



SPECIAL ISSUE  
**PLANNING PRACTICES  
AND THEORIES FROM  
THE GLOBAL SOUTH**



AESOP Young Academics Booklet Project  
Conversations in Planning

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The image in the cover page shows street life in Accra, Ghana. Credit: Justin Tata Loma

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### **International Planning Education Part I**

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=F8MxBt3mbTQ>

Bruce Stiftel outlines Lorena Melgaço's and Susmita Rishi's arguments for transforming international planning education to foster greater attention on theories from the Global South. This video is part of the Assn of European Schools of Planning (AESOP) Young Academics Network booklet project on Practices and Theories from the Global South.

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Angelique Chettiparamb introduces Chapter 7 of the Special issue: Planning Practices and Theories from the Global South.

INTERNATIONAL PLANNING EDUCATION: TOWARDS A GLOBAL SHARED COMMONS OF PLANNING



Credit: Chandrima Mukhopadhyay



Credit: Anandit Sachdev

# Editorial

Conversations in Planning Practice and Theory booklet project

Angelique Chettiparamb, Chandrima Mukhopadhyay, Chiara Belingardi, Giusy Pappalardo, and Mennatullah Hendawy.

Urban planning has traditionally been a public sector activity situated in the ‘local’: It is a place based, history-dependent activity. As Flyvbjerg (2001, p.38) states, recalling Michael Foucault, “context counts”. On the other hand, there is a ‘global’ idea of Urban/City/Regional planning that has emerged from world-wide dynamics, which are shaping cities profoundly (Sassen, 1991). This global idea of planning has emerged from exchanges between academics and practitioners from various parts of Europe, North America, Australia and from countries of the Global South, at academic and industry-oriented conferences and meetings. GPEAN (Global Planning Education Association Network), formed by nine city and regional planning school associations, namely, the Asian Planning School Association (APSA), the Association of Collegiate Schools of Planning (ACSP), Association of Canadian University Planning Programs (ACUPP), the Association of European Schools Of Planning (AESOP), the National Association of Urban and Regional Post-graduate and Research Programmes in Brazil (ANPUR), the Association for the Promotion of Education and Research in Planning and Urbanism (APERAU), Australian and New Zealand Association of Planning Schools (ANZAPS), the Association of Latin-American Schools of Urbanism and Planning (ALEUP), and the Association of African Planning Schools (AAPS), played a significant role in framing the global idea of planning (Albrechts, 2006; Stiftel and Watson, 2005).<sup>1</sup>

The global idea of planning has been mainly advanced by the Euro-American network through publications, conferencing, and research grants. The Euro-American publishing industry has also typically been dominated by planners and academics from the Global North (Stiftel and Mukhopadhyay, 2007). Not surprisingly, this has given rise to the idea that planning theories and ideas emerged from the Global North and travel across the border to the Global South in the form of practice and theory. On the contrary, knowledge produced from the South was not globally circulated due to multiple constraints. The internationality of authors and editors in high-impact planning journals have been evolving/improving however over the last decade with growing recognition of the dominance of certain geographies and the limitations on planning thought that ensue. There has been immense growth in international cross-fertilization in planning scholarship/practice over the last one and half decades, both in terms of internationality of editorial boards and authors, and in international conferences bringing planners together. There are still gaps and partnerships are far from equal, but the situation has significantly improved since publication of Stiftel and Mukhopadhyay (2007). Whether theories and ideas can travel from the Global North to South or from the Global South to the North is debatable (Healey and Upton, 2010; Roy, 2011); perhaps the more specific questions to ask would be which ideas are more likely to travel. Planning practices in the Global South have been shaped by contexts dominated by largely economically less affluent populations, high levels of informality, increasing income disparities, various versions of the right to the city movements, and ethnic and religious conflicts to name just a few ‘stubborn realities’ that demands additional intellectual space than what is captured in planning theories emerging in the Global North (Yiftachel, 2006; Watson, 2012; Parnell and Robinson, 2012).

<sup>1</sup> Later two additional associations joined: The Association of Indonesian Planning Schools (ASPI), and the Association of Planning Schools of Turkey (TUPOB).

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One of the purposes of this special issue is to discuss shared perspectives of Urban Planning theories and practices in the Global North and South (defined below) in more practical and tangible terms, including recently emerging Southern theory perspectives. In order to do so, this booklet examines closely existing and normative positions of the Global South in planning practice, theory, and education, and reflects on how this might enrich the professional experience of the global planning community. Chettiparamb (2020) argues that Planning as a discipline could be thought of as problem driven, organisationally susceptible to diverse disciplinary pressures and without a strong core. This special issue is an attempt at situating the professional experiences and academic reflections of the Global South in this multidisciplinary and complex tapestry of the planning discipline. We find ourselves privileged to undertake this important and long overdue examination and we are thankful to AESOP for having commissioned this booklet.

The Booklet series is unique in its form of production: various contributions in the Booklet series emerge from dialogues between senior academics and young academics. True to tradition, the special issue is also a compilation of contributions authored by young academics, but developed in dialogue with senior academics. We have however chosen carefully for this booklet by ensuring that contributors have experience in academia and/or in practice in the (geographic) Global South. We hope the final product will be used by academics, professionals, and policy makers, in both the Global North and South.

There is a debate regarding using the correct term to describe the uneven, post- and neo-colonial patterns of development and power (Yiftachel, 2021). Terms like ‘developing’, ‘third world’, and ‘Global South’ have variously originated from different purposes. We have chosen to adopt the term ‘Global South’ for the purpose of this special issue, and therefore we would like to outline the differences and clarify why we chose ‘Global South’.

The term ‘three worlds’ originated in mid-Century with Claude Bourdet using the term as early as 1949 (Wolf-Philips, 1987), and demographer-economist Alfred Sauvy publishing the term in a Brazilian journal in 1951. Within Asian and African countries, the Bandung conference, organised in April 1955, first used the term “Third World” (Harris, 1987). The conference was organised with representatives from Asian and African countries. wherein the leaders decided to improve cooperation amongst countries from Asia and Africa, and reduce their dependence on Europe and North America.

The term ‘underdeveloped areas’ was first used in the inaugural address of US President Harry Truman in 1949 (Truman, 1968). A Pearson report in 1969, used the terms ‘developed and developing countries’ to recommend more aids from developed to developing countries; in a spirit of ‘partners in development’, which was also the title of the document. The binary terms ‘developed/developing countries’ have been originally used by international development agencies. In general, developing countries are defined as countries with less developed industrial base and low Human Development Index. Although United Nations use the term ‘developing countries’, they clarify the purpose as:

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The designations “developed” and “developing” are intended for statistical convenience and do not necessarily express a judgment about the stage reached by a particular country or area in the development process (United Nations, 1999, preface).

The World Bank announced in 2015 that their ‘developed/developing countries’ metaphor will become less relevant and instead their report will present data integration for regions and income groups.

‘Global South’ is a term that we adopted for the special issue, and the concept captures a range of debates. The term was first coined in postcolonial studies in 1969 (Carl Oglesby, writing in Catholic journal *Commonweal* in a special issue on the Vietnam War). In critical circles, ‘Global South’ has almost never been a purely geographical concept; it intersects spatial, historical and political economic dimensions and is often used as a metaphor for these sets of dimensions. The Global South is also used as an analytical category that denotes a particular set of conditions that draw scientific attention. In both instances, there is a conscious attempt therefore to move away from any sense of a linear unidirectional trajectory that might place the Global South in a lesser light in comparison with the Global North. In fact, it has been argued that the Global South may well exist within the cities of the geographical Global North and the Global North can also in turn exist within cities of the geographical Global South and that each may not be therefore quite so polarised (Mady and Chettiparamb, 2016). Due to these reasons, we employ the term ‘Global South’ in this booklet to capture the intellectual space of planning theories, practices, strengths and challenges in those countries that share a particular set of conditions.

Watson (2003) coins the term ‘conflicting rationality’ to discuss how planning practices and hence theories are/should be different in cities in the Global South based on contextual deep differences. The first step towards planning theory from the Global South has been referred to as a Southern turn in planning theory (McFarlane, 2008). Yiftachel (2006) introduced a South-Eastern approach, breaking the binary of North-South and East-West. Watson (2009) introduce idea of ‘seeing from the south’. The recent literature within southern theory from Bhan (2019) on vocabularies show a way forward on how to build theories from innovative planning practices on the ground in the Global South.

Global South is a generic term that nevertheless encompasses diversity through a multitude of specificities. It is a generic term applicable to various continents within the Global South including Africa, Asia, and South America each experiencing various types and forms of urbanisation, attributable to specific geographies, climates, economies, politics and cultures. It is important therefore to bear in mind this diversity within the term ‘global South’. We have authors, advisors and reviewers from the US, UK, Germany, South Africa, India, China, Europe, Australia, Mexico, Argentina and Brazil. Produced during the Covid-19 pandemic, the interactions between senior academics and young academic authors were facilitated through online video conferencing. We are grateful to YA authors and senior academics who joined these calls and collaborated from various countries and continents at different time zones.

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Collectively the chapters explore the idea of urban planning, trying to understand if and how planning ideas and practices are differently approached in the Global South. The chapters reveal that similar issues, challenges, and ideas are discussed across borders. Theoretical ideas even when generated in the North, assume different nuances in Southern theory, and it is often applied in the South differently. The Global South has also given rise to theorisations that are more rooted in the Global South (for instance work on informality, food security, right to the city, ethnocracy and so on), which have influenced planning thought in the Global North. The flow of ideas is therefore now increasingly travelling from the South to North as well. Additionally, international planning students from the South challenge and enrich the learning experience of in-state students in the Global North.

Considering the diversity of schools of thoughts within the discipline, this booklet brings three approaches that emerge from varied contexts and are at varied stages of maturity. These three schools of thoughts are Southern theory, transnational theory, and a one-world approach. The chapters on International Planning Practices (Theme 1), Vocabularies (Theme 2) are rooted in Southern theory. Southern theory emerges from planning practices in the global South, and is undergoing continuous refinement. Transnational concepts that originally emerged in the North, however, have crossed borders and have been reshaped based on ground realities in the South. Scholars are forging pathways for South to North learning as well. Chapters on Planning Theory (Theme 3), South to North learning (Theme 4), and Thematic versus Geographical South (Theme 5) are based on this latter premise. Together these chapters argue how concepts that emerged in the North, should be re-conceptualised based on ground realities in the South. The final chapter on International Planning Education (Theme 6) is written from a Euro-American perspective, on internationalisation of planning education. The chapter promotes the idea of a ‘one-world approach’ and ‘global shared commons of planning’. The interests of authors and senior academics have framed each chapter.

Under these three schools of thought, there are six thematic areas and seven chapters. The first theme on International Planning Practices consists of two chapters. Aurora Echavarria, PhD student in Urban Planning at UCLA and Mahak Agarwal, student of Public Administration at Columbia University at the city of New York write Chapter 1 in conversation with Michael Hebbert, Professor Emeritus, University College London. The section focuses on the challenge of imposing standardisation from the North in the context of the Global South, as they affect/constrain/fail to reach the life and livelihoods of the poor. This section discusses the case of sanitation in urban India, tracing back its history and reflecting on contemporary national government-formulated programmes. It also discusses urban transport and the failure of western standards to address challenges of informality in the streets of Mexican cities. Chapter 2 is written by Anandit Sachdev, Academic Tutor at O.P. Jindal University, and Dana Mazraani, Research Coordinator at the Beirut Urban Lab, housed at the American University of Beirut (AUB) in Lebanon in conversation with Ali Madanipour, Professor of Urban Design of Newcastle University, Newcastle upon Tyne. The section discusses three roles of non-state actors in the urbanisation processes in the global South, i.e., profit-making, provision, and protest. Cases of implementation include the master plan of Gurugram, India by the for-profit private sector; cases of civil society and grassroots initiatives resisting undesirable urban development projects initiated by the State; and offers of support to local communities, particularly in the aftermath of the Beirut port explosion of August 4, 2020 in Beirut, Lebanon.

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The second theme on Vocabularies in Southern Planning is written by Angélica Fernández, a PhD Student of Development Policy and Management at University of Manchester, UK, Cintia Melo, PhD Candidate at the New School (Urban Policy) and Luis Hernando Lozano-Paredes, Doctoral Researcher at Institute for Public Policy and Governance University of Technology Sydney in conversation with Vanessa Watson, Professor of City Planning in the School of Architecture, Planning and Geomatics at the University of Cape Town, South Africa. The literature within Southern theory on vocabularies encourage action-oriented new terms useful for planning practice in a pro-poor context. The chapter proposes three vocabularies: '*perverse incentive planning*' to describe the process in which legal and procedural requirements dominate the planning exercise in Colombia, '*ingraining*' for understanding the bottom-up approaches to the conservation of pre-existing structures in Argentina, and '*occupying*' describing land and housing occupation in Brazil. These terms are space-bound and located in specific case studies and practices, rather than an effort to apply abstract and place-less concepts and ideas.

The third theme focuses on planning theories from the Global South and develops the idea of Resilience-informed Urban planning and development in the Global South. Aysegul Can, Lecturer and Post-doctoral Fellow in Istanbul Medeniyet University, Urban and Regional Planning Department, Justin Loma, City Planning PhD student at University of Manitoba, and Lakshmi Priya Rajendran, Research Fellow in Future Cities, at Anglia Ruskin University, UK write the chapter in conversation with Nancy Odendaal, Associate Professor in the School of Architecture, Planning and Geomatics on the Masters Degree in City and Regional Planning, University of Cape Town, South Africa. The authors critically discuss the contradictions and potentials of resilience narratives in planning and development discourses in the Global South. They present the rich, diverse and complex socio-cultural context that inherently influence and/or define how people and cities operate. Suggesting the need for a fundamental shift toward theories which acknowledge and recognise the extensive global differences between cities and cities of the Global South, they propose a more inclusive urban resilience theory. The chapter suggests taping climate-resilient knowledge from best practices of Southern African Indigenous Knowledge and integrating with seasonal scientific practices, to reduce climate vulnerability, enhance resilience and improve adaptability. The authors argue for a 'resilient turn' in southern planning theory.

The fourth theme on South to North transfer concludes that there is an acknowledgement of the dominance of theories that were developed in the West. It is written by Sudikshya Bhandari, PhD student in the Geography Graduate Group at the University of California, Davis and Vivek Mishra, PhD student at the School of Public Policy and Urban Affairs, Northeastern University, Boston in conversation with Chia-Lin Chen, Lecturer in Urban and Regional Planning at Department of Geography and Planning, Liverpool University, UK. The authors contend that there is a need to move away from the notion of the Global South as a geographical category that requires policy and planning intervention. However, urbanists around the world should rather use the Global South as an analytical category to explain and inform policy and planning processes in cities around the world. Moreover, urbanists in Western cities should take inspiration from theories that emerge from the cities of the South.

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The fifth theme on Geographic versus Thematic Global South uses strategic spatial planning. Fauster Agbenyo, senior lecturer in the Department of Planning, Faculty of Planning and Land Management, University for Development Studies, Ghana and Janek Becker, PhD candidate in Geography and academic staff member at the Institute for Interdisciplinary Didactics at Institute for Interdisciplinary Didactics, Faculty of Social Science, University of Dortmund write the chapter in conversation with Louis Albrechts, Emeritus Professor of Planning, KU Leuven, Belgium. The chapter aims for reconceptualisations of the term Global South, shifting the frontiers of definition from a geographic to a thematic perspective. The authors use strategic (spatial) planning as a common thread for seeking solutions to common planning challenges from both the Global South and Global North. In a way, the authors argue for ‘provincialising’ Strategic Spatial Planning, a concept that originally emerged in the Global North.

The sixth theme addresses International Planning Education. This is authored by Lorena Melgaco, Associate Senior Lecturer at the department of Human Geography at Lund University and Susmita Rishi, Assistant Professor of Regional and Community Planning, Kansas State University, in conversation with Angelique Chettiparamb, Professor of Urban Planning and Governance at the Department of Real Estate and Planning, University of Reading, UK and Bruce Stiftel, Professor Emeritus, School of City & Regional Planning, Georgia University of Technology, US. The chapter explores what international planning education is, the challenges involved in delivering it, and reflects on the role of international planning education in fostering global sensibilities in the Global North enabling the realisation of what the authors term as a ‘global shared commons of planning’.

In the booklet, the focus is on planning for less-affluent communities and a role for planning to safeguard the interests of underprivileged groups. The innovation and complexity of planning practices in addressing the uneven development demands additional intellectual space than what is reflected in theories emerged in the global North, and can be addressed by a geographic and thematic ‘Global South’. The booklet brings chapters based on three schools of thoughts: Southern theory, which is in the making; transnational planning as a practice; and an ‘one-world shared approach’. Authors for all chapters are alphabetized unless mentioned otherwise.

We hope that this booklet by highlighting three schools of thoughts: southern theory, which is in the making; transnational planning as a practice; and a ‘one-world shared approach’ brings to our readers unique perspectives on the theme of planning in the ‘Global South’. The chapters excellently sit together and complement each other. We hope the booklet will be a valuable contribution to the global planning academic and practice community in pursuing a shared disciplinary quest that puts to right historical inequalities thereby enriching the global idea/understanding of Planning.

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# **THEME 1.**

## **INTERNATIONAL PLANNING PRACTICE**

## Authors Bio

### PLANNING AND DEVELOPMENT STANDARDS: CHALLENGES FOR PLANNING WITH INFORMALITY IN THE GLOBAL SOUTH Aurora Echavarria and Mahak Agrawal in conversation with Michael Hebbert



**Aurora Echavarria** is a PhD student in Urban Planning at the University of California, Los Angeles, USA. Her research focuses on issues of comparative urban governance, landed property, and local public finance. She holds a Master's degree in urban development planning from University College London. Prior to beginning her PhD, Aurora worked in Mexico advising local and federal governments on transportation and housing issues.



**Mahak Agrawal** is a Shardashish Interschool Fellow and SIPA Environmental Fellow at Columbia University, USA studying public administration in environmental science and policy. Trained as an urban planner, Mahak has worked with the International Society of City and Regional Planners, Hague; Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change, Town and Country Planning Organization, Government of India; Institute of Transport Economics, Oslo, to name a few. In 2019, she founded Spatial Perspectives as an initiative communicating 360-degree perspectives on pressing urban-regional challenges. In spare time, Mahak experiments with sustainable artworks showcasing the cultural heritage of India.



**Michael Hebbert** is Professor Emeritus of town planning at the University of Manchester and University College London, UK, and has also taught at Oxford Brookes University and the London School of Economics. Graduating from Oxford with a history degree he pursued doctoral studies with Peter Hall at the University of Reading, developing an lifelong fascination with the international transmission of concepts, values and design standards. He has served as editor of the monograph series *Progress in Planning* as well as the research journal *Planning Perspectives*. Michael is now comparing the treatment of urbanism in city museums around the world.

# CHAPTER 1

## PLANNING AND DEVELOPMENT STANDARDS: CHALLENGES FOR PLANNING WITH INFORMALITY IN THE GLOBAL SOUTH

Aurora Echavarria and Mahak Agrawal in conversation with Michael Hebbert

### 1.1 Introduction

Planning standards establish operative guidelines for the design, planning, development, regulation, and management of spaces within various scales of governance. In the Global South, these standards are established by government agencies at national, state or regional, and local levels. Often, these standards are guided by international policies and agencies. In some countries with more recent colonial ties, planning standards implemented have their roots in colonial history (Booth, 1986).

International agencies such as the World Health Organization, and UN-Habitat, periodically update their global standards and guidelines for clean air (WHO, 2006), liveable space (UN-Habitat, 2012). While these standards are not legally enforceable, they assist where there is a desire to compare the state of affairs in cities and nations across the world. Standardisation established by domestic agencies- such as urban development departments, ministries of land, environment, and urban affairs- are however, enforceable by law and help guide the design, development, and management of city systems.

While standardisation can help planners and city administrators, its process and associated guidelines, norms, and development controls, are often limited in terms of their ability to respond to the realities of individuals living in cities. These standards often fail to respond to the needs of the poor and the informal sector. In this chapter, two case studies, i.e. sanitation systems in urban India and urban street design in Mexico, are discussed in order to highlight the challenges posed by standardisation in planning for informality.

