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# Planning for Performance:

## Requirements for Sustainable Development

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### ABSTRACT

The paper aims to identify the qualities required from urban planning to make it an effective tool to promote sustainable urban development.

The paper reviews trends in urban development that imply that urban plans and planning processes should perform new and demanding roles. These demands go beyond guidance or the control of land uses and location. They require a framework for multiple actors to share visions to commit themselves to action and to co-operate in achieving it. One of these visions is sustainable urban development. The paper argues that the process of building consensus on development gives increased chances of sustainability. The recent emphasis on approaches inspired by modern business management does not, however, do away with the need for some legally enforceable aspects of plans. It is also important not to expect miracles from new approaches to planning. Reference is also made to the international debate on the subject and examples are drawn from the author's experience. Copyright © 1996 Elsevier Science Ltd

### INTRODUCTION

General Eisenhower once said, though not concerning urban planning:

In preparing for battle I have always found that plans are useless, but planning is indispensable.<sup>1</sup>

I think that these sentiments should be taken more to heart in the case of urban planning in general and particularly in the case of planning for sustainable development. The process of planning itself is extremely important in order to build up some shared vision of what is being aimed at. Common interest and common understanding of objectives can help to achieve results despite changing externalities. The challenge is to marry participative approaches with approaches that are feasible in their technical, institutional and financial aspects.

The paper is focused on urban development planning. For convenience, this will be simply referred to as "planning".

The aims of this paper are:

- to try to clarify the changes taking place in urban development planning by putting them into a conceptual framework;

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- to discuss what the new forms of planning are, or can be; and
- to discuss the implications of adopting these approaches.

The key topics and their linkages are illustrated in Fig. 1. The trends in the external environment which affect planning are reviewed, together with recent management thinking which has a considerable influence on the way urban managers and planners think. The context in which planning is carried out is also critical, and includes changes in policy and socio-economic context.

The means by which plans actually influence development are reviewed, after which trends in urban planning towards more participative action and strategic planning are assessed in terms of their performance.

A particular aspect of planning which relates to this special issue is that of planning for sustainability. Much literature exists on the subject, much of it bemoaning how little is known or how limited experience is. I will try to highlight how planning for sustainability requires qualities of both performance-orientated and statutory forms of planning.

Finally, I examine the implication of new forms of planning on plans, institutions and on planners themselves.

### CHANGING ENVIRONMENT OF PLANNING

Planning does not take place in a vacuum. It is affected by the external economy, by population dynamics, by attitudes to government and by attitudes to planning itself. It is also affected by the competence and credibility of the organisations developing and trying to implement the plan. The changes are reviewed in three areas: local context, policy change and practice change.

#### *Local context*

Urban planning is influenced by what are seen to be locally important issues and also by attitudes towards planning itself. It is influenced by the strength of the local govern-

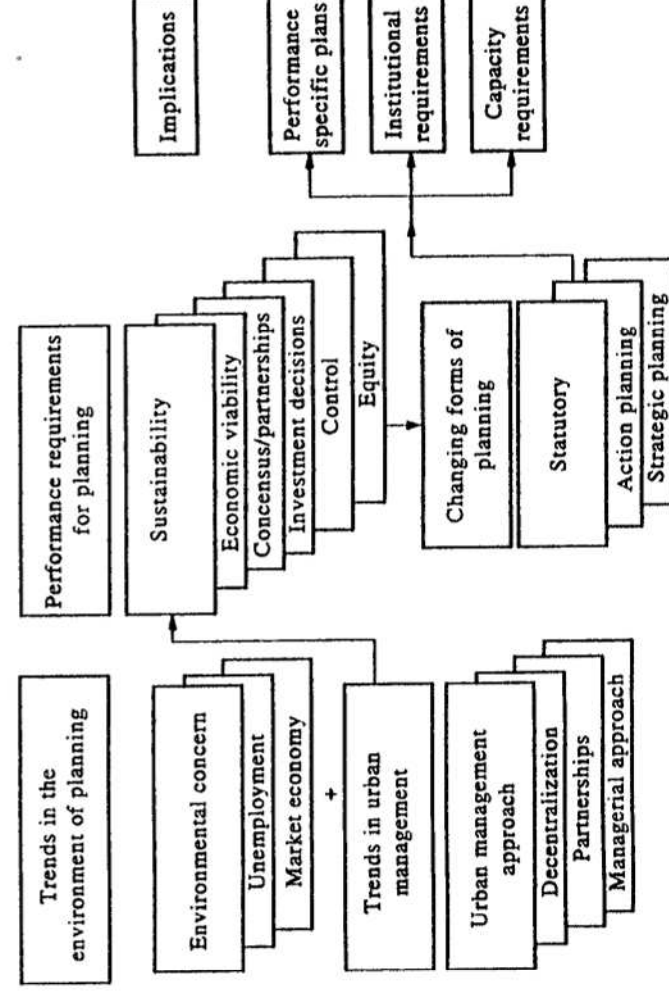


Fig. 1. Framework for the paper.

ment, by the assets available to it and by its credibility. A useful first step in any planning exercise is to carry out some form of a SWOT (Strengths, Weaknesses, Opportunities and Threats) analysis to determine the context in which development is being planned. Major influences will include:

- Demographic changes: rate of population growth or decline, extent of in- or out-migration.
- Socio-economic profile of the inhabitants.
- Economic situation and trends.
- Attitudes to and credibility of local government and other key stakeholders.
- Organisation of government and other key actors.
- Powers of local government.
- Access to resources, especially land and finance.

It is essential that the local context is understood. In the context of the paper I will focus on the impact of some widespread trends, particularly in the areas of policy and in professional practice.

#### *Policy and policy changes*

The relationship between context, policy, urban management, planning and environmental management is illustrated in Fig. 2. This shows urban planning as a tool of urban management, and urban management itself operating within a policy context. It also shows urban environmental management as having a large overlap with urban planning, but not being identical in terms of its coverage.

Policy may be set by central government or local government. It may be strong or weak, but it is an important starting point as planning should not be carried out in a vacuum. Policy itself is continuously changing. This differs locally, but a series of broad policy changes have been taking place in many countries.

