels of government. Specialized sectors (i.e. ministries for transportation, water, energy) provide input through sector plans, which are formulated independently from spatial plans and then integrated by planning authorities. In addition, the federal government publishes an informal, non-binding federal spatial planning review, which influences all planning levels through the use of information, statistics and projections. This spatial planning review defines key issues and goals, such as sustainable development, to be addressed. Figure 8 shows the different interactions varying levels of Germany's governance structures have with spatial plans, demonstrating its decentralised approach to achieving the spatial development concepts outlined in the CSSD. Figure 8: Germany's spatial planning system (Schmidt et al. 2007)



TOP DOWN

BOTTOM UP

Table 2: Government organization in Germany (Ministry of Land, 2014¹)

Government		Number	Spatial plan
Federal Government		1	None except guidelines/ strategies
States (Länder)	Area states (Flächenstaaten)	aten) 13	Plan based on Spatial Planning Act
	City states (Stadtstaaten)	3	Land use plan (Flächennutzungsplan)
Districts	Rural districts (Landkreise)	201	
	Urban districts (Kreisfreie Städte)	110	
Municipalities (Gemeinden)		11 197	Land use plan, lay-out plan (Bebauungsplan)

While there has been no formal monitoring or evaluation schedule for the CSSD, the concepts within the strategy have been widely reflected in subsequent laws and programmes at Länder level, as well as the new federal spatial planning law of 2008 (Federal Ministry of Transport and Digital Infrastructure 2014). This demonstrates the effectiveness of a bottom up, collective approach to the German socio-political context, one which provides a liberal, non prescriptive approach to planning at the federal level. Further to this, the periodic reports on spatial development issued by the Federal Institute for Research on Building, Urban Affairs and Spatial Development in 2005 and 2011 not only provided the basis for the CSSD, but have acted as valuable appraisal tool, with the report in 2011 prompting the review of the strategy in 2013.

This revision in 2013 occurred in consultation with the public as well as diverse stakeholders. The federal ministries of interior, agriculture, environment, economy and several standing conferences regrouping the ministers of the federal states (namely agriculture, construction, finance, economy, environment, mobility) submitted opinions in the second half of 2013. Statements were also issued by neighbouring countries, namely Poland, The Netherlands, Austria and Switzerland. Over 30 contributions from cities, association of local authorities, metropolitan regions, rural regions, associations and research institutions were also received and made public (BMVI 2014).

The revision in 2013 sought to respond to emerging issues such as demographic change, energy policy and climate change. It focused on increased citizen implication in the face of diminishing public resources. The revision of the CSSD also placed an emphasis on EU territorial cohesion as per the Lisbon Treaty of 2007 and the joint EU maritime strategy.

¹ Table updated with information from German Statistic Yearbook 2014. https:// www.destatis.de/DE/Publikationen/StatistischesJahrbuch/StatistischesJahrbuch. html

RESULTS, IMPACTS AND SHORTCOMINGS

As mentioned, there is no explicit evaluation of the strategy against economic, social or environmental criteria as it contains no action plan and is chiefly intended to inform planning at Länder level. One could consider the consensus achieved between Länder and federal government one of the main results of the strategy. Given the great autonomy of the Länder for spatial planning along with the large socio-economic disparities between different Länder, this achievement cannot be underestimated.

Reflecting on this outcome, it can be said that the uptake by the Länder was a success. Three years after the issuing of the strategy in 2006, 12 out of 16 Länder had integrated at least some of the concepts. The reasons for not explicitly integrating concepts for the remaining 4 Länder was normally the timing of the creation of the Land's strategy, which fell just before the release of the CSSD (Federal Ministry of Transport and Digital Infrastructure 2014). The strategy contributed to expanding the system of spatial planning from West Germany to East Germany after the reunification and thus allowed for the adoption of a unified planning system for the whole of Germany. As a result, the strategy changed the perspective of planning, resulting in more balanced growth to achieve a reunified Germany through a shift of subsidies and projects towards East Germany. The CSSD also introduced the notion of sustainable planning and development to East German Länder (BMVI 2015).

While the strategy's broad style has been viewed as a positive approach for the German social context, an aspect of it can also be seen as a shortfall. The lack of an accountable implementation strategy or evaluation method makes it difficult to identify or quantify the successes of the strategy. Despite assertions that the majority of Länders have adopted concepts from within the strategy, it is difficult to understand the impact of these interventions without a model to evaluate them. General assumptions can be made about the effectiveness of the plan based on a comparative study of the country over a span of time, but without having a sound understanding of how it is implemented, the issues experienced or results achieved, it can be argued that the value of the plan is diluted.



Hamburg aerial view © Flickr/[RAW]



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ANNEX

Country Context and Background

Germany is located in central Europe. It consists of lowlands in the north, uplands in the centre region, and Bavarian Alps in the south. The climate is temperate and marine with cool, wet winters and moderate warm summers. There are 8552 natural reserves, which constitute 4% of the country's territory. There is a strong citizen movement for the protection of the environment, with an environmental party represented with around 5-10% of votes in the parliament since 1983. Germany has relatively high per-capita CO2 emissions of 9.7 tonnes per capita in 2012, mostly from polluting coal-burning utilities (PBL Netherlands Environmental Assessment Agency 2013). Other problems include acid rain, resulting from sulphur dioxide emissions which damages forests; pollution in the Baltic Sea from raw sewage; industrial effluents from rivers in eastern Germany, and hazardous waste disposal.

Germany is the European Union's largest economy and the fifth largest economy in the world. The economy is export-oriented and based on services (69%) and industry (30%). Germany is a leading exporter of machinery, vehicles, chemicals, and household equipment and has a highly skilled labour force. This, and a strong prevalence of small to medium enterprises, allowed it to weather the economic crisis of 2008/2009. Currently, Germany aims to achieve an energy reform, phasing out nuclear power (which had led to an increase of coal burning) and investing in renewable energies in the long term (The Economist 2013).

Germany is a federal republic with a bicameral system. The second tier of government consists of 16 states (Länder) that are largely autonomous regarding their internal organization and that each have their own constitution. The population per Land ranges from 0.6 to 17 million inhabitants. The third tier is constituted of 311 districts (population 40,000-1.4 million), the fourth of about 11,000 municipalities (most of them below 2,000 inhabitants but some larger than 0.5 million) (Destatis 2014). Federal government and Länder have joint responsibility for regional economic development, land management, public welfare, public health, higher education, and agricultural reform.

Forming part of the European Union, Germany is also accountable to adhering to regulations and directives issued by the Union, in line with all other member states.



In the areas of regional planning, nature conservation, and public service regulations, framework legislation limits the federal government's role to offering general policy guidelines, which the Länder then act upon by means of detailed legislation (Basic Law for the Federal Republic of Germany 1949: articles 30 and 71-75). The organisational, personnel, fiscal, planning and territorial or administrative sovereignty of the local self-government bodies presents one of the important pillars of local democracy and provides local authorities with considerable scope to regulate their own affairs (OECD 1997).