### 1.2 Urban Sanitation in India

As in many countries, sanitation in urban India is complex; so are the standards established to plan, develop, manage, and regulate it. At one end, standards pertaining to access to sanitation facilities, as set by international organisations such as the World Health Organization, compare the sanitary state of India among 190+ nations. At the other end, standards set by national agencies such as the Central Public Health and Environmental Engineering Organisation, a technical wing of the Union Ministry of Housing and Urban Affairs, guide the design and provision of sanitation systems across urban India. These national guidelines are adapted and implemented by cities and towns to plan, manage, and regulate sanitary systems in accordance to their development visions. In between the two ends are the standards implemented by city and municipal agencies that fail to respond to the needs of the urban poor, and are unknowingly perpetuating inequalities via the planning principles and standards established by the colonial rulers in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century and early 20<sup>th</sup> century.

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In August 2014, on the anniversary of the birth of Mahatma Gandhi - who notoriously believed that cleanliness was next to godliness - Prime Minister Narendra Modi launched *Swachh Bharat Abhiyaan*, or the 'Clean Indian Mission'. Aimed at eradicating open defecation across India by October 2019, the mission identified sanitation as a national priority. This pan-India mission runs separately for urban and rural India as *Swachh Bharat Abhiyaan* (Urban), and *Swachh Bharat Abhiyaan* (Gramin/Rural). The components, implementation mechanisms, funding, and private party participation in implementation of the mission differ across the Urban and Rural components, as the reasons for, and challenges posed by, open defecation vary.

The urban mission, for instance, aims to: eliminate open defecation; eradicate manual scavenging; promote modern and scientific municipal solid waste management; promote behavioural change towards healthy sanitation practices; spread awareness about sanitation and its linkages with public health; and augment capacities of urban local bodies to create an enabling environment for private sector. Allocated with 620.09 billion INR (~8.4 billion USD) in 2014-15, the urban module is actionable across the 4,372 statutory towns of India. In the last 6 years, the urban module of the mission has resulted in a number of improvements to the sanitary state of India, a country where sanitation - and everything and everyone linked to sanitation - is associated as dirty<sup>2</sup>. As a result of its programmes, around 90 million new toilets have been built across the country.

Despite these changes, several problems persist. The mission was promoted through broom-wielding actions to make it acceptable to the public<sup>3</sup>. However, millions of these 'new' toilets, particularly the ones constructed for squatter settlements and informal housing, lie unused for a number of reasons, such as: lack or limited supply of water, limited wastewater treatment, inaccessible location of the facility, structural instabilities, and the limited usability of facilities for the elderly, children, or differently abled. Moreover, the standards set by the national mission to provide one water closet for 12-15 households in public spaces and slum settlements fails to respond to the population size, density and space constraints of slum settlements in urban India. In the end, thousands of 'old' toilets, built prior to the Clean India Mission by local governments and city or state governments, as well as new toilets, lie defunct or in need of repair. Demand persists for usable toilets that match demand with supply across all social-economic groups.

Nevertheless it is still worth noting the success of the mission. Post-1947, India launched a series of policies and action programmes aimed at improving sanitation, which ran separately for urban and rural India. However none of these policies focused on the eradication of open defecation. None of the myriad of policies even acknowledged open defecation as a challenge to India. Until 2008, urban sanitation was a small component of water schemes, or housing policies, or poverty alleviation programmes, or basic minimum services schemes.

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<sup>2</sup> The notion of 'dirty' in India's sanitation history finds roots in the Laws of Manu, famously known as the Manav Dharma Shastra of 500 B.C., identifying toilets and the caste cohort 'responsible' for cleaning them as untouchables, thereby calling for their social and spatial separation from place of habitation.

<sup>3</sup> As shown in the image. Accessed at <https://www.nbcnews.com/news/world/indias-modi-wields-broom-drive-clean-filthy-cities-n216511> on April 1, 2021.

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On paper, India was declared Open Defecation Free (ODF) in December 2019. Reality differs – by ODF, coverage was indicated, not usage. In light of the challenges that arise from open defecation, the COVID-19 pandemic demonstrated the state of sanitary affairs urban poor are living in. It shows the deep-rooted challenge of open defecation, which appears to be a difficult problem to eradicate until standards are reconfigured to include the urban poor and informal sector.

### 1.3 Planning for Mexican Streets

The second case study focuses on Mexican experience of managing and regulating informality in street life. Informality is present in the streets of Mexican cities in everything from street vendors and food stands, to informal transport and mobility options. This issue is particularly salient in Mexico, where approximately 60% of all workers are in the informal sector (INEGI, 2016). Moreover, many of the jobs in this informal sector are located upon the streets of Mexican cities. However, as a result of modernist planning perspectives, this aspect of Mexican street life has been largely omitted from planning guidelines and standards at both international and local levels. Instead, Mexican planners have taken as an objective a ‘sanitized’ and orderly vision of cities.

The influence of international agencies and planning guides has greatly influenced how planners treat informality in Mexican cities and streets. For example, projects in Mexico funded by international agencies and foreign governments usually promote visions congruent with international standards and norms (e.g. UN development goals). These standards usually promote visions of regularization and economic development, rather than either offering guidance or supporting local governments in how to plan with, and for, informality. Furthermore, international street planning guides, often used by Mexican planners, also omit guidance on how to treat informality. Perhaps the most notable is the NACTO (National Association of City Transportation Officials) Global Street Design Guide, which makes recommendations by considering examples from cities around the world (NACTO, 2016). However, this manual provides little guidance on how street space should be coordinated in order to include the informal aspects and actors of the economy, such as vendors, shoe polishing stands, newspaper stands, and informal transport stops.

The omission of the realities of informal street life is evident not only in the international visions and standards that guide the planning of Mexican cities, but also in more localized guidelines. For example, in 2019, the Mexican federal government's Secretariat of Agrarian, Urban, and Territorial Development (SEDATU) published a Manual for Mexican Streets. These guidelines, which were funded and organized by the InterAmerican Development Bank, do not include any considerations of informal street life. While one can find guidance on tactical urbanism strategies and public participation in design in this manual, there is no guidance for local Mexican planners on how to design for the informal stops that local buses make along large avenues to let passengers embark and disembark, on how to organize sidewalk space to facilitate pedestrian movement, or on how to coordinate the spaces used by informal merchants and food vendors. Moreover, planners do not receive guidance on how to plan for alternative mobility options common among street vendors, such as vendor tricycles. Given that this manual has the objective of guiding local government officials and planners in Mexican cities, the

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omission of informal street life presents significant limitations on what local governments can take away from the federal government's guide.

For informal vendors, the exclusion of vending space from planning guidelines implies that they exist in a state of perpetual insecurity in which their livelihood may be confiscated arbitrarily. For example, in August 2020, a local government authority of the upscale Mexico City neighbourhood of Polanco, seized 140 tricycles belonging to street vendors. This kind of regulatory action by a local authority towards street vending put at risk what some authors have identified as street vendors' 'right to work' and excluded them from public space (Meneses-Reyes and Caballero-Juarez, 2013). Scholars, such as Annette Kim, have argued that the use of space by street vendors should be understood through a framework of property rights theory, which broadens the debate to include questions around who has a right to use public space and in what ways (Kim, 2015).

Importantly, the manual for street design is only one example of a wider discourse that has been part of planning in Mexican cities for years. At the beginning of the twentieth century, Mexico embarked on a Modernist project that has altered how the state approaches street planning today. This endeavour has focused on regulating street life and emulating grand European cities (particularly Paris), while purging public space of informal activities. This approach towards informality has permeated Mexican cities and is evident in how federal and local governments plan public space (Porter, 2010).

Exclusion of the informal aspects of street life fails to address an important reality, which is present in many Mexican cities. This, in turn, limits the possible reach of these guidelines. The question raised is: Should the state continue planning for a normative vision or should it instead plan for the realities of Mexican cities? These issues become particularly relevant when one considers the effects of the COVID-19 pandemic and the potential push towards informality that many workers previously in the formal sector may face due to the fragile economic situation in Mexico and other developing countries (ILO, 2020).

#### 1.4 Discussion and Conclusions

The examples presented from India and Mexico highlight the challenges that two distinct countries face in terms of development and regulating informality. These vignettes illustrate the cases of two governments that have, for the most part, considered regulation as the only approach to address informality; with the only other option being to ignore the problem. We observe this in the approach of the Indian government towards open defecation as well as the treatment of informal street life in Mexican cities. The governments of India and Mexico present us with a vision of informality that places limitations to the promotion of safe and vibrant cities for all. Furthermore, both of these cases present the use of planning standards that are incongruent with the material experience of cities in the Global South.

The dynamics that we observe in the presented case studies are representative of wider planning trends identified and studied by planning scholars focused on the Global South. Through the case

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of a South African local government's endeavours to replace an informal settlement with formalized houses, Watson (2018) demonstrate how government institutions often ignore 'conflicting rationalities' when planning interventions. Satgé and Watson (2018) identify a state-centred vision, which conceives informality as existing outside the 'proper' realm of the city. Additionally, Yiftachel's work on the different gradients of informality presents us with a new framework by which to understand how the state relates and interacts with informality (Yiftachel, 2009). Adopting Schmittian logic, we can come to understand that the state, as the arbiter of what is formal and informal, decides what to include and exclude from the formal city- thus, giving power to some and taking away from others. This frame of thinking appears in Roy's work upon Calcutta where she defines the 'regulatory logic' at work behind what local authorities decide to include and exclude from the law (Roy, 2009).

The chapter raises the question how planning practice should advance in order to ensure that it considers different realities and approaches to shaping the city. How can we, as planners, propose solutions that are context specific, without making assumptions about the realities on the ground? Arguably this requires broadening the conception of planning from including only what is regulated, to also include that which is presently excluded. These are necessary questions to pose and integrate into practice in order to ensure that planning practice is responsive to the different needs of a population. In addressing these questions, we propose a break in the dichotomous framing of the geographical 'Global North' and the 'Global South', and instead, propose putting at the forefront questions of how informality exists and is integrated into planning regimes across countries.

While this chapter aims to contribute to the debate about how governments approach informality in planning and the influence of international standards and guides in countries and cities of the Global South, more research and discussion is needed on the topic. Further research should take into consideration South to South exchanges that allow planning practice to step away from conceptions of the city established in the West.

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## Authors Bio

### NON-STATE ACTORS IN THE URBANIZATION PROCESS IN CITIES OF THE GLOBAL SOUTH

Anandit Sachdev and Dana Mazraani in conversation with Ali Madanipour



**Anandit Sachdev** is a young Academic Tutor and Research Fellow at the Jindal School of Art and Architecture, O.P. Jindal University, India. Anandit's teaching and research interests include climate resilience in peri-urban areas, processes of urbanization in the Global South, sustainability in urban design, cartography and urban regeneration. Besides teaching and researching, Anandit is a prolific information designer specializing in the field of data visualization and cartography. In his spare time, Anandit likes to read urban narratives and anthologies.



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# CHAPTER 2

## NON-STATE ACTORS IN THE URBANIZATION PROCESS IN CITIES OF THE GLOBAL SOUTH

Anandit Sachdev and Dana Mazraani in conversation with Ali Madanipour

### 2.1 Introduction

Non-state actors are actively shaping urbanisation processes in cities across the world, while centralized modes of governance are experiencing a reduced role. These non-state actors, ranging from institutions, corporations, international and local non-governmental organisations (NGOs), to civil society actors, are playing conflicting roles in urbanization processes in the Global South; they each have distinctive relationships with the state and with one another. This chapter presents three such distinct roles: that of provision, protest, and profit-making, as adopted by non-state actors in the production of urban space in Beirut, Lebanon, and Gurugram, India. Both case studies critically raise the point of public sector accountability in light of its shrinking role, while examining the increasing role of non-state actors in the production of urban space.

The first section of this chapter investigates how, in Lebanon, civil society groups and grassroots initiatives have resisted undesirable urban development projects initiated by the state, or offered support to local communities, with a focus on the aftermath of the Beirut port explosion of August 4, 2020. It examines how civil society actors can act as guardians of the public interest against a predatory state or fill the vacuum created by the public sector in supporting the local community. The second section of the chapter analyses the role of another type of non-state actors – private developers and real estate companies – in the process of designing and implementing the master plan of Gurugram, a city in Haryana, India. The case study shows how profit-oriented projects led by non-state actors resulted in the marginalization of underprivileged groups.

### 2.2 The roles played by civil society groups in relation to the state: the Lebanese context

While the state in Lebanon has played an active role in supporting a boom in the real estate sector that has increasingly benefitted private actors and corporations (Fawaz, 2017; Krinjen and Fawaz, 2010), it has done so at the expense of the natural environment, public and social spaces, and people's livelihoods (Saksouk-Sasso and Bekdache, 2015). Indeed, Lebanon's neoliberal approach to urban planning has increasingly influenced its building law and regulatory frameworks prioritizing private interests over public ones. The state has actively facilitated the circulation of capital at the service of corporate actors closely enmeshed in an 'oligarchic political system' (Harb, 2018; Krinjen and Fawaz, 2010). Conversely, the state has been neglecting its role in providing reliable basic services, infrastructure, public spaces, transportation networks, and affordable housing policies. This has given rise to a myriad of collective reactions by civil society members that have crystallized into urban contestations, mobilizations, and initiatives of varying forms and scales, all converging around similar ideals and demands for a more liveable city (Harb, 2018). In this context of a fragmented state, non-state actors have challenged the status-quo by engaging in counter-campaigns protesting against projects initiated by the state, or by launching initiatives that offer community support – filling a vacuum created by the state's passive role.

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To understand why these mobilizations are taking place and in what context, one must first look at the status of urban planning frameworks in Lebanon. Planning has been primarily limited to land use and zoning and has placed less focus on strategies for the future development of the different urban and rural areas of the country. Indeed, the legal systems, planning tools, and institutions have not been revamped since the end of the French mandate in 1943 (UN-Habitat, 2013). In 1977, the Ministry of Planning, which had become inefficient and highly bureaucratic, was dissolved and replaced by an entity known as the Council for Development and Reconstruction (CDR), which advanced more flexible planning and implementation mandates. Over the years, the CDR's position and practices have proven to be highly controversial. Today, urban planning in Lebanon remains limited, centralized, and in dire need of reform.

In the aftermath of the explosion that rocked Beirut on August 4, 2020, which caused hundreds of deaths and the destruction of livelihoods and property, the intervention of the state is – yet again – very limited and is primarily led by the Lebanese Army. The recovery sector is in the hands of international and local NGOs and local political parties, with no clear coordination, accountability, or long-term vision, let alone a people-centred recovery approach. These circumstances have led multiple grassroots groups to step into the role of relief provision and community support. ‘Nation Station’ is one of such examples; it relates to a group of youth who squatted an abandoned gas station in the Geitaoui neighbourhood of Beirut to serve as a donation redistribution centre. As of December 2020, the centre has grown to include several relief services, such as a food kitchen and reconstruction services, which employ idle or out of work members of the community. The group also initiated a database of the community’s needs that helps to direct NGOs’ aid. Furthermore, because of the unreliable and short-term nature of aid, the group’s approach has shifted to help the community become self-sustaining, with a motto of ‘empowerment over charity’ (Nation Station, 2020, slide 13). ‘Nation Station’ is relying on community relations, partnerships, co-produced knowledge, and squatting private properties, all of which lean towards the radicalization of the urban environment. It is yet to be seen, however, if and how it will institutionalize, whether its approach will be truly inclusive, and what its reach and impact will be.

‘Nation Station’ is not the first initiative of its kind. Rather, it is part of a series of successful initiatives that have taken place over the past decade, some of which are punctual, but equally impactful. For instance, ‘Stop the Highway’ (2012-2015) and ‘Save the Bisri Valley’ (2018-2020) are two counter-campaigns that opposed infrastructural projects initiated by the state – a highway and a mega-dam project respectively – based on obsolete plans from the 1950s and with the CDR as their custodian. Engaged experts and community members led both campaigns successfully, proving the detrimental effects that the respective projects would have on their localities, and their inability to serve as solutions for problems they were claiming to solve (Nassour, 2019). Moreover, ‘Horsh Beirut for All’ is a campaign launched by local NGO Nahnoo that successfully challenged the Municipality of Beirut to reopen the largest park and pine forest in the city, after it had been closed off for decades for ‘unconvincing reasons’ (Harb, 2018). After five years of campaigning and lobbying, the park was finally reopened in 2015 establishing itself as one of the main public spaces in the city.

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These examples are some of many; cumulatively, they highlight the wide array of responses that civil society groups have advanced in relation to the state's action or inaction and the roles they take on in either protest or support. Their effectiveness owes it to the adoption of new modalities of action and strategies of work, which rely on legal knowledge, the generation of solid data to support their positions, the instrumentalisation of the media, and the reliance on networks (Harb, 2018).

Even though these mobilizations may have had brief or limited success, they can be viewed as negotiations that exert pressure on the system without addressing the structural issues at hand. This section of the chapter argues that with enough aggregation of information and capacity building, local groups can mobilize resources, bring reforms, and hold the people in power accountable. It also highlights how some groups are seeking an alternative to the current system, carving out spaces of their own despite having no counterpart in public institutions. Furthermore, these mobilizations have been accompanied by a rise in the discourse and practice of the "right to the city". The initiatives mentioned above are enabling a new imaginary of the city, one where the social value of land can be recovered, where solidarities and shared space are considered important (Saksouk-Sasso and Bekdache, 2015).

### 2.3 The case of master plan implementation in Gurugram: the Indian context

Urban development across regions in India is marked by a lack of infrastructure, an unequal distribution of resources leading to inequity, and exhibiting socio-economic disparity as a result of that. These disparities arise due to diminishing public sector accountability in safeguarding public interests, especially those of under-privileged groups. Ahluwalia (2014) observes that the lack of planned development of Indian cities is a result of spatial planning not being central to socioeconomic planning.

Such disparities are evident in the preparation and implementation processes of master plans in India – a process through which the state favours city development for richer segments of society. The Delhi Government's own estimates stipulate that Delhi Development Authority (DDA), the authority in charge of the creation of the city's master plan, has 'overbuilt middle- and higher-income housing while underbuilding housing for Economically Weaker Sections (EWS)' (Bhan, 2013; Panwar, 2018). This shows a bias of DDA towards richer sections of society.

While such socioeconomic disparities cannot be neglected, the prioritization of the flow of capital by the state, and the non-participatory nature of the master planning process play significant roles in shaping this lopsided model of urban development. Even though traditional development guidelines place decision-making in the hands of state actors, these groups do not represent the views of many of the city's stakeholders. In addition to this, the lack of public sector accountability stems from the dependence of the state on real estate development to facilitate capital accumulation (Harvey, 2001; Brenner, Marcuse, and Mayer, 2012; Pellissery et al., 2016). An increasing shift in the role of the state from providing welfare to its citizens to supporting private investments has fuelled the lack of public sector accountability, which creates marginalized groups. As the state facilitates a pattern of investments in the city by using urban planning and real estate development as tools for economic development, the prioritization of economic development over civic benefits empowers profit oriented

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non-state actors to spearhead development projects in the city, while promising little accountability on behalf of state actors themselves. Consequently, private developers and real estate companies end up playing larger roles in urban development processes. Since these groups are profit-oriented, developments led by them are fragmented, and focused on projects that promise a higher return on investment rather than facilitating collective public benefits. Such practices form the very basis of development witnessed in the city of Gurugram (previously Gurgaon), Haryana. Haryana is one of the richest states in India with an estimated GDP growth rate of 7.7% in 2019-20 (Economic Survey of Haryana, 2020). This, along with Gurugram's proximity to Delhi, the capital city, has played majorly to its advantage.

State actors in Gurugram have been involved in the planning processes without much accountability with regards to planning implementation. Goldstein (2015) notes that the establishment of the city's Municipal Corporation (MC) was in 2008 and held its first elections in 2011. The roots of urban development in Gurugram can be traced back to early 1990s, and are largely attributed to private developers developing suburban land driven by economic interests. This over 20-year gap between regulation and development led by economic gains has resulted in fragmented urban development, and has left a huge gap in infrastructure provision for many stakeholders.

