

**COLLABORATIVE PLANNING FOR  
MEGACITIES IN DEVELOPING COUNTRIES:  
REINVENTING URBAN DEMOCRACY**

**Soyun Leem  
5884518**

**April 2, 2012**

**Public and International Affairs  
Faculty of Graduates and Postdoctoral Studies  
University of Ottawa**

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## **ABSTRACT**

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Urbanization in developing countries is forecasted to double over the next several years. Urbanization and growth of megacities provide potential benefits for developing countries, but they come along with problems and challenges. It is crucial for megacities in developing countries to respond to and cope with urbanization and fast growth effectively. Effective and efficient urban planning and management are essential to responding successfully to the challenges of rapid growth. They decide on the future success or failure of megacities in developing countries. Most megacities in developing countries use a traditional top down process for their urban planning and management.

This paper questions whether the government of megacities in developing countries needs a new generation of urban planning process, so-called collaborative planning. It analyzes both the traditional master plan approach and participatory model of planning, exploring their shortfalls and benefits and explores case studies. The paper concludes that participatory approach is more transparent, democratic and effective than the current approach used by the governments of megacities in developing countries as it bridges gap between government and public, increases social cohesion and uses the social capital of the megacity more efficiently.

## **1. INTRODUCTION**

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Today, we are living in the urban age. World population growth for at least the next 50 years will be in cities and the majority of this urban growth will take place in developing countries. For example, Dares Salaam in Tanzania has a growth rate of 6% per annum, which leads to a doubling of the population every 13 years. The number of megacities will rise from 39 to 59 in 2015 (Kötter 2004). Urbanization is fundamental to national economic growth as no country has achieved higher income status without urbanization. However, rapid urbanization often overwhelms planning and management in developing countries. Megacities, characterized by their size and high densities, put great pressure on the environment, create large traffic flows and congestion, and lead to the proliferation of slums and high land values.

Urban planning has a critical role to play in resolving the problems megacities face in the context of rapid urbanization. It improves people's well-being and quality of life. International conferences on sustainable development have highlighted this message beginning with the United Nations on Environment and Development in Rio de Janeiro in 1992 (Meakin 1992). Urban planning is referred to the physical structure of development or land-use development. Historically, a traditional master planning approach has played a central role in the urban planning. The traditional master planning process is one in which the relationship between policy makers and citizens is clearly defined. This is a vertical process, with policy decisions made at the top. Citizens and communities have limited opportunity for input. The master planning approach has changed mostly in megacities in developed countries, but this remains a starting-point of urban planning for many megacities in developing

countries. Today, this type of planning process is criticized as being too complex, static and elitist.

### **1.1 Research Question**

The research question addressed in this paper is whether the government of megacities in the developing countries need a new generation of urban planning processes? Do the complexities and wickedness of contemporary public problems make ideals of traditional urban planning process obsolete?

### **1.2 Rationales for Research of Urban Planning of Megacities in the Developing Countries**

There are two rationales for the analysis of urban planning of megacities in the developing countries:

1. An urbanizing century - The rapidity, scale, and intensity of urban growth in the developing countries are alarming. More than 50% of the population of the developing countries is expected to be living in urban environments by the year 2015. By 2030, the projections jump to 60% of the world's population and nearly all of that population growth will be in the cities of the developing countries (Johns Hopkins University 2001). The ability of urban governments to cope with rapid growth depends on their authority to act and their capabilities to perform, yet many urban governments lack effective solutions to urban planning and management. It is important for governments of megacities in the developing countries to develop an effective approach to urban planning since it is a key to ensuring development that will be sustainable economically, socially and environmentally.

2. Public involvement framework: Rethinking policy process - Policy making is essentially a search for the best ideas to solve a problem or achieve a public goal. Good policy work requires clear thinking, expert knowledge, and keen political judgment on trade-offs and compromises. For the most part, this happens inside government and behind closed doors in absence of public engagement. Once the final decisions have been made, they are announced by the minister and then implemented by officials. Today, many issues cannot be solved by governments working alone. Governments cannot simply announce their strategies or plans and expect the public to comply. Real solutions to complex issues require stakeholders, citizens and communities to be involved in the decision-making process. They require collaboration between governments and the public. Collaborative decision-making is not only about implementing the right policies but also about building and managing the relationships among all of the players involved. In short, process matters.

This research paper will explore whether today's urban planning challenges have made somewhat old-fashioned policy process ideals obsolete. It is important to examine if the urban planning process of megacities in the developing countries can be updated to meet modern challenges to direct democracy even in the most depressed areas and for the poorest citizens.

### **1.3 Review of Concepts**

As this paper promotes the idea that public participation in planning can help megacities in developing countries tackle the complex problems they face, it is essential to specify what exactly is meant by planning for sustainable development, so that it becomes

clear in what citizens are intended to participate. This section explains the concepts of urban planning and urban management.

Urban Planning: The term is associated with physical and spatial development. It has its roots in architecture and engineering. Originally, urban planning was trapped in the so called rational paradigm (Rakodi, 1997) in which planners use scientific methods and knowledge to derive desirable goals (Johnson, 1997). Citizens are not involved at all. Over time, scientific rationalism was criticized and the importance of economic, social and political factors were recognized. Urban planning was then rather seen as “a means of organizing the public good of society” (Devas, 1993: 41). Today, urban planning takes a wider conception of planning, recognizing politics, power and governance as factors that influence the process. The view on urban planning in this paper is going to be wider and more inclusive than the original spatial considerations.

Urban Management: Although there is no common definition for this term, McGill (1998: 463) defines it as “the control of the development of a town or city by the means of urban development planning, due to socio-economic change.” For him (1998), urban management is a holistic concept encompassing urban development and institution building. Traditionally, urban management was considered as a task of government. But this broadened into a more governance oriented one, implying that the management process is opened up to the influence of civil society and community based organization (Wekwete, 1997: 529). In this paper, the term, urban management includes planning, unifying the concepts of planning and management.

Furthermore, it is important to define a number of concepts related to the subject such as public participation, collaborative planning, megacities and developing countries.

Public Participation: In this paper, public participation is used to describe a process that provides citizens with opportunities to take part in the decision-making (Glass, 1979) and empowers them to shape planning outcomes while increasing their levels of social and political empowerment. That said, it is about the capacity of groups and individuals to assert degrees of influence and power (Pattison, 2001).

Collaborative planning: The term, collaborative planning will be used in this paper to describe situations where governments modify power structures and build relations that allows consensus building and mutual learning to occur. In turn, this builds intellectual and social capital to promote coordination and flow of knowledge and competence among various social relations (Healey, 2006).

Developing countries: In this paper, developing countries will be defined according to economic (low income, insufficient supply of infrastructure, and low productivity), socio demographic, ecological and socio cultural/political indicators (weak state, insufficient human rights and high rate of corruption).

Megacities: In this paper, megacities will be defined in terms of the number of inhabitants. A population threshold for a megacity varies from 4 million (Gilbert, 1996) to 8 million (Richardson, 1993). However, this threshold is not clear and there is no theoretical basis for believing that megacities with different number of population would face different issues (Gilbert, 1996).

## **1.4 Research Paper Layout**

This research paper is divided into four parts. The first part explores urbanization trends in the developing countries, presenting opportunities and challenges that megacities face in the context of urbanization. In particular, it looks at the institutional and organizational problems and the rational urban planning approach megacities in developing countries use to plan and manage for urban development. The second part examines consequences of the rational planning approach used by developing country governments of megacities. The third part makes the argument that integrating public participation in the urban planning process is an essential means to achieve urban sustainability. The fourth part is dedicated to case studies. It first looks at Jakarta as an example of a megacity that uses the rational urban planning approach so as to illustrate that the traditional urban planning approach is an inefficient instrument to bridge the gap between government and demands and needs of local residents. Then it explores the collaborative planning used in Boulaq El Dakrou, covering background information, a description of the project, and the processes that were used in implementation. This case is meant to support the argument that a deliberative effort has the innate potential to increase the efficiency and efficacy of planning, ensuring that urbanization is performed in a sustainable way. The last part of the paper provides the main findings and provides recommendations for urban planning for megacities in the developing countries.

