Planning Ideas That Matter

Livability, Territoriality, Governance, and Reflective Practice

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Urban Development

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Development in the Urban Context

This chapter is essentially a historical survey of ideas about urban development as they evolved in the twentieth century, particularly after World War II. Which ideas about urban development guided city planners and developers at various times in both the First World and the Third World? How do concepts and models of urban development travel between the two worlds? Where do the ideas come from, and how do they evolve over time? These questions are probed in this chapter.

Urban development is the process of organized growth and restructuring of human settlements. It occurs in two ways. First, at the level of a project, new or renewed activities are developed on specific sites. The site-specific scale is the domain of planning regulations, environmental impact assessments, and so forth. Second, at the city or regional level, the spatial structure is realigned through both area-wide policies and programs and the cumulative effects of site-specific developments. The city or regional scale is the province of what has been variously called general, comprehensive, community, or master planning. Such an area-wide plan has been called the "constitution for development" (City of Los Angeles 2007).

Although development at both site and area levels is visibly apparent in the form of buildings, utilities, facilities, and services, these physical expressions reflect a community's socioeconomic goals. For example, in zoning bylaws development is typically defined as "the construction of a new building or other structure on a lot, the relocation of existing building on another lot or the use of a tract of land for new uses" (City of New York, City Planning Commission 2007). Yet land improvements and changes in physical environment invariably are meant to serve

human activities and purposes. Therefore, the broader meaning of development in the urban context extends beyond the processes of construction and building to the functions and purposes served by these activities.

Accordingly, in this chapter I focus on the broader scale of urban development, namely, the ideas and models that have framed the development of human settlements in general and cities in particular. The development control exercised at the scale of a site, through zoning and other regulations, is not our concern. However, the area-wide objectives and policies, which these tools help implement, are of interest.

With a majority of the world's population living in cities and towns, societal development depends on the efficiency and equity of urban systems. The provisions of infrastructure, housing, businesses and industries, transport and community services have become an integral part of ideas about development (World Bank 2000). Thus, urban development is nested in national development.

Ideas about urban development arise in tandem with models of development. They grow out of the same ideological soil. How have ideas of urban development evolved? To answer this question, we must track the successive phases through which ideas about urban development have developed.

Mapping Ideas about Urban Development

Ideas about and visions of urban development arrive in successive waves; they do not show a linear, evolutionary pattern. Yet there is a parade of such ideas marching to the tunes of the times. Table 8.1 lists visions of how cities can be made more livable, efficient, orderly, or beautiful as a whole or in parts. These images and notions arose in successive periods in response to the urban challenges of the respective times. Furthermore, the political narratives of each period have shaped these ideas.

A few points about table 8.1 need to be clarified. First, the periods are best understood as links in a chain and not as discrete spans of time. Second, the ideas listed for each period do not necessarily terminate with the period but continue to be in force in some form in succeeding periods. Third, the origins of most ideas cannot be pinned to a point in time; therefore, they have been assigned to the period in which they gained currency. With these caveats, table 8.1 can be read as a map of the evolution of urban development ideas.

Three Phases of the Urban Development Discourse

Modern ideas about urban development can be organized in three historical periods, each representing a distinct paradigm. Each also corresponds to a distinct phase of political ideology in Western, largely Anglo-Saxon, societies.

The first phase lasted from the early twentieth century to the end of World War II. It laid the foundations of modern urban planning and forged the idea that a city is a collective entity that must be developed in orderly and efficient ways under public guidance. The second phase began in the 1950s and lasted until the mid-1970s. It witnessed the expansion of the public role in urban development and the transformation of the concept of urban development from concerns with the orderliness, efficiency, or beauty of the physical space to the realization of public welfare and social justice as the goals of development. The third phase, beginning in the mid-1970s and continuing to the present, reflects the conservative spirit of the Reagan-Thatcher era, which reduced the role of the state, on the one hand, and expanded the agenda of urban development by adding environmental and energy conservation to the goals of urban development on the other. What forces shaped these phases and what their seminal ideas were are discussed below.

Table 8.1 presents both the practical ideas and overarching visions that arose in different phases. It also differentiates between the ideas guiding urban development in the First World (largely Anglo-Saxon) and those prevailing in the Third World (largely English-oriented countries), pointing out their interdependence. With this introduction, let us turn to an examination of each of the three phases.

Phase 1: The Emergence of Modern Urban Perspectives

The First World

In the First World, modern ideas about urban development arose in response to epidemics, poverty, and crowding of the industrial city. Public health measures such as urban water and sewerage systems, fire and building codes, and rudimentary zoning controls on the use of land laid the basis of the City Functional ideas. Paralleling these ideas were notions of the City Beautiful and the Garden City, which married the qualities of convenience and beauty with amenity and orderliness to form the goals of urban development (Hall 1988). Nor should we forget Le

Table 8.1
Urban Development Ideas and Strategies

Years	First World	Third World
Phase 1		
Pre–World War II	Public health and sanitation.	Native town and colonial city
	Beauty and amenity	Sanitation
	Convenience and functions	Defense and army bases
	Garden City	Monumental city
	Radiant City of towers	
	Zoning and building regulations	
Phase 2		
1945–1959	Public housing and postwar reconstruction	National five-year plans and housing programs
	Garden suburbs	Displaced persons resettlement
	Green belts	Satellite townships
	National highways programs and urban road networks	Master plans
	Urban renewal and slum clearance	Rural development
	New towns	Land development schemes and urban core housing
	Regional economics	
	Segregation of land uses	
	Shopping malls	
	Downtown rebuilding	
1960–1975	City is people	Thesis of overurbanization
	Comprehensive plans and policies	Dualistic cities: formal vs. informal
	Advocacy planning and citizen participation	Secondary cities strategy
	Urban rehabilitation and conservation	Squatters upgrading
	Exploding metropolis and suburbanization	Water supply and sewerage schemes
	City containment and regional planning	New capitals
	Community planning	Urban development and investment plans