Involvement of these non-state actors is not a new phenomenon. Gurugram's urban development model can be traced back to a response to macro level economic reforms that India went through during the early 1990s (Goldstein, 2015). These new economic conditions deregulated the real estate market, and paved the way for private sector-led urbanization in Gurugram. One of the first private development companies responsible for initiating urban development processes in Gurugram was Delhi Land and Finance Corporation (DLF). The company chairman, K.P. Singh, largely used his influence and political networks to get necessary permissions to push through DLF's projects in the area and initiate the development process (Goldstein, 2015). In the years that followed, economic growth coupled with the construction boom of Gurugram validated the state's shift in policies to favour private developers. Consequently, large real estate companies built up huge areas in Gurugram, starting a wave of development. These took the form of high-end residential and commercial projects, which favoured the wealthy while sidelining the interests of other stakeholders (Rajagopalan and Tabarrok, 2014). The absence of a municipal corporation until 2008, further facilitated this private developer-led model of development over guaranteeing public services (Chatterji, 2013; Rajagopalan and Tabarrok, 2014). This contributed majorly towards inequality in the city while raising questions about public sector accountability.

Other non-state actors such as landowners and farmers also played a large part in Gurugram's fragmented development. These actors supported private developer-led models for their own gain by selling their lands to private developers. These deals resulted in a fragmented assimilation of land in the hands of a plethora of private developers, which later resulted in a pixelated development of gated residential neighbourhoods, urban villages, and urban infrastructure (Goldstein, 2015). Additionally, the delivery of urban services and infrastructure has increasingly become privatized and high-priced, leaving some stakeholders to struggle with access to basic services, which would usually be provided by state agencies (Rajagopalan and Tabarrok, 2014).

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This model of urban development has become the norm over the last two decades. Fragmented development has occurred in the city with little public sector accountability towards safeguarding the rights of marginalized groups. This model of urban development renders master planning a rigid planning tool that selectively favours the capital-driven role of non-state actors while ignoring the needs of non-elite stakeholders.

## 2.4 Conclusion

Cities and urban spaces are sites of contradiction. They are “places where power resides” as well as “settings of struggle” (Lefebvre, 2003, p. 386). This chapter focuses on the contradicting roles of provision, protest, and profit-making, as adopted by non-state actors in the production of urban space in the Global South. In the case of Gurugram, we observed that the actors were profit-driven and further noted that their actions resulted in the creation of a lopsided model of development, which exerts or exacerbates negative externalities such as urban poverty, environmental issues, lack of urban infrastructure, and privatized public spaces. Similar practices have been challenged by alternative groups of non-state actors as seen in the case of Lebanon, where civil society groups have sought to fill the vacuum created by the state and have also opposed and resisted undesirable urban development through debate and negotiations with the public sector.

Such contradictions in the roles played by a plethora of state and non-state actors have further shaped the production of urban space, giving rise to new vocabularies in planning practices in the Global South and questions about the role of planning today. What is the role of planners amid disparity between state priorities and community interests? And how does one envision a future in a context marred with deeply entrenched structural issues, untrustworthy public institutions, and economic crises?



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# **THEME 2.**

# **VOCABULARIES**

# Authors Bio

## NEW VOCABULARIES IN SOUTHERN PLANNING

Angélica Fernández, Cintia Melo and Luis Hernando Lozano-Paredes in conversation with Vanessa Watson



**Angélica Fernández** finished her PhD in Development Policy and Management at the University of Manchester, UK where she previously received her MSc in Management and Implementation of Development Projects. Angelica holds an MSc in Economics from the National University of Colombia, following her undergraduate Economics degree. She has a wide experience in planning and implementing transitional justice and entrepreneurial development policies. Angelica was the Head of the Planning Office at the Colombian Land Restitution Unit, and previously advised entrepreneurial policies at the Colombian National Planning Department. Her doctoral research explored implementation barriers of inclusive business involving actors or areas affected by armed conflict.



**Cíntia Melo** is a PhD Candidate both at The New School (Urban and Public Policy), NY, USA and at Federal University of Minas Gerais (Architecture and Urbanism), Brazil. She has a Masters Degree in Architecture and Urbanism (UFMG) and Gender Studies (State University of Rio de Janeiro) and she is a lawyer. She always worked with human rights, urban planning and is an activist for social rights, including feminism. She has worked for private companies, governments and NGOs.



**Luis Hernando Lozano-Paredes** is a PhD (c) at the University of Technology Sydney, Australia, researching ‘paratransit platforms’ and how they challenge institutions in cities of the global south. Luis holds a MSc in Urban Economics from Torcuato Di Tella University (2018) and a M.Arch from University of Belgrano (2015). Before coming to Australia, Luis worked as a policy researcher for the Argentine Ministry of Transportation and the University of Buenos Aires (2015 -2019). His research interests are urban studies and planning, design research, institutional theory, organization science and technopolitics of the city. Luis is fluent in Spanish, English, French, Portuguese, Papiamento and Hebrew.



**Vanessa Watson** is Emerita Professor of City Planning in the School of Architecture, Planning and Geomatics, University of Cape Town, South Africa. Her research and publications have been on southern perspectives on planning theory, African cities and urbanisation, urban food security, and currently on planning and corruption in Africa. More recently she has followed the new economic forces re-shaping African cities. Watson is Global South Editor of Urban Studies and an editor of *Planning Theory*. Recent book: De Satge R and V Watson (2018): *Urban Planning in the Global South: Conflicting rationalities in contested urban space*, Palgrave.

# CHAPTER 3

## NEW VOCABULARIES IN SOUTHERN PLANNING

Angélica Fernández, Cintia Melo and Luis Hernando Lozano-Paredes in conversation with Vanessa Watson

### 3.1 Introduction

The growing interest within urban study literature to address issues in the Global South has suggested that the terms used to evaluate issues are still falling short (Watson, 2016). It follows, that there is a need for a different approach to be taken for producing concepts than the one taken by academics in the ‘north’. The concepts imported from global centres of academia get lost in translation when confronted with the rationalities of the Global South (Watson, 2003). Furthermore, the dialogue established by academia in the south regarding local issues does not seem to reach discussions in the north (Lawhon and Le Roux, 2019). Thus, there is a need for conceptual bridges to connect these two realms of engagement. Therefore, the chapter argues that the use of new vocabularies, understood as the adaptation of new words or terminologies to describe observable characteristics and most importantly the urban practices in the Global South, would be a means to construct those conceptual bridges.

These new vocabularies are not built here within a framework of discourse analysis focusing on power structures, issues of struggles, and processes of decolonization. As relevant and important as those discussions are, we believe that they are also linked with the aforementioned processes of importing northern paradigms and terminologies. We recognize that even the conceptual apparatus behind engagement with issues of power structures is embedded in language that is ‘northern’. Our position relies, therefore, on the idea of observing the particularities of urban planning practices in cities within the Global South. The construction of southern planning vocabularies that we propose in this chapter is space-bound and located in specific case studies and practices, rather than on assumptions derived from theories emerged in the ‘north’. This approach informs the state of art of planning as pointed out by Bhan (2019) and Yiftachel (2020) and provides a solid basis to propose new vocabularies.

With that purpose in mind, this chapter is divided into three subsections, each one proposing a new term and conceptualization emerging from the observation of urban practices. This grounded theory approach starts with the term ‘*perverse incentive planning*’ in the context of Colombia, to describe the process by which legal and procedural requirements dominate the planning exercises. The chapter then engages with the case of paratransit in Argentine cities and argues for the use of ‘*ingraining*’ for understanding bottom-up approaches to the conservation of pre-existing structures. Finally, it includes the different views assigned to land and housing occupation in Brazil, and how ‘*occupying*’ represents a specific term for dealing with these issues, moving beyond pejorative connotations.

The terminologies engaged in this chapter illustrate the construction of vocabulary from practices, and are therefore framed in the forms of verbs, portraying action, and practice. Here, with the con-

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clusive argument that the recollection of urban practices and ‘real world’ issues in planning add to the development of theory from the south, the chapter informs the future use of different vocabulary to engage with urban issues in this location (Bhan, 2019). In other words, its main contribution is to suggest that for every issue of urban practice there can be a new concept, or words, which will frame a better-localised understanding.

## 3.2 Three new southern planning practice and theory terms

### 3.2.1 Perverse Incentive Planning<sup>[1]</sup>

In the context of Colombia the need to comply with legal requirements seems to be a dominant element in planning exercises in national programmes that use public funds, to the point of overshadowing or hindering the rationality of the planning processes. The compliance with rules regulating the public budget results in the subordination of planning exercises to administrative requirements; this sometimes limits both the formulation and implementation of projects and compromises their outcomes, especially when operating in difficult circumstances.

Evidence of an element encouraging *perverse incentive planning* is the application of ‘the budgetary principle of annuality’ in which the national public Colombian budget operates by requiring the approval, management, and execution of resources within the budgetary year (from January 1 to December 31). Consequently, authorised expenditure within a budget must be carried out in the same year that the budget was approved (Naranjo & Celi, 2011). The ‘annuality principle’ was established as a purely legal instrument and does not reflect the reality of planning yet determines the whole dynamic and nature of public sector planning. Its application is worsened by the ‘Guarantee’s Law’, a mechanism which, though used throughout presidential elections to restrict public contracts to avoid corrupt practices during political campaigns, also results in the signing of new public contracts being paralysed for six months.

There are some exemptions to the ‘annuality principle’, such as budget reserves, authorised future funds and liabilities, and fiduciary commissions (Naranjo & Celi, 2011). Some of these exemptions are considered ‘exit strategies’ that generate additional budgetary inflexibilities but escape fiscal and contractual control (Fedesarrollo, 2017). The exemptions demand a high level of expertise in the management of budgetary procedures and are time-consuming since the requirements are subject to additional procedures and several approvals, which in turn shorten the time available for project execution. These elements are not always accessible or manageable, or under the governance of local organisations, which sometimes results the funding awarded being lost.

The spirit of the ‘annuality principle’ is laudable as it responds to the need to comply with the medium-term fiscal framework, which is a budgetary macroeconomic planning tool to avoid fiscal deficits by meeting goals related to indebtedness, the rationalization of public spending, and fiscal responsibility. However, this principle significantly deviates from the planning and implementation of projects in operational aspects, and thus ignores the complexities associated with vulnerability in the

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Global South. Aspects such as compliance with budgetary procedures, participatory planning, raising matched funding, reaching consensus, or managing unforeseen circumstances, are not always achievable within the fixed timelines assumed by the ‘annuality principle’, but they are essential to the delivery of good project outcomes.

The nature of projects does not always make it feasible to plan, approve, and implement them in one year. For instance, infrastructure projects are commonly implemented over years. Due to the fact that tendering and contracting processes may take longer than initially planned; they commonly experience difficulties in securing the provision of local labour, materials, land acquisition, obtaining building permissions, unexpected climate conditions and other uncontrollable variables that can cause delays. Planners are aware of these challenges, but as infrastructure projects are mostly politically driven, the planning is rushed and adjusted to suit budgetary calendars and the possibility of being granted resources; they are then not based on feasibility studies, real requirements, or contingencies. Hence, infrastructure projects in Colombia normally result in a need for additional time and funding; this practice seems to be normalised since it is common that extensions are readily available, evidencing the practice of *perverse incentive planning*.

Similarly, and beyond a simple application of methodologies, participatory planning, or co-production, relies on gaining trust, reaching consensus, arranging difficult agendas with local institutions and communities, and finding the right facilities and security conditions according to local contexts. These are necessary activities that demand extra time for their proper development, otherwise they may merely encourage malpractice. For instance, it is possible to claim community engagement by having a quick meeting, taking pictures, and getting signatures, without having a real process of engagement that understands community needs whilst building community trust.

As a consequence of the above issues, planners who aim to use public funding end up exercising *perverse incentive planning*, resulting in a dilemma: they are supposed to plan based on feasibility studies, a project’s coherence, and financial contributions and so on. Conversely, they are forced to present a plan demonstrating that they are able to deliver outcomes within the budgetary year in order to obtain the funding, even when conditions do not seem to support such a decision. Therefore, they either ‘gloss over’ implementation aspects, or put unnecessary pressure on the implementation, knowing in advance that this might compromise product/service compliance or quality. This contributes to inefficiencies, since hasty execution of projects is encouraged and institutional burnout is generated, thus compromising social and economic outcomes.

### 3.2.2 Ingrain/ing<sup>[2]</sup>

There is evidence that people in southern cities transgress imposed orders by engaging with informality due to a lack of alternatives, which paradoxically leads to rescuing pre-existing social structures. This results in a confrontation of perceived inefficiency from imposed urban systems that breeds emergent informal schemes.

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Cities in the global south are characterized by a prevalence of informal processes, which tend to be frowned upon, and are either battled or ignored by urban policies. Informality, however, has framed how people innovate, foster local associations, and develop mutual learning, innovation, and conflict management (De Soto, 1989; Pirez, 2016). Moreover, the processes linked to ‘paratransit’ defined as demand-responsive transportation, working parallel to the main transportation system (Jennings and Behrens, 2017), and the recent impacts of digital transportation platforms, reinforce this nature of association, innovation and governance linked to informality.

Focusing on Argentina, it can be observed that the development of this country’s cities has historically been characterized by the expansion of low-density urban areas. A process that has recently been supplemented by densification policies with regards to central areas, and the development of structured transportation systems. Far from reversing the expansive process however, these characteristics have produced the expulsion of households towards monofunctional peripheries (Aón et al., 2017) and the further development of paratransit modes (Kralich and Perez, 2017).

More recently, this has driven the ‘platformization’ of paratransit modes, which have occurred in this context since the late 2010s. Platforms, as a disruptive actor – and especially those linked to transportation (ride-hailing or ridesharing), - are still navigating a regulatory vacuum in many countries in the global south, and Argentina is no different. It is in this context that platforms such as Uber have had increasing effects on informal transportation practices in southern cities.

However, what can be observed is that a disruptive platform ecosystem is thriving more on the pre-existent practices of informal peer-to-peer transactions present in cities of Argentina – hence the term ingraining. This is important as platforms are evolving in innovative ways, but this evolution is linked to the informal settings in which, due to their transaction and disruption characteristics, platforms have an easier base point.

In Argentina, ‘*Remises*’ - an adaptation of the French term *voitures de petit et grande remise* - have been present since the 1960s as an alternative mode of transportation. *Remises* expanded historically as a paratransit alternative that ensured accessibility to areas either not fully covered by public transportation, or as a choice for mobility in low-density urban locations. This matter of choice is the reason behind the survival of the *Remis* business model and its expansion is linked to socio-economic and spatial inequalities, which have been growing in Argentine cities for the last 50 years (Kralich and Pérez, 2017).

The academic literature on *Remises* in Argentina is scarce, as are references to the impact of the platforms. However, scanning traditional and social media from the inner cities (Outside of Buenos Aires) of the country, there is plenty of evidence (La Capital, 2018; It3, 2018; La Opinión Austral, 2019; ENREDACCIÓN, 2019; La Voz, 2019; El Sol, 2020) that people using different transportation platforms are engaging in a practice that is ingrained in their interaction with urban spaces. Furthermore, these people are actively ‘*ingraining*’ (‘Arraigando’ in Spanish) the use of platforms to the historical practices of informality that grew parallel to the formal transportation ecosystem.

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It is undeniable that platforms have a particularly urban character in their development, however there is a debate regarding the expected impact of platforms in cities and how to frame them beyond the conceptualization of data usage and technology. Some authors refer to platforms as data extractive agents in the city, however, platforms in cities are, more than anything, ecosystems of interaction (Barns, 2019). Special and new social spaces, which exponentially expand the ability of people to interact, build a relational nature that is behind the creation of all types of markets (Brown et al., 2004).

In Argentina, platforms are enabling and expanding the *rescuing and conservation of pre-existing relations* and have established their strength on the familiarity brought by decentralized actions, interactions, and outcomes. The societal practice behind the use of the ‘Remis’ in Argentine cities is, in this way, actively preserved by the informal and unregulated actor or platforms which, in its parallel and transgressive work, acts as a conservative element.

People engaging with platforms in Argentine cities are again ingraining in them a practice which emerged as a reaction to the failures of transportation and urban planning policies, generally imposed from external sources. It is possible that other cases of urban planning theory applied to the global south are also being confronted by social reactions in which long-held practices do not want to be abandoned for the sake of a foreign conceptualization of progress.

### 3.2.3 Occupying<sup>[3]</sup>

In the Global South housing can be very expensive for low income families (Rolnik, 2019). For families whose income comprises only two minimum wages per month, up to 37% of their wage are spent on housing. This situation has led to a lot of informal settlements, such as the favelas<sup>[4]</sup> in Brazil, and an increasing number of homeless people. At the same time, the inequality of income has led to huge monopolies of land (urban and rural) and properties.

The Constitution of Brazil explicitly states that every property needs to have a social function. Based on the inequality of distribution of land and properties for agriculture and housing, a lot of social movements were created to dispute those lands and properties. For example Movimento dos Trabalhadores sem Terra (MST) – Landless Workers Movement that occupies empty rural lands to distribute between families involved in agriculture, or Movimento dos Trabalhadores sem Teto (MIST) – Homeless Workers Movement, one of the biggest urban social movements in Brazil that occupies vacant urban land and property.

The focus in this piece is urban social movements: there are dozens of urban social movements in Brazil connected to the struggle for the right to the city and housing for all. One of the most used tactics of direct action is the occupation of empty or abandoned areas or buildings in the cities. Usually, those occupations are translated into squats irrespective of their characteristics but have nuances that require understanding.

Two words are used in Portuguese to establish the differences, one is *Ocupações* and the other

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is *Okupas*. The *Ocupações*, literally translated into Occupations, usually occur in empty lots, and the groups of families (numbering thousands in some cases) build their own homes and neighbourhoods. They are usually assisted by voluntary professionals such as lawyers, architects, urban planners and geographers. The *Ocupações* are not only a direct-action tactic to secure homes, they also aim to promote an agenda within the State for changes to public policy related to social housing, as well as changes to urban regulation. Other tactics are used, like the invasion of government facilities; the leadership of these groups are often connected to political parties and they dispute elections, believing that the process of occupations is part of the process by which to change the agents in power.

An excellent example of occupations is Izidora, in Belo Horizonte (MG/Brazil), a huge area in the capital of the state occupied by more than 5,000 families. Many legal processes were filed, with dozens of attempts also being made to negotiate with land owners and different departments of the Government. The case was submitted to international organisations such as UN Habitat. The case of Pinheirinho in São Paulo is another important example: the legal strategies and political negotiations failed, and the government of São Paulo executed a legal order of forced eviction using the police force, leading to a huge confrontation that was broadcast by national and international media.

A concept closer to the typical idea of squats are the *Okupas*; usually these occur on a much smaller scale and are more related to anarchists or autonomous groups, organizations, and social movements. The letter ‘k’ in *Okupas* is not originally part of the Portuguese alphabet, but because of the influence of anarchist language and symbols, its use was adopted. Okupa is short for *Ocupação*, but even though it is not a formal word it is very consolidated and the differences between them are clearly understood by everyone involved with direct action and struggles for housing.

The squats are not exclusively for housing, they also can run social and cultural centres, along with other autonomous political activities. The squats can also negotiate with governments and/or owners, or appeal to the legal system to avoid evictions, but setting an agenda of public policy is not part of their goal. Establishing the *okupas* themselves was the objective of those groups, and they are not connected to institutional political disputes, such as elections. Establishing a conversation with the rest of Latin America, *Ocupações* are also understood as ‘*toma de tierras*’ or ‘*invasión*’ in Spanish, meanwhile *Okupas* are used with the same spelling in a wide variety of countries. What we are advocating here is to avoid the use of the term ‘squats’ and to include the idea of occupation to mark the nuances between them, allowing better comprehension of disputes within urban territory in Latin America. In order to be able to successfully translate the different processes of resistance and struggle for housing and other rights related to urban spaces, it is important to include in the new vocabulary of Urban Planning in the Global South a deep understanding of these two different events. Studies of the occupations can provide very useful insights into the self-made planning and production of urban space.