REPUBLIC OF KOREA

Comprehensive National Territorial and Development Plan

Key date of Korea (UN Data, OECD 2014)

Population in million	50
Population growth projection in %	0.4%
Other population features	Rapidly aging population
Urbanized population of total	84%
Urban growth projection	0.7%
Surface area in square km	100,148
GDP per capita in USD	33,140

SUMMARY

The Republic of Korea is one of the fastest growing countries in the world. Rapid economic development has, since the 1960's, gone hand in hand with fast and unprecedented urbanisation and territorial transformation. Successive Comprehensive National Territorial Plans since 1972 have accompanied this process, with the most recent revision of the Comprehensive National Territorial Plan (CNTP) in 2011-2020 proposing a structure for stimulating development potential under the concept of "Global Green National Territory".

The plan seeks to optimise Korea's location in the centre of Northeast Asia and support low-carbon green growth. It organizes the country into large specialized regions that aim to achieve economies of scale, and promotes cooperation amongst transnational boundaries, urban regions, metropolitan cities and provinces. This is complemented by measures in favour of improving living standards in medium-size cities, and the construction of new cities to mitigate population concentration and realestate speculation.

The Republic of Korea's approach to spatial planning is globally considered a success due to its comprehensive approach to implementation, evaluating and then adjusting its approach based on its developmental progress. This approach is supported by a well-established and highly-recognized institute, the Korean Research Institute for Human Settlements (KRIHS) that provides expertise in research, implementation and evaluation. Despite decentralization efforts, implementation remains significantly more centralized than in many other countries, reflective of The Republic of Korea's culture of strong leadership. This model of central leadership is, however, gradually being eroded, both institutionally and locally. Efforts are being made to provide a forum for community involvement throughout the planning process, while at the same time, civil society is strengthening and more mature local governments are forming (Moon, 2012).



CONTEXT AND RATIONALE

The Republic of Korea has experienced unusually rapid urbanization, from 42% in 1975 to 84% in 2012. This development has heavily influenced the spatial distribution of the population, which can be characterized as having a high level of urban primacy. Roughly half of the country's 50 million people reside in the metropolitan area surrounding its capital, the Seoul Capital Area (25 million inhabitants). Following this, the largest cities are Seoul (9.7 million), Busan (3.3 million), Incheon (2.6 million), Daegu (2.4 million), Deajon (1.5 million) and Gwangju (1.5 million). Although in 2010, Korea's population was the third youngest among OECD countries, it is projected to have the second oldest population by 2050. Population density at the country level is the highest found in OECD countries (OECD 2014).

The Republic of Korea has adopted successive 10-year Comprehensive National Territorial (and Development) Plans (CNTDP) in 1972, 1982, 1992 and 2002. In each instance the plan has been formulated collaboratively by the National and Local governments, whose decision making is supported by the planning expertise of the KRIHS. The first CNTDP (1972-1981) was designed to enhance national power and develop industrialization through promoting polarised growth poles. Notwithstanding its economic success, this policy generated important regional disparities and an excessive concentration of population in the capital region, a challenge that continues today. These concerns were addressed by the 2nd CNTDP (1982-1991), which pursued a more balanced development by controlling the expansion of the two largest cities and fostering additional growth poles throughout the country. However, the lack of a specific implementation method resulted in continued imbalanced development and environmental degradation.

The 3rd CNTDP (1992-2001) put a stronger emphasis on increasing competitiveness and balanced regional development, fostering a new industrial zone along the west coast and placing a focus on under developed regions. Specific investments were made in national mobility infrastructure and building a base for future Korea peninsula reunification.

Looking to the 4th and current CNTP (2000-2020), it seeks to further develop the concepts of decentralization, balanced regional development and inter-Korea cooperation, adapting them to evolving conditions such as global liberalization and the need for harmony between development and environment.



Busan, the Republic of Korea's second largest city $\ensuremath{\mathbb{C}}$ United Nations

CONTENT AND PROCESS

The plan that is currently applicable is the "2nd revision (2011) of the 4th Comprehensive National Territorial Plan 2000-2020" (Hereafter "Revised 4th CNTP"). The Revised 4th CNTP sets a "Global Green National Territory" as the new vision, with the intention of capitalising on its location in the centre of Northeast Asia and achieving low-carbon green growth. The Plan is expected to maximise potential and stimulate competitiveness amongst regions and urban areas (OECD 2012: 100).

The Revised 4th CNTP is jointly formulated by the national and local governments, together with the KRIHS and other research institutes. In an effort to shift to a more bottom up approach, it has sought input from the public and different levels of local government. From here, the process continues to proposals, policies and projects being submitted by central government agencies and heads of metropolitan councils to the Minister of Land, Infrastructure and Transport. Based on these inputs, the Ministry establishes a draft CNTP that goes through public hearing and revision by the National Territory Policy Committee. It is deliberated by the Cabinet Committee before being approved by the President and released to the public. (Dong-Ju et al., 2012; Moon, 2012).

The geographical scope of the Revised 4th CNTP covers the nation's total land where sovereignty is exerted. Furthermore, the plan includes considerations for the entire Korean Peninsula and Northeast Asia region, providing The Republic of Korea's first supra regional approach to spatial planning.

Reflecting on the vision of "Global Green National Territory", four primary objectives have been set and are outlined in Box 1. **Box 1:** Objectives of the Revised 4th CNTP (KRISH 2011)

Competitive and integrated national territory

The creation of a new framework of national territory on the basis of economic regions, specialized development and shared growth in each region must be encourages. Build an inter-Korea relationship based on mutual trust and respect to promote economic cooperation and territorial unification.

Sustainable and eco-friendly national territory

An eco-friendly national land will be created to save energy and resources and harmonize economic growth and the environment. Safe national land will be built free and safe from natural disasters such as floods and drought resulting from climate change.

Elegant and attractive national territory

Korea will enhance its dignity by taking advantage of historical and cultural resources while it builds an attractive national land where every person enjoys a decent quality of life by improving the domestic environment.

Open national territory

Korea seeks to gain a global foothold for openness to make a leap forward as an important basis for logistic, finance and exchanges in the Eurasia-Pacific region while also serving as the gateway to the Eurasia Pacific region by establishing infrastructure that connects Eurasia to the Pacific region.

In order to deliver shared growth, the Revised 4th CNTP "proposes a new, three-layer structure for urban and regional development that centres on maximising regional development potential, dividing the country into seven mega-regional economic zones, which are linked with and complemented by supra-economic regions (belts) and 161 basic residential zones" (OECD 2012: 100).

Mega-economic regional zones are designed to improve regional competitiveness through interconnection and co-operation among metropolitan cities and provinces. The establishment of economic regions is expected to overcome the limitation of administrative boundaries and enhance inter-regional cooperation and collaboration. (Moon 2012: 27)
Figure 1: Mega-economic regional zones defined in the Revised 4th CNTP (OECD 2012, based on Presidential Committee on Regional Development, "Regional Development Policy").