## **2. URBANIZATION IN THE DEVELOPING COUNTRIES**

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Now as the concepts have been specified it is important to introduce the context in which the new approach to participatory planning is to be adopted: urbanization and the growth of megacities in developing countries. This section highlights the most important trends in urbanization in developing countries.

### **2.1 Urbanization Trends and Megacities in Developing Countries**

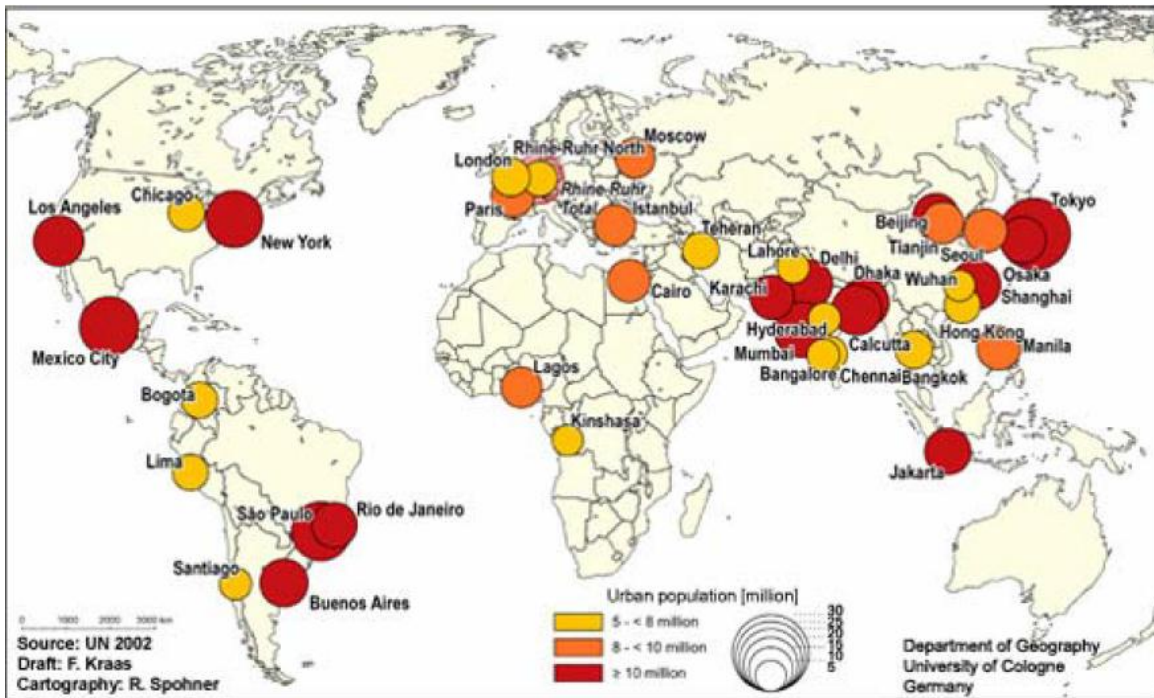
Worldwide, the proportion of the population living in cities increased from 38% in 1975 to 47% in 2000 and it will probably increase to 60% in 2030 (UN 2002). From an urbanization level of only about 18% in 1950 the urbanization level of developing countries has now reached 40% (UN World Urbanization Prospects 2009).<sup>1</sup> The rate of urbanization in developing countries is expected to increase enormously (by about 2.2 billion over the next 30 years) (HABITAT, 2001). Megacities have particular significance in this world-wide process of urbanization. More than two-thirds of the megacities are located in developing countries (UN 2002; Bronger 2004). Figure 1 illustrates that in 2015, the most growth rate and mega-urban development processes are predicted for East Asia, South Asia, and Africa.

With urbanization and globalization, megacities in developing countries have become important focal points for investments (Sassen, 2000). They provide new markets and increased demand for goods produced elsewhere in the country. Megacities often represent the most dynamic source of economic growth of their countries. For instance, Johannesburg is

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<sup>1</sup> Urbanization is measured as the percentage of the population of a country living in urban areas.

the economic engine not only for South Africa, but also it generates 10% of the GDP of the entire African continent (Mavropoulos).



**Figure 1.** Megacities in 2015

Developing countries experience very fast urbanization and growth. The most important reasons for rapid urbanization are:

Population growth: while the mortality rate in developing countries has declined after the Second World War II (Oberai, 1993) and the total population of developing countries has tripled since 1950 (UN 2002).

Rural-urban migration: Investments are usually concentrated on megacities. As a result, more jobs are created there and the standard of living is much higher than in the countryside. “The offer of new opportunities and a better life is what often draws migrants to towns” (World Development Report, 2003). There are also push factors which push people to

leave rural areas, such as population growth which cannot be absorbed by the rural areas, limitations of productivity in agriculture and the insufficient supply with goods to satisfy basic needs (Oberai, 1993). For Sub-Saharan Africa, push factors stemming from a climatically fragile agricultural base, have played a more important role for the growth of megacities than pull factors have (Oberai, 1993).

Forces of globalization: Forces of globalization have increased the flexibility of capital - the expansion of international trade in services and the flow of foreign direct investment, generally towards the megacities in developing countries, especially Asian countries (World Development Report, 2000).

There are three characteristics of megacities in developing countries: large agglomerations; increased complexity of system; and the issue of equity. First, territorial expansion over jurisdictional boundaries is common for fast growing megacities. It is often difficult to govern the whole agglomeration and to integrate the population (Gilbert, 1996). Second, the effects of fast growth, size and complexity of a megacity system seem to be correlated, as the size and pace of growth is estimated to have an important effect on urban planning. Growth increases the complexity of the system. “The potential number of relationships that have to be coordinated between actors increases as the square of the number of actors. If city A is ten times larger than city B, then the potential number of relationships to coordinate is theoretically a hundred times greater in city A than in B” (Stubbs and Clarke, 1996). The large number of actors, dimensions and issues lead to a very complex coordination effort to achieve sustainable development in the megacities. This complexity requires a

holistic view and public engagement in decision-making process to carry out management and planning effectively and efficiently. To that end, governments of megacities in developing countries should engage citizens in a dialogue to identify the key causes at play in their community. According to Lenihan, real solutions to such complex issues not only require that citizens and communities be fully involved in the planning process; they require collaboration between governments and the public (Lenihan, 2012: 37). Everyone has a role to play. In the context of the complex policy environment, government cannot simply declare a strategy and expect citizens to comply. Finally, issues of equity are more complicated as the megacities experience greater social divergence due to international and national investment. The consequences of investments are a pool of skilled labor and access to new technologies. The flip side is that high levels of unemployment, informal sector employment and social, economic and spatial segregation also occur (Carmona, 2000).

## **2.2 Challenges of Megacities in Developing Countries**

It is important for urban planning and management to take into account the economic, political and social challenges and power relations found in the megacities. Thus, this section explores some of the challenges found within the megacities in developing countries: informal sector of labor market; deficient supply of housing and infrastructure; transportation; and political exclusion and vertical integration.

Informal sector of labor market: Urban poor with few or no qualifications and education for the labor market usually find employment in the informal sector. The informal sector employs more than 50% of the labor force in most developing country megacities. In

Indian megacities, unregistered manufacturing firms employ more than those officially registered by the government (Oberai, 1993). The informal sector requires little formal skill and is not capital intensive. It offers only low and often irregular income and as it is neither officially registered nor regulated, it offers no social or legal protection for workers (Oberai, 1993). The informal sector is generally larger in sub-Saharan Africa and Latin American than in Asia because of two main policy considerations: pro-urban strategies that encourage faster rural-urban migration and labor market policies that dampen formal sector job growth by weakening the role of wage adjustments as market signals (World Bank, 1995).