The strongest of these, which apply in many Third World and East and Central European countries, are illustrated in Fig. 3. These changes imply that the total environment in which plans are prepared, and the people and organisations who are involved in preparing them, are very likely to have changed radically in the period since the plans currently in force were prepared.

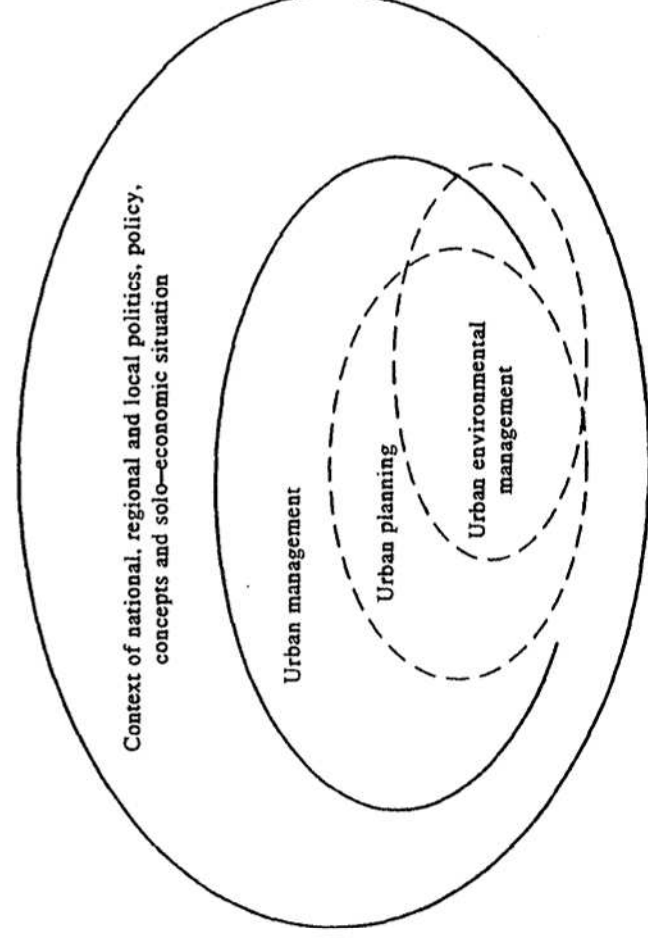


Fig. 2. Relationship between context, policy, urban management, planning and environmental management.

## Changes in policy context

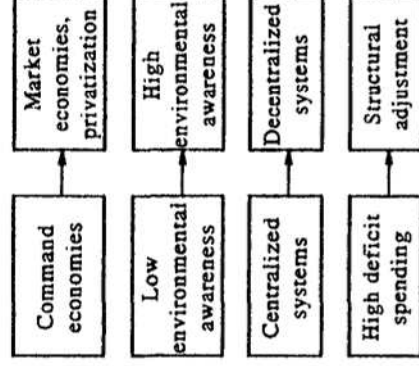


Fig. 3. Changes in policy context.

New ideas of the relationship between central government and local government have been spreading, and these have strong implications for the nature of planning and its degree of local independence. Decentralisation is fashionable. However, it is a concept that has a wide range of interpretations and an even wider range of levels of actual implementation. In India, a constitutional amendment<sup>2</sup> heralds greater devolution to local government, but there is an enormous amount of work that has to be done in revision of legislation, and even more in developing capacity and changing procedures and attitudes.<sup>3</sup> In Britain, freedom of local government has been undermined for political reasons, with central government increasing its intervention. In the Netherlands, strong central government control over financial flows allow national strategic planning interventions, but also allow local government considerable freedom to manage affairs locally.

Ideas on the role of local government are also undergoing change, with re-appraisal of what government should be doing. Concepts which have become popular include that government should reduce its direct intervention and instead seek to facilitate the contributions of others. It should also become more business-like, client-orientated and entrepreneurial. Books such as *Reinventing Government*<sup>4</sup> have become big sellers. Local government reading in the UK includes *The Enabling Local Government*.<sup>5</sup> Cities such as Tilburg in The Netherlands have become famous as exponents of new ways of working, for example, trying to get political inputs focused on strategic issues and leaving operational aspects to the officials on a contractual basis. All these trends have a significant impact on planning.

International organisations also have their policy goals, and when they are involved in urban development this can also mean the addition of new agenda items at both national and local levels. Environmental policies are often introduced or promoted in this manner. Equity concerns may also be championed by outside organisations. Outside pressures, however, may create a problem in terms of sustainability of the policy environment, unless a genuine local support is built up. An example of attempted policy impact is in the context of planning for resettlement. International lending agencies, particularly the World Bank, have strong policies on conditions, procedures and planning processes that should be followed, and can insist on compliance on a project-by-project basis.<sup>6</sup>

### Practice changes

In addition to the changes taking place in the socio-economic environment, strong changes have been taking place in thinking within government and professions.<sup>7</sup> Much

of this thinking has been influenced by changes in management thinking from the private sector. The concepts put forward, for example in *In Search of Excellence*,<sup>8</sup> aimed at motivating individuals and teams, found resonance with those public-sector officials and elected representatives who were interested in improving performance. One of the co-authors, Tom Peters, has addressed major seminars for planners and other local government staff in the USA and UK. Non-governmental organisations (NGOs) have also been bitten by the same bug and aim to be more professional as organisations.<sup>9</sup>

Among the characteristics of this approach are:

- willingness to change, constant innovation with acceptance of mistakes;
- strong concern for quality;
- strong awareness of population as clients or customers;
- investment in training;
- management that can listen, focus on two-way communication;
- management by walking about (MBWA) — meaning that a manager should experience what is happening where it happens, rather than simply reviewing reports;
- decentralised management, use of internal “profit centres” and use of small cross-department work teams with clear objectives (matrix organisation);
- networking;
- contracting out of services;
- negotiation as an important tool; and
- working in partnerships.

Adoption of these concepts in the public sector is not easy, as many aspects go against long-entrenched bureaucratic cultures where getting ahead may be by avoiding mistakes rather than in taking risks. It is also necessary to adopt caution in the application of these concepts, particularly when the cultural context is significantly different from that in the country of development of the concept.<sup>10</sup> Countries in transition, for example South Africa, have to be especially cautious in this area.