Figure 2: Supra-Economic Regions defined in the Revised 4th CNTP (Moon 2012)



Each regional zone is composed of one to three large cities and 5 million to 8 million people, with the exception of the Capital Region (25 million), Gangwon and Jeju (1% to 3% of total population). Each zone has an Economic Regional Development Plan (ERDP) and an Economic Regional Development Committee that supervises the design and implementation of the ERDP. ERDPs have a strong impact on cities in a region because they concern industry, science and technology, cultural, infrastructure and institutional issues that affect urban areas to a large extent (OECD 2012: 101).

Mega-economic regional zones are linked through four Supra-Economic Regions (belts). These are intended to secure international competitiveness through economies of scale. Each of them specializes on specific sectors: energy and tourism with a hub of renewable energy for the East Coast region, information technology, automobiles and logistics and an international business centre for the West Coast region, infrastructure, logistics and coastal tourism hubs in the South Coast region, and a central zone for intra-Korean trade and preserving environmental resources for the North-South Border region (OECD 2012: 102). To deliver an improved national territory and domestic environment, the plan seeks to provide development directions for small and medium-sized provincial cities that have been overlooked in the nation's metropolitanfocused development policies. The plan identifies 161 basic residential zones or Daily Living Spheres, excluding wards in Seoul and other metropolises. Over 90% of the Daily Living Spheres make their own development plans, which include strategies to mobilise local industries using local endowments, leveraging cultural and historical assets and establishing a collaborative system by networking local communities and organisations.

An important dimension of Korea's territorial development strategy is the building of "new towns" that have taken various forms from the first industrial cities of the 1960's to the administrative and innovative cities of the 2000's (KRISH, 2012). The Revised 4th CNTP foresees the building of 10 innovative cities to be built in non-capital regions, linking public agencies, enterprises and universities (Dong-Ju et al., 2012; Moon, 2012). Following several attempts to delocalise capital city functions, a "special self-governing city" (Sejong) opened officially in 2012, about 120 kilometres south of Seoul, expected to soon host 500,000 inhabitants (OECD, 2014).

IMPLEMENTATION, MONITORING AND EVALUATION

The implementation process for the Revised 4th CNTP endeavours to "guarantee transparency, social equity, and environmental sustainability in the establishment and implementation of various plans to prevent conflicts and disputes in advance". This is expected to be achieved through a more open and collaborative decision-making process, incorporating the views of various stakeholders. In the view of the Korea Research Institute for Human Settlements, the implementation of the CNTP relies on the existence of a strong social consensus about Korea's development strategies. Once formulated, provincial, regional and local plans need to reflect the objectives of the CNTP, or risk being overridden by the central government (Jiawen Yang 2009, Dong-Ju et al. 2012).

Table 1: Hierarchy of the Territorial Plan in Korea (OECD 2014:142)

Type of Plan	Lead(s) for implementation	Lead(s) for approval of plans
Comprehensive National Land Plan	Minister of Land, Transport and Maritime Affairs (MOLIT)	President
Province comprehensive plan	Provincial governor	Minister of MOLIT
Metropolitan area plan	City mayor, provincial governor (Minister of MOLIT)	Minister of MOLIT
Urban master plan	City mayor, county governor Metropolitan city mayor	Provincial governor Metropolitan city mayor
Urban management plan	City mayor, county governor	Provincial governor

One of the Ministry's ambitions through the CNTP is to transform a "development system led by the central government" to a "development system driven by the local governments and private sector" (KRISH 2011:66), promoting decentralization and de-concentration. Some spatial planning responsibilities have already been transferred to sub-national governments. For example, the 2003 and 2009 National Land Planning and Utilisation Acts reformed urban policy decision-making procedures, transferring urban planning authority to local governments in order to promote land use that benefits local interests (OECD 2014).

Implementation measures stated within the Revised 4th CNTP foresee "a central allocation of budget according to business performance and the control of large-scale development projects in order to prevent overlapping with other projects across regions" (KRISH 2011:65). Many ministries have established affiliated administrations or regional branches to implement their core regional policies. For instance, the Small and Medium Business Administration directly provides funds for SME and startups, leaving little space for local government initiatives (OECD 2014).



Seoul infrastructure © Flickr/Vincent Lee

Furthermore, the borrowing powers of local government remain closely regulated by the central government leaving local authorities with limited financial capacity and responsibility. Despite continuous efforts at fiscal decentralisation, many local governments still depend largely on earmarked and discretionary funds from the central government (OECD 2014).

For monitoring and evaluation, Korea relies on the well-recognized "Korea Research Institute for Human Settlements" (KRIHS). Founded in 1978, KRIHS has made significant contributions to policies in national territorial planning, regional planning, urban planning, real estate, transport and infrastructure, and the urban environment over the past 35 years. Staffed with about 150 professional researchers, KRIHS is directly associated to the drafting, monitoring and revision of Comprehensive National Territorial Plans.

A revision of the "Framework Act on National Territory" in 2000/2002 enforces a mandatory revision of the plan every 5 years. The most recent revisions aim to respond to new circumstances and social-economic changes that have taken place since 2000 and 2006. The Revised 4th CNTP identified three key factors that needed to be reflected in the new plan. First of all, it was considered necessary to include new strategies in response to climate change and to promote green growth. Second, it was required to create a territorial structure that would actively cope with fierce global competition. Third, the plan was expected to reflect fast changing economic and social circumstances, including low fertility rates and an aging population.

There have been requests from local governments to reduce the role of special central agencies such as KRIHS and to transfer key functions to sub-national governments. This is to ensure the aspirations and development potential of regional areas are accurately reflected and monitored in spatial planning policies.



Songdo International Business District © Flickr/elTrekero

RESULTS, IMPACTS AND SHORTCOMINGS

The Korean Research Institute for Human Settlements assessed that Korea's development strategy adequately adapted to the changing environment since the 1960s, despite unexpected problems and side effects (Moon 2012). The analysis of successive Comprehensive National Territorial and Development Plans since 1972 shows a great coherence in identifying the shortcomings of the previous plan generation and addressing them in the new version. This well informed and methodical approach in developing, implementing and assessing plans demonstrates the value of having pool of high quality experts contributing to a central research institute on spatial planning.

The combination of strong, state leadership coupled with high technical and professional level in the planning sector is seen as a key success factor of The Republic of Korea's territorial development strategies. This Confucian tradition is viewed as favouring an authoritarian culture of leadership, well-established rules and a highly organized and motivated government.

It has been argued, however, that such a model will need to evolve as the authority of central government and state planning declines, following the emergence of a stronger civil society and more mature local governments (Moon, 2012). While the revision of the 4th CNTP is presented as a "national participatory plan", the process continues to have an overarching top-down consensus, with major decisions being driven by centralised government agencies and select industries, leaving little room for debate. The OECD (2014) argues that it is possible regional development priorities have been warped by the need to align with central agendas. It recommends that local representatives be better involved in the decision-making process, to prevent local governments from pursuing place-blind policies set by national government (OECD, 2014).

