



INCLUSIVE URBAN PLANNING

PROMOTING EQUALITY AND
INCLUSIVITY IN URBAN PLANNING
PRACTICES

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FOREWORD

Number of challenges exists to encouraging sustainability in urbanisation in the developing world. A common approach over the last 30 years, has been to focus on a “growth-first” plan for development, particularly in new urban areas. This entails encouraging the greatest amount of economic growth through country-level and local planning practices. In theory, growth-first development planning leads to a relatively equitable urban society, however in practice due to policy decisions and externalities, this has not been the case.

Inclusive urbanisation seeks to address issues in access to urban services and the equitability of the urban socio-economic structure through ensuring that all participants have access to the same level of services and opportunities as each other. Most often this manifests through ensuring that rights for marginalised or previously-excluded groups, such as women and children, migrant workers or refugees, are accounted for in planning policies, and plans that may exclude these groups are modified to accommodate them equally.

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Images front page: Global lights adapted by SEA / Morocco bus station, Dar es Salaam, Tanzania (Image: Simon Batchelor) / Tanah Abeng district, Jakarta (Image: Ikhlasul Amal, Creative Commons via Flickr). Images on this page: Globe adapted by SEA / Aerial view of Los Angeles, United States (Image: museumofthecity.org) / View over Johannesburg, South Africa (Image: fiverlocker / Flickr)

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WHY ARE CURRENT PLANNING PRACTICES UNSUSTAINABLE?

The consensus that has developed in urban planning - particularly in the Global South over the last 30 years has been for a “growth-first” urbanisation plan. This is due most notably to the rise in globalisation, with national growth becoming increasingly tied with international trade and markets. Growth-first urbanisation plans focus on development that will benefit the economic wellbeing of the city first and foremost, and promote growth on an economic basis. This has been used to great effect in the rapid urbanisation of countries such as China over the past decades, and the ensuing vast economic growth that the country has undergone (see Appendix A). Growth-first urbanisation relies on the theory that - as economic conditions improve for a city’s inhabitants - so too will their social conditions through access to increased capital. [6] [18]

However, this theory has only been borne out in practice to a limited extent. More commonly, growth-first urbanisation has little benefit for marginalised communities, like women and children, the inhabitants of informal settlements, or migrant workers. These groups can be left behind by an urbanisation approach that disproportionately benefits those who have access to the formal rights of the city, for example right to land and work. Inequalities in the urban system arise primarily from policy decisions made by the urban governing body, or by national governments in their larger-scale urbanisation plans. Examples of this can be seen in the growth of informal settlements in cities worldwide, where greater demand for urban services that capacity to service populations has led to communities of marginalised individuals living outside of the remit of the formal city, yet still attempting to participate in the city’s economic processes.



Crowded street in Kampala, Uganda. Private transport dominates the road space, leaving those without means to access it reliant on overburdened public transport (Image: weesam2010 / Flickr)

The marginalisation of communities that arises from a lack of access to the formal services of the city leads to an inability for these communities to improve their circumstances easily. Indeed, marginalised communities commonly do not have access to the means of further development and improvement of their situation. This can be due to the formal laws and rights afforded to citizens of the city, or due to economic factors such as a lack of access to free capital. A lack of access to formal rights to land, or the means to own land, often precludes a lack of access to other formal rights of the city, e.g. formal citizenship, or a formal postal address for access social services or utility services, such as piped water or electricity. The danger exists in the current state of urbanisation practices for development to be legitimised only for the emerging middle classes, without being inclusive for all residents of a city. [13] [9]


WHAT EFFECTS CAN UNSUSTAINABLE PLANNING HAVE?

Unsustainable planning practices can have a significant impact on the lives of city inhabitants who are marginalised, either through identity or economic status. These practices include those commonly associated with developing cities according to an economic growth-promoting model, such as the construction of new transport infrastructure designed for private transport (e.g. highways), as well as middle-high income housing complex development, and the provision of new secondary and tertiary industrial spaces in urban centres. These practices can lead to the exclusion of citizens who cannot meet the requirements of participating in the city as it exists, for example those with limited access to transport such as those on the periphery of urban areas.



Makolo informal settlement, Lagos, Nairobi. Image: Heinrich Böll Stiftung, Flickr,
<https://www.flickr.com/photos/boellstiftung/5342610891/sizes/z/>

These individuals and groups will often exist outside of the formal infrastructure of the city, such as through inhabiting city space in an informal manner, or otherwise being excluded from the formal functions of the city, which can lead to a lack of access to urban services such as electricity and water supply, or a lack of access to gainful employment, security of land tenure or social services such as childcare.




These effects can also have a significant negative impact on the energy consumption practices of an urban area. Demographic growth and urban migration have greatly increased city populations in the developing world, and planning practices in terms of energy supply have not kept up with this demand. This leads to consumption practices which are unsustainable: without access to a formal electricity supply, for example, informal electrification is common in informal settlements, which poses risks to both the local and household environment. This includes the use non-electricity fuels for lighting and heating and the attendant public health risks from indoor air pollution, as well as fire and electrocution hazards.