Deficient supply of housing and infrastructure: Some areas of the megacities grow outside of the development control framework. In the early 1990s, three out of every four housing units in Dares Salaam were in unplanned and un-serviced settlements (Rutsch, 2001). Slums and squatter settlements are mainly due to insufficient housing provision and excess demand for inexpensive housing, which is not met by the housing supplied by government (Potter, 1985). As a result, housing is built informally and often lacks clean water or sewage systems. Also, these settlements are often located in the most vulnerable areas where they are prone to environmental pollution or disasters. The residents of these areas have poor or no access to jobs, education and public facilities (Gilbert, 1996) and due to the settlements' illegal status security of tenure is weak (Lall et al., 2002).

Transportation: Urban transport is characterized by a rapid growth in demand that has overwhelmed transport capacity. One-way average commute times in Jakarta, Kinshasa, Lagos, and Manila are over 75 minutes and survey data for Mexico City show that ten percent

of workers spend 2.5 hours on their one-way commute (International Housing Coalition). The high level of congestion in many large developing country megacities has negative implications for the level of economic development (Ichimura, 2003). Moreover, the strains placed on the road networks have led to significant declines in safety and poor air quality. Mostly, it is the urban poor who bear the costs of the congestion and deteriorating environmental quality because they often face the longest commuting times and spend much of their lives out of doors on congested and polluted streets.

Political exclusion and vertical integration: Many people in the megacities in developing countries, especially the urban poor, are politically marginalized as they are excluded from the decision-making process (Gilbert, 1996). The rich and the poor have different interests in urban development and management and different levels of access to decision-making (Stubbs and Clarke, 1996). The urban poor rarely have an access to decision-making. Also, they are integrated vertically into patronage-client relationships. Clientelist relationships are characterized by an unequal distribution of power among patron and client (Abers, 2000). One of the main problems of this unequal relationship is lack of horizontal interaction among policy-makers and public. According to Putnam (1993), vertical networks cannot sustain trust and cooperation. A client in such a relationship is not able to convey his/her complete message as the information is a potential hedge against the power of the patron (Putnam, 1993). Vertical relationships undermine potentials for a horizontal process of the decision-making.

In conclusion, urbanization has increased the complexity of the megacity system, creating new challenges and a new policy environment. In such a context, the priorities in planning and governance need substantial change. The complex reality of processes and the high pace of urbanization in megacities in developing countries would seem to suggest a horizontal decision-making process. This would suggest a more engaged and committed interaction among all responsible actors. The horizontal process is in fact vital for the sustainability of an inclusive democratic institution and the enhancement of democracy (Kincaid and Chattopadhyay, 2008: 29). Innovation in planning which includes citizens and communities is highly recommended for urbanization to be performed in a sustainable way.

### **3. CHALLENGES OF TRADITIONAL PLANNING PROCESS**

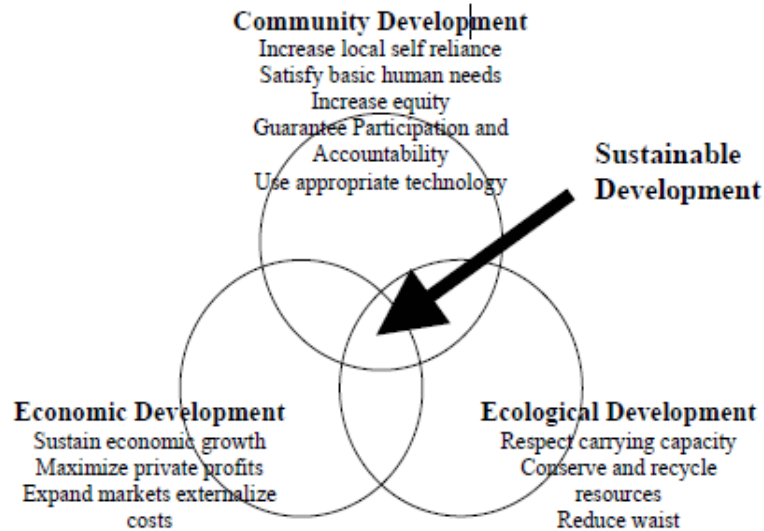
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As noted above, urbanization has the potential to accelerate growth, but it can cause socio-economic disparities, erode social cohesion and social capital and destroy the environment. The increase in population leads to an increased demand in jobs, housing, sanitation, education and transportation. More residents and the new policy environment complicate tasks of urban governments. Governments not only have to deliver augmented urban services and infrastructure, they also have to ensure that urbanization is performed in a sustainable way. This section illustrates that the developing country governments of megacities face fiscal and institutional challenges that impede a successful sustainable development.

Rondinelli has defined four functions urban government should carry out to achieve sustainable development:

*“(1) Providing infrastructure essential to the efficient operation of cities, (2) provision of services that develop human resources, improve productivity and raise the standard of living of urban residents, (3) regulating private activities that affect community welfare and the health and safety of the urban population, (4) providing services and facilities that support productive activities and allow private enterprise to operate efficiently in urban areas” (Davey, 1996: 47).*

Rondinelli has claimed that governments of megacities should try to advance economic development to gain financial resources and increase livability and equity for citizens and that these two development tasks should be carried out without harming the environment for future generations (see figure 2). However, urban governments in developing countries face problems, such as lack of institutional coordination and resources and a traditional planning approach, which impede a successful sustainable urban development.



**Figure 2.** Concept of Sustainable Development (Source: International Council on Local Environmental Initiatives, In: Newman/Kenworthy 1998)

### **3.1 Planning Challenges Facing Megacities in Developing Countries**

#### **3.1.1 Lack of Coordination**

Lack of coordination among levels of government is a common feature in the megacities in developing countries. Jurisdictions are often not integrated on a city-wide level. For instance, in 1999, the Government of Indonesia passed legislation, transferring control of many central government activities to a regional level government. Decentralization occurred without a clear idea as to how to strengthen the capacity of regional level government to formulate urban planning, budget based on development needs and monitor sectoral performance (Asri, 2005: 2311). The existence of several jurisdictions is a problem encountered by nearly all megacities in developing countries, as the fast uncoordinated spatial expansion ultimately includes growth that spills over jurisdictional boundaries (Aguilar and

Ward, 2003). The multiple institutional structures without a vertical integration make citywide planning a difficult and confusing task.<sup>2</sup>

Moreover, there is often no joint planning of development projects. The investments and operations are seen from a functional perspective, which leads to a narrow departmental world view (silo thinking) and a loss of effects of synergy (Stubbs and Clarke, 1996: 111). An example can be found in Bogotá (Columbia), where the “national housing agency frequently built homes in areas that the local planning and servicing agencies did not want to be developed. The housing agency was forced to develop cheap land in the periphery of the city even though the public utilities did not want to provide infrastructure in such areas. In one notorious instance, a housing estate went without water for three years when the municipal company refused to supply it” (Gilbert, 1996). This example suggests that urban development policies in developing countries are rarely coordinated.

### **3.1.2 Limited Resources and Enforcement Power**

The institutional difficulties for managing the development of megacities are coupled with a high dependence of local authorities on higher level resources. While the local level does not have a proper financial resources (Rakodi, 2001: 9), central governments of developing countries are often reluctant to delegate sufficient resources to lower levels of government. Another aspect of lacking resources is the insufficient education and training of local level authorities and their limited policy-making capacity (Rakodi, 2001: 210). Local

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<sup>2</sup> Horizontal local institutional structure is not negative. It is crucial as it provides a communication channel for and with the local residents. It is important to have both horizontal and vertical integration.

level government also does not possess sufficient power to enforce regulations and to collect taxes and user fees (Rakodi, 2001: 211). Megacity governments in developing countries often do not have the resources and means to enforce their urban plans and projects.