While Comprehensive National Territorial Plans are presented as a success story, they are also a series of trials and errors as some economic and territorial objectives continue to go unmet. Despite the implementation of policies designed to prevent overpopulation in the capital concentration has continued, leading to traffic congestion, skyrocketing land and housing prices, environmental problems, and overcrowding. Critics have also been divided about the construction of new towns, claiming that they were lining the pockets of urban developers and property speculators at the expense of homeowners and renters, while not addressing the housing shortage at scale (The Hankyoresh 2011; The Korea Herald 2012). The current administration (2013) has recently announced stronger support for urban regeneration over the expansion of suburbs and the construction of new towns (OECD 2014).

While unmanaged urban growth, unbalanced socioeconomic levels and environmental challenges remain, The Republic of Korea will risk lagging in urban competitiveness (OECD 2012, 2014).

Despite the shortfalls of the 4th Revised CNTP, The Republic of Korea has achieved a remarkable level of economic growth. Further to this, through self-evaluation, it has made efforts to adjust to, and reflect the changing values of society. In order to achieve more harmonious development, The Republic of Korea will need to address the economic disparities between regions and sociodemographic groups by redressing the disconnect between centrally derived planning objectives and the actual development outcomes of regional and urban areas.



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Daegu city view © Flickr/frozenpeas42

ANNEX

Country Context and Background

The Republic of Korea is located in Northeast Asia and occupies the southern portion of the Korean Peninsula. The terrain is largely mountainous and non-arable, with the lowlands in the west and southeast making up only 30% of the total land area. The country is affected by the East Asian monsoon season resulting in flooding. Winters are long, cold (below -20°C in the inland region) and dry, whereas summers are short, hot, and humid. Spring and autumn are pleasant but short in duration.

The Republic of Korea had one of the fastest economic developments since the 1960s despite relatively few natural resources and demographic pressures. The economy is heavily based on exports and the country's GDP has evolved from levels of developing countries to just below OECD average in recent years. Main industries include electronics, telecommunications, automobile production, chemicals, shipbuilding, and steel processing. In 2010, the agricultural sector catered for 7% of employment, and the industrial sector for 17% (UN data). The unemployment rate is low at around 3.2%. Identified future challenges include an ageing population and the lack of flexibility of the labour market.

Through rapid urbanisation and industrial growth, The Republic of Korea has become one of the OECD's most energy-intensive economies. "Road-oriented" urban patterns and industrial developments have exacerbated air pollution and energy consumption. Water pollution from industrial activities and flooding during the monsoon season are viewed as serious and growing challenges (OECD 2006, 2014).

As a unitary state, Korea has a two-tier system of local government: The regional tier (TL3 in the OECD typology) includes Seoul Capital City, six metropolitan cities and nine provinces. The basic local tier (TL4) is composed of 230 bodies including 75 cities, 86 counties and 69 autonomous districts (urban areas that exist only in the metropolitan cities and Seoul). The lower-tier government is further divided into 3,477 administrative subbranches (TL5), which are not legal entities and have no autonomous power (OECD 2012).



Figure 3: Administrative division and spatial framework in Korea (Ministry of Land, Transport, and Maritime Affairs 2008)

Gonguptop Rotary in Ulsan, South Korea © Flickr/Scott Rotzoll

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MALAYSIA

National Physical Plan

Kev	data	(UN	Data)

Population in million	29,2 (2012)
Population growth projection in %	1.6% (2010-2015)
Other population features	Ethnic diversity
Urbanized population of total	74.2% (2013)
Urban growth projection	2.5% (2010-2015)
Surface area in square km	329,847
GDP per capita in USD	10,421 (2012)

SUMMARY

The National Spatial Framework of Malaysia is called National Physical Plan (NPP) and was the first NPP to be implemented in 2005 and subsequently revised in 2010 (NPP-2). The NPP is a legally binding document that sets out the national spatial planning policies to guide the direction and pattern of the land use, physical development and conservation in Peninsular Malaysia by the year 2020.

The objectives of the strategy are numerous, including the enhancement of economic growth, sustainable development, biodiversity conservation, balanced regional development, the enhancement of environmental quality, inter-state connectivity and social integration. Malaysia is experiencing rapid ongoing urbanization and the concentration of the urban population in four major conurbations. The NPP-2 sets up a "Concentrated Decentralisation Development Strategy" which aims to foster development in the four conurbations and along selected, potential growth corridors.

The process for formulating the NPP-2 has become more consultative, incorporating feedback and expertise from a range of stakeholders to improve the planning process. Implementation challenges experienced have included a long gestation period and a disconnect between sectoral planning, affecting the plan's ability to deliver ambitious results in a comparatively short timeframe. Finally, the NPP-2 has not been successful in fostering balanced regional development to date, one of its key development objectives.



CONTEXT AND RATIONALE

Malaysia did not have a national spatial framework until 2005 when the 1st National Physical Plan was adopted. Pursuant to the Town and Country Planning Act, the NPP must be reviewed every five years in conjunction with the Five-Year Malaysia Plan to ensure its relevance and suitability in the fast changing physical, economic, social and natural environment. The NPP-2 is the product of the review undertaken on the 1st NPP (Ministry of Land, Infrastructure, Transport, and Tourism of Japan 2014).

Development planning is practiced in all three tiers of the Government in Peninsular Malaysia. At the national level, it is guided by the socioeconomic Five-Year Malaysia Plans (currently the 10th), the spatial National Physical Plan (currently the 2nd) and other sectoral national policies or plans passed by the Cabinet. All development planning in Malaysia operates within the stated goals outlined in the "Vision 2020", which is a thirty-year vision statement that aims to propel Malaysia into the ranks of fully-developed high income nations by the year 2020. The strategy to achieve this vision is transforming the economic structure and facilitating a high level of economic growth through an accelerated development of the service sector to generate economic activities. Due to historical and physical reasons, Peninsular Malaysia has developed with a palpable disparity between the west and east coasts, with East Coast States lagging economically. Substantial unequal development is also observed between sub-regions within the west coast. National plans have repeatedly set mitigation of regional disparities and the equitable development between regions as an important long-term objective (NPP 2010: 4 (15 ff.)).

The legal foundation for the National Physical Plan is the Town and Country Planning Act 1976. The NPP concept was introduced as a result of the amendments to this Planning Act in 2001. The plan is legally binding insofar as all subnational plans related to spatial planning have to conform to the objectives and principles of the NPP (Ministry of Land, Infrastructure, Transport, and Tourism of Japan 2014).

At present, the NPP applies only to Peninsular Malaysia; the states Sabah and Sarawak of East Malaysia fall under the authority of separate planning systems. This is related to the higher degree of constitutionally guaranteed power of enhanced autonomy the Sabah and Sarawak states retained when joining the Federation in 1963 (later than the other states). The states of Sabah and Sarawak also have different land laws than the rest of Malaysia (Hill 2012).



Taman Jaya lake in Petaling Jaya © Flickr/stratman² (2 many pix!)