Transport energy expenditure is another area in which exclusionary planning practices have a detrimental effect in terms of urban development. Residential planning in urban areas in an era of high net population increases has struggled to keep pace, and such planning where it exists is often predicated on the use of private transportation for residents of urban areas far away from economic centres of cities. [13] [9]

WHAT CAN BE DONE TO PROMOTE INCLUSIVE PLANNING IN DEVELOPING CITIES?

To address the issue of how to make planning more inclusive in developing cities, it is helpful to define the modes of inclusivity, and how these can affect the populations of urban areas.

Inclusivity is commonly defined in terms of the UNDP Human Development Index, which is derived from a three factors: economic status, access to and status of education, and access to and status of health (with life expectancy as a metric). The combination of these factors amounts to what is considered the necessary aspects for a full and happy life. However, solely relying on this metric does not take into account the complexities of life in modern cities, such as high migration and transient populations. It also does not take into account the critical inequalities that still exist between genders in developing cities, with women still bearing the brunt of unpaid social care, for example for children and the elderly, whilst labouring under wage and time inequalities. [3]



In order to address urban planning decisions to alleviate these inequalities, it is therefore necessary to take a cohesive, holistic approach, accounting for the inequalities within urban areas. These approaches need to take into account the varied circumstances that exist within an urban population, and ensure that planned interventions are suited to the circumstances of those who will be benefitting from them.

Planning for interventions in urban planning to improve inclusivity can take several forms. Firstly, removing exclusivity in existing urban planning regimes and practices can have a significant effect. This can include reviewing processes to ensure that formalisation of land rights for inhabitants can be acquired more easily, as well as improving the spatial mobility of groups which previously did not have access to the formal economy through location. This can also include the provision of improved provision of health and social care to ensure that existing informal care obligations do not impede access to work.

Secondly, improving access to information flow and knowledge exchange between disadvantaged groups and urban planners is critical to ensuring that development occurs not just for the already-privileged. Stakeholder participation is increasingly incorporated into city planning processes; however this process needs to be conducted with the best interests of marginalised or excluded groups at heart. Inclusive urbanisation does not derive automatically from including all groups in urban planning discussions, with actions needing to result from the participation process to achieve development for the groups involved. [6]

The factors that can be assessed and discussed in these processes can primarily be summarised in terms of access. Access to urban services on a formal, stable basis for all citizens is a core tenet of sustainable urbanisation. Other important factors include access to markets and capital, allowing all citizens of an urban area access to labour markets and income, as well as economic services such as commerce. Access to spaces is also important, affording residents of a city regardless of their status access to accommodation on a safe and formal basis. [13] [9]



Local children sit on a boulder overlooking the Kenyan slum of Kibera. Image: Gates Foundation.

<http://blogs.worldbank.org/african/measuring-poverty-and-inequality-sub-saharan-africa-knowledge-gaps-and-ways-address-them>

IMPROVING THE INCLUSIVITY OF URBANISATION IN DEVELOPING COUNTRIES

Inclusivity, as defined by the factors above, has significant benefits in accelerating development through urbanisation. However, inclusivity needs to be achieved against the prevailing context of weak local government planning capacities, and limited financial capacities, particularly for Sub-Saharan African countries. This lack of capacity has the potential to limit the effectiveness of consultative planning processes unless it is addressed. [16]

To address the inclusivity of urbanisation, can be achieved through a variety of means, most notably improving access to formal urban services and expanding service provision to include marginalised communities, but also through improving access to the economic services of the city, and addressing deficits in rights as citizens.

INFORMAL SETTLEMENTS IN ZIMBABWE AND THAILAND

The changes in approach made to urbanisation to be inclusive of the urban poor in Harare, Zimbabwe offer a useful case in inclusive urban development. In the early 2000s, the urban poor in the city were living in a severe state of disenfranchisement, with the constant threat of evictions, as evidenced by wide-scale demolition programmes of slums in the city. However, in recent years, the development of urban poor communities has strengthened significantly, in part due to the Harare Slum Upgrading Programme, a government-led initiative to formalise urban services and provide opportunities for development for informal settlement inhabitants in the city. [14]


Urbanisation in Harare was in crisis at the time of the Programme's commissioning in 2010. In the wake of deindustrialisation of the city following the economic crises of the 1990s, combined with politically-motivated eviction programmes, the urban poor were under increasing pressure and precariousness. As part of the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation's Global Programme for Inclusive Municipal Governance, the City of Harare was chosen as one of thirteen cities (the others being Cairo in Egypt, Lilongwe in Malawi, Luanda in Angola, Monrovia in Liberia, and eight cities in Ethiopia) to implement new inclusive urbanisation programmes. Specific programmes were implemented in the four partner cities:

<u>Partner City</u>	<u>Partner Organisation</u>	<u>Budget (US\$)</u>	<u>Details of Project</u>
Cairo, Egypt	GIZ (formerly GTZ)	5,000,000	Supporting development of a solid waste management service, inclusive of urban poor communities, and promoting waste as a resource.
Luanda, Angola	Development Workshop Angola (DW)	5,000,000	Promoting inclusive planning processes in municipal government to improve basic services for the city's residents.
Lilongwe, Malawi	Lilongwe City Assembly	2,600,000	Upgrading service delivery in Lilongwe's informal settlements in an effort to improve livelihoods, as well as surveying residents to better understand needs and desires.
Monrovia, Liberia	Monrovia City Corporation	5,000,000	Assisting city government and community groups in creating better solid waste management practices in the city, as well as promoting recycling.