### **3.2 Nature of the Traditional Planning Process**

#### **3.2.1 Top-Down Decision-Making Process**

The urban planning process of the megacities in developing countries often excludes the public from decision-making. This means that crucial information input from the public is not available (Stubbs and Clarke, 1996). While community participation is not totally excluded in all steps of urban planning and attempts are made towards public integration, real decision-making and planning power are still not shared with the citizens.

Bottom up approach is the public engagement which strengthens accountability by clarifying roles and responsibilities in a way that makes collaboration possible. The critical tool for this is the shared action plan. In this view, government is no longer seen as a primary decision-maker and actor. Accepting this will require an adjustment in the public's expectations around politicians.

#### **3.2.2 Changing Role of Public in Urban Planning – Prevalence of Master Plan**

There has been a change in the role of the community in urban development (Burgess et al., 1997: 151). In the early 1960s, policy-makers often refused to integrate citizens into centralized planning process as they believed that scientific rationality was an effective way to deliver services. The public, especially the urban poor were not integrated. They were viewed negatively by the administration. "Often the failure to accept participation was

attributed to the egoistic and anomic values and attitudes of the poor, which were identified as the social psychological traits of a condition of ‘culture of poverty...’ (Burgess et al., 1997). However, this perception changed by adopting public participation in the urban planning process. In the 1990s, the attitude towards participation of the community changed, viewing communities as subjects rather than objects of planning (Burgess et al., 1997: 153). Policy-makers increasingly believed that public should have access to power and be represented at the center of decision-making. But these changes mainly occurred in theoretical discussions on urban development (Utzig, 1999: 24). Overall, the model of planning for megacity development which is in place practically remains oriented towards master plans. The idea is still that government regulates and the public complies.

There are several reasons why the master planning approach is still in place in megacities in developing countries. First, the professional training and ideology of urban planners exclude the possibility of public participation (Devas, 1993). They are more focused on design and scientific methods. They are interested in keeping up the system of specialists and want to ensure their work in the future. In this respect, citizen participation is a threat to their role as experts. Second, to change the approach towards participatory urban planning, planning legislation would have to be changed which takes a great commitment and considerable time.

The idea of the traditional master planning approach is still in place and with the associated shortcomings. It foresees a given development pattern for 15 to 20 years ahead (Rakodi, 2001: 209). In this approach, urban planners and technocrats are supposed to analyze

the problems of the megacity and to compile plans and solutions according to scientific criteria (Rakodi, 2001). The technocrats systematically use their knowledge to reach plans which are in the public interest which is defined by them (Hopkins, 2001: 170). These experts do not meet the real needs of local residents (Devas, 1993). Research suggests that the view on the traditional planning is neither sensitive to political nor power structures found in megacities.

#### **4. NEGATIVE CONSEQUENCES OF THE TRADITIONAL PLANNING APPROACH IN DEVELOPING COUNTRIES**

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This section highlights the major deficiencies of the urban planning approach in place in the megacities in developing countries, illustrating why the approach is not able to respond to the challenges megacities in developing countries face.

##### **4.1 Deficient Flow of Information and Knowledge Exchange**

The most significant negative consequence is insufficient flow of information and knowledge exchange for management and planning. Due to the rational planning model, the quality, and accuracy of information and the quantity of different sources the information is drawn from are limited. This means that the planning and management process does not involve any information input from the public. As noted earlier, government of the megacities in developing countries often does not integrate local residents and informal actors into the decision-making process (Stubbs and Clarke, 1996: 110). Thus, they do not have adequate contact with their citizens (Stubbs and Clarke, 1996: 2). The deficient flow of information from the base to the decision-making circles is a main factor which leads to unrealistic planning and management.<sup>3</sup>

Inadequate information not only fosters unrealistic planning, but also impedes the megacity's ability to be proactive and to anticipate future problems. It takes a long time until centralized agencies recognize problems and deficiencies (Rakodi, 2001: 211). Even if government of the megacities in developing countries identify a problem it is likely that they

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<sup>3</sup> An example of unrealistic planning is technically advanced plans found in Bangkok and Dares Salaam where Geographical Information Systems were to be implemented and failed. See Rakodi 2001 for further details.

can only react to already changed circumstances. The technocratic planning is too rigid for the dynamic and uncertain environment of the megacities. The master planning approach is not flexible and open enough to effectively respond to the pace of urbanization and the rapid changes in globalization and population patterns (Rakodi, 2001, 505). Overall, master plans are “static in nature, attuned to a scenario of slow urban growth in which major investments in infrastructure, roads, services and other public investments could be carefully planned in the context of a finite long term plan,” which cannot be found in megacities in the developing countries (McGill, 1998: 466).

#### **4.2 Poor Ownership, Legitimacy and Enforcement Power**

Problems in implementation and enforcement of regulations impede effective urban planning and management. The problems are the result of the lack of public participation during the decision-making process. The public gets insufficient knowledge and information about the plans and thus perceives the plans as the government’s ideas. Implementing plans in this way hinders the potential development of ownership in projects by the people. These plans are often unrealistic and not tailored to the real needs of the inhabitants.

Furthermore, these plans are not accepted and legitimized in the eyes of the public as there were no consultation and citizen input in deriving the plans and perceived benefits for them (Rakodi, 2001: 211). The legitimacy of the actions of megacity administration is heavily contested as “people reject the government monopoly on defining and solving social and economic problems” (Batley, 1993: 179). If development is to occur in a planned and sustainable way, the government has to get the commitment and support of the people.

Moreover, governments of the megacities in developing countries often lack financial resources and administrative capacity (Stubbs and Clarke, 1996: 82). An insufficient financial base leads to a lack of investment in urban projects. This implies that governments of the megacities in developing countries cannot provide adequate services and facilities (OECD, 2001: 35).

#### **4.3 Lack of Social Cohesion and Sense of Community**

Exclusion of citizens from the decision-making process hinders the development of feelings of belonging. The lack of horizontal communication and interaction lead to a destruction of social cohesion and solidarity among local residents (OECD, 2001: 35). No sense of community develops as active interpersonal communication is not involved. Citizens cannot “develop own competencies in handling their own issues and therefore new forms of mutual respect, tolerance and reciprocity cannot develop” (White, 1999: 29). The current urban planning systems in place in the megacities in developing countries do not utilize social capital and threaten social cohesion.

#### **4.4 Lack of Accountability and Transparency**

The master plan process in place in the megacities in developing countries lacks transparency and accountability (OECD, 2001). Accountability refers to “any situation in which individuals who exercise power are expected to be constrained and in fact are reasonably constrained by external means (e.g., judicial review) and to a degree by internal norms (e.g., codes of ethics or professional training)” (McKinney and Howard, 1998:

37). In traditional urban planning, local planners do not have to be accountable to the citizens. They are frequently appointed by external agencies e.g. the national government and are only accountable towards these agencies.

Another problem of accountability can be found in the relation between elected officials and the citizens. According to Blair (2000: 27), citizens of the megacities in developing countries often have a difficult time to control or influence their elected representatives outside of elections. More accountability and transparency enhance the commitment of the people and thus the implementation and the whole planning process (Stubbs and Clarke, 1996).

#### **4.5 Failure of the Traditional Master Planning Approach**

Overall, there is a gap between what urban governments in developing countries should achieve and what they actually accomplish. The master planning approach seems to be trapped in a vicious circle. Insufficient or no public input into central planning leads to unrealistic plans and hinders citizen ownership and commitment. This results in poor implementation, which is exacerbated by a lack of coordination. The consequence is a deficient resource allocation and a poor provision of urban infrastructure and services. The inadequate service provision and plans in turn foster mistrust of the people towards the government.