Table 8.1
(continued)

Years	First World	Third World
	Neighborhood improvement	Land titles and regularization
	Urban land-use and transportation models	
	Environmental standards	
	Wedges of open space corridors of development	
	Central city and satellite centers urban form	
Phase 3		
1976–1990	Energy-efficient development	Slum improvement
	Communicative planning	Sites and services
	Growth management	Self-help
	Historic preservation	Urban action plans
	Enterprise zones	Growth centers
	Local economic development	Intermediate cities strategy
	Housing conservation	National urban strategies
	Gentrification	Urban infrastructure programs
	Waterfront revival	Urban management
	Coastal zone management	Enabling approach
	Public-private partnership for development	Megacities
	Regulatory reforms	National conservation strategies
	Equity planning	National housing strategies
	Sprawl and compact development	Urban reforms
	Women and planning	Privatization of services
1991–2010	Smart growth	Sustainable cities
	New Urbanism	
	Sustainable development	Free trade and foreign investment
	Global cities	Housing finance
	Globalization	Urban governance

Corbusier's vision of clearing away the "dying" industrial city and building the Radiant City (1933) of high rises set in a park of open spaces laced with highways (Hodge 1998; Hall 1988).

Yet the pre–World War II period laid the foundations for modern notions of urban development that continue to affect urban planning to this day. It also institutionalized urban planning as a public activity. How did these ideas spread into the Third World? Let us turn to this question.

The Third World

In the Third World, the pre–World War II period was an era of colonialism. Of course, the recorded history of many Third World countries (India, China, Egypt, Iraq) goes back to ancient times, and so do their ideas about cities (Auboyer 1962, 117–127). Those ideas are not entirely extinct. They still exert some influence through the long-honed traditions of community building. Being primarily concerned with the modern, even contemporary times, I will skip to the twentieth century.

The first half of the twentieth century was a period of colonialism. The indigenous city in Asia or North Africa was organized in caste, clan, or occupational guild's quarters, with the geometrically laid fort-palace occupying a high ground near a river. Its crowded bazaars and narrow residential streets converged on the main temple or mosque, which formed the focal point.

Colonial rulers grafted European notions of sanitation, racial superiority, and space onto this indigenous city plan. The result was what has been called a colonial city of dualistic urban structure in which the space outside the indigenous city—a separate district of low-density bungalow estates, arcaded markets, offices, and parks aligned along wide roads—was developed for the colonial establishment (King 1990; Abu-Lughod 1980). In capitals and other large cities, army bases, called cantonments, were built in the European idiom as the third component of the colonial city. Undoubtedly, these ideas were largely meant to serve colonial interests and were limited to the "European" sections of the Third World cities.

The colonial city was the conduit for the dissemination of Western ideas of urban development, capitalist economy, and class segregation (King 1990). Some of the then new technologies and ideologies of urban development were introduced in colonial cities at almost the same time as in European cities. For example, Karachi had a tramway linking the commercial center with the port in 1885. Bombay (now Mumbai) had

building legislation to regulate construction activity in 1850 and the Town Improvement Trust to plan development schemes at the same time. Lagos had a town improvement ordinance in 1863. Even "the father of town planning," Patrick Geddes, spent years in India promoting his approach of "conservative surgery" for indigenous cities, starting in 1914. The point is that some urban planning ideas and practices that had just emerged in Europe found their way into colonial cities without any time lag.

All in all, in the First World, the prewar period provided some examples of regulated urban development and witnessed the formulation of urban planning ideals. In the Third World, this period split the preindustrial city into modern and traditional towns, resulting in varying visions of development. Yet the modern idioms of urban development, though not attainable for a majority of urban residents, were tantalizingly visible in selected parts of the colonial city. Coming out of this period, two themes laid the foundation of modern urban development. Public investments and collective action produced the framework for urban development, and an orderly and balanced development became the model of urban growth.

Phase 2: The Social Production of Urban Discourses

The First World

The second phase began after World War II and lasted until the mid-1970s. In this period, urban planning evolved from an architecture- and engineering-based practice to a social sciences–driven policy discipline.[1] Economics, geography, politics, and sociology transformed ways of thinking about cities. These disciplines introduced an empirical and humanistic outlook in which lived experiences were given more weight than grandiose ideas of imagined urban order. Instead of sweeping visions such as City Beautiful or Broadacre City (Frank Lloyd Wright), urban development came to be a strategy of promoting affordable housing, improving transit facilities, or integrating racial ghettos.

The ideology of public welfare came to characterize urban development. The state assumed the responsibilities of providing for the basic needs, including housing and social services, of the poor who had fallen on hard times. In the United States, the Housing Act of 1949 set out the goal of "a decent home and a suitable living environment for every American family." The political imperatives of the postwar reconstruction, the cold war, and the necessity of forging a capitalist alternative for

a caring society and building the infrastructure of an affluent society were the factors that gave rise to this ideology of welfarism.

Table 8.1 lists the major urban development programs of this second phase. It was a prolific period for ideas about urban development and planning. They ranged from strategies of financing homeownership and involving citizens in urban planning to programs of New Town and regional highway development. An illustrative example is the maturing and expansion of the mortgage insurance and the secondary mortgage markets, which revolutionized the housing industry and laid the groundwork for the suburbanization of cities. Similarly, the public housing program, initially meant for war veterans in the United States, was extended to the poor and welfare recipients in the 1950s. In the UK, council housing became a mark of the welfare state that was built by the Labour Party in the postwar period. These socioeconomic measures sparked an urban explosion in Europe and North America.