Nevertheless, there has been significant change in many local governments. In the West, many councils, with examples including Groningen and Tilburg in The Netherlands, have adopted policies of changing their culture so as to be more responsive. Similar experiences have taken place in the UK and USA.<sup>11</sup> This can involve substantial effort over as much as 10 years to have full impact.<sup>12</sup> The effort is necessary partly to implant new skills, partly to re-organise structure and procedures and particularly to impact on attitudes. From my own observation, in developing countries, new approaches seem to be taking root quickest in large municipalities, particularly in Southeast Asia, for example in the Philippines and Thailand. Smaller municipalities, particularly in Africa, tend to be very conservative.

Specific to urban development, an urban management approach implies local government being proactive towards urban development. Urban management can be defined as follows:

Urban management is the activity of attempting to mobilise diverse resources to work in a co-operative manner in the fields of planning, programming and budgeting and implementing development and its operation and maintenance in order to achieve city development objectives.

The World Bank in association with United Nations Centre for Human Settlements (UNCHS) has been promoting this approach through their Urban Management Programme.<sup>13</sup> The focus is on improving performance in key areas of infrastructure planning, financing, land management and environmental management. The demands of infrastructure investment programmes such as the Integrated Urban Infrastructure Investment Programme (IUIDP) in Indonesia<sup>14</sup> mean that spatial plans are not enough — they must provide a framework that links space with investment and with institutions. This is discussed further below.

The World Bank and United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) have also been promoting the concept of cities as economic motors of development and thus that economic development should be seen as a key development objective. This adds a further development issue to an already full agenda.

### HOW PLANS INFLUENCE DEVELOPMENT

The previous section reviewed the changes in the context of planning. This section examines how planning actually influences development.

There are four main means by which plans influence the development that actually takes place. These are *inspiration*, *commitment*, *guidance* and *control*. The means to influence development are illustrated in Fig. 4. They represent a range of relationships that a plan can have with the key stakeholders. At one extreme is inspiration, where there is a strong commitment, often based on the development of a common vision. This is extremely important in the situation where government is only one of the players and is not controlling all the resources required. At the other extreme, government can depend more on control when it has the resources necessary to act unilaterally. The differentiation is important in terms of implementation, as the more that a plan has the backing based on the first two elements the more chance it has of success. This is because there is less need for potentially unstable integration and also less need to use enforcement procedures which, in many countries, are weak and open to the influence of corruption. This is discussed further later in the paper in the context of participation.

#### Inspiration

Inspiration is perhaps an unlikely term to use in relation to urban planning, and is probably rarely achieved. However it can be a very powerful force. It influences actions strongly, because it makes people really want to achieve an outcome. It requires a plan to be very clear, easy to understand and communicate. Ebenezer Howard's

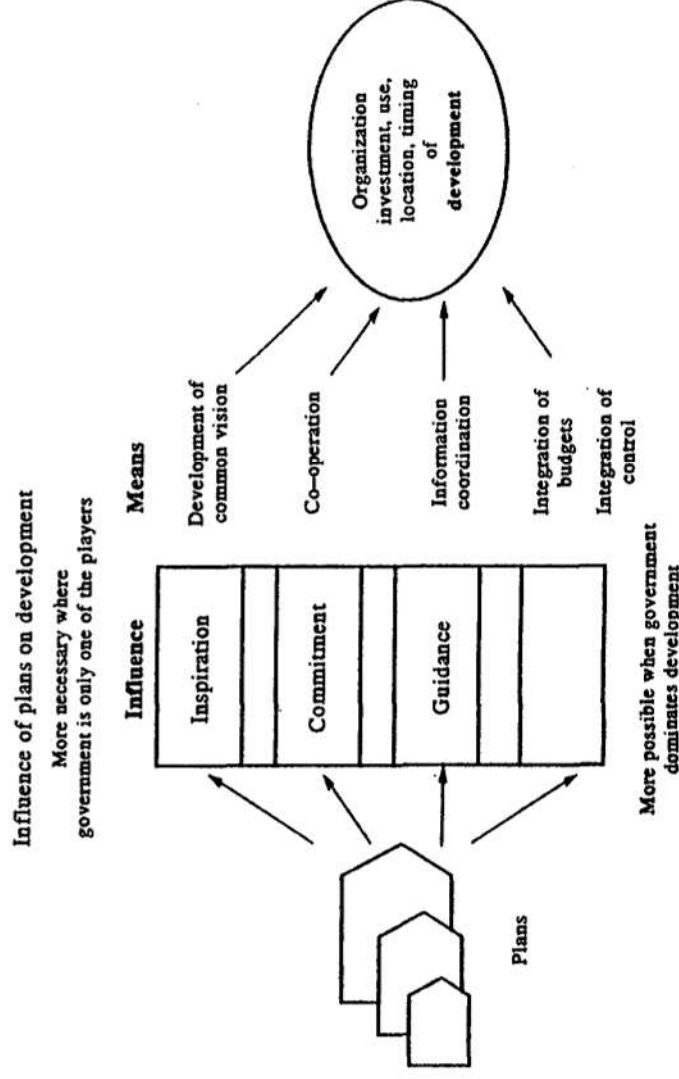


Fig. 4. Influence of plans on development.

vision of Garden Cities is one example. Green belts around major cities to keep countryside intact and accessible and, in Holland, the concept of the “Green Heart” of the Randstadt, are others.<sup>15</sup> Recent work in Indonesia in Yogyakarta emphasises the development of a *vision* of the future development of the city.<sup>16</sup>

### Commitment

Inspiration is a good basis for commitment, but commitment is possible with something less than inspiration. Commitment, however, is essential if a plan is going to be implemented. Progressively, government is tending to have less direct control over resources for development. The more that this is the case, the more necessary it is to have the commitment of those actors who do control resources. This is the fundamental basis for the development of participative processes.

### Guidance

Guidance normally involves government, or government planners guiding where and how development takes place. It implies the use of indirect means, such as provision of a plan showing where development can take place and the location of infrastructure. It is most likely to be successful when the plans have been developed in a manner that engenders wide support.