Source: Development Innovations Group (2011) News. Available at:

<http://www.developinnovations.com/News.aspx?id=110>

The Programme sought to provide technical and capacity-building assistance to the municipal governments involved, and promote citizen-government interaction in the planning process. The primary aims of the Programme are to provide capacity-building assistance and technical support to municipal governments in the Programme partner cities, as well as continuous review of the effectiveness of interventions. A crucial aspect of the Programme is the brokering of civil society and government interactions. Previously in the partner cities, relationships between the urban poor and municipal planners on a planning level were non-existent, and the Programme aimed to foster new working relationships and participatory planning processes in the partner cities through acting as an “honest broker”, overseeing discussions and debates between stakeholders to facilitate collaborative planning.



Overall, the Programme sought to foster relations between municipal governments in the partner cities and the urban poor population, a group traditionally excluded from mainstream planning practices. The Programme also sought to address issues specific to the partner cities in planning their interventions. For example, in the Cairo and Monrovia cases, the Programme focused on assisting municipal governments in solid waste management and planning practices, whilst in Harare, Luanda and Lilongwe, interventions were more focused on building capacity in municipal governments to deal with increasing informality in the city's habitation in a sustainable and inclusive manner.

A difference between the Harare partner programme and others is the involvement of homeless or displaced persons organisations such as Dialogue on Shelter, focusing on the aftermath of large scale-demolitions of informal settlements in Zimbabwe. Whilst this approach is specific to Zimbabwe, a number of the other Programme features were specifically designed to be cross-applicable to a number of developing urban contexts, for example direct partnership between international organisations (such as the Development Innovations Group, the primary funding manager of the programme) and national organisations, such as municipal governments, or national development organisations like Development Workshop Angola, partner in the Luanda project. This form of direct partnership and dialogue with on-the-ground experts and international funders is applicable across a number of developing country circumstances in promoting development. [5]


Political contestation between the opposition MDC and incumbent Zanu-PF parties had a significant impact on the urban environment on Zimbabwe in the 2000s; de-industrialisation following restrictive social and economic policies, as well as the use of the city as a political pawn, took their toll on liveability in Harare, particularly for the urban poor and marginalised. The now-infamous Operation Restore Order, a wide-scale programme of slum demolitions in the city and surrounding areas left 700,000 vulnerable urban people homeless. The GPIMG operates on the same principles in all of its target cities: capacity-building among local institutions for municipal governance, as well as creating dialogues between urban residents and municipal governments where relationships had previously been non-existent, or in the case of Zimbabwe, often contentious.

Implementing partners in the Zimbabwean programme were Dialogue on Shelter, the Zimbabwe Homeless People's Federation, and the City of Harare. One of the key features of the programme, and a reason for its seeming success, is the creation of dialogue between residents of informal settlements and the formal urban governance structure. This consensus-building process between residents of informal settlements and the partners in the programme culminated in a new National Housing Policy, which integrated features such as a 'no eviction without alternative' principle, giving more security to those living in informal settlements. [14] [6]



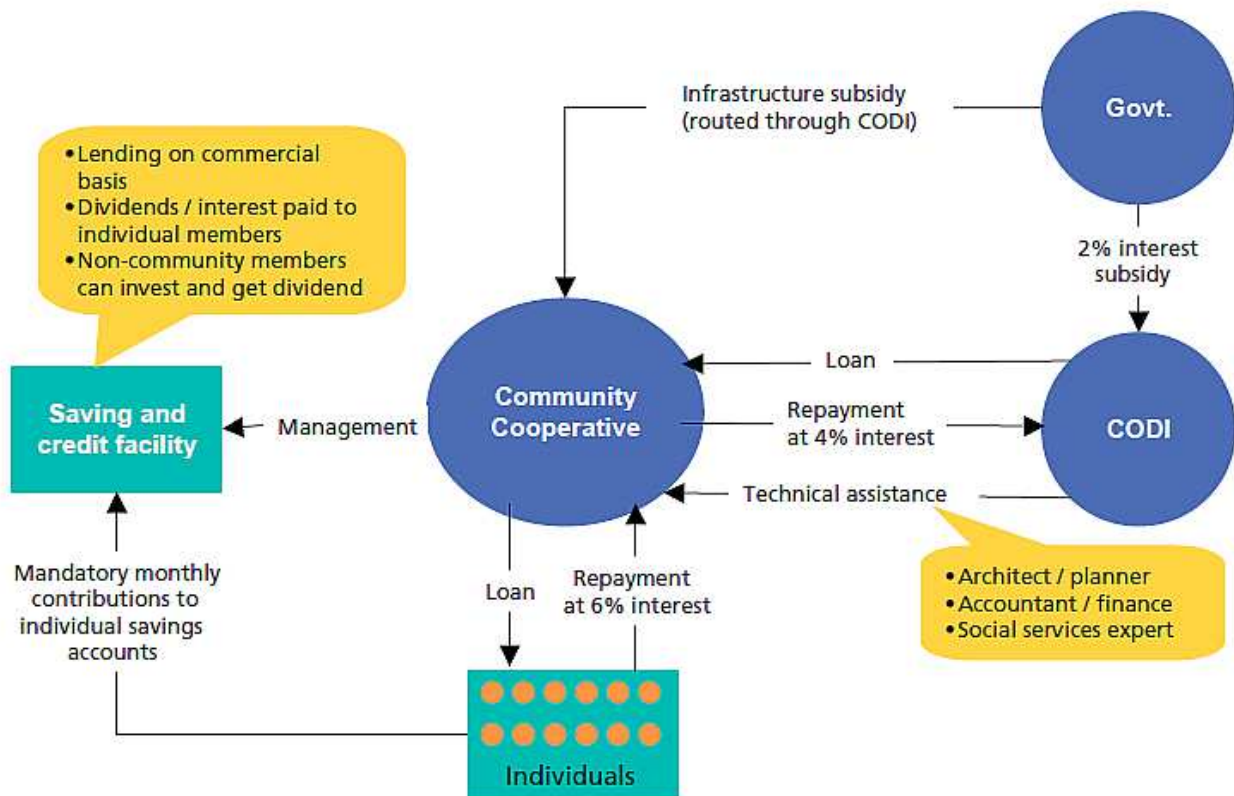
An informal settlement next to Gunhill suburb, Borrowdale, Harare, Zimbabwe. Image: Zimbabwe Sunday Mail

