

# **IHS Reprint Series**

**Reprint Series No. 3**

**Planning Paradigm in the Context of a Newly  
Emerging State-Society Relations**

**Akin L. Mabogunje**

Chairman, Development Policy Centre, Ibadan, Nigeria

This reprint is the text of a keynote paper presented at the Expert Panel Meeting on “Capacity Building and IHS in the Post Habitat II era” held at the Institute for Housing and Urban Development Studies, Rotterdam, The Netherlands on September 4, 1996



**Institute for Housing and Urban Development Studies  
Rotterdam, The Netherlands  
1998**

## **Institute for Housing and Urban Development Studies**

The Institute for Housing and Urban Development Studies (IHS), established in 1958, is an independent educational foundation based in Rotterdam, The Netherlands. IHS is active in the field of housing, urban management and urban environmental management in Asia, Latin America, Africa and Central and Eastern Europe. IHS offers post-graduate training, research and advisory services to national and local governments, multilateral and bilateral agencies and private companies.

### **About the Reprint Series:**

The IHS Reprint Series was started in 1997 to enable staff research to reach a wider audience. The series documents recent work by IHS staff and its international network partners already published in academic journals or presented at conferences and seminars. Papers are reprinted as they were first published. Copyright remains with the original publishers and IHS does not claim any ownership rights over reprinted papers.

### **Editorial Board**

Meine Pieter van Dijk  
David Edelman  
Monique Peltenburg  
Carley Pennink  
Paul Rabé  
Mike Rodell  
Emiel Wegelin

Cover design: Heike Slingerland bNO

### **Correspondence**

Institute for Housing and Urban Development Studies (IHS)  
Publications  
P.O. Box 1935  
3000 BX Rotterdam  
the Netherlands  
Phone: +31 10 4021564  
Fax: +31 10 4045671  
E-mail: [publications@ihs.nl](mailto:publications@ihs.nl)  
Homepage: <http://www.ihs.nl>





# PLANNING PARADIGM IN THE CONTEXT OF A NEWLY EMERGING STATE-SOCIETY RELATIONS

by

Akin L. Mabogunje  
Chairman, Development Policy Centre, Ibadan, Nigeria

(Being text of a keynote paper presented at the Expert Panel Meeting on "Capacity Building and IHS in the Post Habitat II era" held at the Institute for Housing and Urban Development Studies, Rotterdam, The Netherlands on September 4, 1996)

The Second United Nations Conference on Human Settlements, otherwise referred to as Habitat II, represents something of a watershed in the evolution of ideas concerning the planning and management of cities. The Conference underscored the growing transformation in the size and character of cities which has been noted in the literature over the last decade or two. It acknowledged the technological and organizational revolutions which are giving rise to this transformation. It noted that these revolutions are still in full spate such that no one can clearly predict their overall impact on cities and city life in the new millenium which is almost on us. It recognised that all of these changes must have implications for the manner in which cities are planned and managed and the style of governance that is most likely to ensure a desirable quality of life, security and safety in these settlements.

Not unexpectedly, the Conference posed a new challenge for all institutions concerned with training, research, outreach and consultancy services on problems and prospects of human settlements in different countries of the world. I will want, therefore, to congratulate the authorities of the Institute of Housing and Urban Development Studies for taking up the gauntlet of this challenge so soon after the end of the Conference. The letter of invitation sent to me to present this paper raised a number of questions which are meant to be addressed by any institution concerned with capacity building to meet the new challenge. These questions include: what kind of professionals do we need to plan and manage our cities? How can we reduce urban poverty in the coming years? How can we make housing accessible to the lowest 30 per cent income groups? What kind of postgraduate training can we provide and where? These and many other questions are going to become more and more insistent for answers in the years ahead from all institutions concerned with housing and urban development.

In this paper, I have tried to provide a critical perspective for attempting to answer these questions. In particular, I have tried to call attention to the significance of the situation in which, in virtually every country of the world, there is an on-going re-definition of the relations between the state and civil society. This is certainly so in most developing countries and is only less so in the developed countries. I have, therefore, divided the paper into five parts. The first begins by examining the nature of this emerging new relationship. The second part considers the changing nature of urban development throughout the world. The third part then examines the new issues given real salience in the Habitat II conference in how the emerging state-society relations is bound to impact on the way cities are planned, managed and governed in the future. The fourth investigates the implications of this development for capacity building whilst the fifth considers the role of training and research institutions in this circumstance. A concluding section

then assesses the prospects of reforming professional practice to make them responsive to the new challenges of contemporary urbanization.

### The Emerging State-Society Relations

Three recent developments underscore the nature of the newly emerging state-society relations. The first is the collapse of the Soviet Union; the second the rising importance of transnational corporations; and the third the revolutions in information technology which has virtually made the world one huge global village.

The collapse of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics is significant in that it emphasizes the limitations of State power. In his book, *Strong Societies and Weak States*, Migdal (1988) noted that the strength of a state is a function of the social control it can exercise over its society. The higher the level of this social control, the more the state can mobilize its population, skim surpluses effectively from its society and gain tremendous strength in facing external foes. Furthermore, the higher this level of social control, the more internally state personnel are able to gain autonomy from other social groups in determining their own preferences for what the rules of the society should be. They can then build complex, coordinated bureaux to carry out these preferences, and monopolize coercive means in the society so as to ensure that other groups do not stand in the way of enforcing state rules.

Migdal(1988:32) went on to provide three indicators for reflecting increasing levels of social control. These are: compliance, participation and legitimation. Compliance entails the use of sanctions and threats of coercion for the populace to accept the social control of the state. Participation involves more than compliance and entails gaining strength by organizing the populations for specialized tasks in institutional components of state organizations. Legitimation, on the other hand, is more inclusive than either compliance or participation. It is an acceptance, or even approbation, of the state's rules of the game, that is, its social control, as true and right. It is, indeed, the most potent factor accounting for the strength and capabilities of any state.