Guidance is generally seen as a positive function — helping city development as well as the individual developer. It can take the form of guidance of one or more of the following:

- *Location.* Indications can be made via plans of where development should be located. This can help to avoid incompatible developments or particularly sensitive areas. Guidance can also be on the ground via physical aspects, such as roads and water networks.
- *Use.* The use of land is more often a matter of control than of guidance. Guidance may be used as part of a process to try to encourage certain quality of development.
- *Timing.* Guidance on timing of development can best be provided through clear and accessible information and good communication. In local government this may be via a good shared information base, probably geographically based through a Geographic Information System, and regular meetings of concerned parties. Within the wider community it would be through the establishment of good linkages and having an openly accessible information base.
- *Responsibility.* An important issue is to decide who is responsible for doing what. Innovative ways of working often involve changes from traditional responsibilities — particularly of government. New partnerships are formed and concepts such as community management operationalised. Guidance here can mean access to knowledge of good practice in other organisations and in other towns. It is difficult for organisations to conceive of different models without exposure to relevant examples.
- *Basis for investment decision making.* Another trend is towards funding of integrated infrastructure development programmes. These programmes need guidance on investment decisions relating to affordability. They also require a spatial plan to guide location and priority areas. In turn, when the infrastructure is implemented it will have a strong guiding influence on the location and nature of urban development.

### Control

In many peoples' minds, the negative image of town planning is in control and the related time consuming processes of applications and appeals. Control is a necessary part of any plan which seeks to restrict certain uses to certain areas. By definition, any plan which includes legally enforceable limitations on use of land will be subject to

opposition by those who feel that their development potential is limited. It also means that any changes in the plan must go through a sometimes lengthy process to agree those changes. Few would argue that some controls on strategically sensitive uses are essential, particularly from an environmental point of view. The problem is often that too much is planned in too much detail at too early a stage. The inevitable changes in the external environment compared with the original assumptions made in the plan then often make the plan largely unworkable, and the investment in detailed technical work wasted.<sup>17</sup>

Use and location are closely inter-related through the concept of zoning for certain uses. Zoning has often made for over-simplistic separation of uses which are not necessarily incompatible. Mixed uses are again becoming more acceptable, but in principle some control is still necessary. The weakness of control is often in its enforcement — and this depends very much on the systems in place.

### TRENDS IN PLANNING — STATUTORY TO PERFORMANCE

This section of the paper looks first at what is meant by different planning concepts and then at the trends and their significance for planning for sustainable development.

Urban planning has been continuously in a state of flux, reacting against what are seen as problems in the previous system. The starting point was simply to perceive the need to plan development. Problems in development then created a desire for the legal backing of plans to offset the powerful forces of the private sector. This was often embedded into law, giving *statutory development plans*. These plans are normally prescriptive in nature, that is, their contents are specified in advance. Later, the loss of flexibility and the possibility of rapid action was considered to be a problem, and ways of making plans more flexible and more responsive were sought. An example of this trend was the introduction of Structure Plans in the UK in the early 1970s. This form of plan aimed to be more flexible, but was still subject to formal approval processes and was found to be much less flexible than originally hoped.

Plans which are flexible and orientated to meet specific needs, I have called *performance-oriented plans*, as normally they take a form that is determined by the performance required rather than following a prescribed statutory pattern.

I have had experience with a number of situations where this type of dilemma has arisen. In Ismailia, in Egypt, in the 1970s I was part of a team developing a master plan for the city. The contents of the plan were prescribed, and this resulted in a lot of work being done which later could not be implemented because there was no commitment of the financial and human resources necessary. Later an action-orientated planning exercise focused on the issue of housing, using land value, existing staff and communities as key inputs, with considerable success. One of the initial master plan subjects concerning sustainability of the lake could not, in the end, be tackled. It is only now, 20 years later, that it is being tackled as part of the Sustainable Ismailia Programme, with UN assistance. This latter programme is one where participative approaches form a core element.

Another example is in South Africa, in the Eastern Cape. Two adjacent towns, King William's Town and Bisho, were separated during the apartheid era by a so-called international boundary. Planning legislation was different on the two sides. The same consultancy produced structure plans of both towns within a 3 year period. One, in South Africa, had no integration with financial and institutional aspects because those elements were not prescribed in the guidelines. The other could integrate, to some extent, those elements. Now the two are to be combined, but only in the physical aspects.<sup>18</sup>

A third example is in Indonesia. The major Integrated Urban Infrastructure Development Programme (IUIDP), referred to earlier, aims to develop the capacity of local government to prepare, arrange finance for and implement their own infrastructure

programmes. This role was carried out previously by central government. The statutory development plans, in most cases, were found not to provide a usable framework for making decisions on priorities. A performance-orientated form of plan, the IUDP development assessment plan (IDAP), was developed in order to provide that framework.<sup>19</sup> Not only was a physical framework developed, but complementary plans known as Revenue Improvement Action Plans (RIAP) and Local Institutional Development Action Plans (LIDAP) were developed to guide the implementation of the investment programme. Steinberg also writes on the influence of the requirements of investment planning in Indonesia and India.<sup>20</sup>

The recent resurgence of interest in participatory forms of planning, including action planning<sup>21</sup> and strategic planning, reflects a number of needs. These include the need for greater support and commitment related to the diminishing direct role governments play and the desire for a form of planning that can result in meaningful implementation. Figure 5 illustrates the dynamics of these trends.

#### *Forms of planning and their components*

Discussion of the subject of planning is always prone to misunderstandings. There are no copyright definitions in existence. To make clear how the terms are used in this paper, I will define the terms as I use them. Figure 6 attempts to highlight the major components of the main forms of urban planning. The components identified are policy, physical (including spatial aspects and infrastructure), financial, institutional, legal support and commitment from key stakeholders.

#### *Statutory planning*

- *Statutory planning and physical planning.* Statutory planning is the planning system set up and specified by law. Physical or spatial planning is planning of the layout, use and servicing of land. It is normally backed by statutory instruments. In most countries this is specified and often approved centrally, though some countries, such as Brazil, allow considerable local freedom in the definition of the scope and form of the plan.