CONTENT AND PROCESS

The goal of the NPP-2 is "the establishment of an efficient, equitable and sustainable national spatial framework to guide the overall development of the country towards achieving a developed and high-income nation status by 2020" (NPP 2010: 2 (1)). The Plan (first approved in 2005 and revised in 2010) covers the period from 2006 to 2020.

The Federal Department of Town and Country Planning is in charge of both preparing the NPP and reviewing it every five years. The National Physical Planning Council needs to approve every draft NPP. In carrying out the review and the preparation of the new plan, the Director General of the Federal Department of Town and Country Planning has to rely on the advice of the National Physical Planning Council Working Committee and directions of the National Physical Planning Council. One goal during the review of the 1st NPP and the preparation of the 2nd NPP was to enhance participatory plan-making and take into consideration the concerns of various stakeholders. Accordingly, efforts were taken to apply a discursive and consultative approach in the plan making process, leading to a series of dialogues were carried out with state governments, Technical Working Groups, Federal and State agencies, selected NGOs and expert groups.

This goal of the NPP-2 is specified through five objectives:

- To rationalise and consolidate the national spatial planning framework supported by key strategic infrastructure for economic efficiency and global competitiveness.
- 2. To optimise the utilisation of land and natural resources for sustainable development and biodiversity conservation.
- 3. To promote more balanced regional development
- 4. To enhance spatial and environmental quality, diversity and safety for a high quality of life and liveability.
- To facilitate efficient inter-state connectivity and public space provision for social interaction and sustainable communities in line with the "1Malaysia" concept (NPP 2010: 2(2)).

The plan comes with a development strategy consisting of 41 policies and 254 implementation measures that are grouped into eight development themes:

- 1. Setting a National Spatial Framework
- 2. Enhancing National Economic Competitiveness
- 3. Conserving Agriculture Resources and Promoting Rural Development
- 4. Sustainable Tourism Development
- 5. Managing Changing Human Settlements
- 6. Conserving Natural Resources, Biodiversity and the Environment
- 7. Integrating the National and Urban Transportation Network
- 8. Providing Appropriate Infrastructure.



Kuala Lumpur city centre park © Flickr/Slices of Light

According to both NPPs (2005 and 2010), in order to improve Malaysia's economic efficiency and global competitiveness, development should be focused on selected core centres, particularly conurbations. This is driven by an underlying conviction that spreading limited resources across the country would result in ineffective outcomes and detrimental environmental impacts. While Malaysia considers balanced regional development as an important long-term goal, high development potential areas are given greater priority in the short term.

In turn, the NPP-2 foresees that urban-based economic activities will be concentrated in the main conurbations of Kuala Lumpur, George Town, Johor Bahru and Kuantan that have the greatest potential for job creation. As the major engines of growth, these selected urban centres shall generate spin-offs to catalyse the development of their surrounding fledgling hinterlands, thus strengthening the urban-rural linkages and economic synergies. The government accordingly seeks to support the growth of the selected strategic urban centres through implementing high-impact flagship project initiatives and key infrastructure facilities. In the NPP-2, the "Selective Concentration Development Strategy" of the initial NPP was expanded by introducing two kinds of development corridors, Main Development and Sub-Development Corridors.



These development corridors are established to serve different supply and production chain functions. The Main Development Corridors are characterised by conurbations and along them, key urban nodes will be linked by expressways, high-speed trains, and serviced by major ports and airports. As international gateways and core economic zones, technology-driven and knowledge-based initiatives will be promoted and supported to serve niche markets.

Sub-Development Corridors are regional corridors which spread development opportunities and improve the quality of life throughout the country, especially in economically lagging regions. They connect strategically small and medium-sized towns, including special feature towns. Sub-Development Corridors will be served by highways, which provide easy connectivity between the conurbations and their surrounding villages and rural areas. They are meant to function as local service and job centres, while also acting as gateways for accessing the ecotourism and agricultural resources in the interior hinterland (NPP 2010: 4 (1 ff.)).

The future development of urban centres and conurbations shall be guided and shaped into a compact poly-nucleated urban structure where clusters of urban centres are economically and functionally linked to each other, thus generating significant interdependencies and synergistic growth for mutual benefits.



Shah Alam, Selangor, Malaysia © Flickr/taufuuu



Figure 10: Concentrated Decentralisation Strategy (NPP 2010)



The strategy contains detailed provisions regarding sustainable tourism development and policies aiming to conserve natural resources, biodiversity and to combat climate change. Strategies to influence social outcomes are also included in the NPP-2, with goals such as a reduction of crime rate, widening access to affordable and quality education and raising the living standard of the poor.



Kuala Lumpur infrastructure © Flickr/naim fadil



IMPLEMENTATION MONITORING AND EVALUATION

The implementation of the National Physical Plan is carried out by different Federal and State agencies. It is up to these implementing agencies to translate the NPP policies into concrete action plans, programmes and projects. It is the responsibility of the Federal Department of Town and Country Planning to report on the progress of the NPP implementation to the National Physical Planning Council. Several subnational implementation plans are drafted and need to be compliant with the NPP.

The National Physical Planning Council is the highest planning authority in the country. It comprises Federal and State Ministers of Malaysia. Some of the key ministries that play an important role in spatial planning are the Ministry of Housing and Local Government, Ministry of Natural Resources and Environment, Ministry of Rural and Regional Development, Ministry of Federal Territories and Urban Well-being, Ministry of Works, Ministry of Transport, Ministry of Agriculture and Agro-based Industry, and the Ministry of Energy, Green Technology and Water. The NPP-2 suggests that NPP policies shall be implemented with funds from the federal development budget. Decision makers for development programmes and budget allocation should give priority to development projects if they are consistent with the NPP's spatial policies and development proposals.

A special financial arrangement is foreseen for Special Area Plans (SAPs). For the SAPs, the NPP-2 proposes to establish a Development Programme under the Ministry of Housing and Local Government. In order to receive federal (and eventually other) funds for the implementation of this programme, the NPP-2 suggests that a revolving Trust Account be set up with a grant segment (20%) and a loan segment (80%) to guarantee sustainability. Loans and grants from the fund will be made available for Local Planning Authorities to finance the implementation of projects recommended under selected SAPs.

Figure 11: National Development Planning Framework (NPP 2010).



Lessons Learnt from International Experiences

The Federal Department of Town and Country Planning and the State Departments of Town and Country Planning lead a monitoring process of the NPP to assess how it performs and to what extent land use planning in the subnational plans conform to the NPP objectives. For this, policy indicators are collected annually by the Federal Department.

Further to this, two additional institutions are proposed: a National Physical Planning Advisory Panel and a Spatial Planning and Development Research Institute. The National Physical Planning Advisory Panel shall act as a forum for communication and consultation between the government, the private sector and the citizens for the NPP preparation and review. It will include members of NGOs, Professional Institutes, Business Councils and special interest groups. The Spatial Planning and Development Research Institute is intended to be an autonomous self-regulating research institute that spearheads research in spatial planning. It will assist the Director General of the Federal Department of Town and Country Planning and the National Physical Planning Council in formulating planning policy guidelines and the necessary research papers and publications.