This participatory model of urban governance is embodied in the Participatory Urban Planning Studios, which are run as part of the programme through partnership with the City of Harare, the University of Harare Planning School, and slum residents. These studios allow residents the opportunity to discuss urban planning and upgrading of their settlements with municipal officials, and when works are agreed, labour is often sought from the settlements to complete upgrading tasks, giving an improved sense of community ownership. The programme itself has had a number of benefits, included improving the security of tenure of informal settlement dwellers through granting formal land rights, as well as helping to remove the enduring fear from previous mass evictions, allowing slum dwellers to settle and be formalised in time, which as a significant effect on the quality of life of slum dwellers in the city. [14]



This effect, where access to the right of land for the inhabitants of informal settlements has significant co-benefits in other areas, is demonstrated in other cases, such as Bangkok. Formal right of land in the City of Bangkok has previously been a key determinant of access to other urban services, for example connection to the water and electricity networks. Changes in policy in the late 2000s meant that informal settlement inhabitants, provided they could demonstrate the enduring nature of their habitation of space, were able to claim a formal right of land, and formal address for their home, allowing them access to further formalisation activities. This security of tenure provision via the city government was a success, with tenure security rising from 88% of the population in 1990 to 95% of the population in 2010.

One of the main drivers of this modal shift in urbanisation approach from the city of Bangkok was the introduction of the Baan Mankong programme in 2003, a community-driven programme of upgrading of settlements, access to utilities and tenure security. The programme was instrumental in giving slum residents in the city for the first time in city's history the opportunity to have dialogue with city officials over urbanisation policy. The formalisation process also had other co-benefits for inhabitants of Baan Mankong communities, as formal employment in the city often requires a formal address as a precursor to hiring. [17] [2]



Source: Community Organizations Development Institute (UN-HABITAT 2009).

Community upgrading financing model used in the Baan Mankong Program. [17]

The community-based development process implemented under the Baan Mankong programme is of particular interest in terms of how it approached the issue of settlement upgrading, by first conducting city-wide surveys of poor communities in informal settlements, and engaging directly with residents, offering a plurality of upgrading options, ranging from reconstruction to in-situ upgrading to relocation. The communities involved were directly consulted at every stage of the process, and new community groups were formed not only to provide the dialogue for residents in the formalisation process, but also to act as savings cooperatives to assist communities in engaging financially with the upgrading process, assisted by loans under the programme. Creating institutional and financial capacity amongst poor communities was a key goal of then implementing agency for the project, the Community Organisations Development Institute (CODI), and this was achieved through the innovative approach of institutionalising partnerships between the implementing agency and community groups.

Community representatives were chosen through a “People’s Forum”, where five senior community leaders from each region selected representatives for their regions in the dialogue process. The implementing agency also directly empowers community groups at a community level through their regional offices, through mobilising support or comment from community organisations, to strengthening savings groups with advice and financial support. [2]

The communities engaged under the Baan Mankong programme were able to engage with land owners in their settlements, most notably the Treasury Department of Thailand, through this collective action. This includes securing long-term leases from the Treasury for the land that their informal settlements occupy (mostly along the canal network in the city), as well as the collective savings made for the construction of new canal-side walkways; this has improved the health and safety aspects of their sites, allowing formal urban services, notably the fire department, to access their settlements more easily. These activities all contribute to the formalisation of these communities’ spaces, providing the security of habitation and tenure that was lacking in their situations previously. [17] [2]

ACCESS TO TRANSPORT

The accessibility of urban mobility is often a constraint for the poorest in developing urban areas. This can be for a number of reasons, including cost of transport, as well as spatial accessibility. Improving urban transport accessibility to marginalised groups can either involved subsidised or free transport for the urban poor, or those travelling from greater distance, or instituting new transit routes to service previously under-served settlements, reducing non-transit time investment in transport.