Any state that, therefore, seeks to govern its citizens largely on its capabilities to force them to comply with or just participate in its organizations is shoring up a weakness that could prove fatal in a crisis situation. It was this fact that became manifest in the collapse of the Soviet Union and that highlighted the structural weaknesses of many Third World countries whose governments have paid little attention to gaining legitimation for their right to rule. It is also this fact that makes it difficult to contest the imperative of democratization as a process making for stable government and sustainable development. Democratization is thus emerging as a central issue in state-society relations and is, in turn, emphasizing the importance of decentralizing power especially to the grassroots or local authorities. Democratization and decentralization thus provide a new context for considering issues of housing and urban development in most countries today.

The second factor that has greatly transformed state-society relations in most parts of the world has been the rising importance of transnational corporation. Organizational and technological developments have made it possible for private sector organizations to amass wealth within and beyond individual nation-states. As such, their role in the economy of their

countries as well as of their host countries have, in many cases, become decisive. Although States still have tremendous regulatory and supervisory powers, it is clear that, with the emergence of transnational corporations and their operations in many countries, it is no longer possible to ignore the role of the private sector in the strategy of development of any state. Indeed, the situation is now such that most states are finding that they have to encourage and promote the development of their own private sector and transnational corporations to ensure some degree of effectiveness and competitiveness in the evolving global economy. Infrastructural development and the provision of social services which used to be the exclusive domain of state intervention are now being accepted as viable areas of private sector investment. Again, this shift in state-society relations is not without significant implications for housing and urban development.

The third factor of note in the emerging state-society relations is the implications of the tremendous revolution in information technology which has made the whole world one huge global village. Through being able to instantaneously transmit live events from one part of the globe to another, this revolution is empowering societies everywhere to appreciate their rights in relation to those of the state. Nowhere is this increasing globalization of information better felt than in the rising universal concern about the quality of the environment, human rights and the status of women. This universality has spawned the growth of world-wide, voluntary, non-governmental organizations whose role has been to catalyze, mobilize and give directions to civil society whilst ensuring that the State is made more responsive to the felt needs and interests of the society at large. These organizations increasingly make it difficult for States to put issues such as those of income, poverty, employment and housing for the vast majority of their population in the back-burner of their attention. The role of information technology in the hands of non-governmental organizations as agencies of civil society in most country is bound to be of increasing importance in the days ahead. It would need to be factored into any consideration of housing and urban development in any country.

### **Changes in the Nature of the Urban Challenge**

The above provides the context for examining what has been happening in the housing and urbanization sector and what efforts are being made by the State and by civil society in different countries to deal with this challenge. Between 1950 and 1990, whilst the world's population increased from 2.5 to 5.3 billion, the proportion found in urban areas rose from 29 to 45 per cent.

Five aspects of the challenge posed by this acceleration in the rate of global urbanization are worthy of note. The first relates to changes in the size pattern of concentration of the urban population. In many parts of the world, the migration of people from rural to urban areas is proceeding side by side with the increasing migration from smaller to larger urban centres. The result is the increasing salience of very large cities in the global urbanization process. Between 1950 and 1990, for instance, the number of cities with over a million inhabitants tripled. In 1950, there were only 78 of such cities; in 1990, the number exceeded 276 and the prognosis is that this will grow to over 500 by the year 2010. Indeed, in 1990, 33 per cent of the world's urban population resided in millionaire cities and 10 per cent lived in very large agglomerations of over 10 million inhabitants which the United Nations now refer to as "megacities" (United Nations, 1991). Consequently, very large cities are destined to dominate the economic and social life of

nation-states throughout the world. By their sheer size, they compound the problems of urbanization and pose new challenges to planning and management paradigm everywhere.

The second aspect of the challenge relates to the geographical distribution of these very large cities, particularly the megacities. Up to 1950, large cities were seen as associated phenomena with high levels of economic development. Today, this is no longer the case. A recent United Nations (1991) study indicated that of the 28 megacities in the world at present, twenty-one (or 75 per cent) are to be found in developing countries. Mexico City, Sao Paulo and Tokyo top the list of megacities. Some of these megacities account for 30 to 40 per cent of the urban population of their countries. Bangkok represents an extreme case, accounting for 57 per cent of Thailand's urban population. The lack of concurrence between such concentrations of population and significant economic power calls attention to the need for new strategies in dealing with peculiar problems of urban poverty.

A third aspect of the changing urban challenge is the network and functional orientation of some of these very large cities. Megacities have been defined primarily on the basis of demographic weight. An emerging new category from among very large cities is that of world or global cities. Not all of these cities have attained the size of megacities, but they are world cities on the basis of the vital functions they perform in the global economy. Apart from cities such as New York, London and Tokyo which are both world cities and megacities, there are cities such as Zurich, Amsterdam, Berlin, Vienna, Sydney, Singapore and Hong Kong which are not megacities but are world cities. These are control or command centres in the global network of cities around the world, which serve as headquarters of transnational corporations, as major financial centres, transport and telecommunications hubs and the meccas for large annual streams of tourists (Sassen, 1991, 1994). Because of their international orientation, world cities are subject increasingly to the forces of international migration of population, both legal and illegal. Heavy immigration of foreign workers thus becomes a new factor of urban life in these cities. They provide needed labour for menial and other jobs, and occasionally become involved in the shady underworld of drugs, violence and crime. In Hong Kong, for instance, between 1980 and 1992, the number of Filipinos, Thais and Canadians in the population rose by more than three times (Yeung, 1995). The increasingly diverse population of these cities accentuates the problem of integration among the urban population.