The ideas of phase 2 can be subsumed under three policy themes: (1) modernizing old cities, (2) urban expansion and the containment of metropolises, and (3) the democratization of the urban development process.

Modernizing Old Cities

The postwar cities of Europe and North America were congested and dotted with slums, particularly in their centers. The urban renewal programs (1954 in the United States and 1955 in the UK) were the bold innovations of the times meant to redevelop slums and renew central business districts to bring old cities into contemporary times. Large sections of the central city were cleared and sold to commercial developers for building multistory office and apartment buildings. The emerging city image was Corbusian in spirit (Hall 1988, 226).

The story of urban renewal is not reassuring. It was a social disaster, uprooting a large number of the poor, particularly blacks, from physically blighted but socially vibrant communities. Many poor residents of downtowns experienced the highways and urban renewal programs as "the federal bulldozer" (Anderson 1964). Civil protests, most notably the riots of 1964–1967 in the United States, sparked a veritable revolution in ideas about urban development.

Urban renewal was revised to promote the conservation and rehabilitation of neighborhoods and housing. The Model Cities program (1965) of President Johnson highlights the changing perspective of urban development. The program aimed at eliminating urban poverty through upgrading whole neighborhoods by conserving and increasing housing, improving businesses, and providing health, welfare, and educational services, along with the simultaneous improvement of major local institutions. All this was to be achieved not by commands from city hall but with the involvement of residents. It combined social policy initiatives with physical development. The program did not fulfill its promise, but from the perspective of urban development ideas, it was very important. It underlined the change in the conception of urban development, which began to be viewed as both a matter of physical restructuring and a strategy of socioeconomic advancement.

The shedding of public programs in the late 1970s led to public-private partnerships for infrastructural projects and community development (discussed further in the next chapter). The privatization thrust of the 1980s transformed such initiatives into the process of gentrification of neighborhoods. The time was propitious for Jane Jacobs's idea of a livable neighborhood and vibrant street as the building blocks of a city (Jacobs 1962). Take care of the neighborhood and the city will be taken care of, Jacobs suggested. This was the bottom-up view of urban development that came out of the reactions to the broad-sweep urban renewal.

Urban Expansion and the Containment of the Metropolis

Population growth as well as people's desire to own homes and live in green settings promoted the development of suburbs and the sprawling of cities far out into the countryside, forging a new idiom of urban development. With its wide roads for cars, commercial activities packaged into climate-controlled malls, and detached and semidetached homes lining the meandering streets in parklike settings, segregated from workplaces and stores, the suburb became the template of urban development. These new realities brought to the fore the challenges of orderly growth and containment of metropolises.

In the First World, a host of ideas about the development of the urban periphery were formulated in phase 2 (see table 8.1). Britain pioneered the planting of New Towns around London as countermagnets to the exploding metropolis. The United States experimented with private New Towns to drain away sprawl, as in Reston, Virginia; Columbia, Maryland; and Irvine Ranch, California, but such efforts were too few to make any difference. Still, the idiom of the self-contained New Town on the metropolitan periphery was another urban development idea that found expression in this period.

A vision of a regional city organized as corridors of development laid along a spine of highways and rail lines, alternating with wedges of open spaces, gained currency in late 1960s and early 1970s. Regional plans were prepared for Washington, D.C., Baltimore, Copenhagen, Ottawa, and other metropolitan areas. Similarly, as Gary Hack points out in chapter 2, the idea of a greenbelt surrounding a metropolis to contain it was tried in London, Ottawa, and Toronto, among many other places.[2] Yet in the United States, these visions were preempted by the Interstate Highway program of the mid-1950s, which crisscrossed and connected cities, opening them up for expansion and forging the model of a motorized city, à la Los Angeles.

Democratization of the Urban Development Process

One outcome of the popular agitation against urban renewal was a reexamination of the processes of decision making and urban development. Elites and professionals were discredited and citizens were invested with the right to participate in decisions about local development. Paul Davidoff's seminal article from 1965 offered "advocacy planning" as an alternative model for urban decision making (Davidoff 1965). It realigned the processes of production of urban development ideas and community decision making by promoting the practice of citizen participation. Britain followed with its own government-mandated public participation based on the principle enunciated in the Skeffington Report that it "matters to all of us [members of the public] that we should know that we can influence the shape of our communities" (quoted in Rydin 2000, 185).

The urban discourse started laying more emphasis on the processes of development, downgrading discussions of future end-states and big plans. In the planning discourse, the process and not (so much) the substance came to the forefront of urban theorizing. This theme has deeply engaged planning academics, who have spun out different theorizations of citizen-driven planning processes, such as transactive planning (Friedmann 1973), communicative planning (Innes 1995), and collaborative planning (Healey 1997), discussed in chapters 12 and 13 of this book.

Urban development evolved from an exercise in physical planning to a strategy for raising the quality of life. Community building through social policies, housing stock management, public transport, recreation opportunities, and welfare services became the favored idea of urban development. Social planning and local economic development revised the strategic image of the city. This was a critical transformation in the concept of a city.

Environmental protection and energy conservation emerged on the social agenda in the early 1970s. Environmental impact assessments of urban projects began to be incorporated into the planning processes of selected cities and regions. Similarly, the concept of energy-efficient development excited some interest. These were ideas of environmental protection and energy conservation applied to urban development. They were the harbingers of the sustainable cities idea that came in the 1990s.