The planning of new mass transit systems has developed into a popular urban planning solution for developing cities in the last twenty years. Following successful examples from cities such as Medellin and Santiago de Cali in Colombia, mass transit has become a viable addition to the portfolio of economic development through urban planning activities. Other cities with new mass transit systems, mostly through bus rapid transit (BRT), include notably Cape Town and Dar es Salaam.

However, as with the case of Medellin, mass transit systems do not necessarily need to be based on road infrastructure: the unique vertical geography of the city enables the use of the now-famous escalator system solution.



Escalator system in Comuna 13 neighbourhood, Medellin, Colombia. Image: CNN,

<http://edition.cnn.com/travel/article/colombia-medellin-neighborhood/index.html?gallery>

Whilst mass transit systems may be a popular economic development solution, they need to be implemented in a sustainable and inclusive fashion if they are to benefit those who need reliable access to transport most, for example the urban poor and working class. [1] The case of Santiago de Cali in Colombia offers a useful model case on how a bus rapid transit system can be implemented in an existing urban centre in a way that is sustainable and inclusive of the poorest. Surveys done in the city prior to the implementation of the mass transit programme in the early 2000s showed that spatial equality in access to the existing traditional transit network (predominantly private entities, e.g. minibuses) was particularly low for the poorest quintile of residents, which correlated with the spatial distribution of the residents away from the central area of the city, and its main North-South road trunk infrastructure. This correlated to significantly increased transit times to reach any traditional transit network stopping point.

As part of the *Masivo Integrado de Occidente* (MIO) programme, these spatial inequalities were targeted to be reduced through the provision of a new total-replacement transit network. Research has shown, however, that the initial phase of route planning for this system did not reduce spatial inequality to the extent that it was hoped, which partly became apparent through consultation processes with both academia and users of the network. This was due to the pre-planning of mass transit routes based on population density, without determining urban service distribution along these routes, leading to unanticipated occupancy rates for certain critical routes. As of 2015 approximately 75% of the poorest quintile of users in the city were within 20 minutes' walk of an MIO station, a figure which is targeted for further reduction. [4]

When planning transport interventions as an urban planning official in a developing city, it is vital to look at issues of accessibility to transport as a route to inclusion, given the greater need in a number of cases for the poorest in society to have access to reliable urban transport. Different cities require different solutions, and solutions that are applicable in small-to-medium size cities may not be as relevant to larger urban centres. In addition, considering the particular physical geographies of cities, either human or otherwise, is required in order to implement an effective transit network. Cities with a high degree of verticality can benefit from solutions as seen in Latin American countries, such as cable cars and escalators, whilst cities with a greater degree of horizontal sprawl, for example as seen in Sub-Saharan Africa, may benefit from higher-speed and consumer density mass transit solutions such as buses.

In either case, it is important to consider who the mass transit system is benefiting in the planning stage, and ensuring that access to the functions of the city, for example recreation, employment and healthcare, is equally provided through the transit network to all population demographics. [4]


METHODS OF INCLUSIVITY, OR HOW TO BE INCLUSIVE IN URBAN PLANNING

Whilst the case studies above give some examples of how inclusivity has been considered in planning interventions in developing cities, it is helpful to define how inclusivity can be achieved in planning processes across varying country contexts, with varying political, economic and social initial conditions.

A common approach to defining inclusivity is to consider citizen's rights to the city, and the rights and services that citizens can expect from an urban space. Organisations such as Slum Dwellers International use this rights-based approach to plan their support and interventions in improving the living conditions of the urban poor. [15] The organisation divides a wide variety of citizen rights into three main groups: social, political and economic rights, as well as considering cultural rights in the city. These rights to the city are often complimentary to each other, with inclusive social programmes affording access to formal markets for access to commerce, for example. The Venn diagram below shows the interconnectivity of the organisation's approach:



Source: UN-HABITAT City Monitoring Branch, 2009. Graphics: THENOUNPROJECT.org [15]



While there are some objective factors in determining a citizen's rights with regard to the city, a great deal of the factors affecting inclusivity are subjective, and determined through citizen perception. The objective factors include access to housing and employment, or access to transportation and mobility more generally within the urban space. However, an inclusive approach to urbanisation cannot be achieved solely through examining these objective factors. [15]

The question therefore remains of how these subjective factors, such as religious or racial tolerance, cultural tolerance and freedom of speech and expression, can be integrated within urban plans to address the socio-economic aspects of urban development. Moreover, when considering the objective factors such as access to employment, education and healthcare for marginalised communities, community perceptions, desires and needs are useful to understand when planning interventions.

Community engagement on these issues is therefore crucial. This engagement can take several forms, such as surveying, direct meetings with community representatives, or larger open meetings between residents and organisations/developers. Surveys at a community level can be helpful when interventions are in an early planning stage, and as such decisions on specific modes of intervention are still to be made. These surveys can include questions on the economic and demographic status of households so as to build a clearer, data-driven picture of the demographics of communities, which is particularly useful when dealing with informal settlements that may exist outside of the formal census structure of the city.