A fourth aspect of the changing challenge is the increasing relative concentration of the poor in urban centres. There was a time when the emphasis in the study of poverty was on rural areas. Increasingly today, poverty has a very strong urban manifestation. Although in many countries, urban incomes are still generally higher and urban services and facilities more accessible, the urban poor may suffer more than rural households from certain aspects of poverty. According to the World Bank (1990: 30-31),

“the urban poor, typically housed in slums or squatter settlements, often have to contend with appalling overcrowding, bad sanitation and contaminated water. The sites are often illegal and dangerous. Forcible eviction, floods and landslides, and chemical pollution are constant threats....The very young are highly susceptible to disease and malnutrition, and poverty-related illnesses can cause permanent harm. Child labour is common; many households depend on it, and much of the work has the social purpose of engaging the child in family activities....Women face all manner of cultural, social, legal, and

economic obstacles that men - even poor men - do not. They typically work longer hours and, when they are paid at all, for lower wages.... In many developed countries, the poorest include large numbers of single-mother households. Poor female-headed households are also increasingly common in southern Africa and Latin America”.

The diverse manifestations of the phenomenon of urban poverty world-wide has become increasingly an issue which urban planning and management can no longer ignore.

The fifth and final aspect is presented by the volatile conditions of the urban environment. The increasing concentration of human population in large cities brings with it an unprecedented new set of challenges associated with industrial growth, emissions and wastes. In cities in many developing countries, because of inadequate investment in modern water supply system, the population is exposed to the use of contaminated water resulting in incessant outbreaks of cholera and typhoid epidemic. With regard to sanitation, most cities have been able to invest in sewage collection than in treatment with the result that contamination from disease-bearing human wastes, usually detected by measuring fecal coliform levels is rife. Data from UNEP's Global Environment Monitoring System (GEMS) demonstrate the enormous problem of such contamination with poor and deteriorating surface water quality in many countries. As surface water near towns and cities becomes increasingly polluted and costly to purify, public water utilities and other urban water users have turned to groundwater as a potential source of a cheaper and safer supply. Recent monitoring of groundwater in many places is also revealing an increasing level of pollution due to seepage from the improper use and disposal of heavy metals, synthetic chemicals and other hazardous wastes.

Consistent monitoring of ambient air pollution in towns and cities reveal that several pollutants frequently exceed the levels considered safe for health. Air pollution in cities has three principal sources - energy use, vehicular emissions and industrial production. The most serious health risks arise from exposure to suspended particulate matter (SPM), indoor air pollution and lead. Large number of people are also exposed to the somewhat less health-threatening effects of sulfur dioxide. In regard to wastes, the pattern has been for most cities to generate more solid wastes than they can collect or dispose of. The volume increases with income. Generation of hazardous materials and wastes is increasing but the amounts vary enormously from country to country. Although toxic wastes are not yet a widespread problem, industrial growth can increase the volume produced. Moreover, industrial accidents can cause severe exposure to hazardous materials as can the surreptitious trade in and dumping of such wastes across national boundaries.

### **The Istanbul Paradigmatic Shift**

The Second United Nations Conference on Human Settlements held in Istanbul, Turkey between June 4 - 16, 1996 served as a precipitant to bring together trends in thinking which have been floating in the literature for some years before the Conference. It is this conjunctural development that made the Istanbul Conference something of a watershed in the thinking about planning and management of urban centres. And it is this that makes it possible to talk of a paradigmatic shift following from that Conference.

The Istanbul paradigmatic shift can be said to revolve around SEVEN issues which today

have become central to any discussions of the planning and management of cities, particularly the very large ones. These seven issues are:

- privatization
- housing and urban finance
- poverty alleviation
- environmental quality
- partnership
- civic engagement
- governance

Each of these issues will be treated in a sketchy manner to emphasize how they are changing the context of thinking about planning and management of urban centres in developed or developing countries.

Privatization or the process whereby the private sector is involved in the provision of public services has become one of the accompanying dramatic revolutions in a world economy driven everywhere by technological innovations of various vintages and competitiveness. Already, in a number of cities, almost all urban services have been privatised. The collection and management of city revenue, the administration of real estate records, the operation of sports and other recreational facilities, the management of city advertisement spaces, mass transit systems, parking, road maintenance, street lighting, telephone services, electric power, gas and water supply, sewerage and so on have become items for privatization. The emphasis in all this is to create competitive pressures for more effective and efficient service delivery to urban residents. This development is, of course, defining a new role for government. This is to concentrate on using its policy and regulatory capabilities to create an enabling and facilitating environment for private enterprise to flourish and grow whilst developing significant capacity to regulate and monitor their performance. Urban planning and management has to respond paradigmatically to this changed situation.

Unlike on the occasion of the First United Nations Conference on Human Settlements in 1976 when the emphasis was on town planning and efficient urban administration as decisive factors in dealing with the problems of human settlements, the recently concluded Istanbul Conference gave greater prominence to finance for housing and urban development. Any nation or city seeking to improve conditions in its urban areas must learn to put its money where its mouth is. The mobilization of financial resources both internally and internationally, from public but especially from private sources, to promote larger scale provision of housing and infrastructures of various types is now seen as central to dealing with urban problems on a longer term and sustainable manner. More than anything else, the role of the public sector in directly producing housing units has become something to be discouraged. Emphasis is thus expected to shift to the creation and strengthening of institutions of the capital market in each country. These are expected to facilitate the mobilization of funds particularly through the issuance of debt instruments in which all sectors of the population including the urban poor can participate. The example of the city of Naga in the Philippines which undertook the building of a much needed central bus terminal through the flotation of its own local government bonds is probably a sign of things to come (Kehew, 1995). To ensure that all sections of the city population participated in buying the bonds, the standard practice of issuing bonds based on a unit denomination was

modified to accommodate smaller size units of low-income residents, the adaptation being referred to as "rainbow bonds".

Increasingly, the Istanbul spirit requires that urban planning and management can no longer be indifferent to the problems of the urban poor whether of nationals drawn to particular cities or international migrants, legal and illegal. The areas occupied in the city by these categories of urban dwellers, with their slums and shanty settlements, become, indeed, the test of the effectiveness of urban environmental management. For, as is being increasingly recognised, slums and shanties are not so much the hall mark of poverty as of the neglect of the poor and the areas they occupy by municipal authorities. Poverty alleviation, however, is concerned with more than shelter provision and the improvement of access to urban services. It extends to concern about employment opportunities for the poor and the nurturing and sustaining of micro-enterprises and informal sector activities generally.