Phase 2 in the Third World

The aftermath of World War II ushered in revolutionary times across the Third World. One by one the colonial empires folded and independent national-states emerged all across Asia, Africa, and Latin America. The independence of India and Pakistan (1947) was the hinge in history that marked the beginning of the era of independent nation-states in the Third World. For most of the countries, independence came with the colonial legacy of poverty, illiteracy, and economic delay. Yet independence fired people's expectations of a good life. These conditions set the stage for the process of urban development and inspired ideas for dealing with it.

As mentioned above, Third World cities had been divided in two distinct parts, traditional-indigenous and modern-colonial. After independence, these two parts came to mark differences in social class and sectoral affiliation of the residents. The modern sections of a city are planned (formally laid out) and equipped with some basic services, whereas the indigenous parts largely grow incrementally, almost house by house and street by street, severely lacking infrastructure. The development ideas for the two segments of the city come from different sources, though in practice they influence each other. Modern developments are based on adaptations of Western ideas. The indigenous city grows on the basis of an amalgam of historical practices, religious and cultural norms, and economic and technical imperatives of contemporary times.

In phase 2, the dual city fragments further into components of varying levels of modernity, legitimacy and traditions. I am here hinting at the emergence of the informal sector—particularly in the shape of squatter colonies—on the one hand and planned suburbs of modern provenance on the other. Between the two lie what I have called the new indigenous communities (NICs), namely, the lower-middle-class housing estates,

formally laid out according to local standards and with clear land titles but unapproved by development authorities (Qadeer 1983, 181–184). The scope of NICs can be observed from the fact that in Delhi, 1,300 out of 2,000 developed housing colonies were unauthorized, though they had multistory buildings. The point is that a multiplicity of urban forms has emerged in the Third World.

Table 8.1 lists a host of urban development ideas that swept through the Third World in the period 1950–1975. The proliferation of urban ideas in the Third World is a direct result of the production of development ideas by international institutions. From the UN, World Bank, USAID, and others, periodic waves of development ideas arise and sweep through Third World countries. The diffusion of these ideas has had a major impact on the discourse of urban development in the Third World. They carry an aura of authority and power, as they come packaged with international aid. In one sense, the process of production of development ideas is more organized and focused for the Third World than for the First World, as the international agencies have taken on the role of think tanks for the Third World.

Space limitations do not allow me to discuss all the ideas circulating in the Third World during phase 2 and listed in table 8.1, but I have created two clusters for purposes of discussion, emphasizing (1) housing as the driving force of urban development and (2) runaway urbanization. They are examined below.

Housing as the Driving Force of Urban Development

In newly independent countries, people flock to cities in search of security and opportunity. Apart from the rural to urban migration, many countries had to host refugees displaced by redrawn political boundaries. Squatter colonies sprang up in many cities. Thus, resettlement of displaced persons and in-migrants and housing of the emerging middle classes became pressing issues. Early organized efforts of urban development consisted of building housing estates and new settlements. These efforts were followed by planning and building suburbs, satellite towns, and new capitals such as Chandigarh, Brasília, and Islamabad during the 1950s and early 1960s, as well as housing colonies for the poor and shelterless. Urban development was viewed through the lens of land development and house-building projects.

By the 1970s, urban development in the Third World had become a self-generating process driven by the market and people's informal initiatives. The organized body of knowledge, planning concepts, and international ideas largely affected the formal segment of the city. Yet even these imported ideas were modified by local practices, both organized and unorganized. For example, although land uses were meant to be segregated in planned suburbs, as soon as those were built, schools, offices, and clinics began appearing in the bungalows of residential areas.

By the 1960s, planned suburban communities for the middle and upper classes had become the hallmark of modern development. In the unplanned sphere, squatters organized by land dealers and land grabbers were expanding the city incrementally.

Third World cities' squatter settlements have become a major challenge of urban development. They have received a lot of attention from Western scholars, city planners, and policy advisers. The division of the Third World city into formal and informal sectors has inspired a range of ideas about the dual nature of such cities. Initially identified by Latin American scholars, the concept of duality was extended to cities by Geertz (1963), Abrams (1964), and the International Labour Organization (1972). Yet the reality of the Third World city is more complicated than the duality model suggests. It is a community segmented physically, socially, and culturally.

Squatter upgrading or regulated squatting became the favored solution in the 1980s and continues to be the primary means for accommodating rural migrants in the Third World city. Dubbed the "enabling approach," regulated squatting also appealed to the advocates of market solutions to urban problems who came to prominence in the 1980s and 1990s. It reduced the public's responsibility for housing poor migrants.

Controlling and Channeling Urban Growth

Another prominent theme in the second phase was the rapid growth in size and density of Third World cities. Population accretion in Third World cities prompted First World concerns about the "exploding metropolis." By the 1970s, major cities in the Third World were bypassing the historically big cities of Europe and the United States both in size and in rate of growth. How to contain them was the concern.

The ideas put forth for controlling urban growth largely recapitulated the strategies tried in the First World. Creating self-contained peripheral communities or satellite townships that could function as "reception areas" for in-migrants was a popular idea. New Bombay and Korangi township (Karachi) are two examples of this kind of development. On a large regional (provincial) scale, the idea of strengthening secondary

cities (second- or third-tier cities) through industrial and infrastructural development gained currency in the late 1970s. By phase 3—the1980s and 1990s—these ideas had merged into the concept of the national urban strategy, which swept through the Third World under the auspices of the UNDP and the World Bank.

Master Plans

Following the Soviet practice of Five Year Plans for national development, many Third World countries included "housing and urban development" as a sector in their national plans. Thus, the Third World countries started having national plans for housing and urban development in the 1950s, moving ahead of the First World on this score. For example, India has had ten five-year plans, starting in 1951, each with a sizable component of housing and urban development programs. In its Third Five Year Plan (1961–1966), urbanization was linked to the process of economic development.