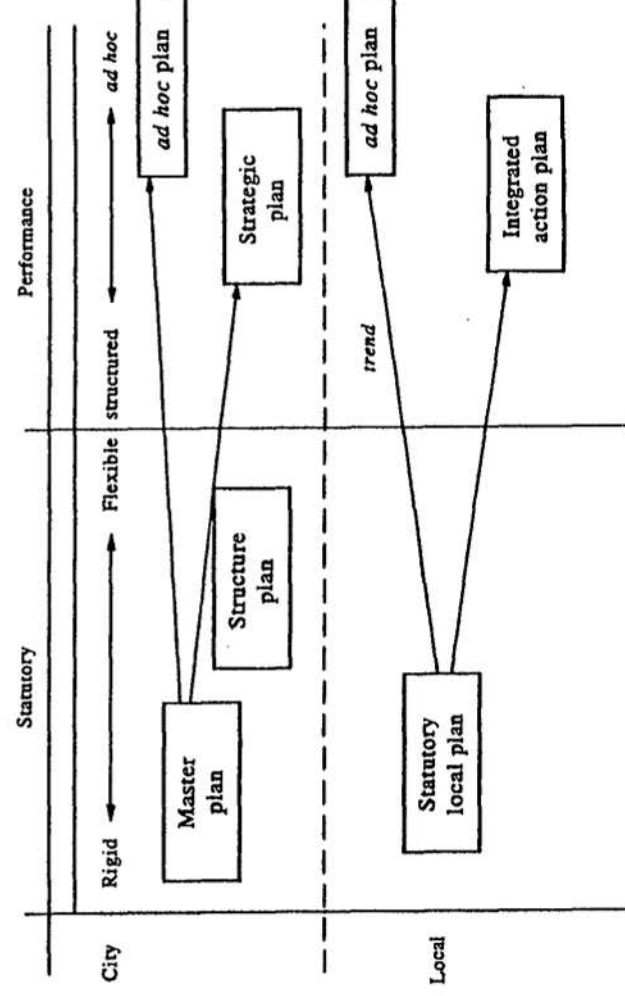


Fig. 5. Trends in planning.

### Relationships between components of different forms of planning

| Type                | Key components |          |           |               |            |            |
|---------------------|----------------|----------|-----------|---------------|------------|------------|
|                     | Policy         | Physical | Financial | Institutional | Legal base | Commitment |
| Statutory dev. plan |                |          |           |               |            |            |
| Spatial plan        |                | Physical |           |               | Legal base |            |
| Action plan         |                | Physical | Financial | Institutional |            | Commitment |
| Strategic plan      | Policy         | Physical | Financial | Institutional |            | Commitment |

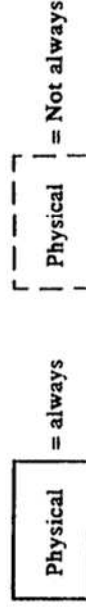


Fig. 6. Key components of major forms of urban planning.

It is important not to dismiss statutory planning. Although it may be the object of much criticism it has a number of important strengths which include:

- protection of critical elements can be reinforced by law;
- it helps to avoid *ad hoc* decisions based on self-interest; and
- there is normally trained manpower who are used to implementing the system.

Weaknesses include:

- bureaucratic routines make for slow inflexible working;
- bureaucratic divisions often isolate planning departments;
- the legal basis makes changes very difficult, even in non-critical areas. This makes plans easily outdated, thus often irrelevant and ignored or bypassed. This in turn makes certain aspects vulnerable, for example environmental protection;
- it is ineffective when government is weak and/or corruption is common; and
- it suffers when attitudes to law are weak.

### Performance-orientated planning

Two forms of performance-orientated planning are discussed here, action planning and strategic planning. Both have strong similarities.

*Action planning.* Action planning can be defined as follows:

Action planning is the participative process of development of a relatively short-term plan to use available resources to meet limited objectives, normally in a defined area.

The main advantage is short-term effectiveness. It is by nature innovative and flexible. Problems include lack of legal support, unless linked to a statutory plan, and a potential danger of being *ad hoc*.

Action planning is, in fact, applied common sense. If you need support of other people or organisations to achieve something, and their co-operation is voluntary, then it is vital to get their support through the process of planning.

Baross<sup>22</sup> described action planning as having the following key characteristics:

- implementation orientated;
- action to tackle problems in limited time frame;
- refers to a defined area;
- innovative, non-routine;
- should be "owned" by those involved;
- problem should be a legitimate one to tackle;
- relates to realistically available resources; and
- those involved can learn from the process.

The process of action planning is designed so as to give the greatest possibility of success based on full involvement of the key actors from problem identification through implementation to the operation of the infrastructure, or facility. The process is illustrated in Fig. 7.

The process is likely to start with some form of workshop or forum where the key stakeholders come together for some days to agree on the main issues and the main lines of action. A system of committees or working groups is then set up, which may be serviced by urban development specialists, often including planners and financial experts.

The success of working together depends very much on how clear the issues are and the strength of support for them. Sustaining the initial interest can be difficult if benefits are not clear, as participation in the process takes time and energy.<sup>23</sup>

*Strategic planning.* Strategic planning is action planning writ large. Strategic planning is a concept borrowed from business management and adapted to urban planning. There is no single agreed definition: the words are used differently in different national contexts and by different organisations. In the UK, strategic planning is a non-statutory process where a number of partners, which may be different departments in local government, get together to agree on a limited number of actions to meet medium-term development objectives. In The Netherlands strategic planning is seen by some as a central government function to achieve some broad development objective, e.g. the maintenance of the "Green Heart" in the Randstad. In the city of Rotterdam it is seen as a city-region function to maintain the competitive position related primarily to the success of the port. Strategic plans often use statutory plans as a starting point, particularly when they are recent and well developed.