The quality of the urban environment as a whole thus becomes of challenging interest to the new paradigm. The interest here is not only about how to protect the environment against pollution of air, water or land but also how to conserve environmental resources whether natural, cultural or historical. The threat to environmental quality is often exacerbated by urban densities and congestion. This is so whether it is in respect of residential densities, industrial concentrations or traffic congestion. High residential densities are often associated with areas occupied by the low-income groups and the urban poor, and tend to exacerbate problems of sanitation, sewerage, solid wastes collection and disposal. Industrial concentrations especially in developing countries tend to worsen the level of air and water pollution whilst traffic congestion is now a major source of air pollution in many cities. Municipalities, however, have to design ways of minimizing such negative externalities whilst at the same time promoting community awareness of the need to inventorize, conserve, imaginatively display and enjoy their flora and fauna resources as well as their cultural and historical heritage.

All of this requires a partnership of all stakeholders in the affairs of the city. These include women's groups, community associations, occupational and professional bodies, non-governmental organizations, private sector enterprises both formal and informal, parastatals, municipal and local authorities as well as state and national governments. Partnership is, indeed, one of the strongest features of the Istanbul paradigmatic shift. It entails a new emphasis on information provisioning to and consultation with all partners in the process of consciousness raising, consensus building and decision making. More importantly, it seeks for the emergence of a community vision for the city and the promotion of activities directed at realising such a vision.

Partnership, however, is easier to promote where there is already in existence a high degree of civic engagement on the part of the citizens of a city. Putnam (1993) introduced the concept of "social capital" to emphasize that communities where civic engagement is at a premium tend to build capacity for a wide variety of achievements including economic development. From this perspective, civic engagement is as much a part of social overhead capital in much the same way as any infrastructural facilities. Its role is to facilitate the capacity for co-operative actions and activities among members of a community, activities which in their turn could promote rapid economic development. Consequently, the extent of civic engagement becomes of interest in the course of managing an urban community. Indeed, attempts may need

to be made to plan for a heightened level of civic engagement where this is not already the case.

Governance assumes a very important significance in the Istanbul paradigmatic shift. The concept, as distinct from that of government, emphasizes participation in the decision-making process, de-emphasizes the control function of government as traditionally conveyed in the notion of management or administration, and promotes cooperation among actors involved in the process. In the context of urban management, governance begins with decentralization and democratization. It stresses fiscal decentralization whereby municipal authorities are not only given enhanced powers to manage their cities but are also accorded the power to raise the necessary resources for this purpose. In doing the latter, they are in turn expected to consult in a democratic fashion the citizens of the city as a crucial aspect of enhancing transparency and accountability in government. It is this that ensures that legitimation has become the basis of state power and capabilities.

These seven issues constitute novel and profound challenges for the planning and management of cities everywhere. In meeting the challenges, the planning profession is compelled to re-examine what kind of vision of the city it subscribes to. This is in terms not simply of lay-out and architectural characteristics but, more importantly, of market relations and social order. What ideological prism should now shape the outlook of planning practitioners and what institutional arrangements would ensure the emergent urban culture which they prefer to see reproduced everywhere? In short, in what directions should effort be concentrated in building capacity to grapple effectively with these new range of challenges?

### **Implications for Capacity Building**

In examining the implications of the Istanbul paradigmatic shift for capacity building, it is important to recognise that from the very beginning, human agglomerations have always presented administrative authorities with numerous problems. The solutions to these problems, however, have tended to develop around some overarching or overriding social concern. Over time, as particular constellation of problems is resolved or minimized, others rise to its privileged position. Each compels societies to develop new capacity through new strategies of intervention and resolution whilst continuing with improving those strategies which relate to the previous concerns. The point to emphasize is that a paradigmatic shift does not entail doing away with all of the strategies and methods that have been developed in the past to deal with particular overarching concerns. What it does is to force a review and re-evaluation of the relative importance of these strategies and methods in current circumstances.

To fully appreciate the capacity-building implications of the Istanbul paradigmatic shift for the planning and management of urban centres, it is useful to provide a brief history of previous shifts, especially as this underscores the prevailing state-society relation at the time. If one started in the pre-industrial period right up to the era of the gradual consolidation of the nation-state in the 18th century, one is struck by the pervading insecurity of life and the planning emphasis on how to protect urban residents against external foes. The town walls were dominant planning features of pre-industrial cities (Sjoberg, 1960: 92-93) as was the provision of an intersecting axis of very wide major thoroughfares leading from the central areas to the town gates to facilitate movements of defensive forces. Major areas of activities were usually concentrated in the central districts of the towns which in turn can be walled to provide a second

line of defence. The urban community was usually organized in quarters and neighbourhoods as well as in occupational groups or guilds to facilitate their easy mobilization in any emergency. But the population were very dependent for their safety on those with arms who then constituted the authorities of the city. In circumstances of such insecurity, it is easy to appreciate that state-society relation would be that of sub-ordination with society kept in various forms of subservience to the lord or lords of the city. Planning paradigm in such a situation cannot but reflect this dominant-subordinate relation between, as it were, the local state and its people.

With the rise of the nation-state and particularly the emergence of modern industrialization and a full-blown capitalist economy in its early bloom, the massive concentration of people in cities displaced the issue of external security from the top of the urban agenda and saw the decay or deliberate destruction of city walls. The privileged problem of early modern urbanization was the poor health conditions among the vast horde of rural-urban migrants and the threat of frequent epidemic they thus constituted. Urban planning and management thus became part of a strategy of 'social sanitation', bringing together by the beginning of the 20th century a coterie of professional interest groups notably doctors, lawyers, civil engineers and architects (Bosma, 1990). As against the chaotic, insanitary and obnoxious conditions of most parts of the early modern cities occupied by the workers, the architect in particular claimed a capacity to bring order and aesthetic harmony to the physical pattern of the city. In consequence, the architect became the pre-eminent town planning expert. His housing design and 'extension plans' as well as the zoning legislation became the major hallmark of planning and managing cities. Giving the less than democratic situation of the first quarter of the 20th century, planning, in the sense of 'civic design', was rammed down the throat of a pliant society by an authoritarian state. Or, as Bosma (1990: 127) puts it for the Netherlands, "the taste of the people was not the guiding principle, but the object was to 'civilise' a society. Indeed, for the Netherlands, because social housing was relatively large scale and passed under the control of the Housing Act, the period 1918-31 had a great influence on the visual shape of strongly industrialised regions" of the country.