The occupations should also not be confused with favelas; there is a similarity in that both are in a situation of informality and the houses are very precarious, but the favelas are constructed in a spontaneous way over a long period of time. The occupations, on the other hand, are planned only months

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in advance, preceded by complex research into the legal situations of the lots and the political and physical aspects involving the area, and are coordinated actions. Based on these differences between occupations, squats, and favelas it is very important to expand the use of the concept of occupation in the way proposed herein.

### 3.3 Conclusion

This chapter proposed the coinage of new vocabularies based on action-based words (verbs) for specific cases and urban practices in Latin America. Starting by observing the difficulties of planning whilst meeting regulations and unrealistic budgetary procedures, confronting the theoretical rationalities of planning in Colombia, we argued that '*perverse incentive planning*' generates a dilemma for planners in which they need to balance planning procedures with expected outcomes. This results in implementation aspects being 'glossed over' or the quality diminished. Understanding these processes of planning under 'mandatory' constraints should inform new ways in which planning theory is built, taking into consideration the duality of what is expected in 'theory' and the realities of implementation. The latter may seem obvious for the development of planning theory, but in many cases, especially when dealing with low institutionalization levels such as in the global south, this is not always the case.

Moreover, in this chapter we also analysed how paratransit, particularly in the form of '*Remises*' in Argentine cities, has been affected by platform technology. We observed how the emergence of platform technology has evolving impacts in cities of the south, and how platforms, through expanding the ability of people to build relations and create different markets, are enabling a process through which pre-existing relations and practices are incorporated. These 'ingrained' societal practices alongside the conservation of informal structures which are now mediated by technology, are elements that will produce more questions in the south as digital platforms expand and the boundaries between digital and physical continue to blur. Platforms in the south are increasingly going to interact and share spaces with pre-existing, generally informal practices, prompting us the question if platforms will preserve and furthermore, expand these practices.

Finally, we engaged with the term 'occupying', dealing with issues of informal housing in Brazilian cities. Here we observed the different definitions linked to this type of housing ubiquitous to many places in the global south and established clear differences between the terms used for occupations, squats and 'Favelas', proposing the name '*occupying*' as an encompassing, non-pejorative and comprehensive terminology to be applied in the future.

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## Endnote

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[4] We prefer to use the word in Portuguese, because the term “slum” can be perceived in a pejorative context.

# **THEME 3.**

## **PLANNING THEORIES FROM GLOBAL SOUTH**

## Authors Bio

### RESILIENCE-INFORMED URBAN PLANNING AND DEVELOPMENT IN THE GLOBAL SOUTH: A CRITICAL COMMENTARY

Aysegul Can, Justin Tata Loma, and Lakshmi Priya Rajendran in conversation with Nancy Odendaal



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# CHAPTER 4

## RESILIENCE-INFORMED URBAN PLANNING AND DEVELOPMENT IN THE GLOBAL SOUTH: A CRITICAL COMMENTARY

Aysegul Can, Justin Loma, and Lakshmi Priya Rajendran in conversation with Nancy Odendaal

### 4.1 Introduction

Like sustainability, resilience has become a buzzword that has been used by a variety of experts, institutions, stakeholders, policymakers, and academics. Resilience as a concept has proven to be an overarching idea that has had implications in the fields of geography, sociology, psychology, ecology, and engineering; however, it has also proven to be a contested idea in terms of policy articulation (Olsson et al., 2015; Welsh, 2014). Ecologists, who were one of the first professions to use resilience, realized that when it comes to complex dynamic systems, it is significantly more important to be flexible in order to be able to deal with the unexpected, than to only expect specific risks and dangers to systems (Suarez, 2020). Hence, adaptation became more essential than to be able to preserve the *status quo* or equilibrium. Therefore resilient systems should embrace change (Suarez, 2020) and this is the stance this short paper is taking in terms of resilience in the planning field. This stance can be in direct conflict with what resilience came to be used in certain professions and fields including planning (Suarez, 2020). For example, Jesse Keenan (a climate adaptation expert) sees resilience as a conservative concept because of its connotations of going back to the *status quo*, which is exactly why it can be an attractive idea or strategy for businesses and governments (Suarez, 2020). Our aim is to bring to light the rich, diverse, and complex socio-cultural context that inherently influence and/or define how people and cities operate, and, hence, argue that there is a need and urgency to bring forward a resilience theory that is forged out of conflict and survivability of communities in the South. In this chapter, we critically discuss the contradictions and potentials of resilience narratives in planning and development discourses in the global South.

### 4.2 Planning theory in/for Global South: Complementarities and Complexities

The unprecedented level of urban growth experienced therein, has become one of the most important challenges in the global South; the existence of multiplicity of actors both in public and private sector, and a strong top-down hierarchical relationships lead to a lack transparent governance that either fosters regeneration or facilitates sustainable urban growth and development. Hence the process of negotiation and coordination has become more complex, a situation which is inherent in the processes of governance in the global South (Healey, 2016). The diversity of society is characterised by heterogeneity in needs, commitments, preferences, identities and capabilities of users, which cannot be readily embraced by a regularised approach to planning and development (Bolay, 2018). The inherent socio-economic inequality that exists in the societies, impacts the ways in which people operate and engage with state and national governance structures and planning. These interactions and impacts happen at multiple scales between neighbourhoods and city-wide planning, and across time and space.

Urban informality is an important policy epistemology for planning (Roy, 2005). Ironically, engagement with informality concepts which are primarily associated with the Global South have been diffi-

cult for planners and policy makers in Global North (Roy, 2003; Sanyal, 1990). Urban informality has been explored through the lens of “assemblages” (Dovey, 2012: 371), urban movements (Castells, 1983; Harvey, 2003) ‘interfaces’ (Schindler, 2017), and the relations (Boudreau & Davis, 2017) to offer key insights into urban dynamics and challenges in cities.

Understanding the complexity that is inherent in urban informality and spatial planning innovative planning practices in the global South can offer an interesting lens to look beyond the more regularised planning developments in the Global North. The rich everyday socio-spatial narratives that characterise global South urbanism create opportunities for the adaptation, negotiation, and transformation of diverse societies, from which valuable lessons and approaches could be learnt to inform social innovations in urban planning and development initiatives, even applicable in the global North.

The multi-dimensional socio-spatial, economic, and political parameters that strongly embed the urbanisation and development processes in the global South create a unique context for planners to operate within. Unfortunately, existing planning theories and approaches, emerged in global North, are largely developed within a framework of strong colonial legacies, that fail to capture the complexities and complementarities of the urban fabrics, practices and processes of the global South. Connell (2013) explains how developing a southern theory is not about having a standardised and ‘fixed set propositions’, but a challenge which ought to be seen as a progressive way to develop new knowledge and new ways of learning with globally expanded resources. Apart from the challenges of policy and governance structures, which influence growth trajectories, as they are multi-layered, and require ‘interiorized ontological probing’ (Narayanan, 2019).

A useful point of departure in this context, is the limited research examining the resilience narratives in planning theory and discourses in the global South. While there are several definitions of urban resilience, it can be seen to refer, more holistically, “to the ability of an urban system-and all its constituent socio-ecological and socio-technical networks across temporal and spatial scales-to maintain or rapidly return to desired functions in the face of a disturbance, to adapt to change, and to quickly transform systems that limit current or future adaptive capacity” (Meerow et al, 2016: p.39). Resilience thinking is largely applied to addressing environment-related risks. Often the relationships between social processes and the spatiality of cities (Neto, 2017) are overlooked in resilience planning discourses. These relationships can potentially play key roles in building up a micro-level resilience. As human agency is exercised in cities through the multi-dimensional everyday interactions of social, political, cultural and economic institutions, it is also the means by which urban resilience is built from a bottom up direction. The existing colonized approaches to planning and development in the global South cities severely limits the scope of understanding and examining urban dynamics and undermines the need for a ‘southern turn’ in planning theory. The main challenges lie in decolonising planning theories and approaches which can embrace both the complementarities and complexities of socio-spatial practices in the global South, and also deliver theoretical and practice-oriented responses to the socio-economic, spatial and ecological disparities faced by the global South.

### 4.3 Resilience narratives in planning

Urban planning in Southern cities is very much connected to vulnerability, inequality and diversity - all of which are not sufficiently embedded in current urban resilience policies and narratives that are predominantly from and for Global North. This section briefly discusses resilience in general before discussing how it has been adapted by urban planning practices in the South. Urbanization processes have proven to be a leading driving change in the Anthropocene while bringing about important environmental and social challenges (Meerow and Newell, 2019). To manage these changes, academics and policy makers have turned to the concept of 'urban resilience', which has been very popular in the last decade (Leichenko, 2011). The Rockefeller Foundation's City Resilience Index defines resilience as "the capability of cities to function, so that the people living and working with cities – particularly the poor and vulnerable – survive and thrive no matter what stresses or shocks they encounter" (Arup and the Rockefeller Foundation, 2014, p.3). Although 'resilience' as a term has a long history in fields such as psychology and engineering, it is usually traced back to ecologist C.S. Holling (Brown, 2014; Garschagen, 2013; Meerow and Newell, 2015). Holling (1973, p.14) defines resilience "as an ecosystem's ability to maintain basic functional characteristics in the face of disturbance". This framing of resilience was used later by a group of ecologists to develop the 'socio-ecological system (SES)' (Folke, 2006; Gunderson and Holling, 2002). The aim of developing SES was to extend the understanding of resilience to the 'social domain'. Folke et al. (2002) identifies resilience as an outcome of (i) the amount of agitation a system can go through without losing its pivotal functions, (ii) if a system can self-organize and (iii) a system's ability to adapt. In line with Folke's thinking, cities are accepted as complex systems and entities that persist in the face of uncertainty, change and disruption and that also need to develop strategies of adaptation to be able to survive. It is no surprise that the concept of resilience is applied more and more in urban studies (Meerow and Newell, 2019; Elmqvist, 2014; Meerow, Newell and Stults, 2016; Matyas and Pelling, 2014).

This bridging concept has helped connect climate change policies, disaster risk management agendas, and concerns related to issues of sustainability (ARUP, 2014; Coaffee, 2008). However, this inclusiveness and flexibility has also made resilience an elusive and descriptive concept. There is no current definition for urban resilience, and the concept remains contested. Yet, the term's flexibility and the confusion that exists over what a resilient city is or how one can measure it, has not stopped states and policy makers from preparing guidelines, plans, and programmes to achieve the goal of creating 'resilient cities' (Weichselgartner and Kelman, 2015). The popularity and desire to have resilient cities is still growing in the policy arena (Vale, 2014). There is now enough evidence to suggest that sustainable, resilient green agendas are driving a new form of displacement under green gentrification in the Global South (see Pieterse, 2011). One example for this is the United Arab Emirates' (UAE) eco-city of Masdar, Abu Dhabi. It turns out that this post-carbon eco-modernization 'success' not only relied upon mining for minerals under conditions of slavery elsewhere but also degrading local working conditions in the UAE with underpaid staff and often uninsured migrant labour (Cugurullo, 2016; Amnesty International, 2016).

Following this, the study of resilience rooted in ecological perspectives has been predominantly

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quantitative, and often research into urban resilience has neglected the significance of socio-spatial relationships, as “spatiality tends to be peripheralized into the background as reflection, container, stage, environment, or external constraint of human behaviour and social action” (Soja 1996, p.71). In this regard, most important critiques of the concept of urban resilience come from geographers and social scientists who emphasize that issues of power, politics and equality do not receive the attention they should in order for this concept to have an holistic approach to social structures (Cretney, 2014; MacKinnon and Derickson, 2012; Pizzo, 2015; Vale, 2014; Meerow and Newell, 2019). However, there is an approach in the field of planning that is called ‘interpretive planning’, which coincides with ‘evolutionary resilience’ because both emphasize “fluidity, reflexivity, contingency, connectivity, multiplicity and polyvocality” (Davoudi and Strange, 2009, p.37). Evolutionary resilience advocates that change may occur in systems that may or may not be experiencing disturbance and challenges the idea of preserving the equilibrium (Davoudi et al., 2012). This overlaps perfectly with Massey’s (2005, p. 61) understanding of space as being characterized by the “simultaneity of multiple trajectories”.

The evolutionary resilience with its emphasis on change and adaptation may be best suited for the field of planning. This can be even more applicable for urban planning in the Global South because of the commonality of unexpected changes and uncertainties (Davoudi et al., 2012). Considering that, in a world riddled with uncertainties such as climate change, economic austerity, a global pandemic, and decreasing natural resources, this approach of resilience is more appealing. This ultimately leads to the question: Resilience is planned for whom and for what (Elmqvist, 2014). Resilience should be about analysing and monitoring dissensus, conflict and disagreement; and how, why and by whom these are generated (Kaika, 2017). Resilience policies that are rooted in urban conflicts and contested places, have a chance to identify the actors, processes and power structures that create the need to survive (Kaika, 2017). Otherwise, as Davoudi et al. (2012) points out, resilience as an approach and a policy tool runs the risk of being used as part of the neoliberal agenda to focus and promote self-reliant individuals developing their own resistance while keeping existing power structures intact. Resilience in planning practices and theories in the South (but also in the North) offers opportunities to create a paradigm shift to a more politically charged resilience and question existing tenets of contemporary planning which is why it becomes a deeply political issue and not an approach reinforced by natural science.

In actuality, in the global South policy makers praise communities and neighbourhoods as resilient where the local authorities fail to provide services, or national government allocates resources required for resiliency in a top down approach. Hence, in many cases, they fail to take into account the resistance of inhabitants of the South and fail to improve the conditions of these people by meeting their need. With regards to issues of adapting to new challenges and the problems related to lack of resources, southern cities develop a variety of informal urban resilience strategies and practices. The rest of the chapter (as before) discusses how western and non-western policy makers, planners, and academics can develop more inclusive urban resilience theories that include the complexities and complementarities of the global South, by accepting the already existing practices of resilience in the South that include illegal, underdeveloped, informal dimensions. We, therefore, call for a theory of resilience in the Global South that stems from the discontent and conflict of the urban poor regardless

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of whether these practices fall within the formal or informal planning (namely informal settlements) of an increasingly unequal world.

#### 4.4 Need for Resilience turn in planning in Global South

Considering alternative narratives to the already contested western theories of resilience (Borbés-Blázquez et al., 2017), which have informed urban planning in the global South for decades, this study suggests taping climate-resilient knowledge from best practices of Southern African Indigenous. For example, as a best practice, the southern resilience knowledge is integrated into the planning education and practices with seasonal scientific practices to reduce climate vulnerability, enhance resilience and improve adaptability (Jiri et al., 2015). This can be an integrative approach to decolonizing urban resilience methods to reverse the trend. The approach proposes needs for conceiving urban resilience theories from the urbanization processes and challenges of the Southern cities while drawing precedents from the limitations of the existing unsuitable urban planning theories of resilience for the global South (Parnell & Robinson, 2012).

The rise of urban planning scholarship for the Southern cities, based on the perspectives of Indigenous people of Africa, to counter-hegemonic western planning practices are the rise of grassroots resilience. The Indigenous grassroots planning (Miraftab, 2009; Adger, 2000), unlike the western insurgence or radical planning (Laskey & Nicholls, 2019), adapts and adjusts to the southward waves of neoliberal urbanization. At the same time, it is harnessing social networks of urban resilience (Ernstson et al., 2010), which is sweeping the Southern regions faster than ever (Simone & Pieterse, 2018). For example, the recent scholarship on neoliberalism and climate resilience will need to be theorized on regional bases across the South. Perhaps, this will produce intellectual hubs across the Southern regions in cities, which are already experiencing the majority of the urban population (Parnell & Robinson, 2012). However, the global South needs to support the rise of southern Indigenous grassroots planning, which opposes hegemony but embraces social values of Ubuntu, the spirit of survival, solidarity, compassion, and respect (Poovan, 2006) to decolonize the western resilient planning theories for the global South. This rise requires the appropriate examination of the planning theories of resilience that will inform planning in the rest of the world. For example, it can be argued along with the necessity to refine low-income communities' self-reliance resilience practices in meeting their needs in the presence of non-delivering governments (Davoudi, 2016).

It may be well to examine the potential of urban planning theories of resilience from the context of Indigenous Knowledge Systems. The prevalence of the Indigenous Knowledge Systems and their worldviews may provide unique resilience precedents from across the Southern regions, sufficient to support the rural and urban integrative process. This rural and urban integration can address the fragmented social and ecological structures that have informed Southern cities (Balbo, 1993). Cities across the global South from Latin America, Sub-Saharan Africa to Asia are already hosts to multiple urbanization processes. They are centres for massive urban population growths, urban sprawl, and informality result in their possession of social, economic, and environmental challenges (Silva, 2015). Each of those cities within the southern regions is unique with their complex and uneven urban

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conditions requiring scholarship from Indigenous Knowledge and untapped past and current urban planning practices to inform future urban reforms (Jansson, 2013). These reforms might explain the relationship between social and ecological resilience in the global South (Adger, 2000). The current understanding of the term resilience is contextual, and even it will remain controversial within the Indigenous Knowledge theoretical lens. Therefore, applying the term resilience from the framework of rural and urban slums of the global South should be thoroughly examined. Perhaps, a thorough cross-examination of the concept of southern resilience might provide the academic need for urban resilience that applies to the rest of the world.

Perhaps urban resilience theories from the South, for the South by the South, can examine the concept of production of fast cities, those that advocate for rapid transit, fast economic expansion, and growth in the global South, and compare them to the Southern postcolonial cities. Birkmann et al., 2016; Datta & Shaban (eds.), 2016. In response to the ever-expanding challenges which Southern cities face, there is an urgent demand for theories that address Southern cities and their inter-interdependent systems.

Moreover, it is significant to adapt the theory of resilience so that it can be used to address population increases in the global South. Onodugo and Ezeadichie (2019) advocate for a planning theory that tests the resilient informal economies of Southern cities within Asia and Africa. The population of those cities is expected to increase by 2.7 billion in the next three decades. According to the authors, these trends and projections allow future planning of the global South cities based on new adaptive, inclusive, and innovative planning theories and practices, which will inform the Southern cities of their emerging urban realities. The authors urge practitioners and theorists to neglect the global North's rigid planning standards that reject resilient informal economies, urban realities, generate continuous conflict, and fail to take advantage of these consequences and urbanization potentials. The authors further examine urbanization trends and everyday economic activities, exploring various case studies, and testing their effectiveness in addressing the challenges of informal economies. The authors suggest that the application of planning precedents to other global Southern cities with similar urban problems.

Though often overlooked, Southern cities have crucial roles to play and innovate exceptional contributions to global sustainability (Nagendra et al., 2018). As Nagendra et al. (2018) argue, globalization and urbanization processes present challenges and opportunities in the global South. The authors demonstrate the uniqueness of urban issues in the global South compared to the global North and urge future research to utilize a global South lens. They also pointed that although Southern cities are under-represented in the literature on resilience, it is well worth noting that they have great potential to contribute innovatively. They conclude by urging new interest in urbanization in the South and calling for eradicating traditional biases towards the Southern cities.

International interest in the global South has already attracted comparative approaches to understanding resilience theory (Robinson, 2016). The shifting geographies of global urbanization to the South are already producing rich experimentation and innovation of various methodologies (Robin-

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son & Roy, 2016). These are not the only promising futures of urban theory emerging from the global South. Our study has its limitations, for it does suggest only the question of the contribution on resilience in urban planning for the global South from the global South lens and proposes the equivalent desire for urban resilience, self-reliance, and self-recovery resilient cities (Vale & Campanella, 2005). Unfortunately, we cannot determine the different aspects of the contested definition of urban resilience from this study. We recommend the need for a southern resilience turn in planning theory to meaningfully examine ‘symbolic meanings’ to urban resilience from the global South perspective (p.261).

Finally, this paper calls for alternative narratives to the already contested western theories of resilience and the Southern cities’ innovative and experiential capacity. Most importantly, there is a need to increase and welcome planning scholarships from Southern cities. And the scholarships that are comparative in approaches to understanding resilience theory from the South can offer critical insights for challenges facing the global North.