One of the components of these national urban development programs was the preparation of master plans to guide the orderly development of individual cities. Local planners seized on the master plan idea as a tool for controlling and guiding city growth. It appealed to Third World planners as an instrument of planned development and public control.

The master plan generally has been an ineffective tool, however. It has largely taken the form of a blueprint for projected land uses, densities, facilities, institutions, and circulation for both the existing and yet-to-be-developed sections of a city. It outlines the paths of growth of the city and sometimes projects land requirements. All in all, a conventional master plan has proved to be a static picture of the future development of a city, one whose primary use has been to identify areas of future land development. It has seldom included any systematic strategies or policies to implement its vision. Yet its identification of land for future development came in handy for private developers of housing estates.

How widespread this physical planning view of urban development has been is indicated by the fact that in India, by 1995, 879 master plans for cities had been approved and another 319 were in various stages of preparation (Bhargava 2001, 169). India was not alone in adopting master plans; other countries of the Third World, such as Nigeria (Braimah 1993), have followed a similar path.

Before I conclude the discussion of the second historical phase of urban development ideas, it is important to review briefly the role of international agencies in the formulation of concepts and policies in the Third World. Urban development was not on the agenda of aid agencies until the late 1960s, except for funding some advisory missions and occasional water and sewerage projects.[3] The World Bank started funding urban projects in 1972. It viewed urban development as a task of building institutional capacity and financing projects of infrastructure and "sites and services." Between 1972 and 1981, the World Bank funded sixty-two projects at a cost of $4.6 billion (World Bank 1983, table 1, pp. 11–12). Urban development became a matter of project and program development for infrastructure and land development.

Phase 3: Constructing the Narrative of the Postindustrial City, 1975–2010

By the early 1970s, the conceptual ground of urban development had begun to shift again. The oil crisis of 1973 and the end of the Vietnam War in 1975 marked the beginning of a new era in world affairs. In the First World, these events precipitated the fiscal crisis of the state; in the Third World, they triggered a debt crisis. Left-liberal ideologies came to be questioned, and ideologies of the right began to gain ground.

From 1969 to 1993, Republicans continuously occupied the U.S. White House except for the brief interlude of Jimmy Carter's presidency (1977–1981). President Reagan in the United States (1981–1989) and Prime Minister Thatcher in Britain (1979–1990) sought to dismantle the welfare state and vigorously championed the free market, deregulation, and privatization. The discourse of urban development could not have remained unaffected.

During phase 3 of ideas about urban development, the emphasis gradually shifted toward a combination of market-oriented and environment-sensitive narratives. The outcomes of the programs of the1960s—such as public housing, urban renewal, metropolitan containment, and master plans—fell short of their promises. Both the Right and the Left criticized urban approaches. From the right, critics pointed to the multitude of interests operating in urban settings and the need for incremental and marginal balancing of their competing demands. Such a complex phenomenon cannot be adequately managed through governmental commands and plans, they maintained; the market and political bargaining do the job better (Altshuler 1965; Banfield 1970). Market-based modes of development, they argued, are not only efficient, they also give people choice and liberty.

The left-liberal criticism ran the gamut from the charge of elite domination to Marxist analysis of urban problems. Marxist scholars maintained that the urban crisis was embedded in the structure of the capitalist city. The pursuit of profit necessitates the intervention of the state to remedy the difficulties of commodity production and to ensure the reproduction of the labor force through housing and other measures of public welfare (Harvey 1973; Massey and Megan 1982; Dear and Scott 1981).[4]

Given such wide-ranging critiques of ideas and practices from the 1960s, new narratives about urban development arose to meet the challenges of the postindustrial cities, particularly in the First World. Most characteristically, the era increasingly tilted toward market-based solutions of urban problems, even as a second wave of environmental and energy conservation ideas and practices swept the urban development discourse. As table 8.1 suggests, these two idea tracks have been interwoven in the urban narratives of phase 3, and have coalesced around three themes.

The First World City: Managing Urban Development

In the period 1975–2010, urban development came to be conceived of in terms of sectors and projects. Comprehensive visions for the whole city gave way to segmental plans for improving smaller neighborhoods, the local economy, or waterfronts. "No more big plans" was the catchphrase of the late 1970s. This phase offered nothing comparable to the comprehensive visions of Garden Cities or New Towns; instead, this emerging sector-driven approach can be described as urban managerialism.

Urban managerialism redefined physical development and spatial organization in urban development. Managers view physical space as the "motherboard" on which social and economic activities are imprinted. In phase 3, the conceptual struggle has been to find the right balance between physical planning and policy approaches to urban development.

Market-Driven Instruments of Urban Development

The ideological shift toward market-based approaches generated a series of notions about and models for the management of urban development. By the late 1970s, concern over the cost of development in the city had given rise to efforts to streamline regulations and reduce the regulatory burden on private developers. Enterprise zones, where regulations and taxes were light, became a popular strategy to attract investment and build a city's economic base (Hall 1988, 355–357). Public-private partnerships for developing derelict areas and megaprojects gained currency in the 1970s and 1980s, epitomized by London's Docklands and New York's Battery Park City (Fainstein 1994).

Perhaps the most innovative of the market-based instruments for guiding urban development of the 1970s was the transfer of development rights (TDR). This mechanism, developed in the United States, severed the development potential from the physical land and treated it as a commodity. The British struggled for decades to wrest the development rights of private lands into public hands, and American policymakers turned such rights into a marketable commodity. Overall, on both sides of the Atlantic, market-driven concepts of urban development have been ascendant.