A working definition could be:

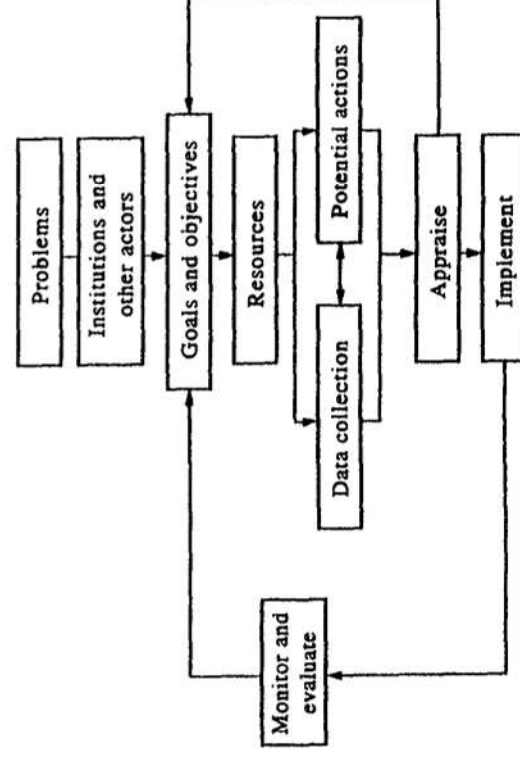


Fig. 7. The process of action planning.

Strategic planning of a city is the participative process of development of a medium term plan to meet strategic objectives set by key stakeholders in a city. It normally combines physical, financial and institutional aspects.

Advantages are focus and the potential of support of key stakeholders. Problems relate to lack of legal support to back it up, unless it is in line with a statutory plan.

The Urban Management Programme (UMP) of UNCHS and the World Bank uses the term Multi-Sector Investment Planning to refer to a form of strategic planning. The following list of characteristics is adapted from a UMP publication.<sup>24</sup>

- Policy framework.
- Focus on multi-sectoral strategies and programmes.
- Close tie with budgeting — revenue planning, capital expenditure and operations and maintenance costs.
- Participation of and ownership by key actors.
- Prioritisation to allow strategic choices.
- Can be developed incrementally with development of staff capacity.
- Medium- to long-term time horizon — main focus typically 5 years with 10–20 year horizon.

#### *Relationship between different forms of planning*

The relationship between the different forms of planning is important. Figure 8 illustrates this. Action planning is shown as potentially coming before or in parallel with a strategic plan. In the first case this would represent an action plan being used as a stepping stone to a strategic plan. This would be relevant in the case where little capacity exists to prepare and implement a more sophisticated plan. Work on a simple plan can build confidence and credibility. It would still be necessary for the action plan to look at the wider context — but heavy effort would not be invested in this. The ideal situation would be that a strategic plan forms a framework for a series of action plans.

Strategic planning, being concerned with major issues over a medium term, is likely to involve city-level rather than neighbourhood organisations. Technical staff are likely to have a stronger role, and financial analysis and the management of programmes become necessary skills. It is thus complementary to the sort of participation likely to be appropriate in action planning. A major challenge is likely to be the balance between the technical and political sides.

In Fig. 8, the statutory development plan is indicated as pointing in a different direction. This is not an invariable situation, but symbolises that any plan prepared a number of years in advance is unlikely to be entirely relevant and to have the same objectives as a more recent plan.

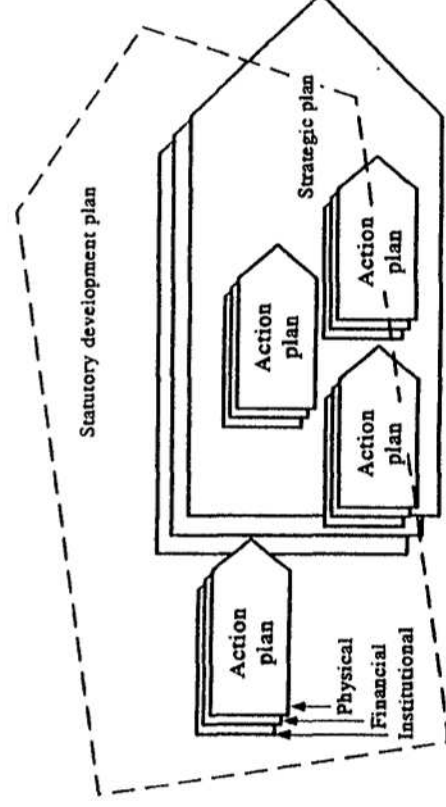


Fig. 8. Relationship between statutory, action and strategic planning.

A sensitive issue is the relationship between statutory and non-statutory plans. Ideally they fit together, and this will be the case with a recently prepared, sensitively developed plan. Where there is a difference, then it will be necessary to negotiate modification. Difficulty will be proportionate to how much in the statutory plan is specified in a prescriptive manner. On the other hand, changes in some systems can be made relatively easily. In The Netherlands, for example, there is a very detailed definition of location and use, but the process for making changes can be relatively easy. It is important first to be clear on what is needed, and then to seek means of modifying the statutory plans.

### PERFORMANCE REQUIREMENTS FOR PLANNING

In order to discuss the effectiveness of the different forms of planning, it is important to know what functions we want planning to perform. If this is not clear, any discussion about planning is likely to be meaningless. For this reason, I consider it important to focus first on the functions that a plan is expected to perform.

Urban planning is (or should be) a tool of urban management that helps to answer the questions what? where? when? by whom? and how? urban development should take place.

Urban planning should have a purpose. We do it so that a town can develop in an orderly or beautiful way. We do it so that infrastructure and services can be efficient and affordable. We do it to protect people and sensitive areas from environmental hazards. We may plan to promote equity. However, one type of plan cannot provide the performance we require in all areas. Some requirements are mutually exclusive. For example, it is difficult to combine the legal control necessary to protect sensitive areas, with the flexibility required to be able to respond rapidly to changing situations. Many of the changes in the statutory plans in different countries are based on trying to overcome this dilemma, as discussed above.