#### 4.5 Conclusion

Researchers have identified (Roy, 2009a; 2011a, Watson, 2009a; 2012, Brownill and Parker, 2010) a lack of relevant planning theories for cities in the global South. They suggest the need for a fundamental shift toward theories, which acknowledge and recognise the extensive global differences between cities of the global South (Watson, 2016). In line with this, we suggest a shift to a more inclusive urban resilience theory, which acknowledges the inherent potentials that embed the complexity of development and urban processes in the Global South. In this brief piece while we cannot sufficiently elaborate on the learning that can be done from South to North in terms of urban resilience theory and policies, we are hoping to further the discussion on the need to update these policies to offer a more holistic approach that analyses informality as an urban phenomenon instead of ‘fixing’ it.

Possibly, a framework of resilience in the Global South forged out of dissensus, conflict and survivability can lead to alternative policies and institutions that will have more appropriate tools to tackle inequality. These, in turn, could replace, the prescribed techno-managerial strategies and regulations written in a far off office with bureaucrats who have no real experience of having the need to be resilient. Finally, we propose that a thorough analysis, understanding of and openness towards the voices and lives of communities in the common has a much better potential to offer a path to resilience that embraces and adapts to the needs of those who really need it.

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# **THEME 4.**

## **SOUTH TO NORTH LEARNING**

## Authors Bio

### CIRCULATION OF PLANNING THEORIES AND PRACTICES: A CASE FOR A TWO-WAY KNOWLEDGE TRANSFER

Vivek Mishra and Sudikshya Bhandari in conversation with Chia-Lin Chen



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# CHAPTER 5

## CIRCULATION OF PLANNING THEORIES AND PRACTICES: A CASE FOR A TWO-WAY KNOWLEDGE TRANSFER

Vivek Mishra and Sudikshya Bhandari in conversation with Chia-Lin Chen

### 5.1 Introduction

In light of the current global COVID-19 crisis that reflects the interdependence and interconnectedness of cities around the world, the notions of there being a global North and a global South appear challenging. This has prompted urbanists around the world to re-visit planning theories and practices in both the global North and South. Historically, planning theories from the global North have played a significant role in influencing the practices and planning cultures of cities in the global South. In this chapter, the authors intend to revisit the debates and discussions that exist around transfer of knowledge, which have mostly been a one-way circulation of planning practices from the global North to the global South. The wide acceptance of the planning approaches that have emerged from the South is inchoate and limited. In this chapter, the authors contend that there is a need to challenge the dominance of theories that use the South as a subject of analysis and present the North as a model that the global South should emulate. The authors emphasize that there is a need to re-centre the global South not just as a geographical location, but also as an analytical category (Watson, 2009; Schneider, 2017), and further suggest that the boundaries of the global South transcend beyond the dichotomy of developed and developing/underdeveloped nations. This process of acknowledging the dominance of western theories, their limitations, and the importance of theories from the South can facilitate the process of a two-way transfer of knowledge by locating the presence of the global South in the cities of the North. The authors align themselves with the notion that there is a presence of global South in the global North, which is characterized by the existence of socio-economic and ecological issues such as poverty, inequality, informality, corruption, and crime. These issues have primarily been associated with the cities of the developing nations. Therefore, this chapter argues that theories that have emerged in the global South can help analyse the problems and produce potential solutions for similar socio-economic and ecological problems that exist in the cities of the global North. The rest of this chapter is structured as follows: first, this chapter revisits theories and planning practices from the global North that have influenced planning practices in the cities of the global South. Second, it discusses the rationale for situating the global South as an analytical category to understand the processes of urbanization within cities of the North. Third, the following section discusses planning theories and practices from the global South that scholars and practitioners can apply to the context of the North. Finally, this chapter concludes with a discussion of the challenges and opportunities that this reversal of knowledge transfer might bring; how can one learn from those challenges and lead towards a two-way process of knowledge transfer.

### 5.2 Revisiting theories from the North- Their applications and challenges

The application of urban planning approaches “from the global North to South as part of colonialism, developmentalism and modernization and postcolonial power relations” (Harris & Moore, 2013, p. 1502) is evident in the manner in which cities of the South have developed over the past several

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decades. The footprints of both colonial and modernist planners who received their education and training in American and European institutions can be found in places such as Lutyen's Delhi, Chandigarh, and Brasilia, among others. Existing planning literature has documented the influence of western-trained architects such as Edwin Lutyens, Le Corbusier, Albert Meyer, and other modernist planners (Hall, 2014; Shaw, 2009; Chalana, 2015; Holston, 1989). In addition, and as part of the colonial project the garden city planners such as Charles Reade and Albert Thompson marked their influence in South Australia, Malaya, and North Rhodesia, South Africa, and Nigeria (Home, 1990). Planners also replicated the lessons learnt from the Garden city movement, a planning culture and practice that emerged in European countries, in colonial Africa and in Brazil (Bigon, 2013; Rego, 2014). Rational and modernist planners brought western planning approaches such as high rises, zoning regulations, and modern transportation networks to the cities of the so-called third world. At the same time, there are academics and scholars who have applied the theories and methodologies that emerged in the West to explain urban transformations in the cities of the global South.

In this section, this chapter draws upon some of those theories to emphasize the knowledge transfer both in terms of practice and theory from European and American countries to the countries of the South. Notably, the authors discuss the application and challenges of theories such as Neoliberalism, Entrepreneurial/Competitive Urbanism, Gentrification, and Normative Planning that have informed our understanding of urban transformation around the world since mid-twentieth century.

Lately, scholars have used neoliberalism as a conceptual framework to examine the nature of urban transformations in cities. However, scholars have also highlighted the pitfalls of neoliberalism as a coherent ideological project developed in the West in the 1970s to explain the socio-spatial transformation in cities and regions around the world. Brenner and Theodore (2002, p.349) introduce a concept of "actually existing neoliberalization" to suggest the place-specific variant of neoliberal urbanization. This focus on the variegated nature of neoliberalism expands our understanding of the processes of urban transformation in the cities of the global South by taking into account the different shapes and forms it takes in different city-regions and how these are influenced by local contexts. However, Parnell & Robinson (2012), questions the over-emphasis and adequacy of concepts such as neoliberalism to explain urban transformations in contemporary cities. They argue that urban scholars need to situate their analysis of urban poverty and urban change on factors other than theories such as urban neoliberalism that does not adequately capture other drivers of urban change in the low-income countries, for instance anti-poverty programs in South African cities and struggles of the urban poor that aligns with the notion of a good city and the right to the city. Further, this neoliberal shift in urban governance is manifested in the transition from managerial to entrepreneurial/competitive urbanism. The processes of marketing, branding, and the image-making of cities marked the entrepreneurial turn in urban governance in US cities and resulted in new patterns of development in advanced capitalist countries (Harvey, 2016, p.148).

Later, some of the cities of the global South borrowed this approach of entrepreneurial urbanism to package and brand their cities in ways that would increase capital investment in their cities. For instance, the government of Delhi, in the mid 2000s, attempted to create a certain image of the city

to put it on the map of ‘global cities.’ To this end, the government of Delhi hosted mega-events such as the Commonwealth Games and spearheaded large scale spatial and social restructuring projects including evictions and displacement of slum dwellers in the city (Dupont, 2011). This illustrates how governments in the cities of the global South adopted entrepreneurial urbanism (an approach that influenced urban transformations in the advanced capitalist countries) to engender socio-spatial transformation of cities.

Similarly, scholars from the North have touted gentrification, a theory of urban transformation, as a universal framework that can explain changes in the built environment in cities around the world. For instance, Smith (2002) argues that the process of gentrification, which was earlier a phenomenon limited to the command-and-control cities of the West, has now expanded to other parts of the world, particularly the global South. He highlights the role of gentrification as a global urban strategy that facilitates capitalist modes of production by opening other equally productive avenues for capital investment in various parts of the world. However, scholars have questioned the application of gentrification to the global South. Responding to the narrow understanding of gentrification, such as rising rents and market-induced displacement, as discussed by Smith (2002), Ghertner (2005) draws attention towards the limitations of the generalization of gentrification theory. He argues that the theory provided by Smith and other western scholars of gentrification overlooks some other fundamental transformation in the political economies of land in the countries of the Global South. He draws attention towards the variegated forms of land relations, namely, public land ownership, common property, mixed tenure, and informal land relations that influence the processes of urban transformations in Indian cities. Ghertner connects gentrification with the idea of flattening diverse tenure regimes and the privatization of land. He further argues that gentrification can be explained in terms of rising rents and the capitalist mode of production only in those parts of the world where the process of flattening of land tenure regime is complete. However, where this process is not complete, the gentrification theory should not be applied because of its limitation in explaining transformations in those cities – particularly the peri-urban and outer regions of postcolonial cities. He highlights the importance of engaging with the scholarship of agrarian studies and other theories of urban restructuring to understand the redevelopment of any region that scholars have generalized as gentrification.

Similarly, another theory that first emerged in the global North but has faced challenges when applied to the context of the global South is Normative Planning. Normative Planning aligns its goals with the societies where it is implemented and, regardless of its popularity in the Global North, has faced some challenges in the South Asian or African context (Alam, 2011; Watson, 2002). The inclusive multicultural planning processes in Normative Planning in the case of metropolitan and larger Canadian cities are great examples but it remains important to consider the limitations of multicultural planning to the mid-sized cities in Canada (Qadeer, 1997; Kurtz, 2014). As multiculturalism has been institutionalized since 1982 in Canada, the diversity in their communities are incorporated into multicultural public policies by taking into consideration the opinions of minorities into the planning process (Qadeer, 1997; Kurtz, 2014). In contrast, the political and top-down practices of planning that prevail in South Asian societies (Alam, 2011) or issues of instability in areas of politics or economy in African cities (Watson, 2002) create challenges for the application of this theoretical framework into those

localities. However, some contrasting insights have been offered with regards to the multicultural approach in normative planning. Some scholars have argued that the suitability of this approach to South Asian context depends on the “visible presence of a benevolent, unbiased, and fair civil society that acts as the pivotal agent of societal change” (Alam, 2011, p. 84). Further, the changing demographics, economy and cultural diversity of modern society make this approach significant (Kurtz, 2014). An effective planning system, as highlighted by Qadeer (1997), meets the demands of culturally and racially diverse populations and changes the ways in which they are involved in planning processes to accommodate policies that account for multiculturalism. Therefore, as a way forward, it can be argued that a multicultural approach, or in particular a context-based approach for cultural diversity, can only be applied as a hybrid strategy to inform planning practices in the contexts of both the global North and South. Although the theories from the North do come with their own limitations when it comes to their application to the context of the Southern cities, scholars have tried to reverse this trend of one-way knowledge transfer. In the next section, the authors undertake a brief review of literature that emphasizes the need to learn-from-the-South.

### 5.3 Rationale for reversing the vectors of knowledge transfer

Over the past few decades, urbanists have questioned the one-way transfer of planning theories and practices from North to South. While critically looking at divisions between first and third world cities, Robinson (2002) argues that the global and world cities approach to urbanization creates a hierarchy among the cities around the world, which is attributed to their respective economic standings. She further argued that this hierarchical model often represented western cities as model cities that the cities of less developed countries ought to emulate. In addition, the postcolonial critique of the dominance of eurocentrism in planning practice and theory (Roy, 2009a, 2016) echoes Robinson’s critique of global and world cities approach. While questioning Scott and Storper’s conception of a city as “dynamics of agglomeration” and “nexus of locations, land use, and human interactions,” Roy (2016, p.205) emphasizes the need to rely on postcolonial theories to acknowledge context specificity and situatedness of urban transformation. She also emphasizes the importance of the relationship between ‘place, knowledge and power’ to understand urban transformations. In a similar vein, Banerjee & Chakravorty (1994) analysed the failure of the transfer of planning technologies of the west to postcolonial Indian cities. They argue that the transfer of western planning technology to postcolonial Calcutta did not consider the local socio-political context and hence failed to address the issues it claimed to solve in the first place (Banerjee & Chakravorty, 1994). Further, Shrestha and Aranya (2015) highlight how significant planning traditions such as social reform, social mobilization, social learning, and policy analysis are transferred from North to the South without giving any consideration to either the socio-economic and political contexts, or the cultural diversities of cities in the global South. They emphasize that “the dominant discourses on planning theories leading to planning practices fail to address the ‘stubborn realities’ of Global South because they are based on ideas and experiences within the northern context which is significantly different from their southern counterparts” (p.425). Therefore, given the issues that arise from the adaptation of planning discourses from North to South, it is crucial to recognize Southern context-based perspectives on planning.

In order to establish the Southern perspectives, scholars frequently contest the one-way approach to knowledge transfer in planning (Harris & Moore, 2013). Scholars have advocated for decolonization of planning ideals to incorporate learnings from Southern cities to the praxis of planning. Miraftab (as cited in Shrestha & Aranya, 2009, p. 425) asserts that “(de) colonizing the imagination of planners, which requires recognizing how the ideal of the western city has been deployed historically in the colonial era and changing that imagination through forms of radical planning emerging from the global South”. Further, two of the articles published in the *Journal of Planning Education and Research* encourage new age planners and researchers to learn from Southern theories (Andrews, Lowrie & Smarts, 2020; Carolini 2020). There is a push from mainstream scholars of urban planning, to re-orient our existing approaches to examining urban transformations in cities around the world. It is also important to acknowledge that the theories from the North are insufficient to explain urban transformations everywhere. Besides, the authors maintain that urbanists in the global North can learn from theories and practices from the South to explain certain urban phenomena in the global North.

## 5.4 Learnings from the Global South - Theories and Practices

In this section, the authors discuss some of the planning practices and theories that have emerged from the countries of the global South, which can potentially inform and influence planning practices and urban theories in the context of the global North. Here, they focus on three such theories and practices; 1) Participatory Planning, 2) Urban Informality, and 3) Insurgent Planning.

### 5.4.1 Participatory planning

A participatory approach to planning and governance is an alternative to the centralized, expert-led, mainstream models of governing people. One successful case of participatory planning is in Porto Alegre, Brazil. The workers' party of Brazil that won several municipal elections in 1989 introduced an innovative strategy to govern the city (Shah & Waghle, 2003). The idea was to bring a diverse set of people together to formulate the city's budget. The people of Porto Alegre met multiple times every year to discuss and prepare a budget that addressed several themes of public concern; transportation, education, health, leisure and culture, economic development, city organization, urban development, and so on. This initiative was a grand success and improved the quality of life of the people of Porto Alegre. In 1996, this project also gained international exposure when it was nominated by the 1996 UN Summit on Human Settlements in Istanbul as an exemplary 'urban innovation' (Shah & Waghle, 2003). Later, the participatory budgeting project (PBP) in the US tried to apply learning from Brazil's creative project of participatory budgeting to US cities. After initial hiccups and skepticism around the application of a strategy that worked in Brazil to the US context, PBP was, in 2012, successful in bringing 8,000 people together in New York to discuss and decide how to spend \$6 million across four city districts (Lerner & Seconde, 2012). PBP had also tried participatory budgeting in Montreal and Toronto in Canada in 2001 and Chicago in 2009. In 2009 the residents of the #49 Ward in collaboration with the Participatory Budgeting Project came together to plan how and where to spend \$1 Million of the annual discretionary capital budget of Alderman Joe Moore of Chicago's 49th Ward. They deliberated and finally listed a few areas where the city could spend the money. They found issues such

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as street and sidewalk repairs, parks, bike lanes, tree planting, and streetlights to be some of the key concerns of the residents that the given budget could resolve. Later in 2012, the University of Illinois at Chicago's Great Cities Institute partnered with PBP to launch Participatory Budgeting (PB) Chicago. The aim of PB Chicago was to expand this approach to other parts of Chicago so that more power might be given to the people to decide how to spend public money. Chicago became the first city in the United States to replicate the learnings from Porto Alegre, Brazil. In a similar vein, in 2015, the city of Seattle initiated its own version of participatory budgeting with the launch of a citywide youth participatory budgeting initiative called 'Youth Voice, Youth Choice.' Later, the city of Seattle expanded this program to include the residents of Seattle deciding how to spend \$2 Million of the city's budget that was allocated for the Youth Voice, Youth Choice program. The Seattle Department of Neighbourhoods publishes an annual report to highlight the amount of money allocated towards the participatory budgeting and the projects that they fund under this initiative. The diffusion of this approach to over 3,000 cities around the world so far, suggests that cities around the world are looking at participatory planning as a more democratic approach to decision making and that they are considering it as an alternative to expert-led top-down policy and planning approaches. While the long-term impact of participatory budgeting is yet to unfold, it provides a framework that cities of the global North can continue to apply by contextualizing this approach to address their own specific needs.

#### **5.4.2 Urban Informality**

Academics and Urban Planning practitioners have used 'urban informality' as an analytical category by which to examine the emergence of certain kinds of territorial formations such as slums, shantytowns, and favelas in cities. Scholars have used informality as a key theme to understand urban transformations in the cities of the global South. Roy (2005), however, draws a parallel between slums, ghettos, and urban renewal programs both in the 'third world' cities and American cities. She suggests that in both arenas, there is a stigmatization of slums as sites of production of diseases, filth, and crime that need course correction, and that this has direct connections to large-scale projects of urban renewal/redevelopment. In third world cities, we see this course correction through programs of slum upgradation, demolition, or resettlement, whereas, in the American cities the cities have treated the problems of slums through large scale projects of modernization and gentrification of 'blighted' neighbourhoods in the 1950s and 60s. The management of informal spaces in the cities of the global South bears some resemblance to the governance of slums and other 'spaces of poverty' in the American cities in the 1960s (Roy, 2005). Further, Roy (2005, p.150) suggests that "the study of informality policy can be of considerable relevance to American planners". This can be informed by shifting attention to questions of poverty, property ownership, projects of urban development, and the exclusion of certain groups from housing markets. In a similar vein, Durst & Wegmann (2017) document five regulatory regimes that suggest the presence of urban informality in the cities of the US. They are: 1) The property rights regime, 2) The property transfer regime – finance and titling, 3) The land-use and Zoning regime, 4) The subdivision regulation regime, and 5) The building code regime. Durst & Wegmann (2017) argue that informality as a theoretical framework can be useful to unpack the nature of urbanization in the cities of the US. Any violation of these five regulatory logics is representative of the presence of informal urbanism in the US. Colonias of the border states of Texas, Arizona, California,

and New Mexico point to the presence of large scale of informal settlements in the cities of the US. The presence of Colonias, Squatter settlements, Tent Cities, and Vehicle Living, among others also represent the presence of the global South in the cities of the US. Colonias in the Southern border states of the US are the result of the violation of overlapping regulatory regimes such as the subdivision regime, the land-use and zoning regime, and the building codes regime (Durst & Wegmann, 2017). Colonias come into existence when developers develop lands in unincorporated areas and sell them without any provision of basic infrastructural facilities with a fake promise to provide basic infrastructure services such as roads, water, electricity, and sanitation later. Texas alone has about 2,300 such settlements where half a million people, (a majority of whom are undocumented immigrants), live (Galvin, 2018). In several ways, these settlements mirror the slums and shanty towns of the global South when it comes to their legality, access to basic services, and politics of regularization, as some of these spaces have become regularized and others have still not received ownership rights and basic services. From the discussions presented by Roy (2005) and Durst & Wegmann (2017), urbanists around the world can learn about those cities in North America and other western part of the world as they apply urban informality as a conceptual framework to understand the unequal access to wealth and property in cities of the global North. This approach can help urban planners and policymakers to find a range of solutions in between upgrading and providing land titles to the residents and communities of informal settlements within global North along the lines of the cities of India, Brazil, and other countries of the global South.

### **5.4.3 Insurgent Planning**

Insurgent planning and its practices of social mobilization have been informed by the context of Latin American and Post-Apartheid South African cities (Shrestha & Aranya, 2015). Driven by an objective of social change, scholars have identified insurgent planning as a radical approach to decolonize planning theories and practices by re-centring attention to studies of the oppressed (Miraftab, 2009; Shrestha & Aranya, 2015). Despite their connection to the South, Roy (2009) emphasizes that insurgence and informality can influence Northern planning theories such that the notions of differentiated citizenship and counter politics provide greater understanding of insurgent practices. Hillier (as cited in Roy, 2009b, p. 8) asserts that while the cities of the global South view informality “within the broader politics of populist mobilization, state power, and economic dependency, as in access to employment or housing opportunities”, in the North, it manifests itself as the “shadow of the formal, with, for example, hidden transcripts of rule-transgression, conflict and resistance.”