As the industrial economy grew; technology, particularly the internal combustion vehicles, became the dominant feature of urban circulation and a new planning challenge in the urban landscape. The socio-economic conditions of cities could no longer be ignored. Preliminary survey of these conditions became a pressing necessity for any logical town plan. This opened the way to sector specialists such as the economists, the sociologists and the geographers to become involved in planning. It also meant the reduction in the importance of 'civic design' in the planning paradigm. This shift was well remarked upon in the Netherlands by De Casseres (1929, 1937) for whom town planning became 'planology' and architecture assigned a very particular place at the end of the planning process. However, with regard to state-society relation in the planning and management of cities, this took on a paternalistic posture with professional town planners still claiming to know what is best for society. As De Casseres put it:

"Perhaps the task has been reserved for planology of restoring the disturbed unity of all forms of human thought! From many-sided research the planologist draws conclusions which determine in their turn the content of the plan. He "löst und bindet", combines, analyses and synthesises, and, from the amalgam of facts and figures, "conjures" the planological project which determines where many people will live, where they will

walk, where they will work, where they will play and where they will be taken when they have gone the way of all flesh”.

By the later part of the 20th century, as society became more enlightened and the democratization process deepened in more and more countries of the world, such paternalism became unacceptable. Indeed, in many cases, it was becoming futile in the context in which society's strength was proving a challenge to state power. Cities were growing at such a rate that the planners' art was proving so inadequate to impose any order on the spatial organization of this growth. It was clear that a new paradigm was called for. As against the domination, authoritarianism and paternalism of the past, this new paradigm has to emphasize partnership among all those who have a stake in ensuring that the city was a safe, healthy, orderly and beautiful environment within which to live, work and rear one's children.

Capacity building in the context of this emerging state-society relations based on an increasingly free market economic relations and a strong democratic ethos poses new challenges to urban planning and management. For one thing, the fact that effectiveness and efficiency in the urban sector now depend on the quality of performance among different and interdependent categories of stakeholders means that capacity needs to be built all round. For the central government, for instance, greater emphasis now has to be placed not on actual production of houses and lay-outs, but on institution-building and the enactment and enforcement of necessary legislations that will promote, develop and coordinate the activities of other stake holders in these fields. The Central Government needs to develop capacity to monitor and supervise these activities, setting standards to ensure that they do not conflict with overall societal goals and designing safety nets to protect those who may 'lose out' from them. It also needs to keep an eye on the macro-economic implications of all of these developments to ensure that the economy does not suffer from the sum total of disparate initiatives. More importantly, the central government is best placed to attending to the task of human resources development needed to fully actualize the vision of the new paradigm.

With regard to municipalities and local authorities, with most services privatised or turned-over to communities to provide, there is a strong need for these authorities to develop capacity to manage, regulate and monitor the public aspects of city life more efficiently. This may involve the determination of rate schedules, payment procedures, possible subsidies and their sources, service quality standard setting, formulation of regulations and guidelines to govern the provision of privatised services, designing of monitoring procedures, the management of service contracts, and the recovery of costs. Of increasing importance would be the capacity to negotiate and ensure implementation of partnership agreements with private-sector and community service providers. Some capacity is also required as to how to ensure a high degree of competition in tendering for and actually providing services. Effort must be made consciously to prevent a private monopoly replacing the monopoly of public authorities or parastatals. Already, some sophistication is developing in this whole field which would increasingly end up in the literature (Schuttenbelt and Lorentzen, 1994). Such partnership arrangements include BOO (Build Own and Operate), BOT (Build Operate and Transfer) and Affermage whereby the municipality controls construction and owns fixed assets but contracts out operations, maintenance and collection of service charges. Greater attention would also have to be paid to human resource dimension of these changes in the management of municipalities especially the emphasis on computer literacy among the management staff.

On its part, the private sector has to become better informed as to the wide range of technical options available for delivering different services and their competitiveness in different urban scale or revenue situations. With the wide range of urban services that are now being privatized, private sector operators must learn how to temper the indisputable profit motive of their enterprises with other public related objectives such that the emphasis becomes that of profit optimization rather than maximization. More importantly, they must be increasingly innovative in the manner in which the capital market can be used to resolve the lumpy financial needs of municipalities for infrastructural and housing development.

Non-governmental organizations have developed as single- or multiple-issues promoters and advocates. These range from human rights, women liberation, environmental quality to vocational skills acquisition. They are best placed to mobilize the community to ensure transparency and accountability in governance and to disseminate new visions of the growth and development of the community. They are also influential in mobilizing women and other neighbourhood groups to launch self-help projects and to seek to improve on their socio-economic conditions generally. One critical area which they have also showed initiative has been with trying to resolve the credit needs of informal sector operators as a way of enhancing their productivity and generating more urban employment. Such efforts are being looked at in some countries with a view to given them the necessary governmental support to translate them into a national programme.

Community-based and neighbourhood organizations also have important roles to play in the development of the city. Particularly among the low-income and the urban poor, such organizations are critical not only for up-grading shelter and communal facilities but also in general environmental management and beautification. The importance of mobilizing neighbourhood women's groups for this purpose cannot be over-estimated. Community-based organizations have also played significant role in ensuring a high degree of law and order among neighbourhood youths. Even in the more affluent sections of the city, such organizations have been important in enhancing security against drug trafficking and violent crimes.