Examples of functions that plans are often required to perform are listed in Table 1. Perhaps there are as many different permutations of performance required as there are towns. However, the form of plans is often stipulated by national legal standards and guidelines. Local government may not have the freedom to adapt these to its own

Table 1. Comparison of performance of different plan types

| Performance requirement                                           | Statutory development plan | Strategic plan | Action Plan |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------|----------------|-------------|
| Be a tool for policy implementation                               |                            | •              | •           |
| Achieve support and commitment by all main actors in development  |                            | •              | •           |
| Be a basis for establishing partnerships                          |                            | •              | •           |
| Provide a medium to long-term framework for development decisions |                            | •              |             |
| Provide a framework for early action                              |                            |                | •           |
| Provide locational guidance                                       | •                          | •              | •           |
| Result in implementation that meets objectives                    |                            | •              | •           |
| Achieve objectives with efficient use of resources                |                            | •              | •           |
| Provide a framework for sustainable development                   | •                          | •              | •           |
| Guide inter-sectoral public investment                            |                            | •              | •           |
| Guide city level public investment                                |                            | •              | •           |
| Guide local level public investment                               | •                          | •              | •           |
| Be a framework for non-physical action programmes                 |                            | •              | •           |
| Be able to respond to changing environment                        |                            | •              | •           |
| Provide basis for development control                             | •                          | •              | •           |
| Be a tool for institutional capacity building                     |                            | •              | •           |

Key: •, key area of performance; •, sometimes area of performance.

needs. If planning efforts are to be effective, it is important that the performance required from plans is clear. This can later be reconciled with the performance and demands of statutory plans and official guidelines. First the priorities should be clear.

### *Performance requirements of planning for sustainable urban development*

*What is sustainability? What are its special requirements?* Among the changing agendas, environment has moved to centre stage, at least in some of the richer countries. For poor countries struggling with a wide range of competing demands and with little capacity to meet them, the environment lobby is not so strong. Nevertheless, this issue is useful to highlight the ability of the planning process to respond to demands.

The discussion of the meaning of sustainable development is taken up in other papers. Here, the broad Brundtland definition is taken as the base. We should be planning to develop a city in a manner which uses resources efficiently and that does not compromise the options of future generations.

The implications of this for planning for sustainability described below are drawn partly from Blowers:

- It requires a participative planning mechanism that builds up understanding and co-operation between the multiple stakeholders concerned.
- It requires that there is a mechanism allowing strategic decision-making,<sup>25</sup> and looks beyond individual short-term interests to the common good of a future generation.
- It requires an integrated approach to ensure efficient use of scarce resources.
- It requires legal backing and the institutional basis for enforcement.
- It requires a long-term examination, at least of the impact of actions. In certain cases, it requires the possibility of highly skilled professional inputs — where there is reasonable doubt concerning impact.

Combined, these requirements help to define the performance characteristics that we need urban development planning to meet in order to achieve sustainable development.

*Participation and the building of constituency.* Government is still the major funder of development. However, the tendency is for funds channelled through central government to decrease and also for funds channelled through any level of government to decrease. This means that a major challenge for any planning process is to develop the commitments amongst the actors or stakeholders whose support will be essential to ensure implementation.

This has given a boost to the whole discussion and practice of participation. In the 1970s, and also today, it is a matter of idealism particularly from the left wing — of the way planning should be. However, in the 1980s and early 1990s this has been reinforced from the other direction, with emphasis on partnerships and involvement of the private sector. From whatever base, the result is that the planning process has to deliver more than just a good plan. It has to deliver a plan that is well supported by the individuals or groups that can deliver the resources required.

Partnership between government, the private sector and community-based organisations has become a very fashionable approach. However, the approach is not easy, and if any party is not well informed it can turn out to be a major disappointment. Partnerships rely on a clear focus on common areas of interest and understanding of the individual interests. It is in the process of planning that partnerships can best be forged, and not only at the end of the process when a source of funding, or other commitment, is required.

There is much current emphasis on fora, urban coalitions, and partnerships. However, stakeholders may, in many ways, be rivals for resources. They can only work together

on areas where there is a clear commonality of interest. It should not be seen that the *ad hoc* groupings are themselves sustainable, except in the situation that the problem of opportunity that binds them together is itself sustainable. An example of this is the "City Challenge" programme in the UK, where central government allocates funds for urban renewal programmes. These programmes must be submitted by a coalition between local government, community organisations and the private sector. This has led to some creative proposals and potentially successful programmes. However, questions have been raised on the sustainability of the groupings.<sup>26</sup>

Another example of a programme that is based strongly on a participative approach is the Sustainable Cities programme of UNCHS, mentioned earlier. Here, the programme is defined in workshops, with all key stakeholders taking part. Cities in this programme include Dar es Salaam in Tanzania,<sup>27</sup> Ismailia in Egypt and Madras in India.

It is possible, however, that the mechanisms that allow and encourage *ad hoc* groupings can themselves be made sustainable. In that case, they can easily be brought into play when the situation is appropriate.

*Strategic choice.* Sustainable development requires that from the issues facing a community and the options for action, a choice is made in favour of actions ensuring sustainability. This means that the planning process makes clear linkages and strategic choices.<sup>28</sup> It also means, of course, that priority might not be given for sustainable options. For example, employment and environment may not be mutually incompatible, but it often appears that way. The case of Ismailia, described earlier, is an example of a situation where issues of environmental sustainability were not the highest on the agenda.

*Integration.* Integration of development is important from the point of view of ensuring efficient use of resources. However, the quest for integration can itself sow the seeds of lack of sustainability of planning coalitions and thus of plans. This appears rather contradictory. Integration itself sounds so attractive that the word is often added to projects and programmes where no integration is taking place. The reason is that the more the integration the less the freedom of individual partners in an integrated plan or programme. Organisations that could make their own decisions are tied to agreements with other partners in terms of content, timing, location or all of these. To make integration work it is necessary to achieve the result of  $2+2=5$ . This implies that it is necessary to be able to show a very clear benefit. Plans should not aim at integration as an end in itself. They should focus on the objectives of the plan. Integration may be a means of achieving this, but only if less tying methods of co-operation and co-ordination fail.<sup>29</sup> Ultimately, the method pursued to bring the programmes and projects of different organisations into a line which maximises overall benefits will depend on a foundation of shared interests and a shared vision of where development of the town is heading.

*Control.* Control is necessary in order to protect sensitive areas. Key questions relate to how much should be controlled and how it should be controlled. Legal controls can be effective if society as a whole accepts this. In other cases, informal control by communities may be more effective. Control of squatting, for example, may often be controlled by communities,<sup>30</sup> whereas local government may find the process very difficult to manage.

*Long-term view.* Performance-oriented planning tends to have time horizons of 1–5 years in terms of action. However, issues relating to sustainability of development require a longer-term view. This is not necessarily incompatible. Where impact assess-

ment requires a long-term view, it should be carried out. It does not mean, however, that all development requires to be planned in detail over the long term.