Moreover, Shrestha & Aranya (2015) present cases from Kathmandu, Nepal that unpacks the nature of insurgent activities engendered by grassroots organizations and their power distribution within the given marginalized groups. They emphasize that the collaboration of local NGOs with government institutions on housing resettlement projects for evicted squatter families led to resistance and reactionary movements by landless squatters to claim their rights to the city. Such real insurgent actions embody transformative and achievable practices (Ulloa, 2013). Further, in order to prioritize the needs of the most vulnerable ones, this approach towards insurgent practices and social movements requires probing into the power structures within marginalized groups (Shrestha & Aranya, 2015). This

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shift from an expert-led top-down approach to a more inclusive bottom-up approach to urban planning also exemplifies an insurgent approach to planning (Mirafat, 2009) that considers the role of socio-economic, cultural, and political processes in transforming urban spaces (Ulloa, 2013). Learning from such examples of insurgent planning could be useful in the conceptualization of planning in the global North.

### 5.5 Discussion and Conclusion

In this chapter, the authors have discussed some of the planning theories and practices that emerged in the global South that might inform the planning practices in the cities of the North. They have discussed theories such as participatory planning, urban informality, insurgent planning, and normative planning-multicultural approaches that represent some of the prominent themes that have made critical contributions to the arguments presented herein.

Further, they have discussed some of the specific cases and theories from the Global South to provide some fresh perspectives to revisit the application of some of the established and emerging planning theories of the global North. The first case of Participatory Planning helps us to understand the importance of community participation and the active role that city legislatures can play in bringing the diversity of ideas in the policymaking and planning processes. Urban Informality, on the other hand, centres upon the issues of wealth inequality and property ownership to explain neighbourhood formation in American cities and cities elsewhere. Insurgent planning addresses notions of power-sharing and grassroots activism as forces to (re)shape the planning decisions and process. Insurgent planning can help us to understand the implications of grassroots organizations and activism on planning processes in the global North.

Finally, in this chapter, the authors observed the dominance of theories from the global North. They contend that the contemporary urban theorists need to move away from the notion of the global South as a geographical category that requires policy and planning intervention. Rather, urbanists around the world should use the global South as an analytical category to explain and inform policy and planning processes in cities. Moreover, urbanists in the global North should take inspiration from theories that emerge from the cities of the South. This will, however, require a context- and place-specific application of those theories and planning practices.

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# **THEME 5.**

## **GEOGRAPHIC VERSUS THEMATIC GLOBAL SOUTH**

## Authors Bio

### THE GLOBAL SOUTH: A THEMATIC APPROACH IN THE PERSPECTIVE OF PLANNING PRACTICE AND THEORY

Fauster Agbenyo and Janek Becker in conversation with Louis Albrechts



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# CHAPTER 6

## THE GLOBAL SOUTH: A THEMATIC APPROACH IN THE PERSPECTIVE OF PLANNING PRACTICE AND THEORY

Fauster Agbenyo and Janek Becker in conversation with Louis Albrechts

### 6.1 Introduction

In this chapter, we argue that the dominance of planning theories and their associated praxes from the geographic Global North in the geographic Global South is greatly underpinned by how the term Global South is defined. Using the post-development theoretical lens, the chapter aims to reconceptualise the term Global South, shifting the frontiers of the definition from a geographic to thematic perspective. In producing this chapter, we relied on extensive reference to existing literature, expert guidance from senior academics and scholars, personal experiential knowledge, and conferment between the two authors. We began the chapter with a discussion of the hegemony of planning theories from the geographic Global North in the geographic Global South and emphasized the one-time colonialism and currently coloniality and globalization as their propellers. We then advanced the definitive feature of planning and the planner from the perspective of the Global North and the resultant dislodgements caused by grafting these Global North theories on Global South planning challenges. We then proceeded to conceptualize the term thematic Global South and made a case for how and why southern theories and praxes should foreground solutions to southern problems. Finally, we propose strategic (spatial) planning (SSP) as a common thread by which to seek practical solutions to common planning challenges from the thematic Global South(s)<sup>4</sup> in both the geographic Global South and Global North.

### 6.2 Dominance and Impact of the Global North in Planning Theory and Practice

Planning was considered a practice-oriented profession with technical expertise, and planners were considered technocrats dictating the pace, direction and quantum of societal progress. Diverse planning theories from the geographic Global North, but mainly from Anglo-Saxon domains and the French, have donned a hegemonic posture in the geographic Global South (Abdelwahab and Serag, 2017; Njoh, 2010, 2008; Stiftel and Watson, 2005; Dear et al., 1993; Mantysalo, 2005). Planning theory, in this context, is a set of assumptions, propositions, or accepted facts that attempt to provide a plausible explanation of cause-and-effect (causal) relationships among a group of observed phenomena. The origin of the word, theory, is the Greek *thorós*, which means ‘a spectator’, and stresses the fact that all theories are mental models of perceived reality and therefore can be influenced by the background of the theorist. Thus, the setting of a theory is critical for its praxis, which is coterminous with planning practice. Even though there is a plethora of definitions of planning practice, in this chapter, we settled on what Alexander (2016, p. 94), Barnes (2001, pp. 19–20) and Schatzki (2001, p. 53) refers to as:

<sup>4</sup>The use of the terms, Global South(s) and Global North(s), in their pluralistic forms is to emphasize the conceptualized use, also expressed in the “territorialized perspective”, that refers to the South(s) not as a geographical concept that is limited to the southern hemisphere but a relational approach that can be applied to places, especially on the local scale, in the southern and northern hemispheres. Moreover, the “s” reinforces the pluralism of the concept of the thematic Global South(s) in cities all over the world, which by no means corresponds to a uniform mass or a contiguous spatial unit. The terms Global North and Global South without “s” are also used to denote their geographical localization conception.

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Knowledge-centred practice [defined as] a set of doings and sayings organized by a pool of understandings, a set of rules and common and collective ends, projects, emotions and beliefs [which are] socially recognized [...] done on the basis of what members learn [...] capable of being done well or badly, correctly or incorrectly and endowing their membership with the power to perform.

The act of transferring a planning theory and praxis from one setting to another must consider the settings of the source and destination. In this chapter, the authors relied on the post-development theoretical lens, launch a critique on the geographic approach to the conception of Global North, and made a case for a thematic view of the concept. The post-development school of thought began in the 1980s. It presents a position that development, which was engineered and championed by the neoliberal ideologies from Europe and America and other western societies, is measured in terms of economic variables such as gross domestic growth (GDP), and focused on issues of efficiency. Proponents of post-development theory argue that development never delivered the dividends, which was promised to the society. They christened the practice and theory of development as ethnocentric (Eurocentric), universalist (i.e. it tends to turn a blind eye to multiplicities of inequality in society), and linear; with application of western industrialist models (see MacNeill, 2020; Chitranshi, 2019; Nakano, 2019; Tamas, 2006; Amy, 2003). In this vein they argue that, at best, development provided an unjust framework, which created a world order made up of developed and underdeveloped countries. Proponents of post-development theory have proposed a development model, which they underlay with cultural principles, indigeneity, collectivism, and pluri-versalism (Nakano, 2019; Tamas, 2006).

Factors that propelled the hegemony of planning theory and praxes from the geographic Global North include erstwhile colonialism (Sutcliffe, 2020; Bruns and Gerend, 2018; Abdelwahab and Serag, 2017; Esho and Obudho, 2017), trending coloniality (Grosfoguel, 2011; Quijano and Ennis, 2000), globalization processes (Connell, 2014; Roy, 2008), “educational and scientific institutions, professional associations and journals, and international development agencies and consultants” (United Nations Human Settlements Programme (UN-Habitat)), 2009, p. 51), and activities of alumni mainly of European and North American schools (Leigh and Stiftel, 2019; Stiftel et al., 2007). It is worth noting that the Global Planning Education Association Network (GPEAN) was founded in Shanghai, China in 2001, with equal partners from the Global South (AESOP, 2019). Drawing from Healey (2010) “disparate networks and restructuring dynamics”, Roy (2011) “transnationalism forging transnational solidarities endless in yet transcending national systems of governance” and Sanyal (2010) “culture has always been open to influence from abroad and today’s planning cultures have characteristics that resulted from external influence”, Leigh and Stiftel (2019, p. 4) opine that “despite the diversity of planning ideas across the globe or because of it”, internationalization of planning education (also discussed in Chapter 7 of the booklet), which is now ‘omnidirectional’, has become very crucial. It can, therefore, be argued that by extension, this chapter discusses global planning practice and theory, being critical of the dichotomy of the Global North and Global South.

Critics of hegemonic planning theories have acknowledged their practical value and utility in producing (urban) space in the geographic Global South (Yiftachel, 1998). However, planning scholars and practitioners have dilated on a plethora of their negative consequences in the geographic Global

South (see Roy, 2011; Roy and Crane, 2015; Watson, 2009, 2016; Perera, 2008). Yiftachel refers to planning as a tool for social control: “a conspicuous mismatch between the main concerns of planning theory and the actual material consequences of planning” with stated intentions in the form of goals, rules and ideologies to the utter neglect of concrete planning outcomes (2006, p. 212) and mainstream planning theories from the North’s neglect of such critical forces as ethnicity and homeland in the production of (urban) space (Yiftachel, 2009, 2006). Yiftachel (1998) argues that even though planning contributes to social goals, making it a tool for ‘benign social control’, it also advances sinister expressions of social controls which are at variance with social order, invoking terms such as ‘repressive goals’ including ‘social oppression, economic inefficiency, male dominance, ethnic marginalization, repression, constraints and exploitation’, which hegemonic planning theorists often assumed and took for granted.

Yiftachel (2001, pp. 1–2) and Potter et al. (2018) focused on “mainstream planning research, theory and thought as a confused demarcation of disciplinary boundaries; a dominance of professional perspectives, privileging of process over substance”, the disjunction between process and outcome, the slighting of planning spatial dimensions and the unchallenged acceptance of planning’s benevolent power. Yiftachel emphasized how the ‘power of planning shapes societal relations in the form of emancipatory, reformist, progressive, normalizing, legitimizing, regressive and oppressive forms.’ From the ensuing quote it is illustrative as these planning luminaries are often quoted and used as the core of disciplinary knowledge in the geographic Global North:

[...] the seminal works of the likes of Howard, Geddes, Stein, Perry, Garnier, Lloyd-Wright, Le-Corbusier, Mumford, Harvey, McLoughlin, Faludi, Friedmann, Castells and Hall, among others, as having shaped the way scholars and practicing planners have thought about the making of cities and regions, roughly until the late 1980s (Yiftachel, 2001, p. 2).

Furthermore, the continuation of how planning theories and practices from the Global North(s) continue to dominate and influence planning practices in the Global South(s) in the 21st century is demonstrated in the example of sports mega-event planning. Leal de Oliveira et al. (2020), Nobre (2017) and Vainer (2016) have shown the possible impact of international mega-events in the Global South(s) with the example of the Olympic Games in 2016 in Brazil and Steinbrink et al. (2011) with the FIFA World Cup in South Africa. These mega-events were not adapted to the national particularities but were carried out by simply transferring measures and guidelines developed in the northern planning contexts and shaped by corporate interests and a neoliberal agenda (see also Richmond and Garmany, 2016). Therefore, the development of venues and the expansion of public transport were also largely carried out without, or only through, a sporadic city-wide integrated planning approach. Besides a lack of public participation in the development intervention, as in Rio de Janeiro, the implementations were followed by evictions and resettlements of more than 4.772 families mostly argued as infrastructural measurements (Steinbrink et al., 2015) with the most serious impact for the most vulnerable part of society (see also Magalhaes, 2015).

A bane of planning theory from the geographic Global North is how to account for institutions. Spa-

tial planning, for example, expresses itself in the form of a normative dimension which is unable to accommodate the totality of the descriptive (positive) dimension which determines much of "actions and outcomes of spatial development" in the geographic Global South (Rocco et al., 2019, p. 421). Institutional realignment which culminated in the 1988 Constitution of Brazil and ancillary legislation, bringing local participation mechanisms and processes in the development of master plans and municipal codes and regulations, helped in abating the fissures between policy-making and implementation and the formal and informal urbanization (favelas, places of urban marginal settlements, Valladares, 2005; Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Estatística (IBGE), 2011). However, it could not stop the 'old technocratic superciliousness and historical commitment to tend to the interest of economically hegemonic groups' (Rocco et al., 2019, p. 427), who are the ideologues, theorists and exponents of planning praxes from the geographic Global North.

The dominance of planning theories from the geographic Global North in the geographic Global South has come under severe criticism, with experts, scholars and researchers advocating for foregrounding solutions to Southern planning challenges with Southern theories (see Grosfoguel, 2012) and a relook at the conceptualization of the Global South in the present-day planning discourses.

### 6.3 Concept of the thematic Global South(s): A Postcolonial and Territorialized Perspective

In conceptualizing the term Global South , we distinguish between the conventional geographical approach, which focuses on the geographical distribution of global differences and predominantly considers economic aspects and political and/or cultural marginalization with different emphasis and historical backgrounds (Dados and Connell, 2012), and a thematically differentiated approach.

Similar to the 'Developing World' as an antinomy to the 'Developed World' the traditional geographic approach can be seen in the context of the sociological conception of 'development' of the 20th century oriented on North American and especially European standards (Connell, 2007; Quijano and Ennis, 2000). This dichotomy is grounded in the context of the modernizing globalization approach of the 'global society' and the "idea of modernity spreading from its heartland in Europe and North America to cover the whole world" and with its characteristics of neoliberalism (Connell, 2007, p. 372). Therefore, the simplified view of the South, often characterized in terms of underdevelopment, poverty, inequality or 'over-urbanization' (see also Davis, 2007, pp. 16–17; Koonings and Kruijt, 2011; Timberlake, 2019), is supported by the unilateral perspective from the geographic Global North. One example can be drawn from the development of a postcolonial national urban system in African countries with one aspect being "the movement of the national capital to a new location, the construction and development of new towns or the expansion of existing towns" (Mabogunje, 1990, p. 146). This shows that even in the emaciation of colonial structures the resulting master plans for the new capital cities in the 1970s and 80s were grounded in "European technical and cultural considerations" such as concepts of racial and ethnic classification of neighbourhoods, building heights and others (Mabogunje, 1990, p. 147; Alexander, 1983).

In addition to the above-mentioned mega-sport events is the mostly norther-oriented urban development projects for waterfront developments that are realized to approximate norther-oriented ideas of planning, development, and the international competition of cities. Whereas waterfront developments in northern cities can be seen as logical and organic extensions of the urban corpus, the development of cities in the Global South(s) are often at odds with the urban challenges and social needs of citizens (Smith and Ferrari, 2012; Sarue, 2018; Ferreira and Visser, 2007). The comparison of these very different cases is clearly difficult but it can still give a glimpse on the global capitalistic urban development scheme that originated and is controlled mainly by countries of the geographical Global North. The conventional geographical approach and its turned-back thinking of development has not only ignored essential socio-cultural differences and historical path dependencies with regard to hegemonic power structures in the course of colonial and imperial expansion (Grosfoguel, 2012), but also disregards the particularities and potentials that could be understood from a more diverse perspective (Roy, 2009; Barbosa and Silva, 2013).

As an alternative and more-embracing way of thinking about the term Global South, we shift attention to the elaboration of a thematic approach. We dwell on the presented contextual shortcomings and theoretical insufficiencies of the conventional geographical approach and enrich it with critical territorialized and post-colonial approach, “toward an emphasis on geopolitical relations of power.” (Dados and Connell, 2012, p. 12). Our proposition is that these theoretical conceptions provide the basis for practical implementation in planning via the strategic spatial planning (SSP) approach as espoused and elaborated in section 3 of this chapter.

### ***Territorialized perspective***

The territorialized perspective of the term Global South(s) emphasizes different redefined spatial scales of the concept. While the geographical localization approach stays on the global and national scales, the thematic approach incorporates regional and local scales. The territorialized perspective as a spatial reference frame also recognizes the power relations underlying the production of space. Territory, in this context, can be understood as a product of power relations and negotiations in the sense of the explicit dominance that individual actors have over others and the spatial appropriation in a multi-scale continuum of overlapping territories (Haesbaert, 2014, p.59,61).

When Santos refers to the connections between the historic and spatial layers of the Global South, he also sees connections between places at a local scale in both European and north American contexts:

“The Global South is not a geographical concept, even though the great majority of its populations live in countries of the Southern [sic] hemisphere. The South is rather a metaphor for the human suffering caused by capitalism and colonialism on the global level, as well as for the resistance to overcoming or minimizing such sufferings.” (2016, p. 28)

A deeper look into the understanding of the meaning of the territorialized perspective can be found in the analysis of “Territories of Poverty” by Roy & Crane (2015). The global distribution of places of

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exclusion from the urban entities and poor people's movement can be found in the geographic global North as well as in the geographic global South; so, the North could learn from the experiences in the South as well. Therefore, the territorial perspective withholds a "relational approach that holds in simultaneous view the Global North and Global South" (Roy, 2015, p. 6). This perspective focuses on the thematic similarities of the challenges, and considers the socio-historical background for a global approach to the Global Souths at urban and local scales. Roy explains this relation with the example of the southern part of Chicago, that "must be understood not simply as the (post)industrial North but as the territory of the dispossessions and activisms that are prefigured in the Global South and which have always been a part of the making of the global North." (p. 16). Territories that are typically not in line with European and North American standards of urbanization include Favelas, Squatters, Shantytowns and Townships, which originated in the geographical Global South, and those can be joined with Slums of European and north American countries as well as "arrival neighbourhoods" or "problem areas" in cities all over the world.

### ***Postcolonial perspective***

While the territorialized perspective enhances the thematic Global South(s) with a refined spatial reference frame, it also recognizes the postcolonial perspective as an essential basis for understanding coloniality. The postcolonial perspective seeks to demonstrate and understand the historic path-dependencies referring to experiences "of colonialism, neo-imperialism [sic], and differential economic and social changes through which large inequalities in living standards, life expectancy and access to resources are maintained" (Roy, 2015, p. 13). This is because not only do colonial structures in former colonized countries and their cities partly persist, but colonial legacies are also reproduced in societies, their government structures, institutions, legal systems, and planning practices (Bruns and Gerend, 2018; Njoh, 2010; Watson, 2016; Lerner, 2020). As a counterpart, Schindler (2017, p. 48) critically acclaimed that the term 'postcolonial' in urban studies "remains an empty signifier disconnected from particular processes or phenomena [and] does not contribute to [the] understanding of urbanization in the Global South" (p. 58), and especially criticized the methodological issues. Therefore, he offers the paradigm of southern urbanism focusing on the differences and creating a dichotomy oriented on northern urbanization standards to show fundamental differences between the North and the South. Considering his perspective, a postcolonial approach has to recognize its limits and needs to clarify that there is no one-theory-that-fits-all.

Another emphasis of the postcolonial perspective can be seen in the idea of the deconstruction of planning as an instrument of oppression and power, which Yiftachel (1998, p.396) refers to as the "Dark Side of planning". As a result of hegemonic power structures in planning and a northern-biased planning theory that are both still broadly made in the geographic Global North, a forward-looking and all-embracing concept of Global South is needed (Watson, 2016, 2006; Bruns and Gerend, 2018). There is a need for planning theories and practices that recognize the southern necessities and avoids "mismatch[es] between the main concerns of planning theory and the actual, material consequences of planning" (see Yiftachel, 2006, p. 212). Translated to the postcolonial planning perspective, northern and southern theories and practices have to be examined and questioned for application in the geographic Global South or North.