## **5. COLLABORATIVE MODEL OF PLANNING – PUBLIC PARTICIPATION**

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In order to avoid these negative consequences, the megacities in developing countries should change their urban planning and management approach which would allow them to be sustainable, ensuring that population enjoys a high quality of life and preventing transfer of socioeconomic and environmental or health problems to future generations. According to Agenda 21, one of the fundamental prerequisites for the achievement of sustainable development is broad public participation in decision-making (Meakin, 1992). The report, *Our Common Future*, places participation at the heart of sustainable development:

*“...the recognition of traditional rights must go hand in hand with measures to protect the local institutions that enforce responsibility in resource use. And this recognition must also give local communities a decisive voice in the decisions about resource use in their area” (WCED, 1987).*

Integrating public participation in urban planning and management means a shift from a narrow scientific rationality of experts towards a notion of collective rationality and an enlarged world view created by local residents and urban government (Healey, 1998: 1540).

Participation is an appealing mode of planning in complex environments, but who participates? It is important that all residents including those living in the informal settlements should have access to the process of planning to create a common rationality, which is the most rational and effective way of unveiling the complexity of the planning task. Abers (2000:118) points out that the costs of participation, which are time, energy, resources and social costs are not distributed evenly among all potential participants. Well educated and rich people usually find it easier to speak out and to participate. Poor people are likely to encounter a lack of confidence in speaking out, as they have less free time to go to meetings

or to acquire the necessary knowledge to discuss. Therefore, the costs for the less educated poor are higher and that their capacity to get organized is lower than for better off people (Abers 2000: 115). This means that the benefits for these disadvantaged groups have to be high enough to make them participate. Government should help to overcome structural problems with access.

### **5.1 Benefits for Public Participation in the Urban Planning of Megacities in Developing Countries**

Participatory planning increases efficiency and efficacy of urban development in a complex environment such as in megacities. In this paper, urban planning and management are considered to be efficient and effective when they are:

*“(1) responsive to the consequences of fast growth and fosters the ability to plan and deliver service in pace with the changing circumstances, (2) sensitive to the needs of the urban poor (shelter, basic needs, employment), (3) technically competent in investment operation and maintenance of infrastructure, (4) efficient in use of financial, human and physical resources and (5) financially viable” (Davey, 1996: 1)*

The important outcome of the participatory model of planning and management is a sustained information and knowledge flow. Citizen participation gives insight into information and data which is normally not accessible by urban governments (Healey, 1998). The citizens’ knowledge enlarges the informational base for urban planning and management and improves the overall understanding about the complex system of a megacity. Knowledge about informal arrangements and the specific needs of local residents broaden the information base for urban planning. More participants and open deliberation mean more heterogeneity of opinions and judgments which provides a plus in ideas and innovations in the urban planning

process (Elster, 1998: 11). Integrating citizens into the urban planning process not only improves the accuracy of information but also allows government of megacities in developing countries to work together with them in monitoring and enforcing policies, as they can draw on wide scopes of different sources of authority (Cohen and Rogers, 1992: 441).

Moreover, citizen participation increases the relevance and responsiveness of plans. A better informational base increases the administration's ability to respond to public's specific needs instead of compiling unrealistic plans (Day, 1997: 405). The model of participatory planning has the potential to produce changes from the below and to react to changes more quickly than before as citizens are integrated throughout the planning process and so a constant input of information from various sources is ensured. Through the participatory planning, it is easier for governments of the megacities of developing countries to recognize problems and potential failures early. A higher relevance and more responsiveness to changes are crucial in the complex and fast changing environment of megacities.

Furthermore, public participation in urban planning can have an educative function in learning democratic practice (Cole, 1973). People get experience in articulating their views and gain knowledge about how to organize and participate in democratic processes. By participating, people think about the common welfare and the will of others. They learn how to compromise, negotiate and arrive at commonly shared goals (Day, 1997: 405). Participation in the planning and management process can be a "school of deliberative democracy" (Baiocchi, 2001: 55).

Also, integrating citizens into the urban planning fosters ownership, commitment,

legitimacy, transparency and accountability. In the participatory model of planning, people agree on plans after fair negotiation. The plans made are thus perceived to belong to citizens. Thus, the commitment to plans is higher (as they are recognized as the peoples' ideas). The commitment to commonly derived plans is superior and so the implementation is easier than imposing plans by force (Kincaid and Chattopadhyay, 2008: 30). The compliance and implementation are more efficient and effective. Better implementation of plans and higher credibility towards urban government may lead to increased compliance in tax or fee payment, making projects financially more viable (Potter, 1985).

Closely connected to public commitment and ownership is the increase of legitimacy of plans. By participating, residents legitimate and partly control the development of their city (Healey, 2006). More legitimacy and ownership lead to more compliance and efficiency of plans. Also, active citizen participation fosters community cohesion by relying on horizontal relationships among citizens. Vertical relationships are always second best solutions as they hinder the development of social capital (Putnam 1993). The concept of social capital comprises norms of reciprocity, civic engagement and mutual trust. If these elements are found in a society, problems of collective action can more easily be resolved.

According to Putnam (1993), social capital can only build up when horizontal interaction occurs. This interaction builds trust and reciprocity for future interactions. Participatory planning indeed promotes horizontal interaction among citizens and through this interaction, trust and mutual support develop. Active horizontal cooperation and discussion foster social cohesion, solidarity and a sense of community (Cole, 1973: 7). Social cohesion,

trust and solidarity advance the efficacy of service provision and implementation of the plan.

Participation in planning and management means “a shift of access to power from powerful technocrats towards empowering the poor and disadvantaged” (Pretty, 1995: 1251). In the participatory planning process, citizens are no longer recipients of benefits from patrons in exchange for political support, but they are active agents who influence the decisions and receive the benefits from the projects as rights. The participatory planning fulfills the basic democratic right of all residents to participate in the development of their community (Potter, 1985: 149).

## **6. CASE STUDIES**

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In order to better understand the challenges and power relations within the megacities in developing countries and to compare the two planning approaches, this section is dedicated to case studies, covering background information description of the projects, processes that were used in implementation and results of the projects.

### **6.1 Jakarta**

#### **6.1.1 Spatial, Administrative and Organizational Structure**

Jakarta, the capital of Indonesia, is the world's 10<sup>th</sup> largest urban agglomeration (UN World Urbanization Prospects, 2009). Jakarta, also known as DKI (Daerah Khusus Ibukota – Special Capital Region) is located in the north-west of the island Java at the Java Sea coastline. The Jakarta metropolitan region, Jabodetabek, housed about 19 million people in 2008 (Japan International Cooperation Agency and National Development Planning Agency, 2004). Jabodetabek is the name for a non-administrative region spreading over DKI Jakarta, the regencies (kabupatens) Bogor, Tangerang and Bekasi and the municipalities (kotas) Bogor, Tangerang, South Tangerang, Bekasi and Depok as shown in figure 2. (Firman 2008: 283). DKI Jakarta is composed of five kota: Jakarta Utara, Jakarta Timur, Jakarta Selatan, Jakarta Barat and Jakarta Pusat (Firman 2008: 284).

DKI Jakarta is headed by a governor who is assisted by three deputy governors for Public Administrative Affairs, People's Welfare Affairs and Economic and Development Affairs (Djamal, 1996: 100). Urban planning and management on the provincial level is the

responsibility of the Regional Development Planning Board (Badan Perencanaan Pembangunan Daerah – BAPEDA) under direct supervision of the Governor. Unlike in other parts of Indonesia, where municipalities are autonomous government units (with elected heads of local governments and local councils) the five municipalities in DKI Jakarta are only administrative units without elected heads of local governments and members of local councils (Djamal, 1996: 100). Although supervision of the local governments is mostly conducted by the corresponding local councils, the national government has some roles of supervision (Djamal, 1996: 111).