This data can be useful to planners in targeting interventions to benefit residents in the most inclusive manner: if the majority of residents are in lower economic strata, for example, interventions which require high user capital input will be less effective, and plans can be modified to address this, through including some form of financing arrangement for users. An example of this would be in planning mass transit access in the Santiago de Cali case above: as well as considering spatial access and spatial inequalities in the planning of the mass transit route, prices were also subsidised for poorer communities following user consultation.

Directly meeting with community representatives on a small scale can also prove useful when designing interventions. Choosing who to consult in a community can be a stumbling block to this participation, however targeting people of influence (commonly referred to as “community leaders”) in this process is a common starting point. These can be people of economic influence, such as local shopkeepers or professionals (even if they exist outside of the formal profession structure in a city), or people with a high degree of community involvement and networking within the community, such as religious leaders. However, care must also be taken to ensure that the questions posed to these representatives of communities return representative opinions of the community, without being clouded by the personal opinions of the community leaders. [15] [3]

This leads on to the final method of direct citizen engagement, mass meetings between the community and project leaders, for example local government officials or non-profit workers. This form of engagement is particularly important as it gives residents themselves the opportunity to participate in the planning process on a wide scale, rather than having governments or organisations base their decisions on the opinions of a limited cross-section of the community. Engagement on this scale can be difficult to coordinate and manage, but provides the greatest opportunity for citizens to be able to directly engage with the urban planning process. Examples of how this engagement can take place include on an individual scale with door-to-door meetings, as well as the (more common) “town hall meeting”, where the community as a whole is invited to participate in a planning session with developers, non-profit representatives or local governments. It is important that these sessions are focused on giving community members the opportunity to intervene, rather than being “spoken at” by officials. [13]

INCLUSIVE URBANISATION AND ENERGY CASE STUDIES

AHMEDABAD SLUM ELECTRIFICATION PROJECT

Ahmedabad, as of 2011, was the fifth most populous city in India, and the seventh largest in terms of overall area. Starting in 2001, the Indian government enacted an electrification project for slum areas in the city, beginning with five slums, and extending to over 700 by the end of the project in 2008. The project began as a collaboration between the Ahmedabad Municipal Council (AMC), USAID, and the Ahmedabad Electricity Company Ltd. (AEC). The AEC was the lead project coordinator and responsible for electricity supplies under the project. In addition, two NGOs were involved in project planning and implementation: SAATH and the Gujarat Maila Housing SEWA Trust. NGO partners were primarily involved in mobilising community engagement and support for the project; however the AEC took the lead in establishing community-based organisations (CBOs) in the target communities to facilitate project implementation. [7]

The CBO involvement was one of the key features of this project. Discovering from communities themselves the barriers that were faced in acquiring an electricity connection enabled changes to be made to electrification policy, both at a public (AMC) and private (AEC) level. Before the project, new electricity connections in the city required a formal proof of residence from the applicant. Under the project, these rules were relaxed by the AEC, and in addition, the municipal council began issuing non-eviction certificates to slum dwellers, granting them a period of semi-formal residency for ten years which could be used to acquire a formal connection from the electricity company, in lieu of a formal proof of residence.

There are a number of reasons behind the successful implementation of this slum electrification project. Firstly, the engagement of stakeholders across multiple levels, including local government, private companies, and third-sector organisations like the NGOs involved, benefited the project in implementation, allowing access to networks of information and trust through NGOs with long-standing involvement in local communities, and enabling outreach and capacity-building from the local government and electricity company perspective.

Engaging community-based organisations (CBOs) allowed the electricity company to monitor the status of newly-installed connections also, both for checking the integrity of connections, as well as monitoring usage patterns. Secondly, new arrangement for billing infrastructure proved more applicable to the earning patterns of slum dwellers, enabling prompter payments, which produced less burden on residents. Bi-monthly billing for electricity was common before the project: following engagement from the NGOs involved, new software was adapted by the AEC to produce monthly bills, reducing the burden of payment on residents who were commonly paid monthly. Finally, engagement through NGOs and CBOs was crucial to the success of the project. This engagement took place at many levels: NGOs were involved in assisting slum residents in completing initial applications for electricity connections as well as advice on processing monthly bills, and capacity-building courses were common through the project, both on the use of electric appliances as well as energy efficiency. [7]

KENYA ELECTRICITY EXPANSION PROJECT

The Kenya Electricity Expansion Project (KEEP) is an ongoing programme financed through the World Bank and the Global Partnership on Output-Based Aid (GPOBA). The programme has a number of components designed to improve electricity access and reliability in the country, focusing both on large-scale projects such as improving output from existing geothermal and conventional electricity sites, as well as a large urban slum electrification program. One of the components of this slum electrification programme was a large-scale community participatory planning process, which involved public meetings between electricity utility representatives and potential project beneficiaries. [10]

There were several objectives behind the public participation process component of the project. Firstly, raising general public awareness of the project, particularly among potential project beneficiaries (defined as Project-affected Persons, PAPs), was a target. This is particularly relevant in the Kenyan slum electrification context, where illegal electricity connections are commonplace, along with the inherent public safety issues from these illegal connections. Secondly, the public consultation process was intended to give participants a platform to voice their concerns and questions about the project, in an effort to streamline decision-making under the project by taking into account the specific needs of the affected parties.