Sustainable Cities

The rise of environmental consciousness and the internationally recognized need to balance the right to development with the responsibilities to conserve the environment led to a number of ideas about sustainable urban development. These ideas came in two distinct waves. The first occurred around the time of the UN Conference on the Human Environment (1972) and resulted in the institutionalization of the practice of environmental impact assessments for major urban projects. In the United States, the impact assessment gained acceptance slowly, but projected fiscal impacts and the service demands of development were combined to construct growth management strategies. An urban development proposal could be assessed not only for its conformity with zoning and planning regulations but also in terms of the demands it would place on a community's capacity to service it both technologically and financially. Thus, a proposal's impacts on the capital budget of a jurisdiction and cost-revenue balance became the yardsticks of viable development.

A second wave of environmentalism, launched in the 1980s, focused on energy conservation, smart growth, compact development, and green cities, and coalesced in the 1990s in the broad notion of sustainable development (an idea that is evaluated by Timothy Beatley in chapter 4). As a result, the sustainable use of environmental and energy resources has been woven into narratives about and the execution of urban development.

Sustainable development as a concept incorporates the fundamental idea of urban planning: the compact development and containment of cities, discussed in detail by Gary Hack in chapter 2. As Robert Fishman

makes clear in chapter 3, the neotraditional town planning that was transformed into the New Urbanism movement during the 1990s and 2000s aimed at containing sprawl and designing communities with reduced reliance on the car by mixing land uses, building compact neighborhoods, and preserving land and greenfields (Duany 2003). New Urbanism revived Jane Jacobs's ideas about the design of neighborhoods and structuring the city. It is urban development from the ground up rather than from the top down. It also brought the urban development discourse to the project scale.

Overall, phase 3 in the First World is characterized by the transformation of the urban development discourse from the structural to functional, from the physical to the socioeconomic, and in scale from the comprehensive to the project size. Of course, elements of this discourse can be traced back to phase 2, but they matured in phase 3. There are many common threads linking ideas from one period to the next. For example, the idea of a compact city or multifunctional neighborhood surfaced in the 1950s; however, by the 1980s it was being reinterpreted as an outcome of economic and social measures rather than primarily as a matter of physical layout. The ends have not been drastically revised but the means have changed.

The Discourse of Third World Urban Development in Phase 3

Third World cities have multiple narratives simultaneously affecting their development, formal and informal, international and local. Third World urban narratives often reflect the prevailing viewpoints in the West, yet the informal segments of the Third World city are barely touched by these narratives, and those parts could be home to as much as 55 percent (India) or 96 percent (Sierra Leone) of the urban population.

The World Bank was in the business of funding urban infrastructural projects by the early 1970s. Its financial clout gave it a preeminent position among the international agencies for policy-making purposes. In 1978, UN-HABITAT, the UN Human Settlements Programme, was established as an agency of the UN. The international agencies linked with the bilateral aid organizations, as well as Western universities and research institutions, formed a web of idea production for Third World urban development. The scale of international involvement in the Third World's urban development can be judged from the fact that between 1980 and 1991, the World Bank and its affiliates loaned $1.156 billion on concessional (low-interest or grants) terms and $5.675 billion (in 1985 constant dollars) on nonconcessional (at market interest rates) terms (Satterthwaite 1993, table 1, p. 4).

The political and economic elites of the Third World are frequently inspired by images of Western "prestigious" cities. It is not uncommon for Third World leaders to proclaim they intend to make their city the Paris or London of the East. They visualize urban development as a matter of building skyscrapers, flyovers and highways, and shopping malls. The Dubai or Shanghai syndrome of walled estates and glass towers is a vivid expression of this narrative. It continues to inspire the elites of many cities in the Third World.[5]

These multiple narratives have spawned a variety of ideas and policies for urban development in the Third World. As can be observed from table 8.1, many of these ideas have a Western ring to them. For example, ideas about such matters as national conservation strategies, intermediate cities, urban economic development, and mixed use neighborhoods reflect the corresponding Western notions. The reflection of Western concepts and models in Third World ideas is an indication of the Third World's intellectual dependency, but it is also an acknowledgment that urban problems have universal dimensions. A global discourse seems to have emerged in the realm of urban development. The ideas circulating in the Third World in this period can be summed up in the following five themes.

Aided Self-Help for Housing the Poor

The burgeoning problem of squatters and slums continued to draw much of the conceptual energy in the early 1970s (Turner 1967). For a while, the strategy of producing "sites and services" to provide housing opportunities for low-income households was at the forefront of the urban narrative. Similarly, the upgrading of existing squatter and slum settlements by providing services and security of tenure commanded much attention. These models were based on mobilizing private savings and self-help to induce poor people to provide for their own shelter needs while the government organized the basic provision of land and infrastructure. This approach was presented as the rational solution to the shelter needs of the poor in the Third World cities, and is discussed in detail by Peter Ward in chapter 11.

These ideas swept through the Third World in the 1970s, but by the mid-1980s they had begun to disappear from the urban discourse. International interest shifted to other topics. For example, the World Bank loaned, on concessional as well as nonconcessional terms, current $1.25 billion for the site-and-service provisions as well as for upgrading projects in the period 1972–1981 (World Bank 1983, 15), but in the subsequent period of 1980–1989 it loaned only $0.57 billion in 1985 dollars.

Some criticized the site-and-service strategy for producing slums, but at the same time, the self-help approach stimulated many community initiatives for improving living conditions. The usual processes of land invasions and informal subdivision have continued to coexist alongside the organized community development efforts of low-income populations (Badshah 1996).

Despite the focus on squatter settlements and slums, both forms of developments have continued to expand in Third World cities. The slum population in South Asian cities is growing at almost the same rate as the total urban population—2.2 percent and 2.89 percent per year, respectively. In sub-Saharan African cities, the slum population is growing at almost double the rate of urban growth.