It follows that the development of southern planning theories needs to recognize the place, its context, its conflicting rationalities, and divergent socio-historical backgrounds alongside their underlying power relations (Satgé and Watson, 2018, 24, 29; Yiftachel, 2002). Drawing on Grosfoguel (2011) and Quijano and Ennis's (2000) conception of coloniality we argue that to decolonize (urban) planning theory, practice and thought is to focus on the current global system, particularly the Global South(s) and purge or realign (urban) planning institutions, procedures, processes, approaches and contents in the Global South(s) (see also Servillo, 2017; Abdelwahab and Serag, 2017). The intent is to shift the focus from the monolithic production of theoretical knowledge from the geographic Global North and its propagation across the globe, through the bifurcation of global 'good' planning, often coming from the geographic Global North and 'bad' planning from the geographic Global South, to a global planning community which is conscious of contexts and will not only simply adapt hegemonic theories and praxes from the Global Norths but also foreground solutions to Southern (urban) challenges in Southern theories or perspectives and praxes (see also Watson, 2009; Satgé & Watson, 2018). Grosfoguel (2012) identifies such perspectives as border thinking, diasporic thinking, autonomous thinking, and thinking from the margins. He argues that they are expected to lead to a movement from the notion of uni-versalism to pluri-versalism in urban planning which will accommodate urban planning communities existing within the larger community. Therefore, we proposed a contextualized approach to strategic spatial planning.

One issue that can be pointed out with regard to the importance of context in planning is the relationship between the production of spaces in the Global North(s) and Global South(s). The classical northern capitalist production mode reflected in northern planning approaches cannot always be directly transferred to other planning contexts in the Global South(s). Cultural embeddedness needs to be recognized when planning in the Global South. For example, in Accra (Ghana), Bruns & Gerend (2018) report that due to rapid peri-urbanism, water is often given to neighbours, family and friends for free. Whilst this approach may stem from economic and spatial limitations have the sociocultural implication of forging solidarity and oneness which lead to deep transformative changes in the urban space, reflecting a different idea of making of the urban and peri-urban spaces that does not necessarily fit into the northern capitalist understanding of planning.

In order to realign the theoretical groundwork of an approach of the thematic Global South(s) we propose contextualized or provincialized strategic spatial planning because it can help to recognize the resemblance of challenges, their historical background and power relations (see also Parnell & Robinson, 2012) for a better understanding of urban phenomena and enhance the learning process between geographic North and South in planning. It allows a pluri-versalistic understanding of planning, supports the reflection of the thematic Global South(s) agenda, and can help to embed its cultural characteristics and spatial practices so as to attain more suitable outcomes for planning practices.

#### **6.4 Strategic spatial planning: A thematic Global South perspective**

The Strategic Spatial Planning (SSP), which we have proposed here, should be understood as a possible orientation for a broader vision in the Global South(s). Considering the theoretical basis used

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here, originating mainly in the Global North, we have adapted the SSP to the presented approach of the thematic Global South(s) to provide an approach for a transferable concept that can also help to exchange ideas and lessons between and within geographic Global North and South. Thus, using the SSP as a solid basis can provide an opportunity for reformulation and further developments by including and recognizing the territorialized and postcolonial perspectives, as proposed by Patel (2014, p. 45): “We need not reinvent the wheel; however, there is a necessity to generate explanations that are relevant for different contexts”.

Strategic spatial planning (SSP) can be described as a new way of looking at planning, which challenges traditional and statutory planning based on its shortcomings. SSP is related to the idea of planning practices that are enhanced by a “more interactive, proactive, selective and visionary form of planning” (Albrechts, 2017, p. 16). Inherent in statutory planning is the image of a static planning approach that tries to implement development through a given administrative framework that is mostly designed to deliver stability and meet the predictability of development. The concept of SSP tries to break out of the static traditional planning approach and supplements it with a normative dimension that reviews existing structures and institutions in planning (Albrechts, 2015a). The proposed specification of the SSP approach can therefore translate the theoretical understanding of the proposed thematic Global South(s) into an analytic structure that could guide planning practices. Consequently, the meaning of the term Strategic Spatial Planning as described here has to be considered as a holistic vision-oriented approach, conceived of and implemented within a spatial resolution. It is an improved theoretical planning framework, which has to do with a fusion or a merger of two subject areas in the broader framework of planning discipline – strategic planning and spatial planning. In simplified terms, traditionally, strategic planning is an institutional and organizational management tool while spatial planning, as the term suggests, is, although not exclusively, understood as a spatial or regional development tool (see Albrechts, 2006; Taylor, 2010; European Commission, 1997; Chapin, 1965). These two concepts have their separate and orthodox definitional features that are different from what Albrechts has put forward in the emerging literature on SSP, which the authors have essayed to crystallise and present. It is important to note that strategic planning (SP) has several variants with their respective conceptualizations, pillars, principles, methods and approaches as pertains in comprehensive planning, collaborative planning and radical panning among others, which all put together Watson (2009) refers to as alternative approaches to planning. In the ensuing quote, strategic planning was applied to local economic development (LED) and termed strategic Local Economic Development (SLED) and dilated on by Tibaijuka (2009: iii) thus:

[...] help local authorities and their partners in the private, public and community sectors address these issues. Achieving economic growth and staying competitive is a serious challenge in itself. Ensuring the benefits of growth spread widely such that development becomes inclusive and impacting on the quality of life of all citizens is even more challenging. The question therefore is not only how we can make economic growth a reality in our communities, but how we can make sure that the growth benefits the marginalised and the poor. [...] broader framework of local sustainable development. This in turn demands a strategic approach to LED that implies careful consideration of the various trade-offs, and making difficult choices. It also demands harnessing and mobilizing

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the local human, social, financial and natural capital towards the common vision, goals and objectives that the community aspires to achieve. This is possible only when the various stakeholders and actors join forces to make a difference in quality of life in their cities, towns and settlements.

Though misapplied in the context of neoliberal agendas, with specific reference to privatization (Albrechts et al., 2019) as in the Brazilian case, the strategic planning that was at play as depicted by Vainer (2017) and referred to as strategic urban planning can also be termed strategic event planning with neighborhood development effects. It is important to point out that the misapplication of the concept, model or framework, can and should not, as an intellectual exercise, be used to characterize strategic planning. That said, the authors of chapter six of this Conversation in Planning Booklet wish to stress that other definitions and meanings, which are attributed to the term in the planning literature, practice and official usage in various (national) contexts, therefore, should be considered differentiated from SSP even though there are appreciable levels of convergence. In what follows, strategic spatial planning is therefore understood as a transformative practice,

“a state-led but co-productive, open, selective, and dynamic process [...] with the purpose [...] to position communities as both the text and context of new debates about fundamental socio-spatial relations based on social justice [...] also aiming to [...] broaden the scope of planning practice and theory of social innovation [...] discourses and practices from the South and South-East” (Albrechts et al., 2019, p. 1501).

The need for SSP is embedded in the rise of neoliberalism and its impact is marked by the tendency that supports the competitiveness on the urban and regional level on one hand and the “subordination of social policy to economic policy” (Albrechts, 2018, p. 28, 2015b), on the other. This results in the need for a transformative agenda in strategic spatial planning that is open to “imagine futures that are structurally different, and to bring this creative imagination to bear on political decisions and the implementation of these decisions” (Albrechts and Balducci, 2017, p. 17). Mirafab (2009) also refers to similar upheavals in talking about insurgent planning as a radical planning approach that is based on “a value-based definition of practices” (p. 41) in response to postcolonial neoliberal dominance in the Global South. Our approach of SSP also recognizes this local contextualization and postcolonial ideas described in this conception of insurgent and radical planning. Thus, it is closely linked to the idea of a new vision of the Global South(s) that integrates critical perspectives on the postcolonial and territorial institutions, structures and praxes (see above). Thus, the postcolonial and territorial perspectives that reviews power structures and the sociocultural embeddedness of places recognise planning as a political process that is at the core of a more radical approach to strategic planning (see also Albrechts 2019). By using the concept of SSP with an emphasis on the thematic Global South(s) local contextualization approach (see above), the postcolonial and territorialized perspectives can be seen as underlying orientations, though still inconclusive, for a critical alignment of SSP to the agenda of a thematic Global South(s).

In Figure 1, the embeddedness of the perspectives is schematically visualized. Even if the illustration only glimpses at tendencies in a strongly abstracted form, conclusions can be drawn which, espe-

cially in connection with table 1, form an overall picture for the orientation of strategic spatial planning in the Global South(s).

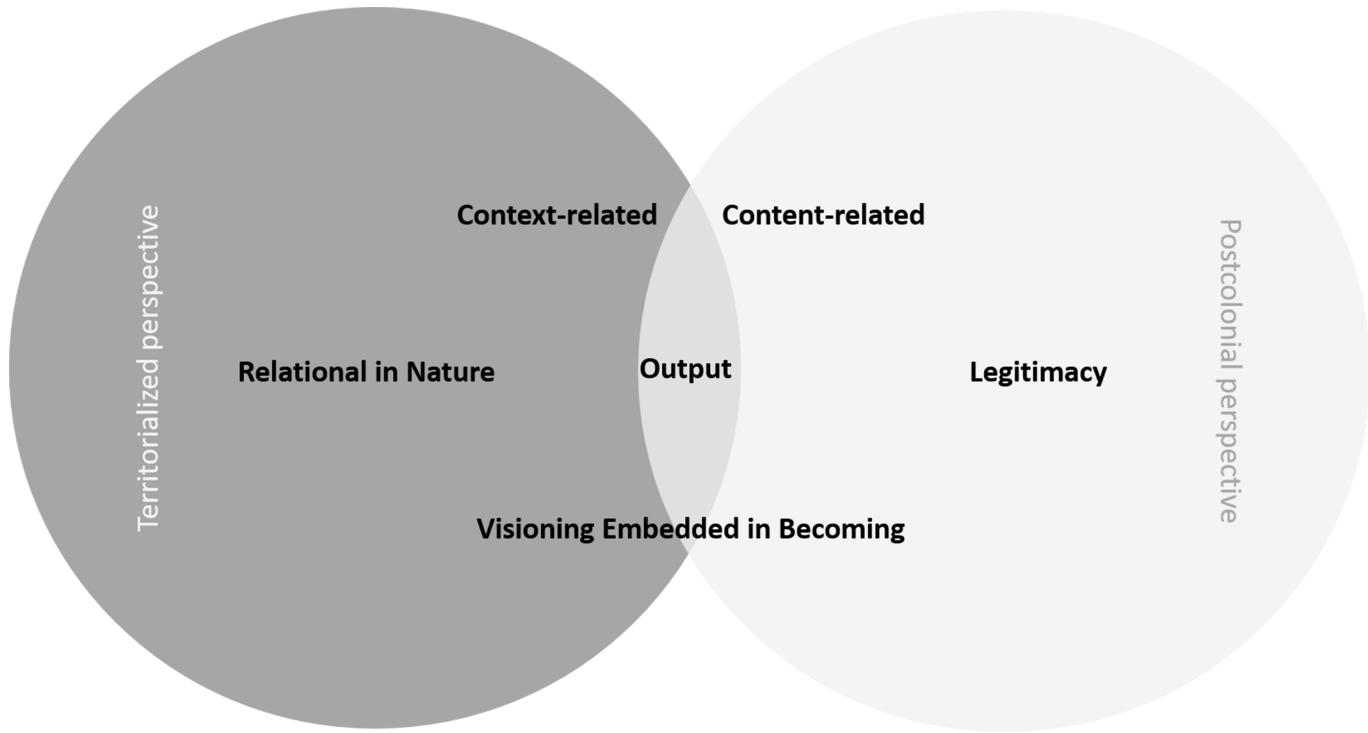


Figure 1: Schematic illustration of the embeddedness of the key elements of strategic planning in territorialized and postcolonial perspectives of the thematic Global South(s)  
(Source: Authors Construct based on Albrechts, 2018, pp. 32–36)

Albrechts and Balducci (2017) give an idea of the challenges and opportunities of the implementation of strategic spatial planning practices from an international perspective, bringing together local integrated and embedded actions and an holistic approach that can guide planning in the Global South(s), when contextualized and locally embedded. They also recognize the misuse or misapplication of a variance of the concept, urban strategic planning, as pointed out by Vainer (2017), using the Olympic Games in Rio de Janeiro as an example. Again, the articulated criticism of strategic spatial planning is that it is broad and covers various, or perhaps too many aspects of planning, including its ontology and epistemology. Other legs of criticisms of SSP include its connection to the neoliberal agenda and questions relating to output of strategic practices in planning considering the non-achievement or non-realisation of increases in the quality of places, which SSP has promised from the outset (see Albrechts, 2018, 2017). It is important that as professional scholars and practitioners, we become wary of the tendency of blanket shootdown of concepts, models and frameworks (which are cardinal features of planning), particularly when the evidence suggests that the problem emanates from the implementation (implementers) and not the model itself. It should also be stated that ontology and epistemology are necessary building blocks of every discipline of which planning studies is no exception.

tion. With these at the back of our minds, the authors of this chapter wish to reiterate that the general aim of SSP is a shift of the understanding of planning orthodoxy to a transformative practice that enables change in order to create more equal and just places (see also Albrechts & Balducci, 2017, p. 17). SSP also induces a new view of specific challenges of the Global South(s) and its underlying structures that amplify its inequalities.

Bringing together the proposed thematic approach to the conceptualization of the term Global South and its territorialized and postcolonial perspective with the key elements of Strategic Spatial Planning (see Albrechts 2018) is our way to implement a new progressive agenda for planning practice and theory in the thematic Global South(s) (see Figure 1). The key elements are placed in the spheres of the perspectives to visualize their connection to the SSP approach and show a way in which the approaches can be brought together and a transfer and appropriation can be made possible. For a more profound and practical insight we close the chapter with a reconsideration of the concept of strategic spatial planning regarding the thematic approach to the Global South(s), and breaking down its core aspects as a framework for its practical implementation (see Table 1).

Key elements of strategic spatial planning	Description/ Issues	Orientations for implementation of the thematic Global South agenda (emphasis, tools & methods)
Context-related	<p><i>Political, historical and institutional contexts</i> Understanding contexts of existing power relations, actor constellation and interests.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Critical postcolonial analysis of the colonial and imperialistic context and persistence of practices and theories for current realities.</li> <li>• Situational analysis, making use of institutional surveys, document reviews, and interviews to unearth the historical background and describe the political system as a whole.</li> <li>• Stakeholder analyses making use of interviews, (focus) group discussions</li> </ul>
	<p><i>Contemporary governance structures</i> Dialectic between existing institutions of power and movements of civil society for a new collaborative governance culture.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Analysis of the governance structures and processes through institutional mapping, historical &amp; current structures, stakeholder analyses in the Global South[s].</li> <li>• Civic participation and democratization of planning, especially on the local scale as tool to ensure a citizen-orientation in southern planning practices.</li> </ul>

Content-related	<p><i>Selectivity</i></p> <p>Selection of important issues implementation through specific action-based long-term visions grounded in the recognition of complex needs and challenges of places as they relate to the social setting (people-centeredness)</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Questioning northern-biased ideas of citizen needs and orientations on developmental approaches.</li> <li>• Accessing the tacit populational knowledge for a reformulation of planning goals aligned to citizens needs.</li> <li>• Identification of spatial planning issues based on sectoral considerations.</li> <li>• Prioritization of the issues identified in the specific context of the Global South(s) and not primarily based on northern experiences.</li> </ul>
Process/procedure orientation	<p><i>Action- or project-oriented</i></p> <p>Process of continuous change through practice-oriented incremental steps of realization.</p>	<p>Jointly established context-specific process which will serve as a vehicle to convey the content so generated through group meetings and discussions.</p>
Relational in Nature	<p><i>Place-specific</i></p> <p>Planning that considers the socio-spatial relations of places and the qualities and assets (social, cultural, economic, intellectual).</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Review of the framework in view of the socio-spatial issues which connect the quality of places and their assets in relation to the socio-cultural, economic, intellectual and natural environments.</li> <li>• Issue based analysis of places on the local scale, taking into account their specific sociohistorical background, enhancing transferability of planning practice and theory globally (e.g. peripheries worldwide).</li> </ul>
	<p><i>Scale-related embeddedness</i></p> <p>Multi-scalar perspective of territories on the global, continental, national, regional, and local level with potential for rescaling of and interchange or collaborate on specific agendas and issues.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Recognizing the multi-scale continuum of overlapping territories producing explicit power structures and spatial appropriation patterns largely determined by the Global North[s], discriminating the South[s].</li> <li>• Establishment of clear conditions, indicators and standards or targets for rescaling (e.g. creation of new regions, districts, even settlements, land use types etc.)</li> <li>• Establishment of the institutional structures (in collaborative terms) to be involved in the scaling process.</li> </ul>

Visioning Embedded in Becoming	<i>Envisioning</i> Alternative and creative design of the future of places through reconstruction and collective experience.	Needs to be oriented towards a postcolonial reality that critically reviews northern-biased planning practices and theories, appropriating them into their proper sociocultural context.
	<i>Becoming</i> Process of non-linear vision-orientated change.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• A planning approach for the Global South(s) starts with the decolonization of planning institution as a start for a new vision of what planning in the global South(s) should be.</li> <li>• Involvement of various actors from society to ensure and evaluate the process (meetings and discussions to establish the vision).</li> <li>• Use of meetings and discussions establish the process of envisioning.</li> </ul>
Legitimacy of Strategic Planning	<i>Personal and substantive legitimization</i> Decision-making actors in the planning process and the distinction or implementation towards statutory planning concepts.	Planning in the global South needs to be carefully established recognizing sociohistorical contexts, multi-scalar power structures and domination of northern planning practice and theory for a context and place-based planning in the future, therefore strategic planning can be guidance to transmit these changes into reality.
	<i>Legitimization through creative innovation process</i> Envisioning of positive outcome through a strategic perspective based on a critical analysis of planning processes respecting it as a collective process.	
Output	Strategic framework of specific short-term actions for a long-term vision with revision, adjustment and consideration of co-production and new set of products, type of planning and type of governance.	Accessible and transparent documentation which should take the form of draft(s), revision(s) and finalization grounded on planning visions from within the Global South[s].

Table 1: Key elements, Description and Implementation of the thematic Global South(s) agenda on the concept of strategic spatial planning (Source: Authors Construct based on Albrechts, 2018, pp. 32–36, 2017, pp. 392–399, 2012, pp. 53–54)

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# **THEME 6.**

## **INTERNATIONAL PLANNING EDUCATION**

## Authors Bio

### INTERNATIONAL PLANNING EDUCATION: TOWARDS A GLOBAL SHARED COMMONS OF PLANNING

Lorena Melgaço and Susmita Rishi in conversation with Angelique Chettiparamb and Bruce Stiftel



**Dr. Lorena Melgaço** is an Associated Senior Lecturer at the department of Human Geography at Lund University, Sweden. She holds a MSc. in International Cooperation and Urban Development (TU Darmstadt and Université Pierre Mendes-France) and a PhD in Architecture and Urbanism (Universidade Federal de Minas Gerais). Her research focuses on understanding the intertwinement of sociotechnical systems, especially digital technology, and socio-spatial transformation through a multilevel perspective. She also investigating urban planning in the postcolony, discussing its roles and challenges from an education and practice perspective. In her current research, she draws on a decolonial lens and an environmental justice framework to discuss the risks of resorting to smart city approaches as a solution to climate change. This chapter was written when she was a Postdoctoral researcher at the Institute for Urban Research at Malmö University.



**Dr. Susmita Rishi** is an Assistant Professor in the Department of Landscape Architecture and Regional & Community Planning at Kansas State University, USA. She holds a Master's in Architecture (Urban and Community Design) from Pennsylvania State University and a PhD in Interdisciplinary Urban Design and Planning from the University of Washington. Her research interests lie at the intersection of social justice, informality, and urbanization, with a focus on the urban global South. Using a postcolonial southern theory lens, her current research challenges and reconceptualizes the knowledges on which planning decisions are based, particularly those pertaining to urban informal spaces.



**Prof. Angelique Chettiparamb** is Professor of Urban Planning and Governance at the Department of Real Estate and Planning at the University of Reading, UK. She has researched and published on a range of issues in India and the UK including the nature of public interest, community engagement, circular economy, land management, scalar governance and the delivery of services such as school meals, health and housing. She is Managing Editor of the journal *Planning Theory* (since 2016) and Secretary General of the Association of European Schools of Planning (AESOP, 2019 – 2023). Angelique is currently working on policy engagement for rental housing for internal migrants in Kerala, India.