In short, for the modern city to function efficiently and in an environmentally sustainable manner, there is need to enhance the capacity of all of the stakeholders. A novel and significant feature of the Habitat II Conference in Istanbul was the exhibition of "best practices". These represent some of the success stories of strategies which have been used in different parts of the world to deal with different aspects of the problems of capacity building. There is currently an inventory of most of these 'best practices' which is available on compact discs and in hard print. There is need to analyse these reports, distill from them any lessons they offer, and disseminate these widely. Notwithstanding, the challenge of capacity building posed by so many stakeholders compels institutions concerned with training professionals for the planning and managing of urban centres to review and re-examine their curricula with a view to making them more relevant for the task ahead. In the last section of this paper, I offer some thoughts on what such new curricula should emphasize.

## The Role of Training Institutions

From the above discussion, it is clear that the role of training institutions has to change in almost revolutionary proportions if they are to meet the needs of diverse stakeholders whose capacity is important for ensuring the emergence of environmentally sustainable cities in different regions of the world. It is not easy to conceptualize the totality of the nature of these changes. Training institutions would need to play some of these by the ear, especially in response to requests or demands for training assistance coming from unusual sources particularly from the private sector and non-governmental organisations. But they must be prepared to respond creatively to these demands. They reflect the gradual transformation that has come to our understanding of how to sustain high environmental quality in human settlements.

In at least three areas, training institutions must expect some rather radical changes in their role. These are: in the range and categories of their students, in their programme content, and in the emphasis in their professional practice.

*Range and Categories of Students:* With regard to the students, the present trend in most training institutions has been to see more and more attendance by local government staff with a relative decline in the importance of participants from central governments. This trend can be expected to continue and even escalate with the increasing tendency towards decentralization of power to the local governments and municipal authorities in many countries. But perhaps, more challenging is likely to be the request for training from private sector establishments and the civil society in many cities. In the areas of housing and urban development, there are at least seven private sub-sectors, all of which, especially in developing countries, may need further training to be able to play their role effectively in the evolving scheme of creating environmentally sustainable cities. These are:

- real estate developers
- construction companies
- building materials industries
- building materials research establishments
- professionals - architects, town planners, surveyors, engineers, lawyers, urban ecologists, environmentalists, etc.
- financial institutions - mortgage institutions, investment banks, capital market
- private investors - pension funds, insurance companies, cooperatives, civil society

For civil society, apart from community leaders, women's groups, trade union organizations, and the media, there are the innumerable number of single- and multiple-purpose non-governmental organizations, community-based organizations and various voluntary associations. Students may come from one or more or all of these various sources. It may be necessary to design tailor-made courses for them to enhance their capacity in dealing with the exigent demand of urban development and environmental management.

Training institutions must thus be prepared to provide courses of different lengths, ranging from week-end courses to sandwich courses, from short term courses of no more than a week to medium term courses of four to six weeks, and from diploma-earning one-year course to post-graduate programmes of at least two-year duration. They should find such varied demand for their services a challenge for new specializations and for achieving a higher level of capacity utilization of their facilities. Particularly for institutions that are themselves private foundations,

this should prove an opportunity for greater economic efficiency in their income-earning capability.

*Programme content:* In regard to programme content, some dramatic changes can be expected. Training programmes often revolve around issues of philosophy, theory and methodology. The Istanbul paradigmatic shift already emphasizes the major philosophical shift in the programmes of training institutions. From seeing the central government as the one and only actor in the field of housing and urban development, the new *philosophy* of training emphasizes “partnership” between the public sector, the private sector, and civil society. Partnership, as an over-arching philosophy of training, places considerable stress on wide-ranging, information provisioning, consultation, negotiation and conflict resolution. Indeed, the partnership philosophy transforms the role of the professional planner to one of a mediator between public ends and private means with the overriding objective of ensuring the best results for society as a whole.

This new role requires that planning *theories* show greater sensitivity to wider societal issues that impinge on housing and urban development than used to be the case. The expectation of an increasing role for the private sector in housing and urban development requires that greater attention should be placed on a better understanding of at least two areas that are central to their operations, namely technological innovations and financial engineering. Technological innovations, for instance, are already undermining some of the postulates of spatial location and spatial interaction theories which undergird much of the teaching on land-use planning in our cities. Electronic communications via the computer, the internet and remote sensing of various types, make it easy for people to interact without having to engage in time- and space-consuming transportation. Much employment is starting to be home-based and prospects of electronic shopping are said to be getting better by the day. Although the constraint of space is thus being annihilated, societies in most places are already designing new strategies for manipulating space to suit specific community needs. From the creation of large, regional markets such as the European Union to the ‘red-lining’ of residential districts in North American cities, the future indicates new and diverse ways societies are likely to want to manipulate space for purposes not always in the best interest of the majority of their citizens. Planning courses must recognise these developments. They must realise that conventional zoning and land-use planning may not always serve the end of a harmonious partnership in urban society.

Some knowledge of financial engineering must be expected to become of greater importance for planners as private sector participation becomes more and more significant in the management of housing and urban development. In this respect, it is important to recognise that although one talks of an urban convergence between the first and the third world or of the fact that every first world city has a third world city inside it, there are significant differences in the institutional capacity of both categories of cities to deal with their housing and urban development problems. Most third world countries are still to build some of the institutional capacity that would enable the private sector to participate most effectively in housing and urban development. In most of these countries, particularly those in sub-Saharan Africa, an important instrument of private sector operation is the capital market, especially for bonds and debt instruments of various types. These allow the savings of the population to be mobilised especially for infrastructure and housing development by municipalities and local governments. Training courses have to be more explicit in regard to institutional developments which are

central to housing and urban growth. They must examine some of the current weaknesses of these institutions in responding to the special needs of low income urban residents and other disadvantaged groups in the city.