This in particular includes environmental and social concerns regarding the electrification project and methods of electrification, as well as the status of community support for the project. The participatory consultation process for this project was one of the key features in the early success of the project in 2016, and the project is continuing to involve itself in community consultation as part of the slum electrification component. Methods of participation that the project implementing agencies have been using include face-to-face public meetings, public information campaigns, one-on-one interviews or small group interviews with key stakeholders such as community or religious leaders, and focused group discussions. These focused group discussions drill down into specific segments of the community, for example salaried workers, working women or the elderly, to gain a more specific insight into the challenges facing these sectors of society, and the potential benefits electrification may bring to these sectors. [10]

CONCLUSION: WAYS FORWARD

There are a number of ways in which planning practices in developing cities can be made more inclusive, more pro-poor, and more tolerant. These methods often involve thinking and acting outside of the usual norms of urbanisation and urban planning. Inclusive development concerns exist in all spheres of a city's operation, be that formal access to urban electricity or water services, access to land rights and tenure, access to transportation and urban physical mobility, and the socio-economic services of the city, including employment, financial services, and cultural services. Only by taking a holistic approach, and considering all factors that make citizens of the city "citizens" in the formal sense, will urbanisation be inclusive. Engaging directly with citizens in marginalised communities offers the best insight into the needs and desires of these citizens. Citizen participation in urban planning allows both citizens the opportunity to voice their opinions and concerns, a right which may have been previously denied, as well as developers, implementers and policy-makers the opportunity to assess new urban planning interventions directly in partnership with beneficiaries.

APPENDIX A

LAND RIGHTS: THE CASE OF CHINESE CITIES

A common barrier to inclusion in the formal city, both for residents of informal settlements and for migrants to the city, is a lack of access to formal land rights within the city. There are a number of reasons for this lack of land rights: the citizen can have a formal land claim in another part of China (for example in a rural area) rendering them ineligible for claiming land in another part of China, or can be ineligible to hold a formal land right (for example through criminal conviction), or can be inhabiting the city in an informal manner.

A prominent policy case of how a lack of access to land rights can impede access to other urban services lies in the *hukou* household registration policy in China. This policy was initially instituted following the famines in the country in the early 1960s, in an effort to guarantee agricultural production was maintained in an era of rapid population growth. In China, the *hukou* household registration system severely restricted land rights access to urban migrants from rural areas; if the migrant already possessed a rural *hukou*, acquiring an urban *hukou* was extremely difficult, particularly for non-professional workers or the unemployed, leading to a rise in informal habitation in cities.

The lack of formal land rights can have significant impacts on a citizen's right to other urban services, for example a formal electricity connection or formal access to the water and sanitation network. In addition, the attendant vulnerabilities of having no formal rights to the land you inhabit cause significant quality-of-life impacts, such as the ever-present threat of eviction. This lack of security means inhabitants have little incentive to formalise their access to urban services in many ways: investment in a situation that is insecure may turn out to be wasted. [8]

The policy restrictions on mobility for holders of an agricultural *hukou*, however, were lifted to an extent in the 1980s, particularly in 1984 when these citizens were allowed to move to urban regions, provided they could provide themselves with food and lodging. Further changes were made in the late 1980s to bring parity to the rights of rural and urban *hukou* holders in cities.

This, combined with the government's commitment to industrialisation without urbanisation, and the liberalisation of the agricultural market, lead to significant growth in small and medium-sized cities in the 1980s and 90s. Recently, the *hukou* system has undergone a transition to a points-based system, with criteria based on education level, profession and other factors. [11]

Table 15. Small and medium-sized cities: criteria for obtaining local urban *hukou*

	Stable source of income	Residence	Years of residence
Municipalities			
Chongqing	Any employment	Ownership/Employer	NA
Beijing	Any employment	Not dormitory	Not specified
Shanghai	Above average	Not specified	7
Eastern			
Hebei	Any employment	Not dormitory	No limit
Liaoning	Any employment	Any form	Not specified
Jiangsu	Any employment	Any form	2
Zhejiang	Any employment	Any form	Not specified
Fujian	Any employment	Any form	Not specified
Shandong	Not specified	Any form	Not specified
Guangdong	Any employment	Any form	Not specified
Central provinces			
Shanxi	Any employment	Ownership	Not specified
Jilin	Any employment	Not dormitory	Not specified
Heilongjiang	Contract or business	Not dormitory	4
Anhui	Any employment	Not dormitory	3
Jiangxi	Any employment	Any form	Not specified
Henan	Contract or business	Ownership/Employer	Not specified
Hunan	Any employment	Any form	Not specified
Hubei	Any employment	Any form	Not specified
Western			
Inner Mongolia	Any employment	Any form	Not specified
Sichuan	Any employment	Ownership/Employer	Not specified
Guizhou	Any employment	Any form	4
Yunnan	Any employment	Ownership/Employer	Not specified
Tibet	Any employment	Any form	No requirement
Shaanxi	Not specified	Any form	Not specified
Gansu	Any employment	Any form	Not specified
Ningxia	Any employment	Any form	2
Xinjiang	Contract or business	Any form	2

Source: Du (2011).