In addition, data sharing between the three levels of organizations involved in spatial planning is recommended to improve the monitoring and implementation process. To this end, the NPP recommends the establishment of the NPP Land Use Planning Intelligent System (iPLAN). The iPLAN would be linked both to the State Planning Information System and the District Planning Information System with a vertical flow of information between the State Planning Information System and the iPLAN. The State Departments of Town and Country Planning would supply land use data and other information collected from the State Structure Plans and various Local Plans to the Federal Department of Town and Country Planning. The Federal Department would in turn analyse the land use changes and monitor the continued relevance of selected land use policies. Furthermore, the NPP-2 also advocates intensifying information sharing horizontally across federal agencies. To achieve this, the Malaysian Geospatial Data Infrastructure (MyGDI) programme is currently being developed to enable land related digital data to be exchanged seamlessly between various government departments and agencies in the country.



Putrajaya, planned city located south of Kuala Lumpur © Flickr/Lawrence OP



RESULTS, IMPACTS AND SHORTCOMINGS

The Malaysian National Physical Plan of 2010 contains a clear vision of spatial planning in Malaysia until 2020. It offers a very comprehensive and detailed strategy of how to achieve this vision, taking into account spatial, environmental and social challenges.

The NPP-2 proposes 41 policies and 254 concrete implementation measures and identifies the implementing agencies and institutional frameworks necessary to carry out its proposals. The fact that the subnational spatial plans and implementing agencies have the statutory obligation to comply with the NPP makes the strategy enforceable.

The NPP-2 aspires to making the preparation and review of spatial planning more discursive and consultative by including representatives from the business sector, local levels and non-governmental institutions. According to the self-evaluation of the Malaysian Federal Department, "information gathered from this discursive approach has already proven to be very valuable to rationalise and improve the quality of the policies and measures" (NPP 2010: 1 (10)). While the NPP proposed an array of detailed measures and the creation of new institutions in 2006, not all of this had been successfully implemented as of 2013. This long gestation period to implement the spatial development policies has impacted the ability to effectively deliver results over a prescribed timeframe. It was also noted that the NPP-2 was poorly incorporated into sectoral planning and development which has weakened the link between the NPP-2 and relevant budgetary allocations (Federal Department of Town and Country Planning of Malaysia 2013).

In spatial terms, the NPP-2 and its Concentrated Decentralisation Strategy was not successful in reducing the income and development disparities between the east and west coast. This can be explained through the proactive focus on developing core centres, which are predominantly positioned on the west coast. The challenge of balanced development is likely to be an area of focus in the third NPP.



Iron Mosque in Putrajaya © Flickr/Ezry Abdul Rahman



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Kuala Lumpur Sentral railway station © Wikipedia/Akira Mitsuda

ANNEX

Country Context and Background

Malaysia is located in Southeast Asia and is made up of numerous small islands, Peninsular Malaysia, and two landmasses that are separated by the Pacific Ocean: West Malaysia and East Malaysia. The landscape mainly consists of coastal plains rising to hills and mountains with 5% arable land. The climate is equatorial and characterised by periodic monsoons and high humidity (Swee-Hock 2007).

Malaysia is an upper-middle income country and a leading exporter of electrical appliances, electronic parts and components, palm oil, rubber and natural gas. The country has had one of the best economic records in Asia, with GDP growing on average 6.5% annually from 1957 to 2005 and the 2013 growth rate was 4.7% (The World Bank 2014). Malaysia is an export-oriented economy with exports amounting to 83% of the GDP (The World Bank 2013), the majority of which are electronic goods and parts. The country faces the challenge of reducing its strong dependence on exports by further diversifying the economy and boosting domestic demand. In the last decades, Malaysia has been experiencing accelerated urbanization with a concentration of the urban population in a small number of city-regions, namely the conurbations around Kuala Lumpur (capital), George Town, Johor Bahru and Kuantan. These four conurbations are expected to continue growing rapidly and to contain almost 70% of the urban population of the Malaysian Peninsular by 2020 (NPP 2010: 4 (12)).

In the process of urbanization and rural out-migration, many of the rural settlements are likely to become depopulated and will no longer be economically viable. This fast expansion of the urban conurbations risks seeing urban sprawl become a challenge. Inner urban core decay, rising traffic congestion, environment pollution and urban poverty are some of the emerging threats (NPP 2010: 4 (12)).



Figure 12: Map of Malaysia (Google Maps)

The country experiences natural hazards like floods, landslides and forest fires. Intense deforestation has had an especially negative impact on the environment, worsening the floods and destroying natural habitats and ecosystems. The country faces problems of air pollution from industrial and vehicular emissions, along with water pollution from raw sewage and rapid urbanization of coastal zones. These negative environmental externalities threaten Malaysia's thriving tourism industry. Furthermore, the country is very vulnerable to the effects of climate change. The rise of sea levels is expected to endanger coastal areas and small low lying islands. It will also increase the extreme weather events the country is already exposed to (World and Its Peoples 2008: 1160 ff.). Malaysia is a federal, constitutional, elective monarchy. The Malaysian federation consists of 13 states and three federal territories. Each state is further divided into districts and further subdivisions. The administration system is three-tiered, comprising the federal government, the state governments and 144 local authorities (city councils, district councils, and municipal councils).

Town and country planning lies within the concurrent list of the Malaysian Federal Constitution which means that both the Federal Government and State Governments have shared powers with regard to formulating laws and policies on spatial planning and procuring funds.



Figure 13: Administrative Structure and Spatial Planning in Malaysia (Federal Department of Town and Country Planning 2011).



Putrajaya International Convention Centre © Flickr/taufuuu





MOROCCO

National Spatial Planning Scheme

Key data (UN Data)

33.01 (2013)	
1.4% (2010-2015)	
57.8 (2013)	
1.6% (2010-2015)	
446,550	
95992 (2012)	
2951.7(2012)	

SUMMARY

The National Spatial Planning Scheme (*Schéma National d'Aménagement du Territoire*, SNAT) is the spatial plan adopted by Morocco in 2004, providing a reference framework for the next 25 years. It is the main instrument to ensure coherence of governmental actors' interventions at a national scale, regional scale and within "territories". Spatial planning principles provided by the National Spatial Planning Charter (CNAT) and directions provided by the SNAT serve to coordinate sectoral policies, prospective documents and territorial planning in order to ensure a balanced distribution of population, economic activities, and infrastructure over the national territory.

The SNAT, covering the entire national territory including Western Sahara, resulted from a broad based participatory process. Sustainable development is the fundamental concept on which the plan is based with three key principles: economic efficiency, environmental protection and social cohesion. The SNAT has been supported and operationalised through primarily regional spatial plans but also a number of other plans including rural strategies, urban strategies and municipal plans.