The *methodology* of planning has to take cognisance of the tremendous capabilities that have been developed around the Geographical Information System (GIS). Although there will always be room for urban design, landscape architecture, lay-out plans and development schemes in the training of professional planners as a legacy from the architectural origin of the field, planning must become more information-based and must move more determinedly towards analysis, problem-solving, policy development, and monitoring effectiveness. These entail greater capacity for handling large amount of data, taking cognisance of their locational specificity and showing real competence in their analysis and interpretation. This, indeed, is the strength of the GIS. Its role in the training of planners must become of increasing importance. With time, it will ensure that the power of the planner derives more from his knowledge, his deep understanding and his rich information-base for guiding and advising rather than from legalistically endowed status for prescribing and controlling. Such capability, on the part of professional planners, is crucial especially with their changing role from just planning the city to becoming a valued member of its management team. In this capacity, he must assume important responsibility for promoting, coordinating, supervising and monitoring the activities of numerous agencies, particularly private sector establishments and community-based organizations, which are now expected to deliver most urban services.

*Professional Practice:* Issues of methodology in the programme content lead directly to those of professional practice. Until recently, for planners in most developing countries, planning was conceived as essentially a matter of development schemes and housing lay-out plans. Seldom was the planners' responsibility seen as encompassing the totality of the current state of development and environmental conditions in the city. This holistic view of the city, of its environment and the activities of all of its inhabitants, is what the present situation calls for. An important element in being able to exercise such holistic view is the city "cadastre", a cartographic record and register of all land holdings and houses in a city, preferably arranged on a neighbourhood by neighbourhood basis. A cadastre can be prepared for different purposes at different levels of accuracy. A simple cadastre can be produced through digital mapping or GIS from remote sensing images and used to provide a good address system for all the houses in an urban area. It can then be used to provide information about the number of land and housing units in the town, to improve the effectiveness of service delivery and revenue collection, and to enhance the efficiency of monitoring performance in all of these areas. Considerable advantages especially for social mobilisation revolve around organising the information provided by the cadastre from the very beginning on a neighbourhood basis. These can then be aggregated into communities or wards and on to the city as a whole. The accuracy of the cadastre can, of course, always be up-graded with ground truth survey and property valuation as the revenue position of the city improves. But as a basis for efficient planning and environmental management of an urban centre on a holistic basis, the "cadastre", especially with its information on the urban neighbourhood structure, must now be seen in the planning profession as a "*sine qua non*".

The art and practice of negotiation, contract formulation and contract monitoring are also going to be an increasing part of the responsibility of planning in the foreseeable future. The cadastre enables the planner, as a member of an urban management team, to be in a well-heeled

position to negotiate with various agencies. Issues of coverage, of neighbourhood inclusion and exclusion, of service standards, user-charges and cost-recovery, can all be effectively discussed once the planner is fully seised of basic information about the city or the part of it that is specifically under discussion. Such neighbourhood-oriented, information-based paradigm ensures that the planner is always well informed of the situation of the urban poor and other less privileged members of the urban community and can easily take account of their special needs. It also facilitates the building of capacity among all sections of the urban community, whether in the wealthy or not-so-wealthy neighbourhoods, particularly among women groups and children, for creating and sustaining environmental standards in which they can take proprietary pride and interest.

## Conclusion

In concluding this presentation, it is pertinent to raise the question: how soon are training institutions and professional bodies likely to respond to these new challenges of contemporary urbanization? In this connection, it is important to recognise the relatively peculiar nature of the Institute of Housing and Urban Development Studies. As a private foundation, having of necessity to be more responsive to client demands, it is inconceivable that the Institute will be protected for very long from having to face the implications of these new challenges. Indeed, it is a measure of this peculiarity that the Institute has started so soon after the Istanbul Conference to engage in this re-appraisal exercise.

But the majority of training institutions are not in this unusual position of being private foundations. Most are public or quasi-public establishments. Moreover, the leadership of most professional associations of planners usually comprises of those who have already made their mark and have the critical days of their career behind them. For both of these reasons, we can expect a certain tardiness in responding to the capacity needs for meeting the novel challenges of contemporary urban development. All of this puts an additional burden on an institution such as the IHS. This is that it must also engage in the task of building a new constituency of practitioners committed to finding and improving on new ways and means of responding to these challenges. Developing a network of such practitioners and training institutions becomes as important an assignment as pioneering the building of new capacity for the purpose.

Urban life and conditions in the 21st century certainly promise to be a lot more complex and unprecedented. With education now accepted as a human right, planning and managing such cities must recognise the new vision of state-society relations. Legitimation is assuredly the only long term strategy for ensuring stable and sustainable development in such cities. For this purpose, new capacities need to be articulated and built up among all the stakeholders in the city. The task is truly gargantuan, needing all the resources of a networking organization. The present expert panel meeting on the occasion of the farewell to the past director of the Institute and the inauguration of his successor should thus perhaps be seen as the first step in developing such a network. The expectation is that in the years ahead this network would link up into many other networks. Together, they should ensure the emergence of well trained professionals who can respond to the multitudinal and novel demands of cities of the 21st century. Together, they should all help in disseminating a new vision of cities as the product of a legitimation process involving all stakeholders whose proprietary pride and commitment to their city are the only true guarantee of a sustainable high quality of environmental conditions and housing and economic

development.