Action Plans for Cities

In the 1970s, ideas about citywide plans began to change. The British model of the Urban Structure Plan (1965) had an impact on master planning exercises in the Third World. It was also in line with the emerging American approach of conceiving of comprehensive plans as policy documents rather than as detailed blueprints for the development of an area.

In the Third World, the Ford Foundation showcased these ideas in Kolkata (Calcutta) by supporting the Basic Development Plan for the Calcutta Metropolitan Region (1966). It was a social, economic, and physical development strategy offering sectoral investment programs and policies for public action. Madras (1978), Manila (1982), Karachi (1976), and Lahore (1981), among other large cities, followed Calcutta's urban action planning for the development of housing, transportation, community services, and land uses, with the assistance of the World Bank, the UNDP, or British or U.S. aid agencies.

These exercises forged a new idiom of comprehensive planning by visualizing city planning as a matter of setting infrastructural, transport, waste disposal, and land-use goals and developing investment criteria, as well as proposing organizational arrangements for their realization. This new approach reconceived cities as socioeconomic systems and webs of institutions—very much a First World idea. It is not a surprise that international management consulting firms are now engaged in preparing urban development plans.

Market-Oriented Urban Policies

Many of the phase 3 ideas privileged the market for guiding urban development in the Third World. Led by the World Bank's "enabling approach," the international institutions packaged their policy prescriptions to rely on market forces and community initiatives for the provision of services and shelter within the framework of public policies that streamlined regulations, promoted popular participation, and targeted public investments to ensure efficiency and equity (UN-HABITAT 1996, 337–338). The enabling approach pulled together ideas that had grown incrementally in the implementation of urban projects in the 1980s. The World Bank's strategy conditioned project finance on a triad of affordability, cost recovery, and replication, and such ideas underscored a shift in the urban paradigm. Urban development could now be seen as the process of unleashing and directing private resources, with the public sector acting as the stimulator, regulator, and backstop.

Despite such new strategies, the urban crisis in the Third World has been unremitting. Even with public investment in such domains as water, sewerage, electricity, and squatter upgrading during the 1980s, most national and city authorities failed to provide adequate shelter and infrastructure for their growing populations.

Megacities

By the 1990s, the megacities of the Third World had outgrown the big Western cities. In 1950, New York was the only megacity of more than 10 million population. By 1985, there were nine megacities, with Calcutta, Mumbai, Mexico City, and São Paulo joining the parade. By 2005 there were twenty-five megacities, most the Third World. This gigantism of Third World cities gave rise to concern over the spatial concentration of the national population, followed by policy ideas about how to cap city growth and redistribute population. Also, planners from outside the Third World became interested in the internal structure of Third World megacities.

The concern with megacities led to an interest in the national spatial distribution of economic activities and population, which in turn spawned a round of proposals for national urban and settlement strategies in a number of countries. Professor Harry Richardson, for example, advised Pakistan, Egypt, Thailand, Kenya, Peru, and Indonesia in the 1990s on behalf of the World Bank and USAID as those countries prepared their national urban strategies. Like most such studies, the Western-proposed strategies made assumptions about the capacities of local and national governments that were not borne out by realities.

Similarly, the idea of countermagnets to draw activities and populations away from big cities found expression in an "intermediate cities"

strategy that gained some traction in the literature and among policy advisers. All in all, megacities evoked some interest on the part of planners but no policy measures that could rationalize their growth.

In the 2000s, the process of globalization almost silenced the megacities discourse. Global market forces limited the scope of policy making for the national spatial economy and thereby diminished the possibilities of affecting the growth and size of cities. No one has found ways of restraining the growth of megacities except to note that they begin to decentralize as they grow big.

Urban Development from Below

Spurred by local protest movements against rapid transit, slum redevelopment, or environmental improvement projects that uproot long-established residents and businesses, a set of ideas about community-oriented, low-cost approaches to urban development has emerged as a new urban development paradigm in the Third World. International and national NGOs and local community organizations have contributed many elements of this alternative narrative. Curitiba, Brazil, has demonstrated that transportation, waste disposal, and infrastructure can be improved effectively through low-cost technologies and community-based initiatives. The paradigm has many elements, including bus rapid transport, community sanitation, and waste disposal projects (as in Orangi Town, Karachi); the use of local materials for house construction; working with land dealers to develop low-cost residential and building lots; and promoting small businesses and environmentally friendly technologies. It is a project-driven approach in which citywide development comes from cumulative improvements of the elements of an urban system (Hasan 1999; Badshah 1996). Typically, local groups initiate small projects to address one or another problem, and with their success, the effort is extended to other issues. Even if this approach falls short of a systematized and comprehensive model, the emergence of an alternative and functional paradigm is worthy of note. Some of these ideas, such as the Curitiba model, have floated up to the First World.

Interpretations and Conclusions

The ideas of development in urban planning have traced a spiraling path over the past six decades. They have evolved from an almost one-dimensional focus on physical development to multidimensional conceptions of urban change. They have evolved from simple to complex notions, from structural to functional descriptions, and from design to policies. The conclusions posed here arise from the foregoing analysis of the three phases of the ideas and models that have characterized the development of human settlements of the recent past.

In the evolution of ideas, probably the most striking change is in the conception of city structure. A city has come to be regarded as a socioeconomic system in which physical space is a critical but not defining factor. This view of the city has transformed the practice of urban planning. Yet the adage that the more things change, the more they remain the same also has some resonance in the discourse of urban development.

Urban development continues to be conceived of in terms of land uses, transportation, infrastructure, housing, community services, and environment, though the notions of how these elements are organized have been substantially revised. For example, housing for the poor is an enduring interest in urban planning, but its realization has become a matter of land policy, service strategy, mortgage finance, and community organization, rather than just a question of building public housing. The objectives of urban development have expanded in scope yet have changed relatively little, whereas the instruments for realizing such objectives have evolved considerably.