Spatial planning initiatives contributed to profoundly redefine the relationship between the State, territories and citizens. They also motivated the inclusion of planning processes in all territories, particularly the rural ones, and to rethink previous centralised and sectoral approaches, moving instead towards a more collaborative culture. This inclusive approach is geared towards achieving more efficient and sustainable development. The SNAT has been progressively adopted during the last decade and there is still some way to go to fully achieve the objectives set by the national spatial plan.



CONTEXT AND RATIONALE

Developing a national spatial plan was initiated to respond to key national development challenges and to address the changing circumstances of an emerging economy within a globalized world. The most striking challenge concerned the articulation between the concentrated development of the coastal plains and the under developed mountainous ranges and deserts. This unbalanced situation was inherited from colonial times and continued after independence, with areas of high development potential favoured in the hope that these would have a trickle-down effect on the development of the rest of the country.

This development policy failed and by the 1990s the imbalance had become more acute between the economically advanced coastal regions, which were ignoring sustainable development principles, and the rest of the country that was increasingly socially and economically marginalised. The other challenge to be addressed was the negative impacts caused by rapid urbanization including uncontrolled development of cities; degradation of irrigated land bordering urban agglomerations; degradation of urban fabric and the built environment; sprawl of slums and national urban heritage degradation. Efforts to formulate the first national spatial plan date back to the 1980s and eventually was initiated in 1992 with the first phase of diagnosis and prospective conducted in 1996.

The development of the National Spatial Plan was dramatically reoriented in 1998, with the creation of the Ministry of Spatial Planning (Ministry of Spatial Planning, Environment, Urban Planning and Habitat - MATEUH¹). This reorientation corresponded to a political change with a left-wing government coming into power and moving away from a centralised approach to a broad based participatory approach. In his speech on the 26 January, His Majesty Mohamed VI 2000 officially launched this innovative approach, incorporating local actors in the definition of State orientations and sharing responsibilities.

The geographic scope of the National Spatial Plan is at the national level. It is based on a rigorous selection process in order to retain only the elements of national scale or national interest. It does not provide answer to issues at the local level. The plan has been elaborated for a period of 25 years (2004-2030). It proposes a reflection on the scale of a generation and current emergencies are defined in terms of challenges for the future.



Casablanca night view © Flickr/Hamza Nuino

1 Ministère de l'Aménagement du Territoire, de l'Environnement, de l'Urbanisme et de l'Habitat.

CONTENT AND PROCESS

The National Spatial Plan is a guidance document intended to present a coherent view of territorial development, placing immediate options in a long term perspective. Spatial planning instruments have been approved by the High Council of Spatial Planning (CSAT), engaging the government to implement spatial planning through sectoral policies, strategies and plans. The fact that the SNAT was launched by His Majesty Mohamed VI confers to the plan the highest degree of political support.

To formulate the plan, a national debate on spatial planning was launched with 55 local workshops, 16 regional forums and 1 national forum. The objectives of the National debate were to empower local communities and sensitise local officials about the importance of social needs in terms of basic amenities and social facilities. The debate resulted in the drafting of two policy documents: the National Spatial Planning Charter (CNAT²) and the National Spatial Plan (SNAT). The Charter is a summary of the national debate on spatial planning, which synthesises the contribution of all citizens and socio-economic actors toward the improvement of public action to enhance national development. The National Spatial Planning Charter served as the basis to develop the SNAT. As set by the Charter, the main goals of the SNAT are to strengthen national cohesion, improve living conditions of citizens and reinforce democracy. The plan stressed the need for "a comprehensive approach", capable of improving the competitiveness of the economy, rehabilitating rural areas, and solving complex issues such as land and illiteracy. As a guiding document, the SNAT identifies priority sectors and intervention areas requiring medium and long term investment and support.

Key spatial issues identified by the SNAT are the stagnation of the abandoned "bour"³, the waste of natural resources, responding to demographic and economic imbalance and mitigating urban crises. The SNAT identifies six areas of intervention: agriculture and rural areas, fragile environment, water management, urban growth, economic development and institutions.

Within the SNAT, territorial development options have been defined through fifty-one proposed interventions at spatial and sectoral levels. These will target, major cities, water reservoirs, rural development, oases, coastal areas, reform of local finance and industrial development.



Agadir aerial view © Flickr/Amine E.

2 Charte Nationale d'Aménagement du Territoire.

With the aim of profiting from the already established economic hierarchy of territories while also promoting socio-spatial equity, the National Spatial Plan identified the following growth opportunities:

- Central Metropolitan Area on the Atlantic coast, which plays the lead role in enabling globalized flows and trade towards the West.
- 2. The bi-poles of Tangier-Tetouan and Fes-Meknes positioned as a crossroads for Europe and Maghreb respectively.
- Five development poles designed to achieve international connectivity through trade and tourism: Nador, Oujda, Marrakech, Beni Mlal and Tadla Agadir

Rural areas, such as the mountains and oases, are still heavily handicapped by the lack of infrastructure, population load and low valuation of their potential. Their development prospects will be addressed by an adjustment of the urban network to medium and small cities. This is demonstrated by the importance of mediumsized cities such as Errachidia or Ouarzazate, which are strategic nodes connecting with the rural hinterland to achieve a balanced urban network. Territorial development is expected to be achieved through Regional Spatial Plans and institutional divisions. These interventions can take many forms, from National Parks to the recognition of Productive Local Systems, through urban agencies, or even basin agencies promoting an integrated approach to water resources. Examples of such territorial projects are the Azur Plan, which provides for the development of five new touristic resorts to reach 10 million tourists by 2010, or the industrial port project of Tangier-Tetouan.

The underlining principle that has been adopted to achieve the overall goal of sustainable development is, "differentiated synergies of spatial components". Applied nationally, the concept of differentiated synergies consists of boosting each place according to its own characteristics and in enhancing relations among regions. This concept leads to a simple formula, "from each territory according to its economic potential, for each territory according to its social needs".





Rabat central area © Flickr/Christopher Rose

IMPLEMENTATION, MONITORING AND EVALUATION

The National Spatial Plan outlines a framework so that sectoral and territorial officials may formulate their own actions within a coherent national framework. The plan is first and foremost territorial; it has neither the intention nor the ambition to resolve sectoral issues that are the responsibility of specialized departments. It does, however, aim to achieve territorial coherence of sectoral actions through presenting a framework of objectives in the SNAT within which interventions should be developed. The National Spatial Plan is not a programmatic document. Instead, it highlights serious problems requiring urgent responses, while also identifying strengths that should be the basis for development actions. It offers guidance aimed at strengthening the coherence of public action.

As such, implementation is delegated to different institutional levels, in a progressively decentralised approach.

At national level:

- High Council of Spatial Planning the development of national spatial planning and sustainable development policies.
- Permanent Inter-ministerial Commission for Spatial Planning - decision-making authority for the monitoring and implementation of national spatial planning and sustainable development policies.
- Directorate for Spatial Planning (DAT) ensures continuity for spatial planning.