**Figure 2.** Jakarta and the sprawl into the neighbouring regencies

Due to the introduction of the decentralization policy, the metropolitan region is not under any single administrative government. In 1976, Badan Kerja Sama Pembangunan

(BKSP), a cooperation board for the coordination of development activities, was established to respond to the urbanization and the fast structural changes within Jabodetabek. Although a strategic plan had been developed by BKSP, its implementation failed due to the weak position of the board. (Dharmapatni and Firman, 1995: 312). Although BKSP is supposed to function as a coordinating, monitoring and evaluating body, it does not have authority other than a forum for exchanges of information. The power in Jabodetabek is dispersed over different entities: DKI Jakarta, West Java and Banten, the various regencies and municipalities, even though a coordinated metropolitan management is much needed in the region (Soegijoko, 1996: 386). The lack of one administrative unit that covers all parts of the metropolitan region has become a source of problems in the coordination of various aspects of urban development and management of this region.

### **6.1.2 Economic, Ecological and Social Situations**

Jakarta is considered as a second stage megacity, according to the categories produced by the Asian Development Bank (ADB) (ADB, 1996: 31). Second stage megacities with a per capita GDP between US\$1,000 and US\$10,000 show increasing industrialization and a growing metropolitan region. The annual GDP growth rate of the city was 4% in 2000 and is expected to increase to 9% in 2015 (ADB, 1996). Jabodetabek is the major driver for national economic development and accounts for a major share of Indonesia's export (Soegijoko, 1996: 396).

Over the past number of years, Jakarta has experienced uncontrolled residential development, resulting in the development of high density conditions in kampungs and

informal settlements that have become defined as overcrowded or slum areas.<sup>8</sup> Kampung are built individually and exhibit irregular patterns of development. They often lack an adequate infrastructure for sanitation, water supply, electricity and education and are prone to natural hazards (Djamal, 1996: 99). Another issue in the field of socio-economic management is the high informal employment rate in the age group of 15-24 year-olds (46%). Most of this group are migrants without formal education and few technical skills unable to participate in the highly competitive job market (Djamal, 1996: 99).

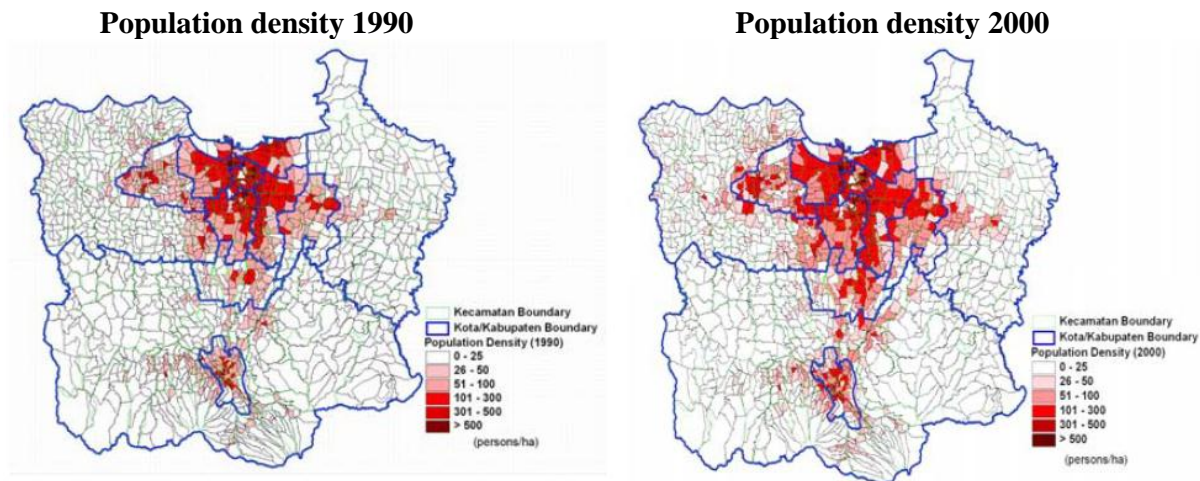
Furthermore, after the Asian financial crisis, there have been migration trends in Jabodetabek, including both an in-migration to DKI Jakarta and Bodetabek from West Java and other parts of Indonesia and an out-migration from DKI Jakarta to Bodetabek. Whereas DKI Jakarta was an attractive place for migrants seeking employment in the past, the main migration stream has changed its destination since the middle of the 1970's (Japan International Cooperation Agency and National Development Planning Agency, 2004). Lower land prices and living costs and increasing employment opportunities have attracted more migrants, both from DKI Jakarta and the rest of the country (Japan International Cooperation Agency and National Development Planning Agency, 2004). New towns and residential areas were developed in Bodetabek and population growth rates in this region outnumbered the ones of DKI Jakarta (Soegijoko 1996: 388). Urbanization in Bodetabek between 1990 and 2000 was 3.7% per annum while the growth in Jakarta was merely 0.2%

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<sup>8</sup> The majority of the kampungs does not possess legitimate tenure.

per annum (see figure 3) (Japan International Cooperation Agency and National Development Planning Agency, 2004).

As the out-migrants had to commute to their workplaces downtown, the traffic got worse and therefore some people have moved back to the city centre in more recent years. The rapid population and economic growth and the subsequent growth of travel demand in Jabodetabek have inevitably brought about urban transport problems.



**Figure 3.** Population density in 1990 and 2000

### 6.1.3 Transportation in Jakarta

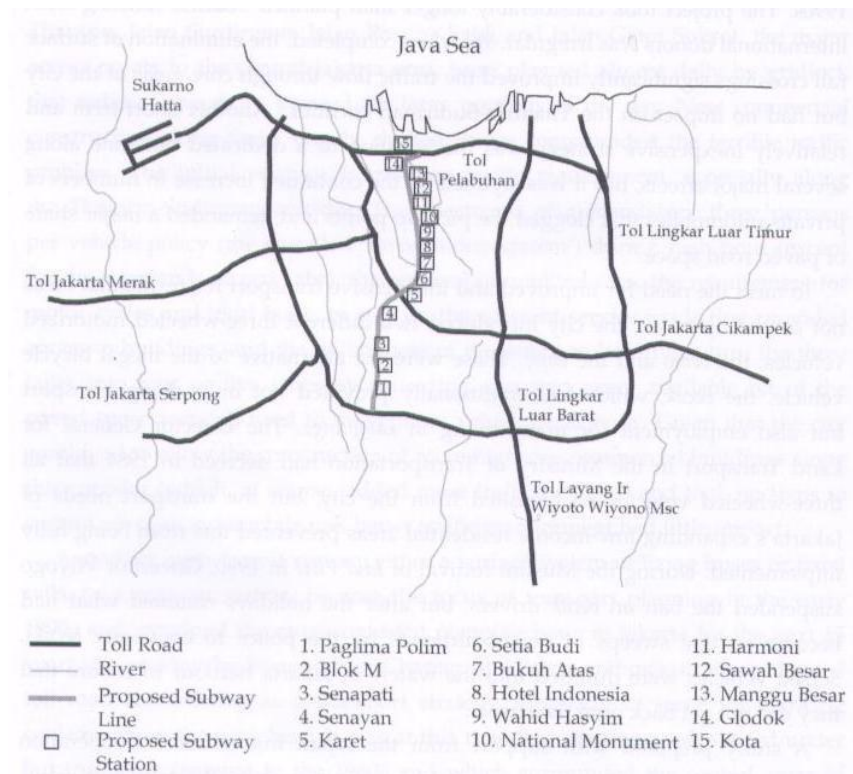
Development of a high capacity transport system to support the urban growth. Jalan Thamrin, Jalan Surdirman, Jalan Rasuna Said and Jalan Gatot Subrot, the major access points to the central Jakarta area were plagued almost daily by gridlock that reduced speeds to a crawl for large portions of the day (Silver, 2008). New commercial construction along these already choked routes compounded the traffic problem. Economic losses due to traffic jams in Jakarta based on the research result conducted by Yayasan Pelangi on 2005 was estimated to

be US\$ 1.4 billion/year which includes the value of time, fuel costs, and health costs. Also, the study conducted by Japan International Cooperation Agency in 2004 stated that if there is no improvement on the transportation systems in Jakarta, it is estimated that Jakarta's traffic will stay jammed in 2020 (Japan International Cooperation Agency and National Development Planning Agency, 2004). Thus, a modern mass transit system, either a surface system utilizing buses or fixed rails or a subway system, became the focus of transport planning in the early 1990s.