## REFERENCES

- Bosma, K., (1990), "Town and regional planning in the Netherlands 1920-1945", *Planning Perspectives*, 5 (2): 125-147
- De Casseres. J. M., (1929), "Grondslagen der planologie", *De Gids*, April: 383
- De Casseres, J. M., (1937), "Principles of Planology", *Town Planning Review*, 2: 103-114
- Kehew, Robert, (1995), "The Philippines: Financing Investment in Urban Infrastructure through local government bonds", *Urban Age*, 3(3) September: 7
- Migdal, J.S., (1988), *Strong Societies and Weak States: State-Society Relations and State Capabilities in the Third World*, (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press)
- Pirez, P., (1994), "Privatization: Changing the Nature of Buenos Aires", *Urban Age*, 2 (4): 7
- Sassen, S., (1991), *The Global City: New York, London, Tokyo*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press)
- Sassen, S., (1994), "The Urban Complex in a World Economy", *International Social Science Journal*, 139: 43-62
- Schuttenbelt, P. and Lorentzen, J., (1994), "Public-Private Partnerships in Municipal Infrastructure Services", *Urban Age*, 2 (4): 10
- Sjoberg, G., (1960), *The Pre-Industrial City: Past and Present*, (Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press)
- United Nations, (1991), *World Urbanization Prospects 1990*, (New York: United Nations)
- World Bank, (1990), *World Development Report 1990*, (New York: Oxford University Press)
- World Bank, (1992), *World Development Report 1992*, (New York: Oxford University Press)
- Yeung, Y.M. (1995), "Hong Kong's Hub Functions", Paper presented at the Conference of Planning Hong Kong for the 21st Century held in Hong Kong, 12-13 April.

## Other Papers that have appeared at IHS

- UEM 1. 'Inter-institutional Consultation and Urban Environmental Management in San Marcos Cajamarca' by Marina Irigoyen and Russeles Machuca., Peru, 1997
- UEM 2. 'Environmental Sanitation and Infrastructure: The Case of the Marginal Urban Areas of the Southern Cone of Lima' by Silvia Meléndez Kohatsu, Víctor Carrasco Cortez and Ana Granados Soldevilla, Fovida, Peru
- UEM 3. 'Defence and Conservation of the Natural Swamp Area Pantanos de Villa, Lima' by Arnold Millet Luna, Eduardo Calvo, Elsie Guerrero Bedoya and Manuel Glave; Serpar, Peru;
- UEM 4. 'Power to the People: The Local Government Context' by the Times Research Foundation; India
- UEM 5. 'NGOs/Civic Societies and Urban Environmental Advocacy' by Development Associates; India
- UEM 6. 'Integrated Low-Cost Sanitation: Indian Experience' by Sulabh International Institute of Technical Research and Training; India
- UEM 7. 'An Approach to Pollution Prevention in Electroplating Sector' by Development Alternatives; India
- UEM 8. 'Integrated Study on Wetlands Conservation and Urban Growth: A Case of Calcutta's Wetlands' by Institute of Wetlands Management and Ecological Design; India
- UEM 9. 'Sustainable Urban Development: A Case of Navi Mumbai (New Bombay)' by City & Industrial Development Corporation; India
- UEM 10. 'Community Based Sanitation and Environmental Improvement Programme: Experiences of Indore, Baroda and Ahmedabad' by Shri Himanshu Parikh; India
- UEM 11. 'Carrying Capacity Based Regional Planning' by the National Institute of Urban Affairs; India
- UEM 12. 'City-Wide "Best Practices" in Solid Waste Management in Collection, Transportation and Disposal' by HSMI/WMC of UIFW; India
- UEM 13. 'Environmental and Health Improvement in Jajmau Area, Kanpur: Lessons and Experiences for Wider Replication' by Ministry of Environment and Forests; India
- UEM 14. 'Institutional and Development Framework for Urban Environmental Management in Bolivia' edited by Gastón Mejía; Bolivia.
- UEM 15. 'Institutional and Development Framework for Urban Environmental Management in India' edited by HSMI.
- UEM 16. 'Promotion of Employment, Health and the Environment, Lima' by César Zela Fierro and Cecilia Castro Nureña; Peru
- UEM 17. 'Urban Agriculture in Community Gardens' by Julio Prudencio Böhr; Bolivia
- UM 1. Mirjam Zaaijer (1998) 'Urban Economic Restructuring and Local Institutional Response: the Case of Bulawayo, Zimbabwe'. IHS, the Netherlands

## **Occasional Paper Series**

1. Carley Pennink (1997), Partnerships: A View of Issues and Perspectives through the Brabantse Poort, Nijmegen, IHS, the Netherlands
2. Peter Nientied (1997), Local Government and Economic Development in CEE: the Case of Bratislava, IHS, the Netherlands

## **Reprint Series**

1. Forbes Davidson and Watson, David, Training for IUIDP: Ideas, Integration and Implementation, IHS, 1998
2. Emiel A. Wegelin, IUIDP in a Comparative International Context, IHS, 1998

## **Working Paper Series**

1. Liliana Marulanda and Florian Steinberg (1991), Land Management and Guided Land Development in Jakarta. IHS, the Netherlands
2. Pal Baross (1991), Action Planning. IHS, the Netherlands
3. Robert-Jan Baken, Peter Nientied, Monique Peltenburg and Mirjam Zaaijer (1991), Neighbourhood Consolidation and Economic Development of Informal Settlements. IHS, the Netherlands
4. Marco Vonk (1992) Institutional Development: Theoretical Aspects in Urban Practice. IHS, the Netherlands
5. Eliane Faerstein and Maria Teresa Correa de Oliveira (1992), Illegal Subdivision in Rio de Janeiro: Dimensions, Characteristics and Government Responses. IHS, the Netherlands
6. Forbes Davidson and Monique Peltenburg (1993), Government and NGOs/CBOs working together for better cities. Strategies and practical modalities for increased cooperation in human settlements between local, state/provincial and national government institutions and NGOs/CBOs. IHS, the Netherlands
7. Robert van der Hoff and Florian Steinberg (1993), The integrated Urban Infrastructure Development Programme and Urban Management Innovations in Indonesia. IHS, the Netherlands
8. Florian Steinberg (1994), Development Support Communication for Urban Management in Developing Countries. IHS, the Netherlands
9. Rosana Denaldi (1994), Viable Self-Management: The FUNACOM Housing Programme of the São Paulo Municipality. IHS, the Netherlands
10. Mirjam Zaaijer (1995), Local Economic Development and Urban Management; Experiences of Porto Alegre, Brazil. IHS, the Netherlands
11. Marielle Snel (1996), Producer Responsibility in Waste Management - the Dutch Model, with specific reference to packaging. IHS, the Netherlands