At regional level

- Regional Committee for Spatial Planning ensures consistency of spatial planning at the regional level
- Regional Council actively participate in the elaboration and the implementation of Regional Spatial Plans.
- Regional Inspectorate of Spatial Planning provides technical support for the preparation of Regional Spatial Plans.

Regional spatial plans (SRAT) set guidelines for State sectoral action while ensuring optimal coordination between the various stakeholders. The SRAT are developed on the basis of consultation and participation of all influential actors in the region. This process should lead to the identification of regional projects specifying the actors involved in their implementation and also develop a framework for regional urban policy that serves as a reference for the urban planning.

The Directorate for Spatial Planning has developed a series of systems to monitor the SNAT through the collection and analysis of information across different institutional levels. A framework has been put in place to facilitate exchanges and consultations on the different visions of local actors on territorial development. A number of studies have been conducted or are under development including the system of data collection on internal migration and the Observatory of Territorial Dynamics (ODT⁴).

In 2010 the Directorate for Spatial Planning undertook a review of the Spatial Planning Policy for the 2004–2009 period. In December 2014, the mid-term evaluation of the SNAT was initiated by the Ministry of Urban Planning and Spatial Planning and the launch is scheduled for February 2015. The purpose of this evaluation is to produce solid conclusions and recommendations to guide decisions for updating, reframing or revising the plan in view of a continuous improvement process. The evaluation will take into consideration international issues such as global crises and climate change. It will also consider changes within the national context, including the new constitution the establishment of new institutions, new free trade agreements and the realization of new major infrastructure projects.

⁴ Observatoire des Dynamiques Territoriales.



RESULTS, IMPACTS AND SHORTCOMINGS

Due to the consultative process, various public and private actors have embraced the orientations of the Charter and the National Spatial Plan. The three main obstacles to overcome were an entrenched centralised tradition, a sectoral approach to public intervention and the low capacity of local actors. Today, all the institutional players agree on the merits of a regional approach to development based on integrated programs within a national spatial planning framework. There is also a consensus on the vital role that local development plays for regional development, and the importance of mobilizing local stakeholders (regional councils, local authorities, decentralized departments, civil society, etc.) and their level of institutional and technical skills.

Spatial planning has also underscored the importance of sustainable and ecological development in terms of optimizing the use of resources as well as preserving the rich natural heritage of Morocco. The sustainability concern was not defined during the launch of CNAT and SNAT, but it is currently a key concern with fast increasing urban sprawl consuming the richest fertile lands in a country that only has 12% of its land suitable for agriculture.

Despite constraints imposed by the physical geography and legacies from the past, the last decade has proved that it is possible to improve governance through the regionalization and territorialisation of state actions. This approach remains a work in progress, as it forces Morocco to re-establish the relationship between the state, its citizens and its territories. This is a complete overhaul of the traditional centralised and sectoral approach to spatial development, instead sharing responsibility between diverse actors to achieve synergy and integration of policies. The development of spatial planning instruments at national, regional and local level contributed significantly to a new way of conducting public affairs including inter-ministerial action, devolution of the state apparatus and decentralisation. Despite this, serious issues remain with the level of implementation of spatial planning instruments. Several spatial plans have been developed but remain unenforceable for lack of compatibility with the existing framework or because of an absence of conditions necessary for their implementation.

The progressive objectives of the SNAT will not be realized without profound changes in public action, mobilising both the civil and political components of Moroccan society. Currently, different dynamics are at work without aligning with the greater development goals of Morocco and engaging with the framework of SNAT. These include large development projects that respond to economic competitiveness and drain the largest funding, and regionalization with independent development agencies attached to the central power.

Despite the shortfalls, the process of shifting from an entrenched centralized tradition is undeniably gradual, and the steps taken to decentralize the planning power must not be underestimated. The SNAT has played a central role in mobilizing all actors and has created synergies amongst policies, strategies and projects. The SNAT is driving a shared vision of development and is a valuable asset for Morocco as an emerging country facing the challenge of globalization.

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Casablanca LRT system © Flickr/Artevia

ANNEX

Country Context and Background

Morocco is located in northwest Africa. Its long coastline on the Atlantic Ocean ends at the Strait of Gibraltar on the Mediterranean. North of the Strait is Spain, Morroco's door to Europe while to the east and southeast Morocco is bordered by Algeria. Mountains cover more than two thirds of the Moroccan territory and reach significant heights. The Sebou basin, one of the main agricultural regions of the country, connects the Mediterranean with the Atlantic. The coastal area is the most urbanized region and the richest in the country. In the south, near the Algerian border, is the largest desert area of Morocco.

Moroccan space is characterized by a very fragile environment. 92% of the territory has an arid and semiarid environment. The agricultural land occupies only 12% of the National territory. Water resources are very limited. One of the key issues related to water management is waste: in urban areas, the water network experience 60% wastage; in rural areas, the attrition rate varies between 40 and 50% between the dams and irrigated plots. Morocco is the third largest producer and the leading exporter of phosphates, resulting in a sizeable inflow of foreign investment for the country. Since the early 2000s, Morocco engaged in economic reforms accompanied by coherent sectoral strategies which accelerated structural transformation of the economy and promoted new products. As such, new industries such as aerospace and automotive industries have seen significant growth and are currently driving innovation in the Moroccan economy. These growth drivers allow Morocco to offset the difficulties some traditional sectors are experiencing, such as textiles. Despite these good performances and the improvement of the economic situation as a whole, Morocco has not been able to respond to the challenge of youth unemployment (15 -24 years), which rose at 19.1% in 2013.





Medina of Fes © Flickr/Michal Osmenda



Morocco has experienced major changes resulting from the rapid urbanization increasing from 30% to 60% during the last 50 years⁵. These changes had a profound impact on the Kingdom's social structure and the development of its economy and urban fabric. Rapid urbanization remains a great challenge with the urban population projected to reach 75% in the year 2030. The urban population is concentrated in few main cities: Casablanca (3 million), the capital Rabat-Salé (1.8 million), Fez and Marrakech (both 1 million), and Tangiers and Agadir (both 800,000 inhabitants).

Since the 2000's Morocco engaged in a process of devolution in the form of a territorial decentralization and administrative reform of the public sector. These two phenomena in the context of the democratic transition include the establishment of local democracy and a participatory approach in local affairs and modernization of the public sector. Regionalization in Morocco aims to develop local democracy and ensure integrated regional development through local representatives, professional organizations and active participation of citizens. Politically, legally and financially, municipalities support the whole edifice of territorial policy. Morocco has 16 regions divided in 75 provinces and "prefectures" that are composed of 1,503 communes (1,282 rural and 221 urban). The provincial level (or prefectural) is under control of the state and implements central government policies. The major concern of the regional councils is spatial planning and its power to promote investment and support the creation of activities and jobs in more rural areas. Despite the political will, these relationships are complex since the centralized structure of the Moroccan administration remains prevalent. This hinders the adoption of non-bureaucratic modern methods to meet the social demands.



View of Salé, photographed from the Corniche of Rabat © World Bank/Arne Hoel

5 Data: Haut Commisariat au Plan, Royaume du Maroc



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