Jakarta addressed transport improvement by launching a North-South subway line project (Silver, 2008). In 1995, a memorandum of understanding involving a consortium of investors from Indonesia, Japan and Europe signaled the beginning of design work on the transport scheme, a North-South subway line running 14.5 km from the Kota area in North Jakarta southwards to the Blok M market area in Kebayoran Baru (MRT Jakarta). Figure 4 illustrates the proposed plan. The estimated cost of the project was US\$ 1.3 billion and it was to be a public-private partnership (Silver, 2008). The subway project attracted a broad base of financial support including a company owned by former President Suharto's daughter, Siti Hardiyanti Rukmana.

The public announcement of the subway project met with mixed reactions partly because of its enormous costs and it seemed likely to serve only a limited group of people. Several investors proposed alternative schemes, complicating the debate. The Manggarai project was an alternative to the subway as it involved expanding the existing rail station at Manggarai and proposed the transformation of the existing rail station into four-storey facility

served by 22 tracks, four for underground express lines and space to accommodate surface buses, minibuses and taxis (Silver, 2008). Another scheme, three-tier transit system involved construction of a new elevated railway, a toll road and an arterial road, all stacked into a single right-of-way, to link the city centre with Cinere and Kebayoran Lama in South Jakarta (Silver, 2008). What complicated the situation more was Siti, through her company, PT Citra Lamtoro Gung Persada, had backed out of the subway deal and became the sole supporter of the Mangarrai project while also heading a consortium for the three-level system.



**Figure 4.** Proposed subway line from the Kota area to Kebayoran Baru.

The political intrigue around the transit debate arose when it was announced that the Mangarrai project would be constructed solely by Siti’s company, whereas the subway project developer would be determined through a tender process (Silver, 2008). To counter the

negative public perception of the Suharto family links to the Magarrai project, backers of the three-level scheme created a new joint venture company, PT Citramoda Margakencana Persaida, which consisted not just of Siti's firm but also the state-owned railway company, Permuka and the state-owned highway corporation, PT Jasa Marga, and several lesser investors. One of the concerns with the surface transit proposals was anticipated protests from land owners required to sell land to create the right-of-way. Also, the cost had been determined as in excess of US\$2.5 billion, making it nearly twice as expensive as the original subway scheme. This case demonstrates that the transportation system development in Jakarta was conducted in absence of public engagement and served the interests of the few.

#### **6.1.4 Open Green Areas in Jakarta**

Another example of top-down decision-making process is the development of open green areas (legally defined as areas where plants can grow). The former Suharto government used every space of Jakarta to its maximum to accommodate the growing population and the demands of new commercial development. In the 1970s, open and undeveloped green spaces represented between 40 and 50% of Jakarta's surface area (Silver, 2008). A total of 246 of the city's 412 public parks had been converted to some other function. For example, in violation of the master plan, a police station was built in the Taman Puring Park in South Jakarta in the late 1980s (Silver, 2008).

The expansion of office towers, luxury homes, condominiums, shopping malls and hotels absorbed large swatches of green open space, making the city more prone to floods.

Annual floods in Jakarta pointed to an urgent need to protect existing green areas and to create new ones. Annual floods became more severe, and more deadly. The flood in February 2007 inundated about 70% of the city, killing at least 57 people. In the aftermath of the flood, Environment Minister Rachmat Witoelar blamed the flooding on the excessive construction of residential and commercial buildings, which cover many of the city's former green areas (Rukmana, 2009). Furthermore, the City Population and Environmental Agency studied the open space issue in 1990 and suggested that there would be none left within the next two decades unless the government stepped in (Silver, 2008).

To protect remaining green spaces and create more, the 2000-2010 Master Plan aimed to achieve green areas of 14% of the total city area. This expansion came at the expense of Jakarta's powerless residents. For example, in 2008, the restoration of Ayodia Park in South Jakarta led to evictions of fish and flower traders who had run their businesses in that area for more than 20 years. Jakarta Governor Fauzi Bowo argued that the vendors were there illegally and had no right to the land (Rukmana, 2009). In the same year, the city administration evicted ceramics sellers from beneath a highway overpass in Rawasari, Central Jakarta, in order to expand green spaces (Rukmana, 2009). It did the same to about 1400 families who had lived for years in North Jakarta to restore the 66 hectare BMW Park (BMW in this case stands for Bersih, Manusiawi, dan Wibawa – Clean, Humane, and Esteemed).

At the expense of the city's poor, Jakarta authorities have constructed condominiums, malls, hotels and commercial offices in designated green areas, violating the city's spatial plans. The Indonesian Forum for the Environment (WALHI) counted numerous Jakarta

developments that converted green areas into malls and other commercial buildings, in violation of Jakarta's spatial plan. Its May 2009 report identified these illegal developments in Kelapa Gading, Pantai Kapuk, Sunter, Senayan, and Tomang (Urban Poor Consortium). Jakarta has about 60 mid-size and large shopping malls. According to the Urban Poor Consortium, only about 500,000 Jakarta residents are able to shop in those malls. The malls do not serve Jakarta's poor, who outnumber Jakarta's mall-shopping rich by seven-to-one (Urban Poor Consortium).

### **6.1.5 Malfunction of the Jakarta Master Plan**

The Jakarta case suggests that the master urban planning and management approach was not very effective in controlling and managing urban growth and that the absence of public participation and the lack of coordinated planning were the causes of inefficiency. For instance, the three proposed projects, the three-tier system, the subway and the Manggaria transit terminal were proposed independently rather than related to a single overall plan. It was the private investors who had a plan to integrate the three schemes and to provide a way for the city and the national government to embrace all three. Moreover, the plan to build underground subways along the North-South axis did not benefit the majority of poor workers in the metropolis, who live and work along the East-West axis.

Given the planning process to build open green areas, Jakarta seemed to find it easier to expand green areas by evicting poor residents and forcing informal sector workers off public space, than by preventing developments that benefit only the few.

Constant concern among these mega-developments in Jakarta is that serious planning for public engagement and needs were not a part of the process. This lack of public engagement or participatory planning led students to protest demanding transparency and accountability in the urban planning process (Silver, 2008). Taking the traditional master planning approach, Jakarta is charged with identifying a comprehensive range of problems and devising broad solutions based on the rational planning with no public input.

The case demonstrates that the management and planning modes used in Jakarta, Indonesia were not satisfactory for the dynamic and manifold environment found in megacities. The results of the rational planning approach were unequal distribution of services and a growing fragmentation within the megacity area. The unsatisfactory situation and the complex environment suggest that there is a strong need for a more flexible approach to planning and management of urban development, that is collaborative planning approach. This collaborative model consists of a smaller role of central government, the involvement of more actors, the rejection of master plans and a new role of the administration as an enabler of local initiatives and civic association instead of controlling and limiting them (Lenihan, 2012: 73). It encourages the interactive relationship between and within government and non-governmental forces, ensuring that civil society has a say in resource allocation, decision-making is transparent, political agencies are accountable, and many different actors, formal or informal, are included.