Criteria for obtaining an urban land right (hukou) for cities in Chinese provinces. [11]


However, there are still disparities between the level of access to urban services experienced by migrants to urban areas and formal urban citizens in the country.

Partly this is due to a lack of access to developed land for residential use, with housing policies in the country still dictating that agricultural land is demarcated from developable land, and that this agricultural land is immune to rezoning without state council permissions. Migrants to Chinese cities, particularly smaller cities, often face difficulties in finding formal accommodation.

Other examples of a lack of ability to access formal urban services without a formal right to land in the city include education for migrant workers' children. Without a formal city land right, children are often either left behind in rural areas while parents move to cities for work, or are brought to cities where they are not eligible for education under the state system. Some efforts are being made in the country to address this, including requiring the private education market in a city to take on children of migrants for education where they are not eligible under the state system; however gaps remain in the level and quality of service provided, with in 2010 an estimated 17 million migrant children not receiving the same level of education as their urban peers. [12] [8]



An aerial view of Dadun Village, a newly-built settlement in Lingshui ethnic Li Autonomous County, Hainan province, China. Image: Reuters



The inclusion of city governments in local urban development planning has only really existed in the country since the 1990s, and to date the most dominant method that local governments have of interacting with urban planning is through land acquisition and sales for development. Reforms in the 1990s enabled local governments to become involved in the land acquisition market, acquiring green field sites for development from village cooperatives. These land units were then sold on, either on an informal basis through the city government's network of developers, or since 2005, on a more transparent, public auction basis.

These reforms have not necessarily been the best for inclusive development: plots of land sold at these auctions are generally very large, to enable developers (mostly private) to buy land at a low cost-per-acre price. Some plots of land sold in Beijing are the size of four average American city blocks. These factors mean typically it is only larger, well-funded firms that acquire land for development, and commitment to profits mean pro-poor development is low on the list of priorities in these cases.

Shenzhen municipality is relatively unique in the Chinese case of pursuing a policy of “Villages-in-City” (ViCs), where local community development is preserved in planning practices. However, the planning practices that have contributed to the development of these ViCs in the last twenty years have often been on an exclusionary basis, with barriers such as the former state of the *hukou* system preventing urban migrants from being included in the development process. ViCs are often home to the poorest members of society, and local development plans do not take into account the high levels of rural-urban migration to these administrative areas. Recently, the municipal government of Shenzhen has adopted an approach of inclusivity with regard to development of the ViC regions; rather than treating them as administrative islands, bringing the regions within the space of the whole city. This is in part due to research that shows that residents, when displaced through demolition to make way for redevelopment, most often prefer to settle in close proximity to their original place of residence.

Economic inclusivity has been achieved in part due to the acknowledgement that the informal economy that exists in ViCs contributes greatly to the wellbeing of inhabitants, with over half the industrial sites in Shenzhen being located in ViC areas.

In addition, the informal economy is often the only source of market exchange available to migrant workers without formal rights to the city. Proposals are also being made to promote skills development in migrant workers in ViCs, allowing for greater upward mobility in the labour market. Spatial mobility in these regions has also been targeted. Previously, migrants had little access to the infrastructure and resources of the city due to being excluded from the formal planning process. Collective organisations such as ViC councils tried to provide access to public infrastructure, but without access to central government support such facilities were often of poor quality and under-maintained.

Closer collaboration with city authorities is beginning to emerge in the city, allowing migrants greater access to the “redistributive resources” of the city, including transport, and most notably education. Education institutions had come under increasing pressure in the city due to the large increase in urban population, bringing with it a large increase in migrant children in need of education. To that end several informal schools had emerged in ViCs, which are being targeted for inclusion in the formal education system by city government as of 2016.



Shenzhen “village in the city” from above. Image: Gehl Architects. <http://gehlpeople.com/wp-content/uploads/2016/06/PIC02-1024x683.jpg>

Finally, social mobility and inclusivity has increased dramatically following the inclusionary approach to development of ViCs being taken by the municipal government of the city. The reforms of the *hukou* system in the last ten years have empowered migrants in these areas, allowing them to claim formal household status and the attendant rights. City planners in Shenzhen have also come to acknowledge the role and stake that migrants in ViCs have in the development process of ViCs, being in possession of “important knowledge, skills and capacity” for the upgrading process. Whilst channels of direct communication remain limited between citizens and the formal urban planning process, this lack is also recognised in the research. [12]

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SAMSET PROJECT INFO

ABOUT US:

SAMSET is a 4-year project (2013-2017) supporting Sustainable Energy Transitions in six urban areas in three African countries – Ghana, Uganda and South Africa. A key objective is to improve 'knowledge transfer frameworks' so that research and capacity building efforts are more effective in supporting this challenging area.

The Team

The project team includes a leading university in each of the three Africa countries – University of Ghana, Uganda Martyrs University and University of Cape Town - as well as an NGO in South Africa, Sustainable Energy Africa. In addition, the team includes two leading universities in the UK – Durham University and University College London, and a UK consultancy, Gamos.

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