This chapter has proceeded on two parallel tracks, examining development ideas in the First World and the Third World in the same time periods. In the First World, urban development ideas emphasized postwar public welfare ideals with a focus on public housing, urban renewal, capital works, comprehensive plans, and zoning regulation. The reaction to these ideas, however, shifted the focus to processes of decision making, social planning, and policy discourses. By the mid-1970s (phase 3), right-leaning ideologies were driving planning, resulting in market-based instruments that emphasized urban management strategies with environmental sensitivity. A host of innovative ideas, such as New Urbanism, smart growth, and local economic development, came to the fore in this period. Yet these were not citywide, comprehensive visions but segmental concepts addressing specific urban problems.

Ideas about urban development in the Third World have tended to follow multiple tracks and do not show a tidy evolution. The fragmented structure of Third World cities precludes the emergence of a cohesive discourse about urban development. Yet beginning with their colonial heritage, Third World cities were subject to Western ideas of planning and development. After independence, Third World countries came under

the influence of international agencies for aid and advice, so development ideas continued to be largely produced abroad.

Periodically, international agencies unleashed a wave of ideas and policies that swept through Third World cities. Before one wave could work its way through with lessons learned, a new wave would arise to swamp it. In one decade, sites and services and land titling dominated urban narratives; the next decade offered institution building, local governance, and privatization as the solutions to urban problems. These periodic waves have preempted the process of national learning from experiences and the systematization of local knowledge.

The roots of urban narratives lie in notions of public welfare, collective goods, and social interdependencies. The shift toward market-based approaches, interestingly, is often justified on instrumental grounds—that human welfare will be better served by relying on market measures than on public initiatives and interventions. Advocates of this theory do not dispute the goals of public welfare; they simply envision realizing them in more "efficient" terms. This is the thrust of the new conservative ideology first articulated in the Thatcher-Reagan era.

Urban development ideas will likely go through another cycle. Their evolution has not been and is not likely to be linear. A majority of the world's population is already living in cities, most of it in the Third World. Third World cities have yet to figure out how to provide basic infrastructure and services for all, not to speak of jobs and housing for the exploding youth populations. Vast swaths of Third World rural regions are also reaching thresholds of urban densities requiring urban services and municipal governments (Qadeer 2004). Paralleling the urban challenges of the Third World are the problems of stubborn "poverty amid affluence" and deteriorating as well as inadequate infrastructure in First World cities. Global warming is another force that requires immediate response. Together, these factors may bring about a global revival of public investments in urban development, sparking another shift in narratives.

Notes

1. After graduating with a degree in sociology, when I enrolled for Ekistics (Doxiadis's version of urban planning) studies in Greece in 1960, social scientists were still viewed as interlopers in the planning profession. I was not sure until I came to the United States for doctoral studies in 1964 that I would have a future in urban planning. By the time I started teaching planning in 1970, architects and engineers had dwindled to a small minority among the young planners.

2. Incidentally, this idea has been revived recently under the rubric of smart growth.

3. The international aid agencies initially looked on urban development and housing as a consumption sector and not worthy of investment financing. In the 1950s and 1960s, they largely focused on advice more than on financial aid. USAID sent Charles Abrams, for example, on fourteen housing advisory missions in the late 1950s and 1960s. C. Doxiadis was funded by the Ford Foundation to spread his gospel of Ekistics and Dynapolis, a linearly expanding city whose "heart has room to grow," in Pakistan, Ghana, Iraq, Lebanon, and other countries. Under the Colombo Plan, Britain funded experts' services for advising Commonwealth countries on town planning and housing.

4. The Marxist position outlined here is drawn from what Hall calls his "inadequate summary" (Hall 1988, 336).

5. The current race in Kuala Lumpur, Dubai, and Shanghai to build the tallest building is a manifestation of this viewpoint, as are the frequent announcements to beautify cities by building fountains and installing illuminations.

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9

Public-Private Engagement: Promise and Practice

Lynne B. Sagalyn

Government officials, policy analysts, practitioners, and academics from diverse contexts across the globe have enthusiastically endorsed the promise of public-private (PP) engagement to solve pressing problems of public policy. The endorsement often is a rallying cry for a change in policy or reform of a prevailing policy regime, as is evident in typical PP slogans such as "partnerships for progress," "a new framework for infrastructure," "a tool for economic modernization," "helping to address the urban environmental crisis," and "meeting the investment challenge." Not infrequently, the actual meaning of the PP label is ambiguous, its use a rhetorical tactic to expand the political appeal of the policy strategy. The PP rubric can mean different things: informal collaboration, formal organizational alliance, and contractual business venturing, if not an exactly equal sharing of risks and rewards as commonly connoted by *partnership*. Whichever institutional format prevails in practice, the thrust of the PP approach shifts the focus from the conventional adversarial relationship between sectors to addressing and solving problems based on mutually reinforcing relationships fostered by an alignment of interests.

In theory and practice, the idea of a public-private partnership (PPP) blurs distinctions between roles and actions traditionally considered properly public and those traditionally considered private. Loosening these fixed distinctions has generated creative solutions to vexing urban problems, yet as the PP strategy reaches into ever more areas of public goods and services, policymakers and analysts are increasingly uneasy about the loss of traditional public sector values, which seem to get jettisoned en route to mutual benefit through close collaboration. Planners, in turn, worry about the connection—or lack thereof—of PPPs to the world of planning and its established principles, codified methods, and regulatory tools. Blurring the conventional PP distinction challenges the