## **6.2 Boulaq El Dakrour, Egypt**

Only a few large cities in developing countries can serve as a good example for citywide deliberative efforts in planning. The Participatory Urban Development Project of Boulaq El Dakroul is exemplary, as it represents nearly all of the characteristics of participatory model of planning.

### **6.2.1 Basic information and environmental situation**

Boulaq El Dakroul is located west of Central Cairo within the boundaries of Giza Governorate. It is one of Giza's eight urban districts and hosts about 17% of its nearly 5 million inhabitants (CAPMAS, 2001).

The socio-economic spectrum of residents in Boulaq El Dakroul is diverse and encompasses a considerable number of middle class inhabitants. However, there are also many poor residents who often live next door to their non-poor fellow residents. It is estimated that 22% of household heads depend on casual labor, temporary or seasonal employment. Unemployment is particularly high among youth and new entrants into the labor market (Ministry of Planning, 2007). Furthermore, there is a serious lack of public and social services. There are poorly equipped and managed cultural centers and no operational fire-fighting facilities. Most health centers operate out of rented apartments under constant pressure to move (Assaad and Rouchdy, 2003).

An inadequate solid waste collection system contributes to the unhealthy conditions in Boulaq El Dakroul. The Giza Beautification and Cleaning Authority, private garbage collectors with a long tradition and a fundamental role in Cairo and Giza governorates, receive a monthly fee and in return collect solid waste directly from households (Piffero,

2009). However, low income areas are not a profitable market for them because the residents cannot afford to pay the fee. Consequently, more than 20% of the solid waste is not collected (Piffero, 2009).

### **6.2.2 The Participatory Urban Development Project - the first and second phase in 1999-2001 and 2001-2003**

The Participatory Urban Development Project began in 1998 in the framework of bilateral cooperation between the Arab Republic of Egypt and the Federal Republic of Germany with the Giza Governorate (Piffero, 2009). The project started initially as an upgrading project, focusing on infrastructure, urban planning, public space and environmental improvements. A pilot area was chosen in Old Boulaq for the first implementation phase (Piffero, 2009). However, physical upgrading measures were not secured with clear agreements on the provision of necessary resources. Finance was expected to be mobilized from various Egyptian sources such as the governorate, line ministries and the Social Fund for Development (Piffero, 2009). With very modest donor resources, the project had limited ability to finance pilot upgrading measures to demonstrate innovative approaches.

Consultations with the local community revealed that the priorities of the public did not match with the assumptions of local administration and the consultants who designed the project (Ministry of Planning, 2007). It turned out that local residents were more concerned with economic development and provision and improvement of social and community services. As a consequence, the project was re-conceptualized in accordance with the priority areas identified by the local residents (Ministry of Planning, 2007).

This urban management promoted the concept of locally negotiated and agreed

development measures to improve the living conditions. Interventions were designed to provide learning experiences in participatory planning and decision making. This was done in the development of local environment and solid waste management (Piffero, 2009). Project measures were aimed at promoting joint responsibility of government agencies, the community and the private sector for garbage collection and the improvement of the environment. This included the “training of environmental pioneers who were involved in public cleaning and awareness campaigns, environmental competitions and attempts to establish problem-solving mechanisms among the different actors” (Ministry of Planning, 2007). Since motorized garbage collection vehicles could not access residential streets, the project established a container collection system together with the Giza Beautification and Cleanliness Authority.

Also, pilot projects have been implemented to improve public space with the participation of the public. One project included interventions such as street paving, creation of recreational space and tree planting in El Amer Street and the adjacent lanes with a high number of users due to the location of several schools, a community center and a youth club (Ministry of Planning, 2007). The local residents participated actively in design, implementation, finance and the development of maintenance schemes.

### **6.2.3 The Participatory Urban Development Project - the third phase in 2004-2007**

In 2004, the project underwent a series of strategic renewal. A stronger coordination in the frame of the Participatory Development Program (PDP) was established. During the project planning of the first two phases, the concept of “participative urban management” was

left without a clear definition and attempts to identify what “participative urban management” should be were not included (Piffero, 2009).

After six years of pilot implementation, the administration felt the need to better characterize the participatory approach and to clearly define the planning in order to translate it into practice. The “urban management practices” was defined as being “processes of consultation and planning” that requires a process of negotiation between the community and the government (Piffero, 2009).

This project represents participatory and collaborative urban planning that afforded the local residents the opportunity to participate on a sustained and continuous basis in negotiations about their needs and priorities. The Egyptian government has enhanced the responsiveness of the planning process and promoted social cohesion by integrating the local residents into the decision-making process. This case illustrates that the collaborative approach has moved the government and the community beyond the traditional view where citizens are seen as passive consumers of government services and policies and toward a new view in which they are full partners in governance. Also, the case suggests that the collaborative partnership would be more effective than the patronage-client relationship in helping government to improve the information and knowledge base for decision-making and foster legitimacy as well as transparency. Overall, this case suggests that a participatory planning approach has the potential to increase efficiency and efficacy of planning, thus helping to ensure that urbanization takes place in a sustainable way.

## **7. REINVENTING URBAN DEMOCRACY FOR MEGACITIES IN DEVELOPING COUNTRIES**

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The main findings<sup>4</sup> that emerged from the case study analysis include:

- The urban planning process should be flexible and transparent to effectively react to changes in the complex environment;
- It is important for governments of megacities in the developing countries to promote participatory planning and educate urban planners, so they have skills and knowledge necessary to pursue collaborative planning;
- The process should be democratic and allow all stakeholders to participate equally. Governments of the megacities in the developing countries should harness local community initiatives and their ability to contribute to the process in all stages, forming horizontal networks. They should transfer powers to lower levels and decentralize in order to promote local autonomy and participation;
- Urban planning should be horizontally integrated in terms of overreaching jurisdictional borders and functions within the city administration. Especially a combination of planning and budgetary matters should be integrated, as the creation of plans cannot be realistic without financial means to implement them;
- The process has to be vertically integrated among different administration units of government within the megacity. This means that compliance and coordination between plans and ideas on the local and aggregated level have to be reached; and

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<sup>4</sup> These findings exclude fiscal issues of megacities.

- The horizontal and vertical integration imply that a system-wide coordination is needed, which means that actions have to be coordinated throughout the megacity.

Overall, research suggests that the traditional master planning approach is inadequate to effectively react to the complexities and changes in the megacities in developing countries and that the megacities in developing countries should be encouraged to shift from the traditional approach of centralized, top-down decision-making to one in which their role involves the creation of an environment which enables urban residents to take a part in the planning process. In order to sustain the urban development, the governments of the megacities in the developing countries need a new generation urban planning approach that integrates the public into the process and reinvents urban democracy.

In particular, the governing body for the whole megacity should introduce and support the participatory process of the urban planning. The agency would function as initiator and catalyst for the participatory process. This conception of an enabling government fostering civic engagement would be a departure from the older commonly held principle of the traditional planning system. It suggests that civic engagement can be bolstered by the intervention of a benevolent government. More use of participatory planning methods would have benefits in terms of responsiveness and effectiveness. It is important for the government of megacities in developing countries to leave the contents and the steering of the process to the citizens.

Indeed, the deliberative approach creates a special role for citizens. It casts them as partners with government by getting them to work together with government to find and

implement solutions to complex issues (Lenihan, 2012: 68). The participatory urban planning process recognizes that the urban planning issue should be solved through this deliberative approach. Many studies have claimed that public participation increases the efficiency and efficacy of planning and managing urban development in a complex environment such as in megacities. Obviously citizen participation cannot be the single cure to the challenges of megacities, but it has to be part of a wider, holistic reform of how urban planning is done. To that end, it is recommended that the government of the megacities in developing countries integrate their citizens into the urban planning process to enhance urban democracy and to achieve more responsive, efficient and sustainable development.

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