**Bruce Stiftel** is Professor Emeritus at Georgia Institute of Technology, USA. He serves UN-Habitat as co-chair of the University Network Initiative steering committee and as chair of the research working group of Planners for Climate Action. He is a member of the Association of Collegiate Schools of Planning's (ACSP) Global Planning Education Committee, and the editorial boards of *International Planning Studies*, *J. American Planning Association*, *J. Comparative Urban Law and Policy*, *Planning Theory*, and *Town Planning Review*. He was president of ACSP and founding chair of the Global Planning Education Association Network.

# CHAPTER 7

## INTERNATIONAL PLANNING EDUCATION: TOWARDS A GLOBAL SHARED COMMONS OF PLANNING

Lorena Melgaço and Susmita Rishi<sup>i</sup> in conversation with Angelique Chettiparamb and Bruce Stiftel

### 7.1 Introduction

The ‘urban century’ has centred the debate on how planning should address the social and environmental consequences of rapid and uneven urbanization worldwide, challenging the hegemony of Western<sup>ii</sup> planning knowledge. To respond to the global challenges of climate change and increasing inequality, the “planning project” needs to be reframed and reinterpreted (Frank & Silver, 2018, p. 239). Planning education has a pivotal role in fostering a contextually sensitive understanding of global responsibilities performed at the local level and supporting the field’s transnational character. However, it remains poorly understood from a global perspective (Frank & Silver, 2018) and International Planning Education (IPE), taught across planning programs in the West, lacks a shared understanding and clear focus.

In this chapter, we argue that to address the challenges facing planners today, planning and planning education must first reckon with its colonial past and address the hegemonic knowledge regimes that hold up the dichotomic understanding of the global North and South. Through a discussion of the current neoliberal model pervading Western universities, we elucidate how IPE is guided more by institutions’ financial needs than those of planning as a profession. We discuss how a diverse student body presents both challenges and opportunities for learning. We propose that for planners to be better global citizens and practitioners, IPE could focus on a one-world framework (Stiftel, 2009) that promotes non-hierarchical epistemologies of planning, and values equally, all locales of knowledge production. Developing a global shared commons of planning<sup>iii</sup> could be a means to create a common ground for learning and exchanging ideas, and also help planners to build global sensibilities.

This chapter results from conversations between the authors, Lorena Melgaço and Susmita Rishi, and mentors Angelique Chettiparamb and Bruce Stiftel, whose distinctly different career paths and backgrounds add richness to the discussion. Through conversations over Zoom and email exchanges, the authors and mentors reflected on their research, education, and experiences as academics and practitioners to discuss the challenges and potentials of IPE. Owing to the positionality of the authors, mentors, and this publication being based in the West, this chapter discusses IPE from a Western perspective. Clearly, IPE is also relevant in non-Western locales. However, the issues and challenges discussed here are particular to the West, and a more rigorous and thoughtful approach to IPE requires Western institutions to tackle the colonial legacies of planning. This work argues that for Western-educated planners to become global citizens capable of addressing urban challenges—always contextual—and understanding the global implications of their actions, they need to be trained to view the world as a locally differentiated whole.

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## 7.2 Planning's past and Planning Education's present

Western planning ideals have had a hegemonic influence on the profession globally for more than a century (Angotti & Irazábal, 2017), and are thus complicit in furthering and maintaining colonisation (Porter, 2017). In the non-West, existing modes of urban production were deemed to be unsophisticated, marked by poverty and ignorance, and to be in need of improvement (Potts, 2008). Planned and ordered space became a reference for modernity and development (Mignolo, 2011) with profound socio-spatial and economic implications (Njoh, 2013). Planning practices established urban growth patterns, entrenching new and reproducing existing mechanisms of power, privilege, and oppression (Patel, 2009). Scientific and hygienist approaches justified the dispossession of native populations and reinforced colonial relations through the “appropriation—of land, resources, culture, and ideas” (Córdova, 1994, p. 242). Later, through the Washington Consensus, most of the global South was brought under Western views of development, which influenced national planning and development policies (Roy, 2010). Development, embraced by local elites, and more recently pushed by international organizations such as the World Bank and the UN, became the measure of modernity in the global South. This dichotomic view of the global South (or ‘underdeveloped’ nations) as the locus of empirical research, and the global North (or ‘developed’ nations) as the locus of knowledge production, which then diffuses outwards, still pervades planning education and practice today.

The intensification of inequality alongside increases in global connectivity have sparked louder opposition to dominant hegemonic planning narratives. Changes in the field due to globalisation and rapid urbanisation in the global South require a transformative praxis that addresses the mismatch between postcolonial<sup>iv</sup> realities and the power mechanisms of knowledge production, and reflects the return of the decolonising project worldwide (Mbembe, 2016). Despite significant differences across national boundaries, there are also opportunities to learn from places thus far considered to be too archaic and underdeveloped. Encompassing a transnational agenda in planning responds to a decades-long discussion as to the need to abandon the imperialist approach that universalizes and extrapolates from the West to one that decentres the Western “episteme of urban development and planning” (Carolini, 2020, p. 10). The nature of transnational flows of knowledge and expertise have changed as ideas framed by “linear and singular models of development pathways” (Healey, 2012, p. 188) are challenged by views which recognise the need to consider located histories and geographies in the process of planning. There is a growing demand within the profession for learning across national borders (Leigh & Stiftel, 2019) and transforming the “circuits of knowledge” (Roy, 2010, p. 27) that planners contribute to and learn from (Healey, 2012).

Conventionally, planning education in the global North has focused on the local, with a general core and little opportunity for learning about, or from, areas outside the national context (UN-Habitat, 2009). Gradually, with recognition from ACSP and AESOP, and following global transformations in the circuits of capital, IPE has become part of the curriculum in many planning programs. In the absence of a shared agenda for IPE, three main understandings stand out. In the first ‘foreign’ bucket, international represents what happens in other places, i.e. in less developed countries or the global South. Here, international (development) planning is considered a specialization and draws on tools

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and ideas from the West that are then used in the majority world. The second bucket is ‘comparative’, where learnings and ideas from one country are compared with another. The last and perhaps most pertinent bucket considers IPE to be ‘global’, where countries address shared concerns and opportunities. This approach is particularly influential in forming a global shared commons of planning. As we discuss later, this provides planners with knowledge beyond the national context, thus building global sensibilities.

Contemporary urban issues such as financial crises, and climate change, are understood to be globalized phenomena with worldwide consequences (Hoey, Rumbach, & Shake, 2017). Given the uneven distribution of planning capacities worldwide, and the disproportionate distribution of higher education institutions in the global North, planners trained in Northern institutes already practice in the global South (See Wesely & Allen (2019); Oborn & Walters (2020)). Also, planners constantly engage with supranational agencies that devise global frameworks in national and local contexts. A large percentage of planners working in, and consulting for, international organizations are educated in Northern schools.

English as the lingua franca in planning scholarship and education has led to the fragmentation of planning scholarship and education (Stiftel, 2009), and marginalized ideas and scholars that speak other languages (See Stiftel & Mukhopadhyay (2007)). Within the AESOP context, it has left “French and Spanish-speaking planning scholars on the outside” (Stiftel, 2009, p. 43). This also extends to how critical scholarship from the global South permeates education in Western institutions. Beyond the Western-Anglophone framework, planners need to be sensitive to the socio-spatial and historical contexts of urban problems. They need to learn not just that context matters but also “why it matters” (Carolini, 2020, p. 13). Planners need to understand transnational movements and unbounded urban processes in the global North and South to rethink the limits and conditions of planning practices (Adams, Andres, Denoon-Stevens, & Melgaço, 2020). A shared and robust IPE agenda that responds to these needs is a must to educate a “more critically informed global corps of practitioners” (Carolini, 2020, p. 13).

### 7.3 Internationalization inwards and outwards: planning institutions and classrooms

Globally, neoliberalisation has led to the commodification of education, with increased pressure on departments and faculties to generate income, increased quantification of research outputs, and increased value placed on short-term returns in the job market. Contemporary approaches to IPE in Western universities follow staff interpretations of program requirements within the neoliberal business model.<sup>v</sup> Northern institutions have come to rely heavily on inflated international tuition fees due to further state-based defunding of higher education.<sup>v,vi</sup> Decisions made at an institutional level define how the international is translated into pedagogic practices, such as implementing international programs, accepting larger cohorts of international students, promoting international exchange, and investing in international campuses. These decisions are influenced by accreditation agencies that define the standards for generic professional skills and how international is incorporated in curricula. Alumni and advisory boards tend to drive a domestic orientation to planning education, focusing on how gradu-

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ates can perform in the local market. IPE, which is seen as less relevant, is often neglected.<sup>vi</sup>

In the past decade, increased investment in countries such as China, has adversely affected market outcomes in many Northern institutions. (Stiftel, 2013). Developments in digital technology have increased opportunities for distance learning, allowing Northern institutions to capitalize on their reputation and reclaim some of the market through remote education.<sup>v</sup> In the classroom, the global (short-term) migration of students translates into a diversity of substantive interests, prior educational and practical experience, and age groups, which creates challenges and benefits.<sup>v,vi</sup> A heterogeneous cohort brings different expectations and potentially less shared context, learning cultures, and lingo. Providing an adequate planning education —which balances local and international knowledge, alongside specialist and generalist skills—becomes ever more challenging for instructors, especially if there is little or no institutional support.<sup>vi</sup> IPE also brings opportunities. Unfamiliar contexts push students and instructors alike to think harder as to how to present different realities in the classroom. Study or field trips abroad enhance individuals' experiences and reflections on "one's place in the world" (Othengrafen & Galland, 2020, p. 219).

Given global realities, it is now increasingly acknowledged that curricula should incorporate learning strategies that draw on international examples and experiences.<sup>v,vi</sup> The classroom offers the environment for experimental and learner-centred pedagogical approaches that recognize and maximize the potential for peer-learning based on prior-experiences and prior-learning (Chettiparamb, 2008). Peer learning fosters the sharing of practical, professional, and life experiences by instructors and students alike, enriching classroom discussions and underscoring the fact that planning practice is not universal.<sup>v,vi</sup>

#### 7.4 Developing global sensibilities and challenging universals

Despite the benefits of a broad, nationally focused planning education, we need to also create a common and shared understanding of IPE or what international planning education means. Identifying opportunities for dialogue about IPE transcends borrowing ideas and concepts for indiscriminate application.<sup>vi</sup> Dismissing IPE altogether for more local and contextualized approaches risks the substitution of the colonial hegemony with the hegemony of the local. One way to address this issue is to assume an understanding of 'international' that acknowledges the definitional, disciplinary, and ethical challenges brought by the internationalisation of planning curricula (Peel et al., 2008). Planners need to fathom the "contingent universals", to find a balance between learning from the situated experiences of others and developing contextual local solutions (Healey, 2012, p. 194).<sup>v,vi</sup>

There are many reasons why learning from, and with, other places is important. Fostering a global exchange of knowledge engages planners to become global citizens who are able to draw on commonalities worldwide, whilst also remaining sensitive to the contextual nature of urban challenges.<sup>vi</sup> It allows planners to appreciate that diversity in planning education is necessary to build up a repertoire of knowledge and skills.<sup>v</sup> Through a common shared IPE agenda, planners can be educated towards shared global sensibilities that recognize that our world is more interconnected than ever before.<sup>v,vi</sup>

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While planning ideas, techniques, and instruments have always travelled across national boundaries, planners need to identify a “common ground” (Sanyal, 2010, p. 345) to address globally linked challenges: a global shared commons of planning where commonalities are emphasized alongside differences and which helps forge critical transnational solidarities (Roy, 2010). Creating a ‘shared commons’ by no means assumes a hegemonic and externally driven agenda for planning as it does not preclude the specificities of located contexts and geographies. Such an IPE agenda would teach planners to be more critical of their assumptions when working in particular contexts as it acknowledges that cultures, legal systems, and economic systems differ.<sup>vi</sup> Such a ‘one-world’ approach in a shared commons-based IPE agenda would valorise linkages over a focus on “purity of cultures” (Sanyal, 2010, p. 345). This would enable planners to improve planning practice by adapting effective policies, strategies, and instruments from “other situated contexts” (Othengrafen & Galland, 2020, p. 223) while also creating broader “glocal” (Swyngedouw & Kaika, 2003, p. 12) understandings of issues faced at a local scale.<sup>vi</sup> As such, a shared commons based IPE would challenge the assumption that planning scholars always have to labour in isolation due to barriers to “cross-national” applications of planning principles, as a consequence of language differences, geographic and cultural distances, and contextual distinctions in planning practice systems (Stiftel, Watson, & Acselrad, 2007, p. 1). Building shared global sensibilities allows critical reflection on one’s practice “regardless of the anticipated future location of the student’s practice” (Stiftel, 2009, p. 40).

## 7.5 Looking Ahead: The future of International Planning Education

Planners need to “unravel the constraints that the hegemony of Western ideas has placed on our thinking about the nature, purpose and method of planning, it should also contribute to an internal renewal of planning debate in the ‘old heartlands’ of planning ideas in North America and Europe” (Healey, 2010, p. 19). As we recognize the incompatibility of a dichotomic global North/South approach to planning, discussing planning education becomes an ever more relevant topic. At the same time, however, common and shared issues manifest differently worldwide, and reveal the fragile framework that divides the world into the so-called global North and South. Such a division has thus far driven planning research, practice, and education, in ways that the latter is seen as the locus of empirical research, and the former, the locus of theorization (Patel, 2009). Drawing on existing and emerging scholarship on Southern urbanisms, subaltern, postcolonial, decolonial, and indigenous studies is essential, as these engage in “discovering and articulating embedded ways of intellectual domination of Western thought in institutions of learning and systems of administration” (Chettiparamb, 2006, p. 185). A more nuanced and critical understanding of the processes of knowledge production allows a shift beyond existing asymmetrical ignorance inherent in current planning curricula, towards a more dislocated understanding of planning that goes beyond geographical origins.

Most recently, the Covid-19 pandemic has exposed the vulnerabilities of urban systems marked by growing socio-spatial inequalities and has underlined the need for a shared and syndetic understanding of the kinds of futures we want for our cities and ourselves. It also challenges current concepts and planning practices as planning becomes central in shaping our shared future(s). Developing global sensibilities that honour the intricacies of local challenges and their entanglements with the global

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landscape in a continuously urbanizing world is even more urgent. IPE sits at a crossroads, with no shared understanding of what it is and with the need to embed a nuanced understanding of globally linked problems in institutional practices. A critical and interdisciplinary focus in IPE — with its broader conception of planning knowledge regardless of where it is produced — would prepare planners to become better global citizens. This would mean rethinking curricula, everyday interactions in the classroom, and fieldwork. There is a need to move towards a ‘global shared commons of planning’ that promotes a ‘one-world’ attitude and fosters global sensibilities in local planning practice. Such an approach encourages sensibilities that challenge the reproduction of marginalising universals and uncritical and unreflexive agendas in the global landscape of planning practice and education.<sup>vi</sup> Now that contemporary socio-spatial and environmental pressures are framed through global directives, such as Sustainable Development Goals, the challenge remains to promote a global discussion that, whilst rooted in the local is not prescriptive. This is an excellent point of departure for planners, educators, and institutions to imagine ways in which IPE can shape the field.

This chapter addressed IPE from a European and North American perspective and highlighted the responsibility of planning education in these locales to address current dichotomies in planning education and practice, whilst also fostering the development of shared global sensibilities. Bringing these multiplicities to the fore is a necessary exercise in the deconstruction of established meanings attached to ‘international’ and ‘international development planning’ while fostering the value of horizontal exchanges of knowledge worldwide. Institutions in the global South certainly bear their own responsibilities and challenges regarding the ways in which to approach planning education that are sensitive to social, historical, and spatial contexts; these issues should be further explored. A similar discussion from the perspective of practitioners, students, and institutions in the majority world, though complementary, requires a separate chapter. Our conversations with Prof. Chettiparamb and Prof. Stiftel provided an inspiring opportunity to reflect on the impact of IPE in the everyday of planning education. This resulting chapter is an invitation to young academics, planners, and senior colleagues to reflect on their own experiences with IPE, as well as to take up the mantle of promoting a one-world approach to planning education which leads to a global shared commons of planning.

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<sup>i</sup> Both authors contributed equally to the chapter. Author names have been alphabetised.

<sup>ii</sup> While recognizing the need to challenge reductive categorisations of the world, the terms ‘Western’ and ‘West’ in this chapter are used to denote the US and the imperial powers of Europe as used in contemporary literature on the colonial legacies of planning, decolonization, and postcoloniality (See Mignolo (2011); Mbembe (2016); Porter (2017)).

<sup>iii</sup> We borrow here from Bish Sanyal’s work on a “global social commons” (Sanyal, 2010, p. 330) to propose a global shared commons for planning.

<sup>iv</sup> Following Porter (2017, p. 168) and others, we define the ‘postcolonial’ as a continuous, contemporary phenomenon, instead of a ‘moment in time’ or ‘historical break’ from the imperial power.

<sup>v</sup> From Authors’ personal interview with Prof. Stiftel on 09 October 2020, recorded over Zoom.

<sup>vi</sup> From Authors’ personal interview with Prof. Chettiparamb on 09 October 2020, recorded over Zoom.

## Special Issue

# Planning Practices and Theories from the Global South

There are powerful forces that push planning practitioners and planning academics to see through a universal lens. Colonialism brought a hegemony of European ways of building. The Washington Consensus held many poorer countries to a neoliberal model of development. The quest for academic legitimacy and rank led many universities to best reward scholarship when it was placed in international, most often English-language, journals whose editorial gatekeepers were in the Global North.

The planning theoretic implications of this push toward universality far too often blinded us to the differences in national and regional economy, culture, and politics, that determine the growth and change of cities. Christaller's central-place theory may not have predicted late 20th Century suburban development in the Global North well; it certainly fails to guide solutions to the problems of squatter settlements in the Global South.

Prior to the current millennium, planning ideas largely traveled from Global North to Global South. The first World Planning Schools Congress in Shanghai in 2001 and the first World Urban Forum in Nairobi in 2002 led to greatly expanded multi-directional communication among planners. Since then, planning schools and institutes have opened in many countries where they previously didn't exist, and planning journal editorial boards have increasingly become multi-national. Today's practice and scholarship is dramatically more international.

The AESOP Young Academics Special Issue on Planning Practices and Theories from the Global South is a valuable place marker in the development of regionally-specific, while globally-informed, planning. Some of the world's most promising young thinkers review and refine the ideas of current leaders in the break out of new planning perspectives from Africa, Arab States, Asia, Eastern Europe, and Latin America. The results provide a valuable roadmap toward enabling city planning responsive to each national and regional context while informed by lessons from around the world.

Bruce Stiftel, Professor Emeritus, School of City & Regional Planning, Georgia Institute of Technology, USA.

The 'turn' to southern planning theory and practice has been slowly emerging over the last two decades, starting with critique (of prevailing positions) and then moving to alternative concepts and practices. It is a process, which continues to develop and therefore can best be described as a 'southern planning theory-building project', rather than suggesting it is an alternative planning theory in its own right. At the same time, it is characterized by a huge diversity of understandings, concepts, methodologies and practices gradually emerging from very many different global south contexts. Debates and critiques are beginning to emerge within the field. Young planning theorists are clearly excited by the challenge of being able to contribute to a new body of work, and for those who have grown up or studied in global south regions, it has been particularly important that they have been able to draw on their own lived experiences and that these experiences are heard and valued by the global planning community. This is all a sign of dynamic and healthy theoretical development.

This Special Issue therefore comes at a very opportune moment as it captures a wide range of voices and ideas from young planners. The pairing of young planners with more established planning theorists offers a generational transfer of planning thought along with the mentoring and learning process of paper writing. The contributions cover key issues in southern planning thought: informality, non-state actors, resilience, and planning education; as well as aspects of theory-building such as new concepts, knowledge transfer and the question of themes or geographies in southern thinking. This booklet is a really valuable resource, which will take the theory-building project a step forward.

Vanessa Watson, Emeritus Professor, School of Architecture, Planning and Geomatics, University of Cape Town, South Africa.

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