## IMPLICATIONS

### *Implications for plans*

The implication of the approach taken in this paper for the form of plans is that it is necessary to have both statutory and performance-oriented plans. Statutory plans should, however, focus only on the minimum that is necessary for legal safeguards, rather than trying to define everything. There can then be much more flexibility for strategic plans and action plans to fill in and get commitment of stakeholders for actions in the medium- and short-term.

### *Implications for organisations*

Changes in thinking on urban management and development planning have wide ranging implications for organisations. In particular they affect:

- relations between officials and elected members;
- organisation and responsibility;
- participation of a wide range of stakeholders;
- changed planning processes; and
- need for increased emphasis on continuing education and training.

For example, in order that a team can work in partnership with other groups outside government, they need to have a clear mandate and must also have the necessary skills. They are also likely to be working in a team that cuts across traditional local government departments. This requires some form of matrix organisation to allow the necessary multi-disciplinary working. It also requires extensive networking outside of local government — requiring possibilities of direct external connections and the possibility of making binding agreements within certain guidelines.

### *Implications for planners*

The new planning processes make major new demands on all the actors involved — whether in government or outside. Skills in networking, motivating outside organisations, negotiation, flexible working, multi-disciplinary working, setting of clear objectives and working with communities are all new and continually varying demands in ways of working. The issue of sustainability also requires new technical knowledge and imposes its own strains related to the issues which were previously higher on the agenda.

The new demands affect a much wider group of professionals than urban planners. A critical issue is the question of how far planners should be trained in the related disciplines of management, finance and environmental management if the training is at the expenses of traditional spatial and legal aspects.<sup>31</sup> I believe that it is important to introduce the elements of management and participation strongly into planning curricula, but they should be aimed particularly at the interface between the physical, financial and legal aspects and their institutional/managerial and financial implications. The urban development planner should know that he or she needs to work with others rather than trying to master all disciplines, probably at the expense of his or her own.

## CONCLUSION

Urban planning is a key tool of urban management. In the past, its transformation from an operational tool to a statutory duty has made it lose its usefulness. The tool

has often become blunt, rusty and unused. Planning, as it always has, is undergoing major changes in what is thought to be the most effective means of working. What is likely to be a continuing trend for some time will be the issue of participation — how to manage it, and how to ensure that participation is combined with good technical work.

Sustainable urban development has performance requirements which need to combine the protection offered by statutory based plans with the flexibility, focus, efficiency, effectiveness and commitment offered by performance-orientated plans. Strategic and action planning provide tools with a good potential through the use of participative processes and innovative thinking approaches. In the end, no one form of planning will meet all needs. Performance-orientated plans are not "better" than statutory plans. They are complementary and are essential to develop the commitment necessary for meaningful implementation.

Planners cannot do everything themselves. Working in partnership with other departments, other professionals and key stakeholders will be necessary if urban planning activity is to function. This requires considerable efforts in terms of capacity building. Capacity building should not only focus on a re-orientated planning education and training, but also focus on improving the capacity of the partners in planning.

Good planning holds out the potential of helping to achieve effective, efficient and creative development. It is critical that this potential be realised if there is to be any impact on the worsening urban conditions in so many parts of the world.

## NOTES

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4. D. Osborne and T. Gaebler, *Reinventing Government: how the Entrepreneurial Spirit is Transforming the Public Service* (Addison-Wesley, Reading, MA, 1992).
5. I. Caulfield and J. Schulz, *Planning for Change: Strategic Planning in Local Government* (Longman/Local Government Training Board, Harlow, 1989).
6. F. Davidson, M. Zaaijer, M. Peltenburg and M. Rodell, *Manual for Urban Relocation and Resettlement* (Institute for Housing and Urban Development Studies, Rotterdam, 1983).
7. IsoCARP "Expanding Demands on Planning", report of Prague Conference (1994).
8. T.J. Peters and R.F. Waterman, *In Search of Excellence* (Warner, New York, 1982).
9. See D. Koren, "Strategic Organisation for People-Centred Development", *Public Administration Review* 44, 4 (July/August 1984), pp. 341–352. J.M. Bryson, *Strategic Planning for Public and Non-profit Organisations: a Guide to Strengthening and Sustaining Organizational Achievement* (Jossey-Bass, San Francisco, 1988) also writes on the linkage between management approaches in business and their application in government and non-governmental organisations.
10. Hofstede, in The Netherlands, has written extensively on this subject.
11. An example of the STEP programme in United States is given in S. Hale and M.M. Williams, *Managing Change: a Guide to Producing Innovation from Within* (Urban Institute Press, Washington, 1989).
12. Based on author's discussion with officials in Groningen, Netherlands, 1993.
13. The Urban Management Programme is a joint programme between UNCHS and the World Bank which supports urban management initiatives and disseminates information.
14. H. Suselo, J.L. Taylor and E.A. Wegelin, *Indonesia's Urban Infrastructure Development Experience: Critical Lessons of Good Practice* (United Nations Centre for Human Settlements, Nairobi, 1995) and F. Steinberg, "Urban Master Planning, What Future?", *AIHDA Journal* 94, 1 (1994), pp. 32–36.
15. A. Faludi, *Dutch Strategic Planning: an International Perspective* (SISWO, Amsterdam, 1993) contains a debate on the "Green Heart" of the Netherlands Randstad.
16. Refer to paper of R. Frenkel on Yogyakarta, Indonesia in *The Proceedings of the HRD Round Table* (IHS, 1996).
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18. Interview with Sepplan, East London, January 1995.
19. R. Zaris, T. Carter and I. Green, "An Action Plan Approach to Strategic Urban Development Planning: a Case Study from Indonesia", *Habitat International* 12, 4 (1988), pp. 13–19. and S.R. Dice, "Comments on the World Bank Experience", in H. Suselo *et al.* (1995), see note 14.
20. Florian Steinberg, (1994), *op. cit.*
21. P. Baross, *Action Planning*. Working Paper No. 2 Institute for Housing and Urban Development Studies (Rotterdam, 1991) and R. Goethert and N. Hamdi, *Making Microplans* (Intermediate Technology Publications, London 1988).